

John Wesley's In-Correspondence (1736–40)

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From James Oglethorpe

Frederica [St. Simons Island, Georgia]
March 16, 1736

Reverend Sir,

I must desire the favor of you to examine the complaints made by Mr. Von Reck¹ and Mr. Bolzius² against Mr. Vat;³ and by Mr. Vat against Mr. Von Reck; and to make a true state of the case, that I may judge concerning them. If you show this to Mr. Causton,⁴ he will examine any person upon oath that shall be necessary for the coming of the truth.

I am, sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

James Oglethorpe

Mr. Causton will show you the letters I have wrote to Mr. Von Reck, Mr. Bolzius, and Mr. Vat.

Address: 'To / the Rev. John Wesley / at Savannah'.

Endorsement: by JW, 'From Mr. O. March 16 1736'.

Source: holographs; MARC, MA 1977/610/104 (original); National Archives, CO 5/638/235 (Oglethorpe's copy); both in hand of CW.

¹Philipp Georg Friedrich Von Reck (1710–98) led the initial group of the Protestant refugees from Salzburg who settled in Ebenezer, Georgia; and had just returned with a third group.

²Johann Martin Bolzius (1703–65) was a pastor to the Salzburgers in Georgia.

³Jean Vatt led a second group of refugees from Salzburg to Georgia, and a power struggle soon emerged between him and Von Reck.

⁴Thomas Causton was the storekeeper and chief magistrate of the Savannah settlement.

From the Rev.¹ Charles Wesley

Frederica
March 27, [1736²]

Dear Brother,

I received your letter and box.³ My last to you was opened, the contents being publicly proclaimed by those who were so ungenerous as to intercept it. I have not yet complained to Mr. Oglethorpe. —⁴ Though I trust I shall never either write or speak what I will not justify both to God and man, yet I would not have the secrets of my soul revealed to everyone. For their sakes, therefore, as well as for my own, I shall write no more, and desire you will not. Nor will you have occasion, as you visit us so soon. I hope your coming may be of use to many.

Mr. Oglethorpe gave me an exceeding necessary piece of advice for you: 'Beware of hypocrites, in particular of *log-house* converts.' They consider you as favoured by Mr. Oglethorpe, and will therefore put on the form of religion to please, not God, but you. To this I shall only add, give no temporal encouragement whatsoever to any seeming converts, else they will follow you for the sake of the loaves. Convince them thus that it can never be worth their while to be hypocrites. Stay till you are in disgrace, in persecution, by the heathen, by your own countrymen; till you are accounted the offscouring of all things⁵ (as you must infallibly be, if God is true) and then see who will follow you—I.

God, you believe, has much work to do in America. I believe so too, and begin to enter into the designs which he has over *me*. I see why he has brought me hither, and hope ere long to say with Ignatius, 'It is now that I *begin* to be a disciple of Christ.'⁶ God direct you to pray for me. Adieu.

Source: published transcription; Whitehead, *Life*, 1:122–23.⁷

¹CW had been ordained both deacon and priest in Sept. 1735, in preparation for going to Georgia.

²This letter was probably delivered personally by Benjamin Ingham, whom on the evening of Mar. 27 (a Saturday), CW persuaded to go to Savannah to fetch JW, though he did not set off until the following day.

³A box of papers; cf. JW's letter to CW dated Mar. 22, 1736 (*Works*, 25:452–553).

⁴This dash is possibly Whitehead's indication of an elision.

⁵Cf. 1 Cor. 4:13.

⁶Ignatius, *Epistle to the Romans*, ch. 5.

⁷Republished in *Works*, 25:454–55.

From George Whitefield

[Gloucester]
April [1736¹]

Reverend Sir,

At length, blessed be God, I have an opportunity of writing to my spiritual father in Christ. And after my hearty wishes that the Father of our Lord Jesus would prosper the work of your hands, and preserve you from falling into the hands of the devil, I must first acquaint you that I am not yet returned to Oxford. God having opened to me a door, an effectual one too I trust, into our Castle.² The manner of it was a little surprising. A youth broke out of Oxford prison under strong convictions of sin, was apprehended here again; Mr. [Thomas] Broughton heard of it, bid me go visit him; I went, and so have continued reading to the prisoners ever since.

God has been pleased, blessed be his free grace in Christ, to succeed my labours in some measure. I hope, in time, we shall have a set of *altogether Christians*. For the Holy Spirit seems to be moving on the hearts of some young ladies. One, I observed, quickened in an instant, who immediately set out for Carmarthen, I believe, continues steadfast amidst a world of temptations. O may our blessed Master hear your prayers that her faith fail not. Here are others that seem to have some pangs of the new birth. God grant that they may not prove abortive. A young country lad came to me the other day, and brought me a peck of apples seven miles on his back, as a token of gratitude for benefits received, under God, by my hands. He is but a young, yet a true-born child of God. A worthy minister, to whom I sent him, writes me word, what knowledge he has gotten was owing to his own industry and God's blessing upon it. Having had no education, but at nights and mornings spends his time in reading and praying. He has such a sense of the divine presence that he walks, for the most part, with his hat off. Oh how does God choose the weak things of this world to confound the mighty!³ Alas, where is the wise? Where is the prudent? Where is the disputer of this age? Here is another savingly, I believe, converted, after living threescore years in gross sin. Who would despair of anyone while there is such a thing as free grace in Christ Jesus? Particularly, here is one exceeding zealous female soldier of Christ, whose zeal, I hope, will provoke many.

The devil, I find, has a particular spite against weekly communion. Yet I am in hopes we shall have the sacrament administered every Sunday at the cathedral. It would have been mentioned to the bishop ere now, but Oxford friends advised to defer it till next summer, at which time God, I hope, will bring it to pass.

But now I have mentioned the bishop.⁴ Alas, how should I tremble! For its impossible to tell you how I have been continually disturbed with thoughts that I, a worm taken from a common public house, should ere I die be one myself. If you remember, sir, in my greatest affliction last Lent it was told me I should be a bishop, and therefore must be poor in spirit. That thought came home upon me with so much force, and so many circumstances have since occurred to favour the temptation, that I knew not what to do. I communicated it to Mr. Broughton, and thanks be to God, it is somewhat abated. Your earnest prayers surely will not be wanting for me, that I may not split on that most dangerous of all rocks—viz., worldly ambition. O Heavenly Father! For thy dear Son's sake, keep me from climbing. For Jesus Christ's sake, let me hate preferment. For thy infinite mercy's sake, let me love a low contemptible life. And never think to compound matters between the happiness of this world and the next. Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit, for thou hast redeemed me, O Lord, thou GOD of truth.

¹*MM* reads '1737' but the situation fits 1736.

²The Castle in Gloucester, like that in Oxford, was now a county jail.

³See 1 Cor. 1:27.

⁴Martin Benson (1689–1752), had become bishop of Gloucester in 1734.

My friends here are for drawing me into orders, but I trust God will still provide for me yet without it. For I know I am not qualified, and therefore, by the help of the Lord Jesus, will not comply.⁵ Parsonages too, I believe, are providing for me. But I trust Satan will never catch me by pluralities,⁶ or induce me to take upon me any thing inconsistent with the duty of a disciple of Jesus Christ. On his free grace alone I depend, for deliverance from all my troubles.

I hope our friends all continue steadfast and zealous at Oxford, whose letters are here enclosed. I have been with Madam Grenville,⁷ who seems to be a Christian indeed. My love, reverend sir, to the young merchant,⁸ whose example I hope we shall all be enabled to follow, if God requires our assistance at Georgia. Mr. Charles [Wesley] and Mr. [Benjamin] Ingham, I hope, will accept the same from my unworthy hands. O may you go on and prosper and, in the strength of God, make the devil's kingdom shake about his ears. He seems to have had some foresight of this, and therefore, as he rose a tempest against our blessed Master when he went oversea to dispossess him from among the Gadarenes,⁹ so he has endeavoured to retard your passage, when sent to expel him from among the Americans. But what say the Scripture? 'God shall bruise Satan shortly under your feet.'¹⁰ 'Be not afraid, says your Saviour, it is I.'¹¹ And again, 'Lo I am with you always even unto the end of the world.'¹² And 'If Christ be for us, who can be against us?'¹³ As also he saith in another place, 'Verily, Verily, I say unto you, there is no one that hath left father or mother, houses or land, for my sake', or the gospel, 'but shall receive a hundred fold in this life, and in the world to come life everlasting.'¹⁴ May you all, by the strength of these promises, go on in that glorious work you have begun. And as you now travel for, may you shortly sit down with our blessed Master in his heavenly kingdom. Excuse both the length and freedom of this epistle, for alas I know not how to leave off. Yet Mr. Wesley surely will not take it ill, but impute it to the ignorance, though sincere affection of, reverend sir,

Your very humble servant and son in Christ Jesus,

George Whitefield

P.S. I received benefit by your father's *Advice to a Young Clergyman*.¹⁵

Source: published transcription; *Methodist Magazine* 21 (1798): 357–59.

⁵Whitefield did accept ordination as deacon in June 1736, and as elder in 1739.

⁶The holding of more than one parish living at the same time, to increase one's salary.

⁷I.e., Mary (Westcomb) Granville, who was now living in Gloucester.

⁸I.e., Charles Delamotte, who went to Georgia initially in conjunction with his family's sugar business.

⁹See Matt. 8:23ff and parallels.

¹⁰Rom. 16:20.

¹¹Cf. Matt. 14:27 and parallels.

¹²Matt. 8:20.

¹³Rom. 8:31.

¹⁴Mark 10:29; Luke 18:29.

¹⁵JW had helped bring to publication the preceding year Samuel Wesley, *Advice to a Young Clergyman* (London: C. Rivington & J. Roberts, [1735]).

From the Rev. Samuel Wesley, Jr.

Salisbury [Wiltshire]

April 29, 1736

Dear Brother,

Natural affection made me rejoice to see your hand, a quality I shall never think it my duty to get rid of while I can read St. Paul. My time is never worth a journal,¹ so if I were not to write till I could answer you in kind, our correspondence would be as much at an end as our conversation. You must therefore be content with such letters as I can write. My present will consist partly of remarks on your diary, which perhaps you may have some regard to, and partly of news, which I believe you will not.

I am glad my brother [Westley] Hall's not going gave you more conveniencies on shipboard; though that is not the only reason why I rejoice at his stay. You know my opinion already as to the first adult you baptized, so I need not repeat it. The character of the Moravians is truly amiable.

Your next step grieves me, and would astonish me if I had not left wondering for some time. You and Charles are trying how a vegetable diet will agree with you. For what? You cannot imagine you have the same call to it that Daniel had to refuse the king's provision. It cannot be religion, for abstaining from meats is a doctrine of devils, and well may it be called so peculiarly in the present case—since tis arrogant and sullen dashing back again to God his own grant after the flood. It cannot be policy, in my humble opinion, unless you had not a sufficient stock on board. Otherwise tis quite contrary to common sense to weaken your strength and spirits (as vegetable food comparatively must do) at the very time when your work is increasing. I dare say you will find work enough in the colony, without going into the desert to seek more.

Forty out of eighty on board a ship I take to be a very numerous and glorious congregation. The length and danger of your voyage seems to be very providential, for the benefit of many; several you mention in your letter may have cause to rejoice for it. You have had leisure to learn German, which is perfectly right. I hope you will endeavour to learn modern Hebrew, too, and dispute with the Jews in their own tongue—not forgetting the Highlanders. Your harvest is great, and I doubt not but your success will be so, too.

Mr. [James] Oglethorpe's giving up his cabin to the sick gentlewoman, and his forgiving his servant, was no more than I could have expected of him; twas done like himself. I know of no other part of yours that requires any remark, except perhaps that of my brother Charles's preaching in Cowes²—I hope by the behaviour of those poor people he is fully convinced that he needed not have gone to Georgia in order to do good by his ministry.

What strange turns have I seen in the compass of this last year! My father's death left my mother as you know. She has been arrested for thirty pounds, as perhaps you remember, for tis some months ago, and I never retain dates. I have since paid the money, and cleared the matter. Another has sprung up. Mrs. Knight threatened the same usage. It seems you engaged for one year's rent, but as my mother scorned taking any advantage of that wonderful engagement—so I have sent fifteen pounds, and that peril too is past. Mr. Hutchinson and Mr. Vernon³ have sent my mother ten guineas apiece, I think. *Job* is now published, but without an index. I should, I believe, have attempted the making one myself, for I look upon that book as the most sacred legacy, next my mother, that my father left me. But I had a peremptory

¹JW had written a manuscript journal account of the voyage to Georgia that he sent back to England, including to Samuel Jr. on Feb. 1, 1736 (CW sent a copy to Sarah (Kirkham) Chapone) four days later).

²The town on the Isle of Wight where CW preached while their ship was delayed from setting out from England to Georgia.

³James Vernon, the trustee of the Georgia Colony who had written JW a year earlier.

letter from my cousin Richardson,⁴ with this direct declaration: If your two brothers had not time to make one, should you attempt in your state of health such a work, I'll positively burn the copies rather than you shall hazard your life. So there was an end of that design. I cannot but say, as it is not my own fault, I am not very sorry that he was so kindly positive. Mr. Horne,⁵ who though a good man is not much given to—the carnal means of heeding—sent no word to poor Kezy⁶ about your order. She was frightened out of her wits, and wrote to my uncle Matt[hew Wesley]. He sent her ten guineas, there being almost half a year owing for, which I think you ought to repay. My mother has met with abundance of troubles, which my distance has hindered me from preventing so much as I would have done.

I hear from Oxford that there was no inventory of yours or Charles's goods; not from Mr. Horne, for I can't get a word from him. Dick Smith has sent me a catalogue of Charles's books.⁷ I wish with all my heart that some good editions of the classics that Dick had parted with had been amongst them. I am getting collections for a classic library; however you may approve of the other books, I am sure you will like the first that has been given me, the Polyglot Bible.

I know not whether it is worthwhile to tell you of an accidental good I have been the occasion of, yet I'll do it, since perhaps it may please you. I sheltered a bankrupt merchant in my house till he had got his creditors to sign his liberty. I gave him the liberty of my books, the event of which has been that he has turned from the Dissenters and come with his whole family to church.

I know you have neither time nor inclination to tell me much of your designs and proceedings, and therefore am not at all surprised when I hear casually from others what I might naturally have expected to have had from yourself. I heartily wish you may have done one thing that is concealed only by your taciturnity—or the infection of it among your friends: that you may have provided for my mother's subsistence, if I should die. If you have done so (I mean in a human way, and according to second causes) tis well, I will never reproach you with not letting me know it, nor will any unkindness ever disturb me, after you have robbed me of Charles. Tis true it might have made my death a little more comfortable, which you had no reason to think was far off, my wife's health and my own being so precarious when you went. If you have not taken any care for her, if surviving me, tis a guilty, a very guilty omission, which I would not willingly have been stained with—no, not to convert a continent. Without a particular revelation tis neither better nor worse than dashing one of God's daughters against the other, and breaking the second table in honour of the first.⁸ I don't blame you, upon the whole, for not taking my sister Ellison⁹ along with you, but I should have commended you exceedingly had you taken three or four of her children, who in all human probability in a few years may want conversion as much even as those poor people you are going among. Poor families will be sending over perpetually, and they are worse than double orphans. Time was when I could take some care of them, but it is past. Any ship would take care of them in their passage, for the sake of Mr. Oglethorpe. I hope you have privately made

⁴This cousin was likely Nathaniel Richardson (b. 1697), son of Nathaniel and Mary (Annesley) Richardson, nephew of Susanna (Annesley) Wesley. He is listed as one of the subscribers to Samuel Wesley Sr.'s *Job*.

⁵Thomas Horne (1707–69) received his BA (1728) and MA (1731) from Christ Church, and remained there as a tutor (working for a while alongside CW) until 1736, when he became vicar of Spelsbury.

⁶Their sister, Kezia Wesley.

⁷Richard Smith (b. 1714) matriculated at Christ Church in Oct. 1732, and CW became his tutor.

⁸I.e., the second five commandments about relationships with other humans against the first five about honoring God.

⁹Susanna (Wesley) Ellison.

some sort of allowance to them, or—I should say, and—to sister Lambert.¹⁰ I shall take Jacky¹¹ as soon as I can fairly dispose of Samuel Bentham,¹² but he and Jack Ellison¹³ at once are as many as I can well dispense with.

I find I have with my news mixed advice, and therefore I will give you one piece of counsel more. You know that a church where there are only presbyters is *res unius aetatis*.¹⁴ Aim therefore with all your strength at getting bishops on your side the sea. If Mr. Oglethorpe, to whom I have mentioned it, would but once have that point at heart, I should not fear the success, though I foresee great difficulties. If this letter should ever come safe to you, and I hear of its arrival, I may then perhaps speak more largely. I pray God preserve you in body and soul, and prosper your endeavours for his glory. I am, dear Jack,

Your affectionate friend and brother,

S. Wesley

Address: 'To the Revd Mr John Wesley'.

Endorsement: by JW, 'April 29, 1736/ b[rother] S[amuel]'.

Source: holograph; MARC, DDWF 5/12.¹⁵

¹⁰Anne (Wesley) Lambert.

¹¹John Lambert Jr., born 1726.

¹²Samuel Bentham (1718–52) was the son of Joseph and Ann (Fox) Bentham, born in York—and likely a cousin through Samuel Wesley Jr.'s mother-in-law, Ursula (Bentham) Berry. He was currently doing preparatory school at Tiverton with Samuel Jr. and matriculated at Cambridge in June 1737. It is possible his father is the Joseph Bentham who became university printer at Cambridge.

¹³John Ellison (1720–91), the first child of Richard and Susanna (Wesley) Ellison, was also being sponsored by Samuel Wesley Jr. at Tiverton.

¹⁴'An affair of one generation only'.

¹⁵Transcription published in *Works*, 25:458–60.

From the Rev. Charles Wesley

Frederica
May 1, 1736

Dear Brother,

The trial is at last over, but has left me as a man in whom is no strength. I am fully satisfied of Mr. [Oglethorpe's]¹ innocence, and he of mine. Nor can I say which has been traduced most.² (God forgive the same wicked instruments of all.) He gave me, when going lately εἰς πύλος θανάτου,³ an infallible demonstration of his affection and of his virtue.⁴ I will—God will—never forget him for it. To be so obliged by one who had all reason to think me his worst enemy is far more painful to me than the ingratitude of those who had all reason to think me their best friend. I am heartily weary of my fellow-creatures and though I hope never to say in my haste *all* men are liars, *ultra saurumatas fugere hinc libet et glaciale oceanum*.⁵ Or rather, I care not where I am or what I am, so I were but alone. If any thing could reconcile me to society it is Mr. [Oglethorpe's] redoubled kindness. But alas, it is too late—*haeret lateri Lethalis arundo*.⁶

My increasing abhorrence not of the persons but of the false-heartedness of this people cleaves so fast to me that I shall never shake it off. Yet while I am constrained to dwell with Mesech⁷ I shall labour to make full proof of my ministry. When a way is made me to escape, escape I shall, for my life, and not look behind. Yet if I can be any way useful to Mr. [Oglethorpe], he will find in me what I have not found here, and will no longer look for—gratitude. My inclinations, my ease, my life (I think) I could sacrifice for him, but not my soul, and that he will never require. Of this, more when he and you and I meet.

I send your papers by Mr. [Samuel] Quincy,⁸ and look for all the large sermon paper you can spare, that I may not come unfurnished. Th(is) month brings us at farthest. The Spaniard's seven sail [ships] are gone, The Hawk arrived,⁹ the guns mounted, and sowing-time begun. Mr. [Oglethorpe] will desire our friend B[enjamin Ingham] to supply my place here for a little while. A wooden house will be ready against his coming. Send me half a dozen cups and saucers, or basins or *quid capax*,¹⁰ with a teapot. You will, for I can't, answer Mr. Regnier's,¹¹ to whom my respects. Patrick's *Christian Sacrifice*¹² is not forthcoming, any more than the coat. I, and therefore you, have money to buy another.

¹Throughout this letter CW omits the name, due to fear of others reading it; the identity of Oglethorpe is confirmed by a shorthand section in CW, MS Journal, Apr. 14–17, 1736.

²Ann Welch, one of the married women in the party that accompanied Oglethorpe and CW to Frederica had spread a rumor that Oglethorpe was involved in sexual relations with another married woman in the party—Beata Hawkins. Welch also charged that CW had made advances upon herself.

³'Into the gates of death'; (cf. Job 38:17).

⁴See CW, MS Journal, Apr. 24–29, 1736.

⁵Juvenal, *Satires*, I.ii.1; 'I would rather flee to Sarmatia and the frozen sea.'

⁶Virgil, *Aeneid*, iv.73.; 'the lethal arrow sticks in his side'.

⁷Cf. Ps. 120:5.

⁸Rev. Samuel Quincy, the first minister of the colony in Savannah, whom JW was replacing.

⁹A British military sloop.

¹⁰'Something equally capable'; i.e., a basin substitute.

¹¹John Regnier was a Swiss nurse, who had accompanied the group of Moravians that traveled with the Wesley brothers to Georgia and provided medical care for the community.

¹²Simon Patrick, *The Christian Sacrifice; A Treatise showing the Necessity, End, and Manner of Receiving the Holy Communion* (London: Printed by R.N. for R. Royston, 1671).

I thank Benjamin Ingham for his last. But I am beyond the reach of advice or consolation. *Verba fiunt mortuo*.¹³ When you write to England (which you may now do by Mr. Quincy), make my excuse. For I cannot, I will not, write to any. My love to my namesake,¹⁴ and brother Benjamin [Ingham], who may set forward when he pleases.

Adieu.

What would I give to be under no necessity of ever writing another letter!
I send you Wake;¹⁵ and Lawrence,¹⁶ whom I mean <to> read over again with you.

Address: 'To / The Revd. Mr Wesley / at / Savanna'.

Endorsement: by JW, 'C[harles] Frederica May 1, 17[36]'.

Source: holograph; MARC, DDCW 1/7.¹⁷

¹³Terence, *Phormio*, Act V, Scene 8: 'Like words to a dead man'.

¹⁴Charles Delamotte.

¹⁵William Wake, *The Genuine Epistles of the Apostolic Fathers* (London: Richard Sare, 1693), which JW had brought to Georgia.

¹⁶Apparently referring to John Heylyn (ed.), *Devotional Tracts Concerning the Presence of God* (London: Joseph Downing, 1724), which included a major tract by 'Brother Lawrence', and which JW brought to Georgia.

¹⁷Transcription published in *Works*, 25:460–61.

From Sir John Thorold

London, St. James's-Place
May 24, 1736

Dear Sir,

I am unwilling to lose the opportunity of writing to you by Captain Thompson,¹ and enquiring after the welfare of yourself, your brother, Mr. [Benjamin] Ingham, Mr. [Charles] Delamotte, and the whole colony of Georgia. I have read the journal of your voyage to that new settlement, and can with pleasure discern the footsteps of divine providence towards you. The same fatherly love will still manifest itself in your favour, provided your heart remains steadfast in the Lord. The Lord Jesus will most assuredly stand by you, and deliver you from all the open and secret assaults of men or devils against you. Fear not, nor be dismayed, there will be many more with you, than with the prince of darkness. The Light of men will more and more discover to you the depths of Satan, and by having the kingdom of heaven ruling stronger and stronger within you, you will be more and more fitted to be a chosen vessel to carry the glorious name of Christ unto the Gentiles. The beauty of holiness has almost irresistible attractiveness. And those who can hide themselves from its love must be blinded indeed by that spirit who, in the book of life, is called 'the god of this world'.² Your eye, I trust, is single,³ and you go forth in the strength of the Lord God, and will make mention of his righteousness only. O may the God of mercy put his whole armour upon you, and so strengthen you that you may be enabled to make all spiritual opposition flee before you; being, through the in-dwelling and in-working of the Spirit of Christ, an over-match for the devil. Wrestle continually with God, through Jesus, in prayer, for further degrees of grace, and undoubtedly like Jacob, you will prevail with the Almighty, and the vanquished, though still blustering power of hell, shall not be able to stand before you.

I question not but you take the holy evangelists and apostles for your pattern, and yield up your whole spirit, soul, and body a lively, reasonable sacrifice to him, who has an absolute dominion over you by right of creation, preservation, redemption, and sanctification. 'Father, not my will, but thine be done', was, we know, the prayer of the holy Jesus.⁴ And so must it be ours likewise, otherwise the same mind is not in us that was in him. But you, my dear brother in Christ, I am persuaded, are already blessed by our heavenly Father with the inestimable gift of his Holy Spirit. O cherish that divine guest within you, and keep the heavenly flame of divine love burning upon your heart, and pray earnestly for his continual abode with you. Never grieve him. In no wise quench him. And he will, by degrees, open to you the wonders of his love toward poor, darkened, diseased mortals.

Our dear friend Mr. [Thomas] Broughton is curate at the Tower, and has undertaken to preach to the poor prisoners in Ludgate [prison] every Tuesday in the afternoon. May our good God, for Christ's sake, mightily increase the seed sown.

Mr. [George] Whitefield and Mr. [James] Hervey purpose, with God's leave, to enter into holy order this next ordination. May they become burning and shining lights in the church.

Sir John Phillipps has been for several weeks hindered from attending the societies, by reason of sickness and infirmities. He piously allows Mr. Whitefield £30 per annum.

Several of Mr. Broughton's late parishioners at Cowley forget not the assembling of themselves together, notwithstanding the manifold discouragements from the world. Your friends at Oxford continue to exhort and edify one another. The Lord increase his blessing upon them.

¹William Thomson was captain of the *Two Brothers*, which sailed several voyages to and from the Georgia colony.

²2 Cor. 4:4.

³See Matt. 6:22.

⁴See Luke 22:42.

Do not deny me the favour of hearing from you. Bestow a little part of that precious talent, your time, in acquainting me how you go on; what progress you make in spiritualizing your flock; and what probability there is to believe that the Lord will shortly open the door of faith to the Indians; and in what disposition they seem to be, in order to their receiving the glad tidings of salvation.

Pray give my love to your brother, Mr. Ingham, and Delamotte. What I have written to you, I intended for them likewise. May the God of love keep you knit together in the bond of charity, and may you all go on prosperously in the Christian warfare, fighting the good fight of faith; and at last may you receive a beautiful crown at the Lord's hand, and enter among angels and archangels, to sing everlasting songs of praise to the Lord Almighty. I desire your prayers for me and mine.

J. Thorold

Endorsement: by JW; 'Fr[om] J Thorold / May 24, 1736'.

Source: holograph; MARC, MA 1977/610/117.⁵

⁵Abridged transcription published in *Collection* (1797), 5–7; and *Wesley Banner* 1 (1849): 272–73.

From Henry Newman

Bartlet's Buildings [London]
June 8, 1736

Reverend Sir,

It was a pleasure to all your friends here to be informed of your safe arrival in Georgia. I hope the country in all respects answers your expectations. Mr. [Thomas] Broughton was so kind as to promise me a sight of your journal, which I hope ere long I may see, though I suppose it chiefly related to the occurrences of your voyage thither. But any remarks from a gentlemen of your taste must be acceptable.

I wish you find the Indians as tractable to religious instruction as you expected, but the method of conveying that instruction is so labourious that it seems insuperable without a miracle (considering the brevity of humane life), for you must either learn their language or they yours before you can instill the first rudiments of Christianity into their minds. To do the former there is neither dictionary nor grammar to lead you, and you must endure the mortification to live savage as they do at least a year to make any proficiency in it; but where those difficulties have been surmounted, as in New England, it served only for a small district not so big as Yorkshire. Beside, the barrenness of their language would puzzle a learned man that is master of it to express divine truths in the clearness they are made to appear in a language that hath been for several ages polishing. For which reason the people of New England seem now convinced after 100 years experience that the shortest way to instruct the Indians is to teach them English and good manners, in order to instruct them in the Christian religion. The adult people will hardly be capable of this but the young of both sexes may by a method of instruction be led into a way that may gradually diffuse the language and common civility among themselves till, as in some parts of Ireland, the old wild language may fall into oblivion.

But of all these difficulties you are by this time fully apprized, and I can suggest nothing but what you better know already. I can only wish that your patience and courage may never fail you, for you will find great occasion for both to make any considerable progress in an undertaking of this nature, and after all, tis the blessing of God only that must crown your labours with anything like success. Our zeal in New England went so far as to build at a great expense a brick college at Cambridge to accommodate the Indians, and a large printing house, where a quarto Bible was printed in the Indian language under the conduct of the famous Mr. John Eliot, voluntary missionary among them. But the Indians could never be prevailed with to accept of an education there gratis, to be obliged to quit their old wild liberty. One only excepted, Caleb Cheschanneuch by name, who lived to be a Bachelor of Arts and then killed himself with drinking though all possible care was taken to restrain him from it. So hard it is to refrain inveterate habits or correct a bias which nature hath interwoven in their very constitutions. And as for the impression [i.e., printing] of the Bible, the language was so much altered in 70 or 80 miles distance that a Chinese Bible would have been as edifying to the natives as Mr. Eliot's impression. I shall be glad to hear you find it otherwise in Georgia. That you enjoy your health and all other blessings necessary to enable you to pursue your laudable designs, and desire you to be assured that I am, reverend sir,

Your most humble servant

H. Newman

P.S. I have herewith sent a letter from Mr. [John] Thorold and the account I have sent to our members by order of the Society relating to the Saltzburgers. I hear Mr. [Samuel] Quincy is gone to New England, for which reason I don't write to him, but if I am misinformed pray let him know the reason of my silence and give my humble service to him.

Address: 'To the Revd. Mr. John Wesley, at Savannah, in Georgia'.

Source: Newman's copies for records; Cambridge University, SPCK Archives, GBR.0012/MS SPCK/D4/47, pp. 37–38; and D5/7, pp. 72–73.¹

¹Transcription published previously in Jones, *Letterbooks*, 194–95.

From Henry Newman

Bartlet's Buildings [London]

June 16, 1736

Reverend Sir,

I wrote to you the beginning of this month by the *Two Brothers*, Captain [William] Thomson, to whom I delivered ten large and small packets for Georgia. But yesterday the Society had the pleasure of seeing a letter from you of the 23rd of March to Sir John Philipps,² signifying your want of Bibles and Common Prayer Books, whereupon I was ordered to provide immediately a box of

40 Bibles, Minion
40 New Testaments, Long Primer, and
40 Common Prayer Books, Minion.

These are all packed up in one box directed to yourself by the *Two Brothers*, which I hope may go safe, if I can be so happy as to ship these before the ship falls down.

Writing is very troublesome to Sir John Philipps, and therefore he hopes you will excuse his not answering this and a former letter which he received, with his and the good wishes of the Society that the blessing of God may always attend your labours for his glory, wherein joins, reverend sir,

Your most humble servant,

H. Newman

Address: 'To the Revd. Mr. John Wesley, at Savannah, in Georgia'.

Source: Newman's copies for records; Cambridge University, SPCK Archives, GBR.0012/MS
SPCK/D4/47, p. 40; and D5/7, pp. 74–75.

²This letter is not known to survive.

From James Hervey

Oxon¹

September 2, 1736

Reverend and Dear Sir,

I have read your journal and find that the Lord hath done great things for you already, whereof we rejoice. Surely he will continue his loving-kindness to you, and show you greater things than these. Methinks when you and dear Mr. [Benjamin] Ingham go forth upon the great and good enterprise of converting the Indians, you will in some respects resemble Noah and his little household going forth of the Ark. Wherever you go, you must walk among dry bones or carcasses; among a people that are aliens from the life of God, buried in ignorance, dead in trespasses and sins. Oh may the blessing of that illustrious progenitor of ours, and of that favourite with the most High, be upon your heads! May you 'be fruitful and multiply';² may you bring forth abundantly in that barren land and multiply therein!

As for me, I am still a most weak, corrupt creature. But blessed be the unmerited mercy of God, and thanks be to your never to be forgotten example, that I am what I am. As to my strength and activity with regard to others, I fear it may be too truly said, 'It is to sit still.' I am at present one of the multitude. But I expect, before this reaches you, to receive the office of a deacon and become a minister of the New Testament. Oh may I also 'receive the Holy Ghost not many days hence',³ and be made a faithful minister of those saving mysteries from that time forth and for ever! I hope I shall then hear a voice behind me, saying, 'Awake thou that sleepest, from thy slumber, and Christ shall give thee light.'⁴ Christ shall be thy sanctification. Christ shall be thy illumination. He shall stand by thee and strengthen thee. He shall give thee both to will and to do. Through the power of his grace, thou shalt run and not faint; thou shalt be fervent in the business and propagation of righteousness; nor ever give over, till thou givest up thy soul to God, its maker, and thy body return unto the dust as it was.

That I may be obedient to such a heavenly call, is (I hope) 'all my wish and all my desire'. This is indeed the treasure I value, the thing that I long for. Do you, dear sir, put to your incessant prayers, and oh let the mighty God set to his seal, that the thing may be established, that it may be unto me according to my heart's desire. Then will I invite you (my father, shall I call you, or my friend? For indeed you have been both unto me) to meet me among the spirits of just men made perfect; since I am not like[ly] to see your face in the flesh any more forever! Then will I bid you welcome, yea I will tell of your love before the universal assembly, and at the tremendous tribunal. I will hear with joy the man Christ Jesus say of you (O ye that are greatly beloved!), 'Well done good and faithful servants, ye have served your Lord and your generation with your might. Ye have finished the work which the eternal foreknowledge of my Father gave you to do. If others have turned their thousands, ye have turned your ten thousands from the power of Satan unto God. Receive therefore a glorious kingdom, a beautiful and immortal crown from my hand. Enter with the children I have given you, with the souls that you have won. O ye blessed ones, ye heirs of glory, enter in at those everlasting doors and receive there the reward of your labours, even the fullness of joy, for ever and ever!'

I am, and may I always be, dear sir,

Your son in the Lord Jesus Christ,

J. Hervey

P. S. I heartily thank you, as for all other favours, so especially for teaching me Hebrew. I have

¹The typesetter for *AM* reproduced quite imperfectly above the place name Hebrew text that was surely meant to read (translated): 'Amen. Hallelujah'.

²Gen. 1:28.

³Acts 1:5.

⁴Eph. 5:14.

cultivated (according to your advice) this study, and am (blessed be God the giver of knowledge) somewhat improved in this language. My prayers accompany you, and all that engaged with you in the same glorious design. Let me also have your's and their's for Jerusalem's, for Christ's sake.

Source: printed transcription; *Arminian Magazine* 1 (1778): 130–32.⁵

⁵JW appended a note in *AM*: 'I do not apprehend that the following are inserted in the printed collection of Mr. Hervey's *Letters*. The candid reader will learn hence in what light he viewed *me* before he was thoroughly tinctured with Calvinism. He was then capable of lending his name, at least, to the *Eleven Letters* of famous memory.'

From the Rev.¹ George Whitefield

London
September 2, 1736

Very Reverend and Dear Sir,

Hearing by Mr. [James] Hutton that there be a ship about to sail soon towards your coasts, methinks it would be unpardonable in me not to write to my spiritual father in Christ. But now I am sat down, what shall I begin with first? How shall I have room or time to relate to you a thousandth part of those mercies which God, of his infinite goodness in Christ Jesus, has conferred upon me since I wrote last?

If I mistake not, reverend sir, that [last letter] was dated from Gloucester,² whence after having made me an instrument (O free, free grace in Christ Jesus!) of settling a society of some sincere souls, God called me to Oxford again. From thence, after a stay of three months, I returned to Gloucester. And forced by the *immediate* direction of providence, and strong solicitations of my friends to take upon me (O pray, reverend sir, that I am always faithful in ministry) holy orders. Where then has it pleased God, you will say, to settle me? Why hear, reverend sir, and admire the divine goodness towards the worst of sinners! My friends had laid a plan, and the bishop I find since, to have me at Gloucester. But I had made it my earnest prayer to Almighty God, through Christ, that I might either not go into orders, or continue at Oxford some time longer, to fit me [for] the work of the ministry. God was pleased to answer my last prayer wonderfully. For at my return to Oxford the first time from Gloucester, most of our friends being called away elsewhere, God put it into the heart of dear Mr. [Richard] Morgan to inform Sir John Philips of our affairs, who immediately sent word that he would allow me an annuity of thirty pounds per annum, if I would continue at Oxford and superintend the affairs of the Methodists. Providence directed me to accept it. Accordingly, when I am there, I preach every Sunday to the prisoners, following *your* steps, reverend sir, as close as possible.

I am now at London, officiating for dear Mr. [Thomas] Broughton at the Tower, where he is curate, whilst he is gone to assist dear Mr. [Charles] Kinchin at Dummer in Hampshire, who is gone to put his brother under the care of pious Mr. [John] Clayton.³ Our friend Mr. Broughton was providentially placed here. Near fifty pounds for charitable uses for our friends have gone through his hands since he settled here.

Sir John [Philips], etc., are greatly in our interest, are great instruments in God's hands of supplying our wants and encouraging our weak endeavours to promote the gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. But few friends are left at Oxford. Yet God has given me a great encouragement out of his holy word that some gownsmen will yet be added to our number. The greatest *opposition* comes from the laity at present, and there is most *good* done. Our fellow students are pretty quiet, though our names (God make us humbly thankful) stink among them.

Mr. [Walter] Chapman goes on *sure*, though perhaps a little slow. The Holy Spirit seems to have taken full possession of Mr. [John] Hutchings. Methinks I can see him improve daily. Mr. Horne has left Sir Thomas for a parish about ten miles after Oxford.⁴ The Castle stock⁵ is to be delivered into my hands. God give me grace to distribute it as I ought. Mr. [John] Sarney *presses* on. And Mr. [James] Hervey has

¹Whitefield was now ordained as a deacon.

²See Whitefield to JW, Apr. 1736.

³Clayton was apparently tutoring Stephen Kinchin (b. 1721), who would matriculate at Trinity College, Oxford in Mar. 1738.

⁴Thomas Horne had just become vicar of Spelsbury, Oxfordshire.

⁵I.e., money for the needs of the prisoners in Oxford Castle prison.

been blessed with great success at Hardingstone.⁶ Near a hundred have come to hear him together. He enters into holy orders next September, God willing. Mr. Fox,⁷ etc., go on gloriously. Mr. Hutchings reads[?] somewhere or another every night. The prisoners too have a practical book read to them daily. Mrs. Plat's school has been a little neglected, but I trust through divine grace to keep it in proper order.⁸

I think now, reverend sir, you have all the news that is worthy [of] your hearing. What have I to add more but to beg your hearty prayers in my behalf, to assure you mine are put up incessantly for your success and salvation. The good Lord pardon and accept them for Jesus Christ's sake.

If you could send me my case which the devil chiefly assaulted me,⁹ I should be obliged to you, reverend sir. I have been violently assaulted by cursed ambitious thoughts. God indeed has highly exalted me. But blessed be his most holy name, he always sends me *strong* defences to prepare me for it. Particularly before and a little since my ordination, I was in a manner struck *dumb* for weeks together. But since (my mouth¹⁰) has been open to show forth his praise.

Your journal, blessed be God, has met with success. O dear sir, continue it. Your collection of prayers are reprinted.¹¹ If you want any we can share some, having ordered six hundred.

Farewell, reverend sir. God be with you, and prosper you in all your undertakings. May you be made an happy instrument of converting the Gentiles; and after you have served our blessed Master the appointed time on earth, sit down in eternal rest and glory with him in heaven. So wishes and so prays, reverend sir,

Your affectionate friend and very humble son and servant in Christ,

G. W.

Address: 'To / the Revnd. Mr. John Westley / Minister of Savannah'.

Endorsement: by JW, 'Whitfd Sept. 2 / 1736'.

Source: holograph; MARC, MA 1977/610/125.¹²

⁶Hervey was back in Hardingstone, Northamptonshire, his home town; Whitefield spells 'Hardstone'.

⁷Thomas and Elizabeth Fox were leaders of the Methodist society in the city of Oxford.

⁸In early 1731 JW enlisted Mrs. Plat (first name unknown) to teach a small group of poor children in Oxford, and supported this 'school' over the following years; see Richard P. Heitzenrater, 'John Wesley and the Oxford Methodists' (Duke University Ph.D. thesis, 1972), 138.

⁹Whitefield had apparently sent this case to JW, who mentions reading it in his diary (while in Georgia) on Feb. 27, 1736 (see *Works*, 18:361)

¹⁰A small portion is missing (from the wax seal), and here reconstructed.

¹¹JW, *A Collection of Forms of Prayer for Every Day in the Week* (Oxford, 1733). This was the second printing.

¹²An incomplete and sometimes incorrect transcription was published in *Collection* (1797), 8–10.

From the Rev. Walter Chapman

Pembroke College [Oxford]
September 3, 1736

Reverend and Dear Sir,

Your kind concern and repeated endeavours for my spiritual good, while at Oxford, will not suffer me to think that you have utterly lost all remembrance of me, though you have given me no testimony of your affection since your leaving England. What shall I conjecture this silence to be owing to? I will not enquire. But rather take it as a providential punishment and scourge for my slow and slender proficiency, under the blessed means I enjoyed of your's and dear brother's conversation. Too, too late, alas! do I see how dreadfully I was wanting to myself, in not heartily embracing so glorious an opportunity of laying in a stock of spiritual courage, sufficient to have carried me victoriously on through a host of enemies.

How does my base ingratitude to my heavenly benefactor, like a frightful spectre, present itself before me, for rejecting those kind offers of health and salvation. For not disengaging myself from that bane of our spiritual progress, *the fear of the world*, which was always as fetters upon my feet, and manacles on my hands. O through what a waste of uncomfortable, barren, and dry ground, through what a wilderness of sorrows, perplexities, and distresses have I been led,¹ under the conduct of this delusive spirit! When the holy and loving Spirit of God would have led me into pleasant pastures, and refreshed my thirsty soul with the waters of comfort, and conducted me into those paths which are pleasantness and peace. But blessed be God for the sense of these things, though indeed not till driven to it by the pungency of the affliction, by the misery and torment of a divided state of heart, and the perpetual conflicts I endured. Blessed be the most high God, I am once again, I trust, in the strait and narrow way that leadeth to the kingdom of heaven; from which, that I may never stir a foot out of till the cord of life is loosed, I dare say, you will not cease earnestly to request at the throne of grace.

I am sorry I deferred writing till it was too late to say more. Though I cannot help telling you, before I conclude, that I sit every evening with Mr. [James] Hervey, that great champion of the Lord of hosts, and that I read five times a week to a religious society in St. Ebb's parish.

Dear sir, God Almighty prosper all your endeavours for the good of souls, and depend upon it in due time you will reap, and that abundantly, if you faint not. My prayers are with you. O that my body was there too, that I might make up what I have lost, under such shining examples. Do, dear sir, write me a long letter by the first opportunity. Adieu! God and his holy angels be with you.

I am

Yours, my dear brother, sincerely in Christ,

W. Chapman

My Lady Cocks and sister are now in Oxford,² and they desire their best services to you, etc., and wish you good luck in the name of the Lord.

Address: 'To / the Revd. Mr John Wesley at / Savannah in Georgia / America'.

Endorsement: by JW, 'Mr Chapman / Sept. 3 1736'.

Source: holograph; MARC, MA 1977/610/34.³

¹Orig., 'led through'.

²Lady Mary (Bethell) Cocks (1691–1764), widow of Sir Robert Cocks (1659–1726), 2nd baronet; and Bridget Bethell (1692–1768). They resided in Bath and were early converts of Whitefield.

³Abridged transcription published in *Collection* (1797), 10–11.

From Henry Newman

London
September 22, 1736

Reverend Sir,

The Reverend Mr. Archdeacon Rye of Islip¹ having lately sent a benefaction of three guineas to the Society, to be laid out in Bibles and sent to you and your brother to be disposed of in Georgia, that sum has been laid out in purchasing twenty Bibles, minion, which are packed up in a box directed to you at Savannah, and sent to the Georgia Office to be forwarded by the first opportunity. In the same box are packed up a few of the Society's books lately imported into their store, of which they desire your acceptance by, reverend sir,

Your most humble servant,

H. N.

Address: 'To the Revd Mr Wesley at Savannah in Georgia' .

Source: Newman's copies for records; Cambridge University, SPCK Archives, GBR.0012/MS
SPCK/D4/47, p. 58; and D5/7, p. 78.²

¹Rev. Dr. George Rye (c. 1676–1741), rector of Islip (1717–41), became archdeacon of Oxford in 1729 and was Regis Professor of Divinity at Oxford (1737–41).

²Transcription published in *Works*, 25:475 (cf. Jones, *Letterbooks*, 198).

From the Rev. Charles Wesley

[Boston, Massachusetts]

[October 1–6, 1736¹]

[[Dear Brother,

[[I take advantage of the deepest seriousness and best temper I have known since the fatal hour I left Oxford to lay open my very heart as I call God to witness that what I now write comes from it. You know what has passed in Georgia. The spiritual man is himself discerned by none;² therefore, and therefore only, I cannot understand ____.³ But this much I know, that among all his glorious qualities he is subject to the great infirmity of vindictiveness. The prejudices he has imbibed with regard to me are eternal. He cannot possibly look upon me as he has done, and I would not that he should. God is my witness that I choose his disesteem before his praise. Tis infinitely safer. But at the same time I own I would not increase his present prejudices. The continual abuse about my embezzling the public stores, my betraying his secrets, etc., etc., 'like drops of eating water on the marble'⁴ have left an impression which I am content should be indelible. For hereby providence saves me from his esteem and favour, a blessing for which I daily pour out my soul in thanksgiving! The snare is broken and I am delivered by the only expedient that could have saved me.⁵

[[I acknowledge Mr. ____'s tenderness for my reputation. But it is needed not. He was not more mistaken either about my fear of the Spaniards or my hopes from the traders. Tis a small thing with me to be judged of man's judgment. Setting Christianity out of the question, after having been so thought of by him, the opinion of others cannot much affect me. The bitterness of contempt is past. But when I further consider that this is the unavoidable persecution of all Christians, who must bear the reproach of Christ and suffer this persecution, I willingly submit to it; and should look upon myself as reprobate was I not to expect that treatment from which his kindness would contrive to save me.

[[I can't yet shake off my weakness with regard to him, and am ashamed to own I would not have him think me a hypocrite. I ardently desire, what presumably he can't but grant, that he would not think of me at all, and to see his face no more till we stand together before that Being who alone can

¹CW left Savannah on Monday, July 26, 1736. He was escorted by JW to Charleston, South Carolina, where he boarded the *London Galley* for England, commanded by Captain Indivine. After various misadventures, they landed at Boston, Massachusetts, on Friday, Sept. 24. The continuation of his journey was repeatedly delayed, until Monday, Oct. 25. Although CW was ill throughout this period, he was able to make contact with many Boston clergy, preach for them, and be offered at least two church livings. He also called on the Governor, visited Harvard, and enjoyed the immense contrast with the primitive living conditions in Georgia. At leisure he sought to find God's purposes for his life. His MS Journal for Oct. 1 contains this entry: 'Wrote to my brother concerning my return to Georgia, which I found myself inclined to refer wholly to God.' This surely refers to the present letter, written almost completely in shorthand (for privacy). On Oct. 5 CW added two paragraphs in Latin, and on Oct. 6 a sentence in longhand, three in Greek, and another long passage in shorthand, with insertions in Latin and Greek. The letter was then folded and addressed to his brother for delivery by messenger. It contains exhortations that JW also should learn Byrom's shorthand, and must have been translated for JW by Charles Delamotte.

²See 1 Cor. 2:15.

³CW draws a line, rather than even writing the name in shorthand. He is likely referring to James Oglethorpe in this and the following instances.

⁴Quotation from a speech by Arpasia in Act IV, scene I, of Nicholas Rowe's *Tamerlane: A Tragedy*.

⁵See Ps. 124:7.

disentangle truth from falsehood. Then, and not till then, will he know whether and how far I have been charged unjustly.

[[I sometime think how to dispose of the remainder of a wretched life. I can either live at Oxford or with my brother,⁶ who before I left England had provided for me without my asking. He will labour all he can to settle me, but I trust God will not suffer me to set up my rest there. I am offered, if I will fix here,]] £100 [[a year sterling; but this is too public. Here is noise and commendation and women. Mr. Price⁷ has likewise made provision for a minister at]] Hopkinton, [[a country town of about]] 40 [[families]] 20 [[miles distant. To the house and glebe of]] 300 [[acres he will get the Society's]] £50, [[and presses me much to accept it. — But Georgia alone can give me the solitude I sigh after. I cannot look for a long life there, but neither do I count that a blessing. Pray ask Mr. ___, who knows me better than I do myself, these]] two [[questions:

1. [[Whether he thinks me fit to be trusted with the care of souls?

2. [[Whether I could have a small village remote from any town, where I may hide myself from all business and all company?

[[I need not article for the necessities of life. These I know he will never suffer me to want. His immediate answer to this may much assist me in the temptation I am entering upon.

[[This much, if you think proper, you may transcribe]] verbatim [[and show to Mr. ____].]]

Oct. 5

Taedet me populi hujusce φιλοξένου, ita me urbanitate sua divexant et persequuntur. Non patiuntur esse solum. E rure veniunt invisentes clerici; me revertentis in rus trahunt. Cogor hanc Angliam contemplari, etiam antiqua amoeniorem; et nequeo non exclamare, 'O fortunata regio, nec muscas alens, nec crocodilos, nec delatores!' Sub fine huius Hebdomadis navem certissime conscendimus, duplicato sumptu patriam empturi. Carolinensium nemo viatica suppeditavit; et hic itidem 'Nil nisi cum pretio.' Pessime me habet quod cogor moram hanc emere, magnumque pretium digressionis solvere. Sed hoc de meo; qua propter silentium tibi impono perpetuum.

*Morbus meus, aere hoc saluberrimo semel fugatus, iterum rediit. Suadent amici omnes ut medicum consulam. Sed 'Funera non possum tam pretiosa pati.'*⁸

Oct. 6

If you are as desirous as I am of a correspondence, you must set upon Byrom's shorthand⁹ immediately. I leave my journal and other papers with Mr. Price, which he will send you if I fall short of England. 'Εκεῖνα γράφω σοι μόνω—ἀνάρρητα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Οὐδαμῶς ἐπιτρέπω ἐρμηνεύσι

⁶I.e., Samuel Wesley Jr.

⁷Rev. Roger Price was the bishop's commissary and served as rector of King's Chapel in Boston.

⁸I am wearied with these hospitable people, they so pursue me and pull me about with their civilities. They won't let me be alone. Clergy come in on visits from the country and drag me back with them when they return. I am constrained to view this England as more pleasant even than the old, and cannot help but exclaim: "O happy country, that sustains neither flies, nor crocodiles, nor informers!" About the end of this week we shall certainly go on board the ship, having to pay our passage a second time. No Carolinian had made provisions for the journey, and here too "everything has its price". I take it very badly to be compelled to purchase this delay, and then to pay a great price for my departure. But this is on my own account; wherefore I impose on you a perpetual silence.

'My illness, once put to flight by this most health-giving air, has again returned. All my friends urge me to see a physician, but "I cannot afford so expensive a funeral."

⁹John Byrom's system of shorthand was not available in published form until 1767, four years after his death. He taught it personally to an extended set of students.

Χρῆς<...¹⁰> Ἡ αὐτὸς μαθὼν¹¹ βραχυγραφίαν ἀνάγνωθι; ἡ ἐμοῦ κ<...>θέντος, εἰς πῦρ ἔμβαλε. Πιστεύω σε οὐπω καταχ<...>θαι ταύτῃ τῇ πεποιθήσει μου.¹² [[I am *amazed* you yourself did not propose Byrom's¹³ shorthand before our parting, when you know tis our only way of conversing like the needles of the two friends,¹⁴ and when *poor Charles Delamotte* does it for this very reason. Should I finish my course before I reach England, presumably your natural affection for me, added to your inclination for knowing the particulars of a strangely miserable life, may determine you—when I shall no longer be interested in wishing it. Your intercourse with me would be then cut off. But for your own sake I desire it now, and assure you, you are much concerned in getting[?] my history. The colour of your following life depends upon it: your going to the heathen, or continuance in Georgia, or return to England.

[[I have just heard what is enough to make me run mad. The officers appointed by the Judge of the Admiralty to examine]] [Captain] Indivine's [[ship, have declared by oath that 'she might have proceeded on the voyage, and there was no necessity of putting in here'—so that next we go on board with Captain]] Corney.¹⁵ [[I expect a constant account both of Oglethorpe's proceedings and yours. My namesake¹⁶ will transcribe your journal, as everything else, in shorthand. Send me that part of your journal which you supplied in Charleston, a conversation had, I think, with Oglethorpe.]]

Μηδενὶ πιστεῦε εἰ μὴ Χριστιανῶ.¹⁷ [[I have been so befouled, abused, and discredited that I can hardly believe, or expect to be believed by, anyone. My love to my only two unwavering friends in Georgia, Benjamin [Ingham] and Charles [Delamotte].]]

Address: 'IV¹⁸ / To / The Revd. Mr Wesley / in Sav[ann]a'.

Endorsement: by JW, 'C[harles] Oct. 5, 1736'.

Source: MARC, MA 1977/503, Box 5, item 6 (and photograph in DDCW 9/17c–e).¹⁹

¹⁰A small portion of the manuscript is torn from both the beginning and end of three lines of text, which cannot be reconstructed with confidence.

¹¹Orig., 'μαθείς'.

¹²This can be translated (adopting likely options for the missing text): 'These things I write to you alone—proclaimed to the ages. I would by no means allow just any interpreter to have access to it. Either you must learn to read shorthand yourself, or when I am called home, throw it in the fire. I trust that you will never misuse this confidence of mine.' CW is lamenting that some things written privately to JW have been made public (see his letter above on Mar. 27), and trying to establish a means to avoid this in the future. He writes these lines in Greek to be sure that JW can read them.

¹³The shorthand gives only the letter 'b'; Baker earlier rendered this 'beginning'.

¹⁴CW is apparently alluding to a story in Joseph Addison, *Spectator*, #241 (Dec. 6, 1711) about two separated friends who could communicate discretely at a distance by using two needles that had been touched by a special lodestone, with the result that when one needle was pointed to a letter in the alphabet the other needle (however far away) would point to the same letter.

¹⁵John Corney captained the *Hannah*, based out of Boston.

¹⁶Charles Delamotte.

¹⁷'Trust no one if not a Christian.'

¹⁸CW is likely indicating that this is the fourth letter that he has written (and is perhaps sending together in a package) since leaving Georgia.

¹⁹A transcription by Frank Baker, expanding the shorthand and translating both the Greek and Latin was published in JW, *Works*, 25:476–79. A few corrections have been adopted here.

From Count Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf¹

[Herrnhut ?]
October 23, 1736

Viro in Jesu Christo, amore mihi crucifixo
Perdilecto
Salutem dicit
Nicolaus Ludovicus Zinzendorffius
Fratrum Moravorum minister.

Perjucundae mihi fuerunt literae tuae, venerabilis Westley. Itane ad gentes abis remotissimas et Christi ignaras? Itane relictā patria amoenissima, cultissima, moratissima barbaros adis, anthropophagos maledictioni cuidam quasi obnoxios? Vale sis Angliae, salve Georgiae et incultas fove terras, iam labora, felicissimas aliquando relinque. Ignotum ferme amas me, mihimet ipsi parumper clarum, quid aliis? Amo te, immo veneror ex Spangenbergii olim, ex Davidis Nitschmanni, ex tua nunc ipsius relatione. Benedictus sis Domino Deo nostro per Benedictum. Aliquam TIBI mei rationem reddam, antequam in via pergamus ambo, indulgens anime, Deo chare. Accipe hic adiectam cum epistola ad Tomo Chichi, regem nobis vicinum, quam lingua ipsi familiari vestitam, ad manus, si fieri potest, porriges.

Dicam Deo meo, Christo cum Patre et Spiritu, Vero Deo, dicam Homini, misellorum animum probe intelligenti, experto, in pectore quondam gerenti, dicam cordicitus, einen Heldenmuth, gib dem Westley ein, durch dein Blut allein. Bene nunc habe, amice nove, cum Ecclesia J.C. mea et Hernhuthanae, sorore intima, res omnes Jesu feliciter age et prima occasione ad quaestiunculas responde familiariter, animo simplici, non enim sunt ad theologorum morem examinis factae, sed apum.

I. An Immanuelem, Messiam Eundem, omni modo cogitabili, cum Patre credis et Spiritu: 1), ad ductum baptismi in nomine Patris, Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, sine discrimine nuncupati; 2), ad probatissimum illud Trinitatis vestigium: Faciamus hominem in effigie nostrum? Homo divinus spiritum habet integrum, habet animam et corpus. Homo mortuus non nisi animam viventem in corpore, quod post animae evasionem cadaver audit, et tamen homines non sunt. Homo divinus corde gaudens, vita et machina, sed homo unus, ineffabilis res, tamen vera. Argumenta non probationis loco adiecta, sed illustrationis, ut mens mea eo clarior evadat.

II. An Messiam, Jesum, ex virgine natum (vere eundem ipsum Immanuelem, sed *Κενοῦντα ἑαυτόν*) hominem credis purem putum ab infantia usque ad resurrectionem; adeo hominem, ut finiat imperare, 1 Cor. 15, sicut incepit in utero matris obtemperare, Ebr. 2, et reddat regnum Patri, quod accepit, ad dextram scandendo; adeo hominem ut spiritu, anima, et corpore homines Dei reliquos praeceat, non excedat? Passiones ipsius veras fuisse in spiritu, anima, et corpore, obsequium eius Adami restitutioni vergens, iisdem tentationibus fuisse obnoxium, et deficiendi omnes omnimode adfuisse possibilitates, illas, queis constrictus cecidit primus parens? Attamen hunc ipsum Jesum, hominem, cum per omnes aetates profectuum, miseriarum, dolorum, luctuum, et victoriarum, requiei et gloriae grassatus fuerit circulos, et ultimum deitatis humanae attigerit culmen (usque quo reliquos fratrum extollere et poterat et voluerat) atque adeo humanis exemptus rebus, regnum Patri tradiderit, et ita Deitas sola regnum repetierit, non cessaturum; sed Verbum carne exutum per aeternitates aeternitatum sine fine mansurum Deum, cum Patre et Spiritu essentialiter inseparabilem, nisi Deitas moriatur, quod cogitatu horrendum, factu impossibile. Aeterna hic Deitas Jesu Christi scopus est, cum Patris et Spiritus Dei unitate perfecte eadem; reliqua cum modum attingant non presse teneo, cum modalitas rerum divinarum, aeternarum immense nos fugiat, et ultra probabilitatem, quae clare exscriptis non prostant, extendi posse dubitem.

III. Sanguis Jesu Christi in Passione effusus, lytrum est recuperationis humanae vitae, in eodem sensu, quo mille thaleri lytrum esse possunt Algerensis captivi, mortis poenam laturo, et cum longe distem

¹Replying to JW's overture of Mar. 15, 1736 (*Works*, 25:449–50).

a curiosa inquisitione huius mysterii, mysterium ipsum penitus adoro.

IV. Sacramentum sive mysterium communionis Christianorum corpus et sanguinem Christi, crucis non gloriae obiecta, incomprehensibiliter sed vere manducanda, et cum spiritus, animae, et corporis essentia miscenda porrigit; apud irregentos nullum est, sed illos tamen ob audaciam iudicio reddit obnoxios, cum, quid rei subsit, cognoverint; cum ignoraverint, reliquum ignorantiae vel culpa gradum non excedit. Regentos et fratres illa Paulli manet comminatio I Cor. 11, quapropter fideles ad sacram synaxim omnes admittere incivile est; illos tantum admittendos credo, qui et in genere Christi bella gerunt improbe, et in specie communionis tempore, sive distractionem sive aliam certaminis sacri intermissionem passi sunt nullam; sin minus arcendi sunt, ne illotis mysterium manibus arripiant: moestos² lugentes, pusillanimes his non adscribo, sed cura et iudicio pastorum relinquo.

V. Baptismus eodem, quo circumcisio, jure ad infantes pertinet. Aetate profectiores fidem quam credimus, amplexi sint opus est antequam, vel abluantur, vel immergantur, fidem dantes cruci et morti J.C. aeternum non intermissuram.

VI. Sententiarum et doctrinarum in unum compilado religionem facit sive civitatem religiosam; cordium in Jesum coalitio, ecclesiam. Ecclesia est triplex: *spiritualis*, invisibilis, ubi idem sentitur; *animalis*, ubi idem et sentitur et statuitur, haec partim visibilis, partim invisibilis; *corporalis*, ubi idem et sentitur et creditur et videtur, haec est visibilis et exigua.

Ministri Domini in república religiosa praecones sunt, in *invisibili* vel apostoli, vel evangelistae, in mixta *animali et rationali* doctores; in *corporali* seu locali et visibili membra, pro viribus et χαρισμάσι collocanda. Ecclesia Reformata religio est; ad invisibilem in omni terrarum orbe properant animi, mixta est, quae vel Presbyterio, vel episcopatu, vel alii favet ritui, visibilis est, e.g. coetus in Georgia fratrum.

Translation³

To a man esteemed in Jesus Christ, crucified in love for me, Nicholas Ludwig Zinzendorf, Minister of the Moravian Brethren, sends greetings.

Your letter, venerable Wesley, was very pleasing to me. So you go to the most remote nations, who know not Christ; so, having abandoned your most pleasant homeland, so refined, so moral, you approach the heathen, those cannibals who are as it were subject to some curse. Say goodbye, if you will, to England and welcome to Georgia; cherish the uncultivated fields, work now in them, leaving behind the richest. You love me dearly, though unknown; me who am but known for a little while to my own self—how to others? I love you, nay rather I honour you, first because of the account given by Spangenberg and David Nitschmann, and now by you yourself. May you be blessed by our Lord God through the Blessed One. I will give you some account of myself before we both continue on our journey, dear soul, precious to God. Please accept it added along with the letter to Tomo Chichi, the neighbouring king to us. If possible, share its contents with him in a tongue familiar to him.

Let me say to my God, to Christ, with the Father and the Spirit, let me say to the man, to the wise man who fathoms the soul of the unfortunates, and once bore it in his breast, let me say from the heart: Inspire in Wesley a heroic spirit, through thy blood alone. May you think well, my new friend, of my Church of Jesus Christ and of its dear sister the church at Herrnhut. Consider all things favourably in Jesus, and answer these little questions as soon as possible, in a friendly manner, in a frank spirit; for they are not prepared in the manner of a swarm of theologians, but of a swarm of bees.

I. Whether you believe Immanuel, the Messiah, to be the same in every conceivable way as the Father and the Spirit: 1) for the administration of baptism in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, without a distinction as to who is named; 2) for that most established trace of the Trinity, 'Let

²Orig., 'moesti'.

³The translation is by Professor Francis Newton, who commented that Zinzendorf's Latin was much poorer than that of JW's letter.

us make man in *our* image'?⁴ The divine man, to be sure, has a whole spirit, he has soul and flesh. A man who is dead has only a soul divine in the body which after the departure of the soul is called a corpse—and yet they are not men. The divine man, rejoicing in a heart, life, and bodily frame, is a simple man—an unutterable thing, yet true. Arguments, not proving, but illustrating this, are here added, so that my mind, being clearer, may deal with it.⁵

II. Whether you believe the Messiah [to be] Jesus, born of a virgin (truly himself the very Immanuel, but emptying himself), to be a perfectly pure man, from infancy to resurrection; so much a man that he should put an end to all authority, 1 Corinthians 15[:24], just as in his mother's womb he began to be obedient, Hebrews 2[:14–18], and should give back the kingdom to the Father, which he received on ascending to his right hand; so much a man that in spirit, soul, and body, he might be first among the remaining men of God, not that he might transcend them absolutely? [Do you believe] that there were true passions in his spirit, soul, and body, his obedience tending toward the restitution of Adam; that he was liable to the same temptations, and that all sorts of possibilities of failing were open to him, those by which the first parent was overcome and fell? And yet [do you believe] that this same Jesus, as a man, in all his different ages, traversed the orbits of the successes, miseries, afflictions, sorrows, and victories, rest, and glory, and reached the highest summit of human deity (to the end that he thus both could and would lift up the rest of his brethren); and so much exempt from human things [that] he delivered up the kingdom to the Father, and so deity alone reclaimed the kingdom, a kingdom that shall have no end; but that the Word, stripped of the flesh, will remain as God throughout all eternity, essentially inseparable from the Father and the Spirit, unless God were to die—which is dreadful to contemplate, and in fact impossible? Here the essential point is the eternal deity of Jesus Christ; in every way the same with the unity of the Father and the Spirit. I do not hold other matters so firmly, when they approach the outer limits [of our knowledge], since the modality of divine and eternal things far exceeds our grasp, and I doubt that the things which are not clear from Scripture can be extended beyond probability.

III. The blood of Jesus Christ, poured out in his passion, is the sacrificial offering for the restoration of human life in the same sense in which a thousand thalers might be the ransom for an Algerian captive under sentence of death; and I am so far from entering any idle investigation into this mystery that inwardly I reverence the very mystery itself.

IV. The sacrament, or the mystery of the communion of Christians, offers the body and blood of Christ, the objects not of glory but of the cross, to be eaten incomprehensibly, yet truly, and to be mixed with the essence of spirit, soul, and body. It is of no effect among the unregenerate, it makes them subject to judgment for their boldness, since they knew the underlying reality; even though they might be ignorant, what ignorance or guilt remained in them did not go beyond a certain degree; and that warning of Paul's in 1 Corinthians 11[:29] applies to the regenerate and brethren, wherefore it is unreasonable to admit all the faithful to the holy gathering. I believe that those only should be admitted who are generally indomitable soldiers of Christ, and who specifically on that occasion of communion are neither distracted nor interrupted in their holy struggle; otherwise they are to be held back, lest they lay hold of the mystery with unclean hands. I do not include among them the afflicted, the mourners, the fainthearted, but leave these to the care and judgment of their pastors.

V. Baptism pertains to infants, by that same law as did circumcision. Those more advanced in years must have embraced the faith which we believe before they may be either sprinkled or immersed, making a pledge that will never be revoked to the cross and death of Jesus Christ.

VI. The gathering together of judgments and doctrines into one compilation makes religion or the religious community; the gathering of hearts in Jesus Christ makes the Church. The Church is threefold: *spiritual* and invisible, where the same thing is felt; *animate*, where the same thing is felt and

⁴Gen. 1:26.

⁵One of several footnotes added to the MS appears at this point: 'The arguments he omits, and errs in the peculiar individual concept.'

determined—and this is partly visible, partly invisible; *corporeal*, where the same thing is both felt and believed and seen—this is visible and narrowly limited. The ministers of the Lord in the religious commonwealth are heralds; in the invisible commonwealth they are either apostles or evangelists; in the mixed animate and reasoning commonwealth they are called doctors; in the corporeal or local and visible commonwealth they are called members, to be placed according to their strength and spiritual gifts. The Reformed Church is a religion. The invisible church is that to which in every region of the earth souls hasten; but the mixed is that which prefers either the Presbyterian form or the Episcopalian form or some other form; the visible one is like the assembly of the [Moravian] brethren in Georgia.

Source: holograph; Herrnhut, Germany, Unitätsarchiv der Evangelischen Brüder-Unität, R.13.A.17.2.⁶

⁶The Moravian Archives at Herrnhut possess this document in three forms: 1) an incomplete draft in the hand of Zinzendorf; 2) a copy by an unknown amanuensis, seemingly closer to the original, and including the Greek; 3) a copy by another amanuensis, with the Greek transliterated, the introduction of normal scribal abbreviations, and the addition at the end of ‘descript.’, which apparently implies ‘descriptio’, or transcription. The transcription published in *Works*, 25:479–83 (and reproduced here) follows copy #2, without noting the variants introduced both by Zinzendorf and his amanuenses. For both checking the Latin manuscripts and for the final translation of the text given above we are indebted to Professor Francis Newton.

From the Rev. Charles Wesley

Boston [Massachusetts]
Friday, [October 15–25, 1736]

Dear Brother,

If I ever see England, it will be by that time this reaches you.

My poor friend¹ here has not yet convinced me of your hypocrisy, but I take for granted you have still a disinterested concern for my happiness. I should be glad for your sake to give a satisfactory account of myself, but that you must never expect from me. They have dragged me at last to a physician, whose prescriptions I have followed hitherto without effect. But he cannot answer for their success unless I could stay a few days on shore, which is impracticable.

Tis fine talking while we have youth and health on our side, but sickness would spoil your marooning as well as mine. I am now glad of a warm bed, but must quickly betake myself to my board again וגם זה לטובה.²

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

... the temptations past
No more shall vex me; every grief I feel
Shortens the destined number; every pulse
Beats a sharp moment of the pain away,
And the last stroke will come. By swift degrees
Time sweeps me off, and I shall soon arrive
At life's sweet period: O celestial point
That ends this mortal story!³

Today completes my three weeks' unnecessary stay at Boston. Tomorrow the ship falls down. I am just now much worse than ever, but nothing less than death shall hinder my embarking. Mr. [James] Oglethorpe, I know, will gladly excuse my writing. I should write to my two other Georgia friends,⁴ would pain permit. Don't forget poor Laserre.⁵

[Monday,] Oct. 18. A blast attends all that belongs to me. The ship that carries *me must* meet with endless delays. Tis well if it sails this week.

I have lived so long in honours and indulgences that I have almost forgot whereunto I am called, being strongly urged to set up my rest here. But I will lean no longer upon men. When I again put myself in the power of any of my own merciless species, by either expecting their kindness or desiring their esteem, 'Ανελθέτω Φρεδερείκη!⁶

¹Peter Appee, a native of Holland who had met the Wesley brothers in Georgia, and was accompanying CW back from Georgia to England.

²'And also this is to the good'.

³Cf. Isaac Watts, 'To Sarissa', lines 41–48, *Horae Lyricae* (1709), 176.

⁴Benjamin Ingham and Charles Delamotte.

⁵William Laserre, whom CW met in Charleston, South Carolina; see MS Journal, Aug. 2, 1736.

⁶'Let Frederica come up!' i.e., as a warning.

I must mention an unhappy man to you, Mr. John Checkley,⁷ and *valeat quantum valere potest*.⁸ By the strictest inquiry of friends and enemies I find he has been throughout his life persecuted, only not to death, by the spirit of presbytery. It has reduced him and his family to the last extremity. He has excellent natural parts, much solid learning, and true primitive piety. Is acquainted with the power, and therefore holds fast the form, of godliness.⁹ Obstinate as was my father in good, and like him, not to be borne down by evil: κάλος στρατιώτης; ἄοκνος θεοδρόμος; ἄκμων τυπτόμενος.¹⁰ Mr. Oglethorpe himself does not better understand nor is more beloved by the Indians than he. He is activity itself, made *for abstinence* and hardships. But for his family he had *taken a walk* ere now to see Mr. Oglethorpe. He has studied America as much as most men in it. I carry recommendations of him to the Bishop of London, who was formerly frightened by his pretended Jacobitism from admitting him into Holy Orders, to which he has for above these 20 years devoted himself. He understands surveying and fortification, on which and 1,000 other accounts I thought he might be of great use in Georgia, but could not venture proposing it [to] him without first obtaining Mr. Oglethorpe's directions. Should I die in the passage, you are at liberty to give him anything that was mine. My sole heir and executor at Tiverton,¹¹ I am sure will consent to it.

[Peter] Appee, like an errant gentleman as he is, has drawn me into monstrous expenses for ship stores, etc. So that what with my three weeks' stay at Charleston, my month's stay here, and my double passage, from courtier I am turned philosopher. But this I absolutely forbid your mentioning to Mr. _____¹² except in the above case of my death, then add to the burden my 'life laid down in his service', and let him judge on whose side is the balance!

Oct. 21. I am worried on all sides by my friends' solicitations to defer my winter's voyage till I have recovered a little strength. So far I agree with them and the physicians that to go in my condition is running upon certain death. If my pains have any intermission, the walking up or down stairs, or the speaking three sentences, brings them back again. Mr. _____, I am apt to think, would allow me to wait a fortnight for the next ship. But then if I recover my stay will be thought unnecessary. I must die to prove myself sick, and I can do no more at sea. I am therefore determined to be carried on board tomorrow morning and leave the event to God.

Oct. 25. The ship fell down as was expected, but providence sent a contrary wind that hindered my following till now. Since the 21st I have tried the virtue of vomits, purges, bleeding, and opiates. I am at present something better, on board the *Hannah*, Captain [John] Corney, in the stateroom, which they have forced upon me. I have not strength for more.

Adieu!

Address: 'To / The Revd. Mr Wesley / at Savannah in / Georgia'.

Endorsement: by JW, 'C[harles] Oct. 25, 1736'.

Source: holograph; MARC, DDCW 1/8.¹³

⁷John Checkley (1680–1754). Cf. *The Speech of Mr John Checkley, upon his trial at Boston in New England* ... (London: J. Applebee, 1738). CW spells 'Chicheley'.

⁸'Let it be valued as it is worth' or 'Take it for what its worth'.

⁹Cf. 2 Tim. 3:5.

¹⁰'A good soldier' (2 Tim. 2:3); 'a resolute messenger of God'; 'a beaten anvil' (Ignatius, *Epistle to Polycarp*, 3:1).

¹¹His brother Samuel Wesley, Jr.

¹²Likely James Oglethorpe again.

¹³Transcription published in *Works*, 25:483–85.

From Henry Newman

London
March 2, 1736/7

Reverend Sir,

I received your letter of the 7th of September last¹ by Mr. [Philip] Von Reck, who with his brother arrived here in December, and after a short indisposition, having recovered their health, returned to their friends in Germany in January.

The Society desire your acceptance of a small packet sent in the Missionaries parcel B. G. No. 4 by this ship.² I shall be glad to hear of any success you and Mr. [Benjamin] Ingham have in your conferences with the Indians, and to understand that they are more tractable to instruction in Christianity than they used to be in New England. Mr. [James] Oglethorpe is well, and will I hope be able to see you again this summer, to perfect the establishment he has taken so much pains to encourage.

I have not yet seen your brother [Charles] since his return, though I should be glad of it, which I attribute to the death of your and his good friend, Sir John Philipps, the beginning of January last,³ and presume he has never been this way since.

Mr. [Samuel] Quincy is in the country, somewhere in Suffolk, and I hear enjoys his health much better than he did in Georgia.

May you never want it, for the good use you make of it, is the wish of the Society as well as, reverend sir,

Your etc., etc.,

H. N[ewman]

Address: 'To the Revd. Mr. John Wesley at Savannah in Georgia'.

Source: Newman's copies for records; Cambridge University, SPCK Archives, GBR.0012/MS
SPCK/D4/48, pp. 18–19; and D5/7, pp. 96–97.⁴

¹The letter does not survive, but Newman recorded this summary in the SPCK records on Dec. 7: 'John Wesley at Savannah in Georgia, 7 Sept., that his brother's return to England has thrown all the care of his flock upon him; that the heat is nothing there to what he expected, and that the country is very fruitful, but not without industry.'

²'B. G. No. 4' surely designates the fourth parcel to the Salzburgers Bolzius and Gronau.

³Sir John died Jan. 5, 1737, aged 76, and was succeeded by his son, Sir Erasmus Philipps (1699–1743).

⁴Transcription published in *Works*, 25:495–96 (cf. Jones, *Letterbooks*, 204).

From the Rev. George Whitefield

London
March 17, 1737

Reverend Sir,

Though I have had thoughts of going to Georgia for above these seven months, yet I never resolved till I received your kind letter;¹ and ever since, blessed be God, they have and still will I trust continue strong.

I am now in London. My intention in coming hither was to wait on the trustees² and the bishop; and both, I believe, will approve of my going. We are not likely to sail till July. Your brother intends returning with me, and I hope God will sanctify our voyage. I hear of no one yet like minded, though there is some hopes, I believe, of your seeing Mr. [Westley] Hall. God direct him for the best!

Next week or the week after I go to Bath, in order to preach a public sermon for the poor Americans. God has inclined the hearts of his people to give me above £200 already in private charities, and more, I hope, will be collected still. Μετζίονα οψείς.³

Innumerable are the blessings our good God has poured on me since I saw you last, and remarkably set his blessed seal to my ministry in England; which encourages me to hope he will likewise do so in Georgia.

I suppose your brother has informed you, reverend sir, how matters stand at Oxon, and therefore I need only add that I believe there will be a remnant of pious students left in the university, which will take root downwards, and bear fruit upwards.

I could say a great deal more, and write to dear Mr. [Benjamin] Ingham, but I knew not that the ship was to go tomorrow, and the trustees have engaged me to dine with them; so must beg leave to subscribe myself, with my earnest prayers for all your success in every undertaking, reverend sir,

Your dutiful son and servant in 〈Christ⁴〉,

George Whitefield

P. S. I salute dear Mr. Ingham and [Charles] Delamotte, whom I desire to love in the bowels of Jesus Christ.

Address: 'To / the Revrd. Mr. John / Wesly minister / at / Savannah'.

Endorsement: by JW, 'Mr Whitfield March 17 / 1737'.

Source: holograph; MARC, MA 1977/484.⁵

¹Whitefield may be referring to JW's letter of Sept. 10, 1736 (*Works*, 25:471–73), which, arriving in Dec., marked a turning-point in his career. The next letter recorded as sent in JW's diary was on Feb. 16; there is just barely time for this to have arrived.

²Of the Georgia Colony.

³'Grand prospects.'

⁴A small portion is torn away by the wax seal.

⁵Abridged transcription (following Tyerman) published in *Works*, 25:498–99.

From the Rev. George Whitefield

Gloucester
April 15, 1737

Reverend Sir,

I hope you received my last by Captain Dymond.¹ Mrs. [Elizabeth] Hutton writes me word a ship sails in a fortnight; what hinders that I should not embrace this opportunity of sending you a line? You see, reverend sir, where I am. Providence led me hither, but God gave me such great success when I was here last that the clergymen combined to use me as I deserve—viz., to thrust me out of their synagogues. O that I may humbly rejoice in being made in the least degree conformable to my great exemplar Jesus Christ. Licence was granted to preach at Bath in order for a public collection for the Americans, but the late news which has been spread abroad, that the Spaniards have or will take Georgia, I fear will make that design impracticable. You cannot do better, reverend sir, than send an exact account of the civil as well as religious affairs of the country you now are placed in, for most I apply to for charity inquire chiefly about the former; but I hope to see you before I receive a letter.

You talk of Mr. [James] Oglethorpe going about June or July. Your brother and I, God willing, go with him too. Methinks I long for the time to come. What business have I now in England? But God's time is the best. I hope likewise a second Delamotte² will come with us, one who seems to be wonderfully stirred up to leave all and follow Christ. He is to be schoolmaster at Frederica. Surely there will some good come out of Georgia. Many excellent texts have been powerfully applied to my heart, and amidst the late news I found in myself not the least inclination to draw back. The good Lord keep me steadfast and unmovable unto the end.

I have had about a week of your brother's company, though with little conversation, through the hurry of business. I hope next time we meet it will be better. He is somewhere in Gloucestershire at present, I believe, but where I cannot exactly tell.³ *Floret Oxoniae Evangelium*.⁴ Friends are numerous and zealous for the most part. Nor is Gloucester without many disciples of Christ, though alas too many of the outward stamp. I have several things to say, but cannot write them now. May God strengthen my resolution, and give me a good voyage. I doubt not but your company, instructions, and communications will afford great satisfaction to, reverend sir,

Your obedient and very humble servant,

GW

P. S. It's to be doubted whether Mr. [Westley] Hall will not come with us. The collection, I believe, will still be made in Bath.

Address: 'To / The Revrd. Mr. Wesly / at Savannah to be left / at Mr. Hutton's in College / street / Westminster'.

Source: holograph; MARC, MA 1977/610/133.⁵

¹Orig., 'Diamond'; George Dymond was Captain of the *Peter and James*.

²I.e., that William Delamotte would come to join Charles Delamotte, who was already there.

³CW was visiting in Stanton, Gloucestershire and the surrounding area.

⁴'May the gospel of Oxford flourish!'

⁵Transcription published in *Works*, 25:505–06. Whitefield writes in longhand, with several abbreviations and symbols like those used by JW at the time. He also makes no paragraph breaks in the letter, to save space.

From Benjamin Martyn¹

Georgia Office [Westminster]
June 15, 1737

Sir,

The Rev. Mr. [John] Burton has this day laid before the Trustees a letter from you to them dated Savannah, March 4th, 1737,² wherein you express a concern that they should receive an accusation of your embezzling any part of their goods, and likewise a desire to know the name of your accuser.

The Trustees have ordered me to assure you that they are very much surprised at any apprehension you have of such accusation being brought before them. No complaint of any kind has been laid before them relating to you. They have never as a board, nor any of them privately, heard of one, nor have they the least suspicion of any ground for one. They would not (if they had received any), form a judgment of you without acquainting you with the accusation, and the name of your accuser. At the same time they believe you'll think it reasonable to let them know who has informed you that any such accusation has been brought before them, and that for the future you will only regard what may be sent to you from them, and that you will not believe nor listen to any private informations, or any insinuations that must make you uneasy, and may lead you to distrust the justice of the Trustees, and the regard they have for you.

The Trustees are very sensible of the great importance of the work you are engaged in, and they hope God will prosper the undertaking and support you in it, for they have much at heart, not only the success of the colony in general, but the promotion of piety amongst the people, as well as the conversion of the Indians. They are very glad to find that Mr. [Thomas] Causton has seconded your endeavours to suppress vice and immorality, and that a reformation gains ground, as you observe it does.

I am, sir,

Your most obedient servant,

Benj. Martyn, Secretary

P. S. The Trustees will take into consideration your application to them in favour of Robert Hows, and have a regard to it.³

Endorsement: by JW, 'The Trustees L[ette]r, / June 17 [sic], 1737, / fully acquitting me'.

Source: holograph; MARC, MA 1977/610/63.⁴

¹Benjamin Martyn (1699–1763) was appointed Secretary to the Georgia Trustees at their third council, on Aug. 3, 1732, and on the same occasion the Trustees ordered the publication of his *Reasons for establishing the Colony of Georgia* (1733). Martyn was a man of many parts, however, chiefly responsible for erecting the monument to Shakespeare in Westminster Abbey, and collaborating with Alexander Pope in a tragedy, *Timoleon*, staged at Drury Lane. In 1741 he published *An Impartial Enquiry into the State and Utility of the Province of Georgia*.

²See *Works*, 25:496–98.

³The postscript is in reply to JW's letter of Mar. 31, 1737 (*Works*, 25:504–05). At the Common Council of July 6, 1737, reports the Earl of Egmont, 'We ordered that the house of one Hows, who officiates at Savannah as Parish Clerk, being burnt down, the same in consideration of his services should be rebuilt at the Trustees' charge, out of the money appropriated for religious uses.' *Diary of Viscount Percival, afterwards First Earl of Egmont*, 3 vols. (London: Historical Manuscripts Commission, 1920–23), 2:418.

⁴Transcription published in *Works*, 25:507.

From the Rev. John Burton

Georgia Office [Westminster]
June 15 [1737]

Dear Sir,

I communicated your letter to the board this morning.¹ 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 Vice-Provost of Eton has given you ten pounds, for your private use and doing works of charity; I have desired Mr. [James] Oglethorpe to convey this to you in a private way. Mr. [George] 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 labour for the best. In good time matters will bear a better face. God strengthen your hands, and give efficacy to your honest endeavours. 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 Egmont² gives his respects and kind wishes, and begs you not to be discouraged.

Source: published transcription; Whitehead, *Life*, 2:35–36.³

¹Referring to JW's letter of Mar. 4, 1737, *Works*, 25:496–98. See also the preceding letter.

²John Perceval or Percival (1683–1748), a vigorous supporter of Oglethorpe's project from the outset, was appointed the first President of the Trustees. His diary, journal, and other voluminous papers furnish a rich source of information about the venture. He was created Earl of Egmont in 1733.

³Republished in *Works*, 25:508.

From Baron Philipp Georg Friedrich von Reck

The Windhausen [Saxony, Germany]
June 28–July 9, 1737

Dear Reverend Sir,

I am with my brother¹ so much penetrated with a true thankfulness for all the goodness you bestowed upon us in Savannah, that we never cease to pray to God (who said that whosoever shall give to drink unto one of these little ones a cup of water only in the name of a disciple, verily he shall in no wise lose his reward) to fulfil this promise, having received so a great many benefits from you and my dear [Charles] Delamotte, though we are the most unworthy servants of our Saviour, and to fortify you with Spirit in the work of the Lord.

You know we went away very weak and sick. We recovered a little at sea, and arrived after a great many tempestuous weather, and dangers through the Bristol Channel into the English, and so further at London safe and very well received by the Honourable Trustees, and Society.² All false imputations were dispersed, and it pleased God to set everything in the most favourable light. We escaped a great storm in the North Sea, and recovered from a great many (sickn)esses who befell us in our native country. I received some instructions to engage more people for Georgia, and to return to England and Georgia in this month, but finding none at present I don't know if the Honourable Trustees intend to dispose of me any further.

I saw a short extract of your journal translated into the German tongue,³ and I have begun to translate Mr. Law's books. If it should please God to open you a door amongst the Indians and heathen Christians I heartily desire you to write me the great works of God in Georgia, that we may assist you in Germany with our prayers and fortunes. Your letters will come to my hands by the way of Mr. [Henry] Newman.

Pray how go the Salzburgers on in their spiritual and temporal welfare? How the good Herrenhutiens?⁴ Mr. [Benjamin] Ingham, Mr. Delamotte, and Mr. Doelsche find here my hearty salutations from me and my brother.

Let us all strive to enter in at the strait gate. Let us pass through this world as strangers and pilgrims with a heavenly mind. Let us fight not as one that beateth the air, that we may obtain an incorruptible crown in heaven and meet us together in joy and everlasting peace at the right hand of our dear saviour Jesus Christ; in whose protection you recommending, I am with true love and sincerity, dear reverend sir,

Your humble servant,

P v[on] Reck

Pray to send the enclosed to Mr. [Johann] Bolzius.

Address: 'To / The Reverend Mr / John Wesley / at / Savannah'.

Endorsement: by JW, 'Mr Von Reck / Jun 28, 737. / Thank[ing] m[e]'.

Source: holograph; MARC, MA 1977/610/112.⁵

¹Von Reck's younger brother accompanied him when bringing the third party of Salzburgers in Mar. 1736. On Oct. 15, 1736, both brothers returned to Germany, disillusioned and ill.

²Trustees of the Georgia Colony; and the SPCK, who sponsored the Salzburgers.

³This is JW's manuscript journal, shared with several supporters, that von Reck translated.

⁴That is, the German Moravians that had settled in the Georgia Colony.

⁵Transcription published in *Works*, 25:510–11.

From Henry Newman

London
July 19, 1737

Reverend Sir,

I cannot forward the enclosed from Sir Erasmus Philipps without thanking you for your letter to the Society of the 30th March last,¹ and letting you know their concern for the difficulties you meet with.

Mr. [James] Oglethorpe, being appointed to General of His Majesty's Forces in South Carolina and Georgia, is preparing to return thither, by whom I expect orders of the Society to trouble you with a fuller answer. This takes its chance by the way of Charlestown, with desires that you may be assured that I am, reverend sir,

Your most humble servant,

Henry Newman

Address: 'To the Revd. Mr. John Wesley at Savannah in Georgia'.

Source: Newman's copies for records; Cambridge University, SPCK Archives, GBR.0012/MS SPCK/D4/48, p. 51; and D5/7, p. 101.²

¹The letter was actually dated Mar. 31, 1737; cf. *Works*, 25:504–05.

²Transcription published in *Works*, 25:513–14 (cf. Jones, *Letterbooks*, 207–08).

From the Rev. Samuel Wesley Jr.

[Tiverton]
[c. July 19, 1737]

... I am sorry you are disappointed in one match, because you are very unlikely to find another.

Source: published extract; Whitehead, *Life*, 2:30.¹

¹The letter is not known to survive. Whitehead extracts this response to JW's account of the rupture in his relationship with Sophy Hopkey.

From Thomas Causton¹

Savannah [Georgia]
August 10, 1737

Sir,

I have heard of a difference between you and Mr. William Williamson touching matters which (I am informed by the magistrates) you say are ecclesiastical.

As there is no ecclesiastical court in this province;

To preserve the character of Mrs. Sophia Williamson my niece, who has received her education by my means;

To prevent the bad effects your behaviour in this case may have on the minds of ill-disposed people, who doubtless will be glad to embrace such an opportunity as this appears to be;

To prevent all manner of misunderstanding whatever, and for the sake of yourself, religion, and justice; I desire that you would meet me at four of the clock in the courthouse, and in the presence of all Christians (who think it proper to be there) make known the reasons why you refused the sacrament of the Lord's Supper to my said niece, to the intent that the differences may be rightly understood, and if not accommodated, a case may be agreed upon to be laid before the Trustees.

As this, sir, is sincerely offered upon the principles of a Christian in a private capacity, and with a just regard to the friendship which has, till this affair, subsisted between us, I hope I need not doubt your concurrence, and am, sir,

Your humble servant,

T. Causton

P. S. If the time fixed does not suit you, be pleased to appoint your own.

Source: JW's ms. copy; MARC, MA 1977/157, JW IV.2, , §62, pp. 34–35.²

¹On Aug. 7 JW repelled Sophia (Hopkey) Williamson, whom he had formerly courted, from communion, and was arrested on Aug. 8. (For background see *Works*, 25: 490, 512–13.) The same manuscript in which Wesley preserved this letter introduced it thus: 'The next day Mr. Jones (who had before told Mr. Coates in the fullness of his heart, "Mr. Causton is at the bottom of all this; but he will be seen in it as little as possible") brought me the following letter from him.' Wesley continued:

[§]63. On this letter I must observe,

First, that I was surprised at the civility of it, till Mr. Causton informed me he had sent it to the Trustees, and that he wrote it with that design.

Secondly, that I never received from Mr. Causton any proposal of accommodation before or besides this.

Thirdly, that there is gross prevarication in the very first words of it, 'I have heard of a difference ...'.

Fourthly, that the same artful disingenuity runs through the whole, particularly in talking of 'the bad effects of my behaviour'; whereas my behaviour this whole week was to sit still, to be quiet, and mind my own business, speaking to few persons at all, to fewer upon this affair, and enlarging upon it to none.

Lastly, that the whole and sole crime which is here charged upon me, as causing a breach in that friendship between Mr. Causton and me, which himself here testifies 'subsisted till this affair', is 'the refusing the sacrament of the Lord's Supper to Mr. Causton's niece'.

²Transcription published in *Works*, 25:516–17.

From the Rev. Alexander Garden¹

[Charleston, South Carolina]
[c. September 1737]

I am much concerned at some reports and papers concerning you from Georgia. The papers contain some affidavits made against you by one Mrs. [Sophy (Hopkey)] 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 *praemunire*.² 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 where-with to oppose the reports industriously spread here to your disadvantage.³ Meantime I remain

Your most obedient humble servant,

A. Garden⁴

Source: published transcription; Whitehead, *Life*, 2:43.⁵

¹Alexander Garden (c. 1685–1756), a Scotsman, emigrated to Charleston, South Carolina in 1719, to become rector of St. Philip's Church. From 1726–48 he was also the ranking clergyman in the south, as Commissary to the Bishop of London. A majority of the grand jury (mainly men depending upon Causton for their livelihood) found two presentments 'true bills' on Aug. 23, and a further eight on Aug. 31, but a minority forwarded the reasons for their dissent to the Trustees. When Wesley eventually left for England he carried with him a letter from Garden to the bishop, presenting a sympathetic outline of the events which had forced Wesley's resignation, and describing the presentments as 'all either impertinent, false, or frivolous' (Dec. 22, 1737; see *South Carolina Historical Magazine*, Oct. 1977).

²The offense under English law of appealing to or obeying a foreign court or authority, thus challenging the supremacy of the Crown.

³See Garden's subsequent letter to the Bishop of London on Oct. 22, 1737 below.

⁴Orig., 'S. Garden'; a misprint.

⁵Republished in *Works*, 25:519–20.

From Henry Newman

London
October 10, 1737

Reverend Sir,

I received your favour of the 11th of June last,¹ by which the Society were glad to hear of your welfare, notwithstanding the discouragement you meet with on the part of the heathen in your neighbourhood and the province you are engaged in.

I shall acquaint Mr. Archdeacon [George] Rye of your thankful acceptances of his benefaction.

As to the circumstances of good Sir John Philipps' death which you inquire after: He had dined the 5th January last with some of his dear friends, who were always welcome to his table, and they had left him about half an hour when, his sons being gone out, his servants below stairs hearing a noise in the dining-room, they immediately run up to see what was the matter, and found him fallen from his chair, with his head against one of the legs of the table, upon which he seems to have expired in a moment, without fetching one breath, or given one groan. For though a surgeon and apothecary were immediately sent for, they could not get one drop of blood from several veins which I saw opened in his arm, temples, and among the jugular veins.

This was just such an exit as I believe Sir John himself would have chose, who had the happiness of an habitual preparation for death. To leave the world without the anxieties of a lingering sickness, and the agonies that usually attend the separation of soul and body, is a privilege every good man is not to expect.

May it please God to fit us for our departure from this frail state, though it should happen to be in a manner as sudden (resembling a translation) as the instance I have given. And that you may be instrumental in bringing many to salvation by Jesus Christ, is the sincere wish of, reverend sir,

Your most humble servant,

Henry Newman

Sir Erasmus Philipps is gone to Montpellier for his health. All your friends of the Society are well. Your brother will inform you of Mr. Oglethorpe's preparations, and when he intends to set out for Georgia, with a regiment which the king has given him.

Address: 'To the Revd. Mr. John Wesley at Savannah in Georgia'.

Source: Newman's copies for records; Cambridge University, SPCK Archives, GBR.0012/MS

SPCK/D4/48, pp. 76–77; and D5/7, 106–07.²

¹This letter is not known to survive.

²Transcription published in *Works*, 25:520–21 (cf. Jones, *Letterbooks*, 212).

From the Rev. Benjamin Ingham

Ossett [Yorkshire¹]
October 19, 1737

Dear Brother,

By your silence one would suspect that you was offended at my last letter.² Am I your enemy because I tell you the truth? But perhaps I was too severe. Forgive me, then. However, I am sure that by soaring too high in your own imaginations you have had a great downfall in your spiritual progress. Be lowly, therefore, in your own eyes; humble yourself before the Lord, and he will lift you up. I do assure you it is out of pure love, and with concern, that I write. I earnestly wish your soul's welfare. O pray for mine also. The Lord preserve you.

Could not you, think you, live upon the income of your fellowship? If you can, do. The Trustees are indeed very willing to support you, and they take it ill that anybody should say you have been too expensive. But the Bishop of London (as I have heard) and some others have been offended at your expenses. Not indeed altogether without reason, because you declared at your leaving England that you should want scarce anything.

I just give you these hints. Pray for direction, and then act as you judge best.

Charles [Wesley] is so reserved I know little about him. He neither writes to me, nor comes to see me. What he intends is best known to himself. Mr. [James] Hutton's family go on exceeding well. Your friend Mr. [William] Wogan (I heard) either has or is about publishing a book to prove that everyone baptized with water is regenerate.³ All friends at Oxford go on well. Mr. [Charles] Kinchin, Mr. [John] Hutchin[g]s, Mr. [Henry] Washington, Bell,⁴ [John] Sarney, [James] Hervey, [Robert] Watson, are all zealous. Mr. Atkinson labours under severe trials in Westmorland,⁵ but is steady and sincere, and an excellent Christian. Dick Smith is weak, yet not utterly gone.⁶ Mr. [John] Robson and Greive⁷ are but indifferent. The latter is married to a widow, and teaches school at Northampton. Mr. Thompson of Queen's has declared his resolution of following Christ.⁸ He writ me this ode, which he enclosed in a

¹Ingham had returned to England in Mar. 1737, and the native Americans among whom he was working in Georgia became restive with the colonists.

²Neither the date nor content of this earlier letter are known, beyond what can be gathered from present letter.

³No such book was published at this time.

⁴Richard Bell, a watch-case maker of Vine Court, Bishopsgate Street, who was active early in the Fetter Lane Society and sided with the Moravians in the split. See Benham, *Hutton*, 89.

⁵Christopher Atkinson (1713–74), of Windermere, Westmorland, matriculated at Queen's College, Oxford in 1732, receiving his BA in Feb. 1736. He had apparently returned home to minister in his community. In 1741 he became school master of the charity school in Ledsham, Yorkshire; and from 1744 served as vicar first in Womersley then in Thorpe Arch, Yorkshire. See *Alumni Oxonienses*; *CCed*; and Tyerman, *Oxford Methodists*, 371–73.

⁶Richard Smith (b. 1714), of Christ Church.

⁷Thomas Greive (b. 1711) of Norham, was one of JW's students, who matriculated at Lincoln College in Oct. 1730, received his BA in 1734, and was ordained in Sept. 1735 by the Bishop of Oxford. The name on his ordination certificate was 'Greivis'; Ingham spells it 'Grieves'.

⁸William Thompson (c. 1713–66), of Brough, Westmorland, matriculated at Queen's College, Oxford in 1731, receiving his BA in 1735 and MA in 1739, upon which he became a Fellow at Queen's. In 1753 he was made rector of Hampton Poyle with South Weston, Oxfordshire, where he served till his death. While Thompson's Oxford Methodist sympathies were short lived, his labors in poetry continued,

sermon on the new birth which I lent him to read, referring to the words of the text, 'If any man be in Christ, he is a new creature. Old things are passed away. Behold, all things are become new!' (2 Cor. 5:17).

- [1] I strung my lyre; when love appear'd,
Demanding a lascivious lay:
Christ! I began — the trifler heard,
And shook his wings, and *passed away*.
- 2 The strings rebellious to my hand,
Refus'd to speak — In vain I sue.
The lyre was mute to my demand,
I broke the *old*, and formed a *new*.
- 3 Christ! I began — The well-pleas'd lyre
Responsive swell'd with notes divine,
And warm'd me with seraphic fire.
— Sweet Jesus, I am only thine.
- 4 O wake to life this springing grace,
And water with thy heavenly dew!
Display the glories of thy face,
My spirit and my heart *renew*.
- 5 My friend, whose pious pain unfold
These truths, receive this tribute due.
He who *endured* my *muse of old*,
Deserves the *first fruits of the new*.
William Thompson

Remember me to William Wallis, Mark Hird and the family [of Samuel] Davison, Mrs. Gilbert, Mears, Mr. [James] Campbell, Mr. [James] and Mrs. [Margaret] Burnside, Mr. [William] and Mrs. [Sophy (Hopkey)] Williamson.⁹
Yours in Christ,

B. Ingham

Address: 'To / The Revd. Mr John Wesley / at Savannah in / Georgia'.

Endorsement: by JW, 'b[rother] Ingham / Oct. 19, 1737'.

Source: holograph; MARC, MA 1977/610/86.¹⁰

resulting in *Poems on Several Occasions* (Oxford, [1757]), where the following ode appears (enlarged and with some small changes) on pp. 191–92.

⁹Residents of Savannah or Frederica in Georgia.

¹⁰Transcription published in *Works*, 25:521–22.

From the Rev. Dr. Timothy Cutler¹

Boston [Massachusetts]
October 22, 1737

Reverend Sir,

It is now some time ago that I had the pleasure of your letter dated July 23.² Therein you hint your answer to my first letter, but nothing of my acknowledging the receipt of it, so that I fear my second letter (by whom sent I forget) hath totally miscarried.

I am sorry, sir, for the clouds hanging over your mind respecting your undertaking and situation, but hope God will give an 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 labour; 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 labours, our judgment is with 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, preserved, or increasing in the hearts of men; at present perhaps like a grain of mustard seed, that in God's time may put forth, 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 temptations.

I rejoice in the good character which, I believe, you well bestow on Mr. [George] Whitefield, coming to you, and desire you would tender to him my compliments and best wishes, as also to your reverend and worthy brother [CW]. But I question not but his labours will better be 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 commend myself to a share in your prayers for his pardon, acceptance, and assistance; and beg that my family, particularly a dear son, now curate to the Dean of Bocking in Essex,³ may not be forgotten by you. I am, reverend sir,

Your most affectionate, humble servant,

Tim.θ Cutler

Endorsement: by JW, '1737 Oct. 22 / Dr. Cutler'.

Source: holograph; MARC, MA 1977/610/47.⁴

¹Timothy Cutler (1684–1765) a graduate of Harvard, was rector at Yale from 1719–22, when he was dismissed due to growing doubts about the authenticity of Congregational orders. He visited England for a year, where he was ordained into the Church of England and received a D.D. degree from both Oxford and Cambridge. He then returned to Boston and was named rector of the newly formed Christ Church, Boston (now known also as 'Old North Church'), where he served until his death. When CW came through Boston in Sept. 1736, Cutler received him warmly and invited him to preach in his church.

²See *Works*, 25:515.

³John Cutler (1713–71), accompanied CW to England in Oct. 1736, and was ordained deacon by the Bishop of London in Dec. He would serve as vicar of Cressing from 1750 to his death.

⁴Transcription published in *Works*, 25:522–23.

Rev. Alexander Garden to Bishop Edmund Gibson¹

Charlestown, South Carolina
October 22, 1737

My Lord,

I have received the honour of your Lordship's letter of the 10th of August last, and shall punctually observe the directions of it in all matters wherein the honourable Society² are concerned. And indeed, it is what I have always hitherto done, and particularly in the affair of Mr. Morritt.³ I sent them the same account of it, and at the same time, as I did your Lordship; together with Mr. Morritt's letter declining this mission to the parish of Christ Church, and the vestry's letter of that parish requesting another missionary. All which I hope (as I sent duplicates also) have been received and communicated to the honourable Board; though neither the parish nor I have yet received any answer from them. Your Lordship will be so good as to make some enquiry whether the said letters be received, and to assist that unhappy parish in obtaining another missionary. They purpose to repeat their humble request to the Society that they would be pleased to consider their present case arising from their misfortune, not their fault.

Your Lordship will receive this at the hands of Mr. John Wesley, missionary in the new colony of Georgia, who returns home to answer to some complaints sent against him to your Lordship and the Trustees by some persons there. This sudden event indeed surprises me, for no one could be more approved, better liked, or better reported of by all the people of Georgia than this very gentleman was. Till lately, that he presumed to repel the chief magistrate's niece from the holy Communion, which has brought down such a storm of resentment upon him as I wish he may be well able to weather.

The chief magistrate is now his enemy; and so, of course, he is quite naught—a setter forth of strange doctrine, a Jesuit, a spiritual tyrant, a mover of sedition, etc. A grand jury is summoned (two-thirds of it having their daily bread from the store, or in effect the chief magistrate's hand, who has the sole direction of the store) and they make the following presentments: They present John Wesley, clerk,

For not having sufficiently declared himself of the Church of England since he arrived there.

For refusing to christen otherwise than by dipping (except as in the rubric excepted).

For saying that he was ordinary in Georgia.

For refusing to bury an Anabaptist (when he was at 100 miles distance and knew nothing of the matter).

For reading the litany at 6:00, and not at 10:00, on litany-days.

But above all, for repelling Mrs. [Sophy (Hopkey)] Williamson (the chief magistrate's niece) from the holy Communion; and for speaking and writing to her (on matters, he assures me, of his duty as her pastor) contrary to the commands of her husband.

And all these they present the said John Wesley for, as severally contrary to the peace of our Sovereign Lord the King, his crown and dignity.

The main stress or burden or the whole lies in the last presentment (the others being rather by way of apparatus, or to accumulate the accusation). And chiefly on the latter part—viz., for speaking and

¹While this letter is not addressed to JW, the bulk of it relates to the charges leveled against JW in Georgia, and it constitutes the testimony on JW's behalf that Garden offered in his letter of Sept. 1737 above.

²Gibson was the chair of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

³Thomas Morritt (c. 1691–1740), a graduate of Peterhouse, Cambridge, was ordained a priest in 1718, and sent as an S.P.G. missionary to South Carolina in 1723. He served the Christ Church parish in Charleston 1735–37.

writing to Mrs. Williamson contrary to the commands of her husband; insinuating as if Mr. Wesley endeavoured to seduce the said Mrs. Williamson from her husband, and which the said Mrs. Williamson in her affidavit seems also to insinuate. This is the main point of accusation, and against which, considering the affidavit of the party, the accused must naturally be reduced to some distress in making his defence.

I shall not presume, my Lord, to form any positive judgment on the case, which without a judicial enquiry and hearing all that both parties can offer would be rash and unjust to do. But if I may offer my present sentiments upon it, from the best information I have yet received about it, I cannot but say that as to the particulars relating to Mrs. Williamson, however Mr. Wesley may not be acquitted of some imprudence and unguarded conduct, yet I verily believe him innocent of anything criminal, either in fact or intention. And as to the other matters, they are all either impertinent, false, or frivolous.

This gentleman has met with full as hard usage as did his predecessor, Mr. Quincy. And it will be a pity if any more clergymen be sent thither till your Lordship's jurisdiction be first regularly extended to that colony, that they may not be obliged to cross the seas on every complaint made against them.

I humbly crave your Lordship's blessing and am, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most dutiful and obedient, humble servant,

A. Garden

Source: manuscript copy for records; Lambeth Palace, Fulham Papers (FP 1-40), volume X, 48–49.⁴

⁴An earlier transcription of this letter was published in *Methodist History* 9.4 (July 1971): 24–25.

From Harman Verelst⁵

Georgia Office, Westminster
December 14, 1737

Sir,

Agreeable to the Trustees' resolution communicated to you by Mr. Martyn's letter of the 15th of June last,⁶ that they would never form any judgment of you on any complaint whatsoever without first acquainting you with the accusation and the name of your accuser, I have by the Trustees' order enclosed you a copy of a letter they lately received from Mr. William Williamson at Savannah, and an affidavit made by his wife, which relates to you—to make answer to.⁷ And the Trustees hope that you will be able to justify yourself, having in the meantime suspended their judgment until they receive your answer, that they may consider the complaint and answer at the same time.

I am, sir,

Your most obedient servant,

Harman Verelst, Accountant

Address: 'To the Revd. Mr. John Wesley at Savannah'.

Source: Verelst's ms copy for records; National Archives, CO 5/667, f. 50d.

⁵Harman Verelst was appointed accountant or treasurer to the Georgia Office at the fifth meeting of the Trustees, Aug. 5, 1732. He also served as secretary of Dr. Bray's Associates, in which capacity mainly he sent books to Wesley. His work in both offices was at first voluntary, for he also held a position at the Custom House, but from 1736 he received (like Martyn, the Secretary) £150 a year; see Trevor R. Reese, *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 39 (1955): 348–52.

⁶See above.

⁷The complaint revolved around JW refusing, on Aug. 7, 1737, to serve communion to Sophy (Hopkey) Williamson, whom he had courted prior to her marriage to Williamson. For background see *Works*, 25: 490, 512–13.

From [Mrs. Elizabeth Fallowfield?]¹

Savannah [Georgia]
December 27 [1737]

Sir,

How shall I return you sufficient thanks for your good advice, or enough regret the loss of such a friend, since I need never hope to see you here again. No, you have met with too much ingratitude from a thoughtless, wicked people, who knew not the value of that blessing heaven had lent them. May it still continue to preserve you from all attempts their malice can invent, and guard you from all danger of the sea. Let not the remembrance of their baseness make you forget those few that still retain a grateful sense of your care and kindness amongst us. Should heaven once more grant me the happiness of seeing your return, methinks I should ask no more this world could give. So great is the happiness of a friend on whom one may depend, and from whose advice if carefully observed cannot fail of giving peace and rest to the distressed and afflicted mind. May Almighty God aid and strengthen me to pursue those methods you direct, and earnestly endeavour to decline the bad effects of too careless an example. O may the Almighty Power change his heart,² and make me happy in him. Cease not to pray for me, that divine Providence may preserve and defend me from all sin, and if not happy here, yet hereafter. May heaven grant you health and success in all your undertakings is [the] earnest desires and constant prayers of, sir,

Your obliged, humble <...³>

[on back] Sir, let me hear from you when you can conveniently.

Source: holograph; MARC, MA 1977/503, Box 4, item 12.⁴

¹A portion of the letter containing the signature is missing, rendering certainty about its author impossible. A nineteenth-century copy of the letter at Drew attributes it to Mrs. Fallowfield, and we know from JW's diary that he wrote Mrs. Fallowfield at least once on June 28, 1740, so this seems a plausible attribution. John Fallowfield was a freeholder of Savannah who had arrived in 1734. In 1735 he married and was made 'Collector' by the Trustees, and in 1739 a bailiff. He became the leader of the 'clamorous malcontents' who petitioned the Trustees for more self-government by the settlers, was discharged from office by the Trustees in 1741, and in 1742 left Georgia with his family. His wife Elizabeth was likely the person described by JW in his *Journal* for May 25, 1737, as 'a convert to the Church of Rome' who was convinced she should return to the Church of England.

²Apparently her husband is intended, as in the 'too careless an example' of the preceding sentence.

³Remainder missing.

⁴The letter is characterized by very poor penmanship and spelling, and no punctuation. This more polished transcription was published in *Works*, 25:523–24.

From the Rev. Charles Wesley¹

College Street [London]

January 2, 1737/8

Dear Brother,

From my soul I congratulate you upon your late glorious treatment. Nor do I less envy you it. Tis *now* that you begin to be a disciple of Christ. I have just read over the returned papers without any emotion but that of joy. Had I even resolved to have set up my rest here, your present trial would have broke my resolution and forced me back to America, to partake with you in your sufferings for the gospel. Such you may most assuredly reckon what you now labour under (I should rather say, what you now rejoice and glory in). For it is not the mixture of infirmity that can prevent God's accepting them as endured for his sake. If you have the testimony of a good conscience, your sufferings are interpretatively *his*, and human wisdom can never dispute you out of it. We know that worldly and even partially good men, the strangers as well as the enemies to the cross of Christ, observing some failings in God's children ascribe the whole of their persecutions to *those only*. The scandal of the cross with them is ceased, the reproach of Christ no longer subsists, the contrariety betwixt his light and [the] darkness, betwixt his Spirit and the spirit of the world, is at an end; and our conformity to our persecuted master is all resolved into *want of prudence*. In vain do we press them with the plain words of Scripture: 'All that will live godly in Christ Jesus *shall suffer persecution*';² 'The disciple is not above his master';³ 'If they have persecuted me, they *will also persecute you*';⁴ and a thousand others. Experience only can convince them that the sense of these Scriptures is literal and eternal. But this I need not tell you. You *know* the absolute impossibility of being inwardly conformed to *Christ* without this outward conformity, this badge of discipleship, these marks of Christ. You marvel not, as if some new thing had happened unto you,⁵ but rejoice in tribulation, as knowing that hereunto you are called, and can only be made perfect through these sufferings.

These are the trials that must fit you for the heathen, and you shall suffer greater things than these! When your name is *by all* cast out as evil, and 'it is not fit for such a fellow to live';⁶ when you cannot live among them, but are driven out from your own countrymen; *then* is your time for turning to the Gentiles.

That time may still be at a great distance. As yet the bridle is in their mouths, and all the arrows they shoot out are bitter words. But stay till those words are credited and seconded by actions; till he that letteth, letteth no longer,⁷ but the whole storm burst upon you, and the fiery trial commences—and then will be shown how you have learned Christ, and whether you are chosen to teach him to the heathen.

You remember the case of *Athanasius contra mundum*.⁸ The charge brought against *him* was worth bringing: treason, adultery, and murder, at once. I wonder no more is said against *you*. The devil himself could not wish for fitter instruments than those he actuates and inspires in Georgia. Whatever he will suggest, they will both say and swear to. But things are not yet ripe on your part. You have but begun

¹CW is replying to a letter of JW written about Oct. 7, 1736; which has not survived.

²2 Tim. 3:12.

³Matt. 10:24; Luke 6:40.

⁴John 15:20.

⁵See 1 Pet. 4:12.

⁶Cf. Acts 22:22.

⁷See 2 Thess. 2:7.

⁸'Athanasius against the world', a proverbial phrase arising from the titles of several of his writings, especially those attacking the Arians.

the lesson of meekness and gentleness and love. And God in pity of your weakness has sent you a fellow-labourer and fellow-sufferer.⁹ He comes συζῆν καὶ συνασθανεῖν;¹⁰ and here are many more who long to be partakers with you in the sufferings of the gospel. I too would be of the number, and shall follow, in sure and certain expectation of your treatment. The fiery furnace, I trust, shall purify me. And if emptied of myself I would defy the world and the devil to hurt me. We would then join in turning the war against them, and make them fear us.

You have as great reason to depend upon the Trustees' justice as you can have upon any men. As to all the other charges, they judge it wholly impertinent in the wise accusers to bring them. The affidavit being concerning a fact, you must answer to it, and then pray for reparation. We will pursue this matter to the utmost, in the name of God and the spirit of meekness. Meantime your comfort is that noble passage in Kempis, which I have just opened upon:

Pro amore Dei debes omnia libenter subire, labores scilicet et dolores, tentationes, vexationes, anxietates, necessitates, infirmitates, injurias, oblocutiones, reprehensiones, humiliationes, confusiones, correctiones, et despectiones.

Hac juvant ad virtutem; haec probant Christi tyronem; haec fabricant caelestam coronam.

*Ego reddam mercedem aeternam pro brevi labore, et infinitam gloriam pro transitoria confusione.*¹¹

Gravesend, January 3

I am here with George Whitefield, my brothers [Westley] Hall and [James] Hutton, and a long et cetera of zealous friends. God has poured out his Spirit upon them, so that the whole nation is in an uproar. Tell dearest Charles [Delamotte] we dined in our way at (Blen)don, where we found his sisters, brother Will, and mother exceedingly zealous for the Lord of hosts.¹² Will has raised a party for God at Cambridge. They are already stigmatized for 'Methodists'. We see all about us in an amazing ferment. Surely Christianity is once more lifting up its head. O that I might feel its renovating spirit, and be thereby qualified to diffuse it among others! I trust you pray without ceasing for me. I long to break loose, to be devoted to God, to be in Christ a *new creature*!

Brethren, pray for us,

Charles Wesley
Westley Hall
George Whitefield
James Hutton
Isaac Burton
John Hutchings
John Bray

⁹George Whitefield, whom the group was seeing off on his first voyage to America.

¹⁰'To live and die'; see 2 Cor. 7:3.

¹¹*De Imitatio Christi*, III.xxxv.2, translated in JW's edition, *The Christian's Pattern* (1735), based on Dr. John Worthington's of 1677:

Thou oughtest for the love of God willingly to undergo all things, even labours, griefs, temptations, vexations, anxieties, necessities, infirmities, injuries, detractions, reproaches, humblings, shame, corrections, and contempts.

These help to virtue; these try a young soldier of Christ; these make the heavenly crown.

I will give an everlasting reward for a short labour, and infinite glory for transitory shame.

¹²Mrs. Elizabeth (Whickham) Delamotte (1685–1771), William Delamotte (1718–43), and at least two of his three sisters: Elizabeth (1710–80), Esther (1712–79), and Mary (b. 1729).

John Doble
Jephthah Harris
James Habersham¹³

Address: 'To / The Revd. Mr J. Wesley / Minister of Savannah' and 'p[er] Whitacre / Capt[ai]n Whiting¹⁴
/ Q. D. S.'.

Endorsements: by JW, 'C[h]arles Jan. 2, 1737/8 / a[n]swere[d] by com[ing]'; and 'Jan.–Dec. / rev[ise]d
Dec. 13, 1751'.¹⁵

Source: holograph; MARC, DDCW 1/9.¹⁶

¹³All of the signatures were added personally, in one column.; and CW has added in shorthand to the right of the group of names [[and families]].

¹⁴Captain Robert Whiting, of the ship *Whitaker*.

¹⁵The second endorsement shows that JW was working through a set of old letters in 1751, organizing them.

¹⁶Transcription published in *Works*, 25:524–26.

From James Hutton

[London]

January 3, 1737[/38]

Dear Sir,

I have now opened a [book]shop, and am entering myself into a new world; you will suit your prayers accordingly. I too bear part in the reproach of Christ, I hope, as I do not sell plays, and as the London and Oxon Methodists come to my house and sing psalms audibly, against the peace and quiet of the neighbourhood. I am stigmatized as mad, Presbyterian, fanatic, but I bless God I mind not the foolish words of simple men. I pray they may be converted. I am just at Temple Bar, amidst the fiery darts of the devil. Your brother has been of great help to me. So has Mr. [Westley] Hall, and Mr. [George] Whitefield. My kindest love attends Charles Delamotte. I rejoice in what God has done for his family. I congratulate you on your sufferings, and almost wish you the glorious red crown of martyrdom. I must conclude,

Your servant,

James Hutton

Source: holograph; MARC, DDCW 1/9 (appended to CW's letter above).¹

¹Transcription published in *Works*, 25:526.

From the Rev. John Gambold¹

[Stanton Harcourt, Oxfordshire]

January 27, 1737/8

Dear Sir,

The point you mention has long been a difficulty to me; of which I could find no end but that general solution of all doubts, and cure of all anxieties, resignation to eternal Providence. Can I then offer at a more particular solution now? No. But I will let you see that I (and doubtless many more) labour under that same perplexity, which will incline one to believe that as God has a fire of grace to cleanse us from our common pollutions so he has also a light in reserve (and the needs of so many strongly call for it) that would give a comfortable turn to our common speculations. O what is regeneration? And what doeth baptism? How shall we reconcile faith and fact? Is Christianity become effete, and sunk again into the bosom of nature? Was the short triumph of it over flesh and blood designed as the standing enjoyment or standing humiliation of succeeding ages? Was the church to condemn the world as God does, in order to meet and embrace it at last? What advantage would a deist make of the present appearance of things? He would say that when the gospel, by setting up some particular institutions, made a separation from natural religion, it was only a economical enmity—the new dispensation did operate upon the old as plasters do on the body, which when they have spent their strength in expelling its diseases drop off and leave it sound, clean, and beautiful. That the distance it stood in from it was only a means to correct the prejudices and manage the affections of mankind, and as these ends were served Christianity and natural religion were to come closer. That the former was to lose its name in the latter when its whole light was kindled up—when the grace of a redeemer, the inward touches of divine power, and the obligations of penance and self-denial, which were received for a while as extraneous appendages to natural religion were found to be involved in the very bowels of it. That the restitution of all things is the time when they shall fully be reconciled., when nature and grace shall be at their height, and the perfection of both be the same thing. That this conclusion seems to be nigh us in the present age when evangelical and moral virtue, which formerly stood in points so remote from each other, are so near falling into coincident lines that men have much ado to make any distinction that will hold in fact.

But to come to the point. That regeneration is the beginning of a life which is not fully enjoyed but in another world we all know. But how much of it may be enjoyed at present? What degrees of it does the experience of mankind encourage us to expect? And by what symptoms shall we know it? Let us consult our observation as to the gradual progress of a religious life. At first men are solicited with strong convictions of conscience. The pain of these and the sensible pleasures they feel as rewarding their acts of duty is their bypass to religion, while an overwhelming admiration of divine things and a view to the issues of eternity checks their natural boldness and levity, at once abases and enlarges the understanding, and from the anguish of hope and fear produces zeal. Then having reformed all crying disorders, and being prompt and expert in all exercises of devotion, there is less matter for vehement remorse or fear, and the peace and congratulation of conscience hereupon being comfort sufficient, the more transporting flashes of joy are withdrawn. And thus the man having no religious passions, and being in war with corrupt passions, acquaints himself with the measures, motives and fitness of virtues, and acts them in the strength of rational consideration. Here he labours long and seems perhaps to have overcome all his vicious inclinations (unless some one may show itself, more to his secret confusion and pain than guilt), being always in a posture of religious care, severity of thought, and habitual regularity of life. But then he

¹John Gambold (1711–71) matriculated at Christ Church, Oxford in 1726, receiving his BA in 1730 and MA in 1734. From 1730 he was active in the Oxford Methodists with JW and CW. Ordained in 1733, Gambold was appointed vicar of Stanton Harcourt, Oxfordshire and continued to support the Methodist cause at Oxford. This letter reflects the beginnings of growing distance between Gambold and the Wesley brothers. In 1742 he resigned his living as an Anglican priest, to pastor a Moravian congregation, and in 1754 he was consecrated a bishop in that tradition.

complains of a general lukewarmness. His intercourse with God is not enlivened with any particular successes, tender affections, or noble discoveries. For this he is much afflicted, yet in the multitude of his thoughts within him there is a good hope towards God at the bottom, which becomes more explicit by listening to the gospel. The redemption through Christ drops the balm into his soul, and he scruples not now to confess that his religious actions were but formal and worthless. Yet through gratitude to his Saviour, and joy in him, he is more ready than ever to continue the practice of them. Yet he frequently falls into faintings and desolations. He is chiefly troubled at the opposition which self-love and pride make to the Spirit of Christ within him. These make him unfaithful in the happy moments of grace, and infest him continually in his weaker intervals; yea, he can trace them through every action of his life, and begins to see the depth and extent of his depravity. Hereupon he keeps himself in constant recollection, to watch and resist it. He rejoices that, upon applying to God, a temptation vanishes. Yet very often it dwells so obstinately on his mind that his thoughts are shut up within the circle of their own folly and baseness, and he can only send groanings that cannot be uttered after the divine gift he once enjoyed. That gift however returns, and sometimes continues so long together that he is able to form some idea of a spiritual life, of the purity and long-suffering, the humility and charity, the magnanimity and singleness of heart that are suitable for one in whom the Holy Spirit dwells. His desire insensibly sets him on work to secure these dispositions, which follow upon his wish; for the soul no sooner conceives the temper it would be in, but the body (being taught that obsequiousness by the strong recollection lately used, which suspends, clarifies, and determines the animal spirits) immediately furnishes the sensation, air, and whole energy of that temper. These smooth and ready emotions of virtue (which seem to give a man a more real and genuine possession of it than ever) do also encourage the mind to launch out in sublime theories, wherein it is much assisted by the repose and security it enjoys toward God, and by the delicate philosophical joy overflowing all the faculties, which raises the imagination to greater magnificence and sagacity. Here the grand system of providence, and all its various dispensations—the correspondence of heaven and earth, of time and eternity; the gaiety and mournings of nature, and the greatness and abjectness of man; the saving mystery of human life, and the saving mystery of Christianity inserted into it—all these are inquired into, not out of vain curiosity but at the instigation of love, to salute the divine goodness in all its works. This is the meridian of the religious man. His notions and his virtues are at the height, in their full clearness and fervour; the love of holiness shines through him and unites under it all the movements of nature; it commands and pierces all that converse with him. All after this is (to the eye of man) a decline and a fall—but a decline by a regular appointed path, and a fall into the arms of secret and infinite mercy. I need not explain to you what I mean, so I will shut up the description.

Now where in all these stages shall we place our regeneration? And what shall we say it is? There is reason to think that we have no more real goodness (except experience) in one of these states than another, in the last than the first.² We only fill our minds with new sets of ideas and by a temporary force drive our constitution into something that seems answerable to them. Let this force cease and we are the same as before. When we are in the most plausible posture of virtue, let us but sleep upon it, or otherwise remit the contention of the mind, and it is no more; affection gives place to nature. But you will say the operation of grace is a real thing. It is so. But for all the indications we commonly go by to prove the peculiar presence of it, it may be nowhere or everywhere to be found. Most people measure it by the relish they have for some particular schemes and draughts of religion. Little do they think that the persons whom they most condemn as unspiritual and deluded, abating for what is merely accidental, are in the same state of heart as themselves. It may be the same complexional turn of the soul (God also speaking peace to it, and to every man in his own language) that makes the mystic happy in his quietness, the solifidian in his imputed righteousness, and the moral man in a good conscience. Nay, perhaps what many a man calls divine love and joy in the Holy Ghost has nothing in it beyond the alacrity of youth or good blood in other people, but a set of phrases and notions from the last book he read, which has given a

²This is the point at which the emerging difference between Gambold and JW can be seen. JW will want to affirm a growing 'conformity to the divine nature' in proper Christian life.

determination to that natural vision and sweetness of temper that was indifferent to any other issue or exercise.

I do not doubt but there is goodness in mankind, and a goodness of God's inspiring too. But I believe it more evenly distributed among them, and less annexed to particular ways of thinking and behaviour. Nay, that it is not annexed even to Christianity (though it does essentially depend on Christ the universal redeemer), but that as it was in being before this particular institution, so it might be attained if the instituting rite should happen to be wanting. Yet this rite must always be used for the same reason that it was first appointed, to be a memorial to mankind of what is continually done for them in their hearts. Therefore it was attended with such extraordinary effects at first, that by their manifestations of the divine life the reality of it might be firmly believed and depended on in succeeding times, as well as sacramentally acknowledged. The same [extraordinary effects] would still continue if we had more faith in and zeal for the Christian institution. For according as men believe and expect, God does unto them. But at present he seems to have let the church drop into the world, and does not so much distinguish some from the rest in righteousness and salvation. Whether this be a right state of things, I cannot tell. But it seems unavoidable when everyone that is born is of course a member of the church. If the safety and tolerable piety of whole nations is thereby better provided for, the exemplariness and instruction of an elect city set upon a hill ceases. It seems to be the order of providence now that none should have much holiness, that all may have a little.

Dear sir, I have given no particular answer to your questions, but I have said something hastily—perhaps very wrong, but I know to whom. Miss [Kezia] Wesley gives her love,³ and would have written, but she is somewhat indisposed.

Your affectionate brother and servant,

JG

Source: holograph; MARC, MA 1977/610/65; a very long letter, with no address sheet.⁴

³Following the death of their father, Gambold had agreed to a request of CW to invite Kezia Wesley to live at the Stanton Harcourt rectory.

⁴An excerpt published in *Works*, 25:527.

From the Rev. George Whitefield

Downs¹
February 1, 1738

Reverend and Dear Sir,

I received the news of your arrival (blessed be God) with the utmost composure, and sent a servant immediately on shore to wait on you, but found you was gone. Since that your kind letter has reached me.² But I think many reasons may be urged against my coming to London. For, first, I cannot be hid if I came there, and the enemies of the Lord will think I am turning back, and so blaspheme that Holy Name wherewith I am called. Secondly, I cannot leave the flock committed to my care on shipboard; and perhaps while I am at London the ship may sail. Thirdly, I see no cause for not going forwards to Georgia. Your coming rather confirms (as far as I can hitherto see) than disannuls my call. It is not fit the colony should be left without a shepherd. And though they are a stiff-necked and rebellious people, yet as God hath given me the affections of all where I have been yet, why should I despair of finding his divine presence in a foreign land? For these reasons, reverend and dear sir, I should rather think it more advisable for you either to come to Deal immediately, or send me an account of things as you shall judge most proper, *sed scotius prius eligo: Nil mihi rescribas, attamen ipse veni*.³

Whether I am right or not God only knows. However, this is my comfort, to the best of my knowledge I simply desire to do the divine will. And therefore I spread your letter before the Lord in prayer, and asked for direction, but as yet find no inclination in myself, or intimation from Providence, to follow you to London. I rather dread it, and reflect on the prophet who went back contrary to the divine command at the solicitations of the other prophet, and was slain by a lion in the way.⁴ God forbid I should compare you to a false prophet; but you know it is no uncommon thing for our blessed Master to try us even by servants of his own. O dear sir, I should rejoice to see you if God shall think fit. If you commend me to God and the word of his grace, and pray that I may be always ready, *nudus nudum [Christum] sequi*,⁵ and follow the Captain of my salvation, though it be through a sea of blood.

I throw myself blindfold into the hands of God. His strength will be made perfect in my weakness. And, I trust, I shall be made more than conqueror through him that made me.

Reverend sir, I rejoice that you are once more come to your native shore; and am, I trust, sincerely, reverend sir,

Your most affectionate son and servant,

George Whitefield

P. S. Pray salute all in my name.

Address: 'To the Rev. John Wesley in London'.

Source: published transcription; *Collection* (1797), 16–17.⁶

¹A sheltered anchorage in the English Channel, off the east coast of Kent, near Deal.

²This was simply a brief note written about the same day; see *Works*, 25:527–28.

³'But Scotius before I choose, write nothing back to me, rather come yourself.' The original transcription as 'reseribar' for 'rescribas'; almost certainly a mistake. The word 'scotius' may also be a transcription error.

⁴See 1 Kings 13:23.

⁵'Naked to follow a naked Christ', the ideal of St. Francis of Assisi.

⁶Abridged reprint in *Works*, 25:528–29.

From John Hutchings

Pembroke College [Oxford]
February 6, 1737/8

Reverend and Dear Sir,

Twas [a] matter of no small joy for me to hear of your arrival in England last night from Mr. [John] Sarney. And I here beg leave to salute and welcome you so far. I bless God for his merciful preservation of you from the innumerable dangers you have already escaped. And I hope I shall have cause next to praise him for preserving you from those perils which lie between you and us. Oxford wants extremely some pious man in orders at present. God has formerly set his seal to your labours of love in this place, and I hope he will be pleased to bless your endeavours yet more to the good of many; especially of, reverend sir,

Your humble servant and much obliged friend,

J. Hutchings

Address: 'For / the Revd. Mr. John Wesley / at Mr. Huttons / in College Street / Westminster'.

Endorsement: by JW, 'Feb. 6. 1737/8 / Hutchings'.

Source: holograph; MARC, MA 1977/610/77.

From William Delamotte

Cath[arine's] Hall [Cambridge]
February 18, 1738

Dear Sir,

The favour of your kind letter¹ is as unexpected as the arrival, though I equally rejoice in both. I cannot help inquiring of my dear brother's² welfare, as Joseph after his father: Is he well? Is he yet alive?³ O happy youth! Were I but like him! But alas, there is a great gulf between us, there is a great chasm to be filled up—almost the whole war of nature and grace. How many battles of the Lord hath he fought; how few have I. How frequently hath he been more than conqueror through Christ that loved him; how seldom I. Seldom, yes—I have spoken right, so very seldom that I am ashamed of my cowardice. And yet the Lord continues to bless me, not only with his grace but in daily raising me up friends to assist me in the use of it. But I know not how it is; their good admonitions, their industrious care, proves unsuccessful, and I am stunted in my growth. I know your good brother [CW] demands no other return from me for his vigilant pains, his incessant endeavours to root me in the Lord, than my application to nourish what he plants, but I cannot prevail with my heart to make even this acknowledgment.

'Am I willing to drink of the cup of reproach, and to be baptized with his baptism?'⁴ My heart inwardly answers in the affirmative and seems almost angry that her steadiness should be called in question. But put her to the trial and her intrinsic worth appears—she is backward to evoke what she promised, as she was forward to promise what she would evoke. A breath of reproach shows her strength to be only in imagination, and the first vigorous attack discerns her [void] even of that. I will therefore answer, 'I know not.' But I will endeavour. And that it may not be fruitless, I hope you will not cease to petition the Lord to pour forth his Spirit upon me.

I am,

Yours in Christ,

William Delamotte

My service to all our friends.

Endorsement: by JW, 'W. Del. / Feb. 18. 1738'.⁵

Source: holograph; MARC, WCB, D6/1/208.

¹This letter is not known to survive.

²Charles Delamotte, who had accompanied JW to Georgia.

³See Gen. 45:3.

⁴Cf. Matt. 20:22 and parallels.

⁵Written in left margin of sheet.

From Charles Delamotte

Savannah [Georgia]
February 23, 1737[8]

Oh my dear brother, how greatly do I long after you in the bowels of Jesus Christ! What God hath done for us in your absence I trust will be a comfort to you and all the brethren.

For six weeks we went on in the spirit of slumber, and even poor William had left off most of the means of grace. But hath God forgotten to be gracious? No! for when things were desperate, then the Almighty laid to his hand, and let the enemy loose upon us, who with scorpions hath united us together, and against all opposition do now join with one heart and one voice in morning and evening prayers. Some who were hirelings are gone out from amongst us (Mrs. Cross, Mrs. Ann, Mr. Grant), and others who never have had any sense of their duty are become zealous advocates for the Lord God of Hosts.

Oh, if you did but know how much one or more of you were wanting here, I am sure you would not delay coming one minute. Let not then a soldier of Jesus Christ tarry to provide gold or silver or scrip for their journey, for the disciple must be as his Master, and the servant as his Lord.

Mr. [Thomas] Causton still continues the same man, only more angry than before. I went one day to him about the children, and immediately he sent for the other magistrates, who after treating me with some scurrilous language, in form they forbade me ever to have any more prayers at my house, etc., adding that my teaching the children was a scandalous thing, who out of pretence of doing good I only made it a cloak to inquire into everybody's private affairs, and that he would write to the Trustees and have me removed. This, I bless God, quickened me much, and I resolved, through Christ strengthening me, to persevere with all my might, being strongly possessed at the same time that unless I watched over my own wicked heart very narrowly I should be puffed up, and fall through pride.

I have not obeyed Mr. Causton's authority in this, which has made him publicly declare he would put out all his strength to break the neck of our meeting together, and accordingly took all opportunities of speaking separately to each member; first by fair promises, saying, if they would not meet here they should want for nothing; and if this had no effect he then threatened to present me for a public nuisance, and to show them no favour; but blessed be God, all to no purpose. In particular poor Mr. [Robert] How[s], whom he told, I believe, 'Mr. How[s], you have a good design in going there, not being acquainted with their bad designs; but I would not advise you to run yourself into any danger, for you are a principal man', and many other things to the same effect, which he summed up, saying, 'It signifies nothing parlaying; all I mean is this, that if you don't set the psalm they will break up by degrees'; upon which Mr. How[s] told him he knew we had no bad intention, but a good one, and while he had health and opportunity he must do what he thought was his duty, let the consequence be what it would. This so enraged Mr. Causton that it made him ready to kick Mr. How[s] out of doors.

About a fortnight ago there went a great cry through the streets, 'News concerning the saints', that now there was a proof of the horrid proceedings of that monster Wesley and his crew—Mr. [James] Campbell had committed adultery with Mrs. Mears, and had made confession, and received absolution from you. 'What need have we of further proof of his being a Roman priest, and all his followers Roman Catholics?' This made Mr. Causton consider after his usual way that here something might be made out, and accordingly sent for Mrs. Cross and Mrs. Ann, who presently made a second Sophy's affidavit¹ of two sheets of paper full of the horrid lies and nonsense that ever were put together. 'First, that all present were sworn with the Bible ^(²...) secrecy, that both parties acknowledged they had laid together several times at Highgate, at the Cowpen, and at his house, and then goes on to describe the manner she put her legs and his manner of acting very obscenely, and after they had done they greeted each other

¹I.e., a second affidavit like that made by Sophy (Hopkey) Williamson.

²'Bible' ends the last line of a full fold-page; only half of the second folded page remains, so several lines of text are missing.

with a holy kiss, and sang a Psalm. It speaks then particularly of the posture we all sat in at the time of confession, Mr. B— upon the stairs, hanging down his head, Mrs. Gilbert clapping her daughter upon the back and saying, Speak up, Betty, never fear, when it is out there is an end of it, etc., and much more nonsense of the same import. Now human means are not to be despised, therefore being met together we all judged it necessary to send the enclosed certificate, that if you should be charged with Mrs. Ann's affidavit you might have something to prove it false.

Yesterday I was presented to the Grand Jury by Mr. Causton for a breaker of the law, and raising parties; but agreeable to our present weakness the whole jury made a jest of it, and said it was nothing but spite and malice against Mr. Wesley. This usage must not be expected always, else would the cross of Christ cease, which is the only support we have to keep life in us. O pray mightily for us all, but more especially for me, that the new cloth of the glorious gospel may not be put into the old garment of [a] wicked unregenerate heart, that being truly mortified to all the pleasures of sense I may be very zealous to every good word and work, from

Your dutiful son in Christ,

Chas Delamotte

P. S. I am poor and in debt, and my not knowing at one meal where I shall get the next is a great help to thankfulness.

Address portion missing.

Endorsement: by JW, 'C D, Feb. 23, 1737'.³

Source: holograph; MARC, MA 1977/610/51.⁴

³Written upside down on bottom of the second page.

⁴Transcription published in *Works*, 25:529–31.

From the Rev. Walter Chapman

Bath [Somerset]
February 27, 1737/8

My Dear Friend,

So I take the liberty of calling you, though your silence to my last letter gives me too much reason to suspect the justice of my claim to that endearing appellation. If I should be so happy as to conjecture wrong, and a hurry of business, and variety of engagements have hindered me as yet from that pleasure, snatch the first opportunity after the receipt of this of writing to your friend.

I should be glad to know how you have left affairs at Georgia? When you propose returning? And what was the cause of your sudden and unexpected coming? I ask this last because I have heard variety of reasons assigned for it. Why is Charles so obstinately silent? Something extraordinary surely must be in the way to make him act so contrary to his nature.

God, I humbly trust, blesses my endeavours in his service greatly, and that I may every day grow a fitter instrument to be thus employed, your prayers are earnestly requested by, dear sir,

Your affectionate friend in Christ,

W. Chapman

My love and service to Charles [Wesley], Mr. [Thomas] Broughton, and all other friends.

Endorsement: by JW, 'Mr. Chapman / Feb. 27'.¹

Source: holograph; MARC WCB, D6/1/218.²

¹Written in top left margin of page.

²Transcription published in *Works*, 25:531.

From the Rev. James Hervey

Stoke Abbey [Devonshire]

March 21, 1738

Reverend and Honoured Sir,

How agreeably surprising was the news which a letter of Mr. [Jacob] Chapman's lately brought me. I am at a loss to say whether it was more unexpected or more grateful. It assured me that Mr. [John] Wesley was arrived in England; had visited Oxon; and was coming to Bath. And shall I not hasten a congratulatory address to welcome the friend of my studies, the friend of my soul, the friend of all my valuable and eternal interests? To do it cannot be deemed impertinency; but not to do it would justly bring upon me the imputation of ingratitude.

I hope, sir, your health is not impaired by your travels. I dare say your experience is increased and your knowledge enlarged, your faith strengthened and your zeal quickened. I do not doubt but the God whom you serve has shown you wonderful things in his righteousness His almighty wisdom and goodness have dealt graciously with you and wrought marvellously by you. O how greatly pleasing and, perhaps, not unprofitable would a relation of them be.

I believe you had the pleasure of finding some of the Oxonians grown considerably in grace. They have made haste, since your departure, to improve their talents; and to edify their neighbours, as though they were earnestly and resolvedly desirous to enjoy their company in a better world.

You cannot but have heard, and hearing, you cannot but rejoice, at the successful zeal of our friend [George] Whitefield. All London, and the whole nation ring of μεγαλεία τοῦ θεοῦ¹ done by his ministry. But alas, it will damp your rising satisfaction to receive an account of useless, worthless Hervey's having run a round of sin and vanity—and at length, weary and giddy, being almost ready to drop into hell. Oh, it is not fit to be mentioned; worthy of nothing but oblivion. Spare the narrative and cure the wretch. Send a line, and accompany it with a prayer, to warm my frozen and benumbed soul—that, if there be any seeds of goodness latent, any sparks of piety dormant in my breast, they may break forth to life and kindle into flame.

I am retired from the scene of action into a worthy and wealthy gentleman's family.² Mr. Chapman will inform you how much he deserves your prayers, and the prayers of all who are mighty with God and prevail.

Dear sir, if other business, if other charitable employments, will allow you leisure, pray favour me with a letter. To none will it be more acceptable, by none is it more needed, than by

Your most obliged humble servant,

James Hervey

Source: published transcription; Tyerman, *Oxford Methodists*, 215.³

¹'The wonderful works of God' (Acts 2:11).

²The family of Paul Orchard (c. 1681–1740) of Stoke Abbey, Devonshire, whom Hervey was serving as private chaplain.

³Abridged version published in *Works*, 25:535.

From the Rev. Westley Hall

Sarum [Salisbury, Wiltshire]
April 18, 1738

Unless you remit me according to my proposals twenty pounds before the end of next month, you will oblige me to prefer a bill in chancery against you without farther notice from,
Yours truly,

W[estley] H[all]

Source: ms transcription; in letter of Samuel Wesley Jr. to James Hutton, April 26, 1738; London, Moravian Archives and Library.

From Sarah Hurst¹

Cowley [Oxfordshire]

April 22, 1738

Dear and Reverend Sir,

Pardon my boldness and freedoms I take in writing (if it be so-called) to you. Alas I am the most unworthy² of all God's creatures and therefore altogether unworthy of your conversation. But since you permit me, I will therefore speak. My mind, alas dear sir, is much troubled. I am tempted and vexed. Satan does grievously torment me. Alas I cannot offer up one prayer to God but the devil will be sure to trouble me with his wiles. But O God give me grace to fight against that old serpent so long as I breath in this miserable life. Amen. Alas, alas, I am soon weary of well-doing. I am soon cold and careless. I propose to myself: Well now nothing shall hinder me from doing my duty. I am resolved with God's grace to go on manfully. But alas, upon a slight resistance I go back and faint. What can I do therefore? I humbly beg you would pray for me, a poor miserable creature, and I am so vile a person that God will not hear your prayer for me. Yet they will redound into your own bosom in the end.

Tell me what I should do and I will do it. Many a time I have been told my duty and alas how soon is it forgotten by me. Oh I had need have precept upon precept, and line upon line, and all will not do. Such a sinner am I, when I strive in prayer against evil thoughts often times I am quite distracted and so unfit for prayer. Alas, I cannot express it. I should be glad, if it please God, [you] would give me some directions. Command me what you will, provided it be God's commands, and I will obey you. Sure I am [that] you will not command me anything but it is for my good.

If it be not too much trouble, I should be glad if you would give my humble duty to the Rev. Mr. [Thomas] Broughton, and I humbly thank him for all his love towards me. But I should be much more comforted if he would write to me. Oh it would rejoice my heart to receive a letter from so good a father as he has been to me. It is true I am not worthy of a letter from his dear hand. I am so vile a sinner, and the worst of creatures; but I thank my God, I am what I am.

In like manner my humble³ duty to your dear and reverend brother [CW], whom I love from my soul. He, dear man, has strove to lead me forward on my journey to heaven. God will reward him sevenfold into his bosom. Oh the good Lord bless and keep all of you, my dear friends, bring you all to the heaven of peace and rest, where you all ever will be. Amen and so be it.

But it is time for me to hasten and have done, lest I should weary you in reading this, which is not worthy to be read by you. Dear sir, I humbly beg your prayers to God for me, and should be glad of all friends' prayers, for I greatly need them. Farewell, ye beloved of the Lord, and fare ye well whom my soul loveth. I am

Your very humble servant in the Lord,

Sarah Hurst

Address: 'For / the Revd. Mr. / John Wesley / London'.

Endorsement: by JW, 'S Hurst April 21 [*sic*] 1738'.

Source: holograph; MARC, PLP 58/8/1.

¹Little is known about Sarah Hurst other than that she lived in Cowley and was active among the Oxford Methodists 1738–39.

²Orig., 'most unworthiest'.

³Orig., 'humbly'.

From the Rev. John Clayton

Salford [Lancashire]

May 1, 1738

Reverend and Dear Sir,

I would have writ[ten] to you before, had I known where a letter might have found you, to express the great uneasiness that myself, as well as all your Lancashire friends, labour under on your account. Indeed we are greatly afraid for you, and doubt that you are running yourself into difficulties beyond your strength to bear. We all see and rejoice at your sincerity and zeal, and pray fervently for your perseverance therein. But we think ourselves likewise obliged to beseech Almighty God to give you a right judgment in all things, that so your zeal may be tempered by prudence, and you may have the light of the gospel as well as the heat.

What I feared would be the case is actually come to pass: few or none were edified by Mr. Wesley's preaching, because they were offended with his manner. And your using no notes, and so very much action, has with the generality established your reputation for self-sufficiency and ostentation. (Even¹) to the most serious it is matter of grief, because they fear that (such pro)digious singularities set you upon such an eminence as makes such a behaviour necessary as the spirit of an apostle alone can produce. And who is sufficient for these things? I remember in the holy life of Bernard Gilpin, preaching extempore is called tempting God;² at least it is tempting the world to censoriousness, and yourself to think more highly of yourself than you ought to think. Mr. [John] Byrom says of you that if he were in your place he would constantly preach by book; he would have you cut off your hair, which he thinks contributes much to the distinguishing appearance you make, and to curb your action and vehement emphasis, th(at) so there might not be so remarkable a singularity in your person and behaviour; and all this he thinks a sacrifice you ought to make of self-will for the sake of your brethren's weakness. And that you would gain more progress in the spiritual life by such a submission upon principle than you can possibly do by any outward thing.

We feared much that you was the author of 'The Oxford Methodists', prefixed to Mr. Whitefield's sermons,³ but Mr. [Charles] Kinchin has relieved (us.)

It is the opinion of Dr. [Thomas] Deacon, Dr. [John] Byrom, and his brother Josiah,⁴ as well as myself, that you had better forbear publishing, at least for a time, till your difficulties are blown over. Because it does not appear that you are necessarily called to it, and therefore the doing it would be like running into temptations which you have power to avoid. Dr. Byrom has the same fears about the poems⁵ as the Methodists, and doubts you are too sanguine and hasty about them. O my brother, that you had a director! One to whom you might submit the conduct of your soul! For I cannot but think, however mean his attainments were, provided he had more age and experience than yourself, you would find your spiritual account in abiding by his counsels. Did it serve no other end, it would save you from the danger of self-will, which is not to be avoided while you are your own director. And I believe there is nothing where self-will proves stronger, and is attended with worse consequences, than where it is engaged upon spiritual matters. God Almighty direct you for the best, and raise up a proper instrument for the promoting his glory and your welfare.

¹A few small parts of the page are missing, but the text can be reconstructed.

²George Carleton, *The Life of Bernard Gilpin; a Man most holy and renowned among the Northern English* (London: William Jones, 1629).

³George Whitefield, *Several Discourses upon Practical Subjects; to which is added 'The Oxford Methodists'* (London, J. Hodges, 1738).

⁴Josiah Byrom (1708–40), of Manchester.

⁵I.e., JW's initial collections *CPH* (1737) and *CPH* (1738).

⟨I respectfully (?)⟩ must request you to send me a copy of all your Statutes relating to the constitution and power of your visitor, and the obedience you are bound to pay him. But this not on your own account, but for the sake of the Fellows of our Collegiate Church,⁶ to whom it may possibly prove of the greatest service. Why did you not write in shorthand? Have you forgot it? I hope your brother is well recovered. God be with you all. Cease not to pray fervently for your most affectionate brother, friend, and servant,

J. Clayton

My sisters pay their respects to you and your brother.

Address: 'To the Revd. Mr. Wesley, Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxon.'

Postmark: 'MAN/CHESTER'. *Charges:* '4', 'In all 7'.

Endorsement: by JW, 'Mr Clayton! / 1738. Mystical. / No. 8'; also a list on flap of address page: 'Mr Law / Walker / Remarks on Theologic[a] Mystica / Molinos / Temo d'Enfant / Mr Gambold / Chev[alie]r Ramsay / S-Wesley's Lr / Thts on Mysticism / de Origine Mali / Predestination / Perfection'.

Source: holograph; MARC, MA 1977/610/41.⁷

⁶The Cathedral and Collegiate Church of St Mary, St Denys, and St George, in Manchester.

⁷Transcription published in *Works*, 25:538–40.

From the Rev. Charles Kinchin

Dumfries¹
May 2, 1738

Reverend and Dear Sir,

My Lord and my God has made his servant a minister of the gospel of his Son. He has committed to my care many immortal souls. And I am but a little child. I know not how to go out or come in. And I am amidst his people, which he has entrusted me with, a worldly-minded and refractory people. Pray therefore earnestly for me, that God would give his weak servant an understanding heart to lead and instruct his people, that I may discern between good and bad. For who is able to walk discreetly and uprightly before such a people?

I beg the prayers and directions of my friends, how to behave towards a people of such tempers.

My sister² is much mended in health. She has received much benefit from you under God, as to her spiritual concerns. Pray, write speedily to

Your sincere friend and servant,

C. Kinchin

Source: published transcription; *Arminian Magazine* 1 (1778): 176.

¹This is likely a misprint; in 1735 Kinchin had been installed as rector in Dummer, Hampshire.

²Mary (or 'Molly') Kinchin.

From John Hutchings

Pembroke College [Oxford]
May 8, 1738

Reverend and Dear Sir,

The reason why these papers come not in the way you desired is because Mr. [Thomas] Fox negligently left them behind. And I thought it not safe to leave them till next week.

I wonder not at the cold reception, or rather warm rejection, the doctrine of faith meets with at London. Very few anywhere know experimentally what this meaneth: 'Except ye become as little children, ye *cannot* enter into the kingdom of heaven.'¹ 'Become fools that ye may be wise'² is a paradox with a witness to the fleshly mind. Before therefore the man is awakened to see his natural depravity, he seems to be invincibly steeled against this, his remedy. Nor shall we, I believe, mention it with success to any but such as are those thus disposed to eternal life. 'Cast not, then, this pearl before swine; lest they trample it under foot, and turn again and rent you.'³

Pray give my kind love to Mr. Charles [Wesley] and my beloved friend James Hutton. Bid the latter tell me in a long letter what joy he finds in believing. I salute all friends, and am, sir,

Your unworthy servant,

J. H.

Address: 'For / the Revd. Mr. John Wesley'.

Source: holograph; London, Moravian Archives and Library.

¹Matt. 18:3.

²Cf. 1 Cor. 3:18.

³Cf. Matt. 7:6.

From Peter Böhler

Southampton, the fields¹
May 8, 1738

Charissime et suavissime Frater,

Intentissimo amore te diligo, multum tui recordans in itinere meo, optando et precando ut quam primum viscera misericordiae crucifixi Iesu Christi, tui gratia iam ante 6000 annos commota, menti tuae appareant: ut gustare et tunc videre possis, quam vehementer te Filius Dei amaverit et hucusque amet, et ut sic confidere possis in eo omni tempore, vitamque eius in te et in carne tua sentire. Cave tibi a peccato incredulitatis, et si nondum vicisti illud, fac ut proximo die illud vincas, per sanguinem Iesu Christi. Ne differ, quaeso, credere tuum in Iesum Christum; sed potius promissionum eius quae pertinent ad miserandos peccatores, coram facie eius benigna sic mentionem fac, ut non aliter possit quam praestare tibi, quod multis aliis praestitit. O quam multus, quam magnus, quam ineffabilis, quam inexhaustus, est illius amor! Ille certe iamiam paratus est ad auxilium, et nihil potest illum offendere nisi incredulitas nostra. Crede igitur. Fratrem tuum Carolum et Hall, nomine meo saluta multum; et admonete vos invicem ad credendum, et tunc ambulandum coram facie Domini ἀκρβῶς et ad pugnandum contra diabolum et mundum νομῶς, et ad crucifigendum et conculcandum peccatum omne sub pedibus nostris, quantum nobis datum est per gratiam secundi Adami, cuius vita excedit mortem prioris Adami, et cuius gratia antecellit corruptionem et damnationem prioris Adami.

Dominus tibi benedicat. Permane in fide, amore, doctrina communione sanctorum, et breviter, in omni quod habemus in novo foedere. Ego sum et maneo

Tuus indignus frater,

Petrus Böhler

In Agris Southamptonianis

Translation:²

Beloved and dear brother,

I love you greatly, and think much of you in my journey, wishing and praying that the tender mercies of Jesus Christ the crucified, whose bowels were moved toward you more than six thousand years ago, may be manifested to your soul: that you may taste, and then see, how exceedingly the Son of God has loved you, and loves you still, and that so you may continually trust in him, and feel his life in yourself. Beware of the sin of unbelief; and if you have not conquered it yet, see that you conquer it this very day, through the blood of Jesus Christ. Delay not, I beseech you, to believe in your Jesus Christ; but so put him in mind of his promises to poor sinners that he may not be able to refrain from doing for you what he hath done for so many others. O how great, how inexpressible, how unexhausted is his love! Surely he is now ready to help; and nothing can offend him but our unbelief. Believe, therefore. Greet heartily in my name your brothers Charles [Wesley] and [Westley] Hall, and admonish one another to believe and then to walk circumspectly before the Lord, and to fight lawfully against the devil and the world, and to crucify and trample under your feet all sin, as much as this is given to you by the grace of the second Adam, whose life outweighs the death of the first Adam, and whose grace cancels the corruption and condemnation entailed by the first Adam.

The Lord bless you! Abide in faith, love, teaching, the communion of saints, and briefly, in all which we have in the New Testament. I am

¹Böhler was preparing to depart for Georgia.

²JW's translation, published in his *Journal* is reproduced here, with elisions filled in by Frank Baker.

Your unworthy brother,

Peter Böhrer

Source: published transcription; JW, *Journal*, May 10, 1738 (*Works*, 18:238–39).

From William Oxlee¹

[London]
May 9, 1738

Dear Brethren,

Although I am absent in body, I hope these lines will show that I am present in mind.

I told you last night that I thought I was able (through God's help) to kick the devil or temptations before me as easy as ants or dust of a mole-hill, which I already in a great measure find true. For though I am yet tempted, yet very few temptations (except reasoning with myself) are² able to stand in my sight. Since I have had the assurance that my sins should be forgiven, Satan has tempted me to believe it was only a dream or a delusion, and that to tell this to others is so weak and silly that a man would be ashamed of it. And thus the devil would persuade me to do despite to the Spirit of grace. When ⟨I had³⟩ parted with my friends that are gone to Germany, I had ⟨the first⟩ and some other verses of the 27th psalm (the new version) ⟨...⟩ imprinted on my mind;⁴ that although I did not then ⟨know⟩ where that psalm was, I could not be easy till I found it. Since then, at several times, I have had eager and hearty desires to know Christ, and yet doubts and fears do still prevent me. And at other times I seem quite dead and lifeless, and can feel no desire to pray—and are, as it were, cut off from all union or fellowship, both with God and man.

Last Wednesday I was so dead (to devotion) that I could neither pray nor speak, but was seemingly dumb till toward night. And then I went with Mr. Wolfe⁵ to some of the brethren, and there received some comfort. And afterwards, hearing Mr. [John] Wesley at Aldersgate Street, I was a little more revived. Sometimes, when it pleases God to let me see and feel that I am miserable, then I bust into tears and am afraid it will leave me before I find my Saviour.

A Sunday morning at St. Lawrence's I was very much moved. While the sacrament was administering I was full of trouble and was not willing to say anything but only, 'Saviour help! Saviour help me!' These words I could repeat very earnestly for a great while together. I cried to my Saviour and was, as I thought, like a young child that lays and looks at its nurse and cries to be taken up, and had no power to help itself. At another time I thought that I was like a bird in a net, that can only look up but cannot untangle itself. The remaining part of the day I was very willing to pray, but I was tempted to believe that the prayers of the wicked are abomination unto me; and again (says the tempter) you have no faith, and whatever is not of faith is sin.

Yesterday morning ⟨I found⟩ some joy in thinking that I should be delivered from ⟨this⟩ body of sin and death. But alas this was soon over, ⟨and⟩ I thought that I saw that whatever [I] do or wherever I go, I am led about by the devil as a man leads a dog in a halter. And this again grieved me and made me cry as before: 'Saviour help me! Saviour help me!'

¹This letter is not directed only to JW, but to the Fetter Lane Society as a whole.

²Orig., 'is'.

³A small portion is missing from both sides of the letter, where the wax seal had been. The text is reconstructed when reliably possible.

⁴Oxlee is referring to the 'new' versification of the Psalms by Nahum Tate and Nicholas Brady, which renders the first verse as:

Whom should I fear, since God to me
is saving health and light?
Since strongly he my life supports,
what can my soul affright?

⁵Shepherd Wolfe, a barber, who was one of Peter Böhler's first converts, and would be expelled from JW's society on June 13, 1739 (see CW, MS Journal), for disowning the Church of England.

When I was with you (my dear brethren) I was very much tempted to respect some of your persons above others. And as to this day, my thoughts are very confused, and full of reasonings and doubts, for Satan very much prevails by tempt[ing] me to doubt, and wounds my soul more that way than any.

And therefore, my beloved brethren, pray (as the Spirit directs you) for me.

From William Oxlee, who will love you as much as the Spirit of God enables me.

Source: holograph; MARC, MA 1977/610/105.

From Mary (Molly) Kinchin¹

[Dummer, Hampshire]
May 10, 1738

You have been, I hope, an instrument under God of reclaiming me. I certainly was in a very unhappy state when you was here.² I was grown very slack and remiss. Some time after you was gone, I thought I felt the good effects of your prayers. I beg you would continue to pray earnestly for me, who am scarce able to pray for myself. You may suppose the devil is very busy, when he thinks he is going to lose a soul. 'Possess me, Thou who has the right, as Lord and Maker of the whole!'³ Amen. O my God, take full possession of me. God will recompense you for your prayers and kind offices. May my good God pour down the choicest of his blessings upon you, your mother, brothers, and sisters; and give us all grace to strive and struggle against our sins, and grant we may so run as to obtain. Amen. For, till we are struggling with all our might, we are not in a happy state. Well might St. Paul say, 'Fight the good fight, and lay hold on eternal life.'⁴ I verily think your heart will say, Amen. Let us strive with all our might. The devil is exerting his power, and he is a powerful adversary. But let us not faint or grow weary. O our God, let us go forth in the strength of our Lord Jesus, and he is overcome. I speak as if I had faith, but alas I fear I am sinking again. What shall I do? Whither shall I fly, but to thee, O my God? O my dear God, be graciously pleased to look down on thy afflicted servant with an eye of compassion. I am a miserable wretch, and deserve nothing but thy wrath. Yet, for Christ's sake, do thou return again and refresh me.

I beg you to join with me in praying God to show forth his power in me. What a frail creature am I! I am afraid, I am sorely afraid, of falling back. What shall I do? What shall I do? O pray I may put my whole trust in God, who is able and willing to help me, if I am not wanting to myself. But there is my fear. May God assist you in praying for me, and hear for you the poor, imperfect prayers of his unworthy servant,

M. Kinchin

Source: published transcription; *Arminian Magazine* 1 (1778): 177–78.⁵

¹The sister of Charles Kinchin.

²JW was in Dummer in early Apr. 1738.

³This is the second half of stanza 6 of a hymn written originally in French by Antoinette Bourignon, which JW published in an English translation in *HSP* (1739), 123–24. Apparently JW was already sharing the translation prior to publication.

⁴1 Tim. 6:12.

⁵JW appended to his published transcription this note: 'Dare any one say this soul was in a state of damnation? Doubts and fears then are not inconsistent with true faith.'

From Kezia Wesley

Oxon
May 13, 1738

My Dear Brother,

Having waited three weeks in hopes of hearing from you, I am at length obliged, as I value my open happiness, having more love for you than you seem to have for me, to write first. It is plain I have some love, because your neglect has with other care brought the pain in my stomach again—which the doctor (being wondrous wise!) has found out tis occasioned by grief, and therefore can never be cured till my mind is at ease. Which mine can never be, considering my circumstances, 'till this mortal has put on immortality'.¹

There are many reasons for my being still at Oxon.² The reason, I believe, was my being too desirous of going from hence! It seems I am not to have any will of my own. The same will hold for my not having met with common civility from the people of this place or family. You must expect to hear strange thoughts said of me when you return. Please only to ask what I have done—a question that could not be answered when I asked it. Mr. S—r's behaviour has determined me not to leave him till I can pay the quarter (if I can help it).

Pray give my love to my brother [CW] and tell him if I had sent for a common acquaintance to have waited on me when sick, and had left her ill in such a place, I should have thought it my duty to have expressed some concern in her health and happiness, and should have thought myself worse than the publicans spoken of of old!

My dear brother, I can't impute the coldness of your behaviour to me to proceed for anything but the advice of some of the sour-headed s[ain]ts here. If the tenderest friendship can be proved to be contrary to the Christian spirit, either from our master's example of precepts, I desire to give even you up, though I can't do it without some pains because you are the only friend I have in the world. I take your friend here to be the chief instrument in weaning your affection from me. He reasons thus—I spoiled my sister by being fond of her, therefore all sisters are spoiled by the same usage.

My dear, I can't write anymore.

Yours till death,

Kezia Wesley

P. S. Please to write immediate[ly].

Endorsement: by JW, 'May 11, 1738' [sic].

Source: holograph; MARC, DDWF 13/7.

¹1 Cor. 15:54.

²CW had arranged in 1736 for Kezia to stay with John Gambold, vicar of Stanton Harcourt, Oxfordshire. In Feb. 1738 she was sick and moved into Oxford to stay with CW for a couple of months, before returning to Stanton Harcourt. Then in 1739 CW arranged for her to move and stay with Rev. Henry Piers in Bexley.

From James Burnside¹

Providence [South Carolina]
May 16, 1738

Reverend Sir,

You cannot conceive with what joy I received the news of good Mr. [George] Whitefield's arrival here and the likewise of yours in England. I dare not think your quick and safe passage was in the least owing to my poor imperfect prayers, because I know myself unworthy of the least mercy.

May the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ restore you to us again? I know he will if it be for his glory and our souls' health, or he will so order it that I and all such for whom it is necessary shall go to you. For he has said that all things tend to the good of them that love God. I trust in him, and I shall do it more than I now do.

My dear friend, my soul, next to that of being with and possessing my Christ, longs to be with you. I find how difficult a thing it is to be Christian in deed and heart. Pray for me, my friend and father in Christ, and for her who is dear to me,² that we see—and not only so, but feel—the emptiness and insufficiency of the world and all the fleeting enjoyments thereof; and that we may have no desires, no designs, no dispositions, directly or indirectly, but what tend to the glory of God and good of souls. O my friend, beg for me at all times when you approach the throne of grace that my will in all things may be the will of him that sent me.

I removed with my family into the country the second of January. The night I arrived at my plantation I used prayer with the people that God had given to my care. Or I may with more truth say I read prayer to them. I have continued so to do constantly (lest who would be at my house) morning and evening. I have endeavoured to perform to my power all the other duties of a private Christian. To what purpose, God only knows; for when I would do good, evil is present to me.

I went last Saturday to town,³ in hope of receiving the Holy Communion, the comfortable food to souls, and to hear the word of my God explained, but was disappointed—Mr. Whitefield being in a low state of health and not a priest. I trust in God, through Christ, that I shall receive the blessing.

On Monday morning yours and my good friend Charles Delamotte set out with me. We arrived at my plantation about one that day. He now stays only for the tide.⁴

I suffered much at parting with you, but to be deprived of my *two* friends, — . The will of the Lord be done.

May the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ restore you to us in his good time. May he bless you with his choicest blessings in this world, and in the world to come with life everlasting. This is the constant prayer of

Your fast, firm friend,

James Burnside

N. B. I beg leave to remind you of the confidence the people have reposed in you. They each day expect to see a change, in subordination to God, by your endeavours.

Pray remember me in all your prayers, and commend me to your brother and Mr. [Benjamin] Ingham.

¹James Burnside served over two years as a clerk in Thomas Causton's office in Savannah, until he was let go for refusing to sign an affidavit siding with Causton in the dispute over JW and Sophy (Hopkey) Williamson; cf. JW, MS Journal, Aug. 15, 1737, *Works*, 18:544.

²Margaret (Bovey) Burnside, his wife.

³On May 13; to Savannah, Georgia, where George Whitefield was currently assisting Charles Delamotte.

⁴Delamotte was preparing to return to England; he would depart Savannah on June 2.

I have but two servile men. One of them I bought [from] Mr. Brown of High Gate Street, and one of them I have will soon be out of his time. If you can help me, it will do me (I believe) good service. If you will engage to give each man three pounds, a year's wages, out of which clothes are to be found, I will pay it.

James Burnside

Endorsement: by JW, 'Mr Burnside / May 16, 1738'.
Source: holograph; MARC, MA 1977/610/28.

From the Rev. William Law

[Putney, Surrey]
May 19, 1738

Reverend Sir,

Yours I received yesterday.¹ As you have written that letter in obedience to a divine call, and in conjunction with another extraordinary good young man whom you know to have the Spirit of God, so I assure you that considering your letter in that view I neither desire nor dare to make the smallest defence of myself. If a messenger from God should represent me as a monster of iniquity that had corrupted all that had conversed with me, etc., I should lay my hand upon my mouth, and with my eyes shut submit myself to the divine justice. And as you lay claim to this character, as a messenger sent from God to lay my sins before my face, and have not executed this message till a divine man highly favoured of God had passed sentence upon me; so I assure you that I have not the least inclination to distrust or question your mission, nor the smallest repugnance to own, receive, reverence, and submit myself to you both in these exalted characters. May God vouchsafe his favours to you both, and his mercies to me, according to his own good pleasure.

This is the whole of my answer to your letter considered in that light in which you represent it, as written in obedience to a divine call, and the message of it rectified by a person whom you know to have the Spirit of God.

But now, upon supposition that you had here only acted by that ordinary light which is common to good and sober minds, I should remark upon your letter as follows. How you may have been two years preaching the doctrine of the two practical discourses,² or how you may have tired yourself and your hearers to no purpose, is what I cannot say much to. But if you are not more exact in what you say of this matter than in what you say of the conversation I have had with you, there are great mistakes in it.

A holy man, you say, taught you thus: 'Believe, and thou shalt be saved. Believe in the Lord Jesus with all thy heart, and nothing shall be impossible to thee—Strip thyself naked of thy own works, and thy own righteousness, and fly to him. For everyone that cometh to him he will in no wise cast out.'³

I am to suppose that till this time of your lately meeting with this holy man from Germany you had not been taught this doctrine, and that for want of it you might have groaned under a certain heavy yoke to your death. Did you not above two years ago give a new translation of Thomas à Kempis?⁴ Will you call Thomas to account, and to answer it to God, as you do me, for not teaching you that doctrine? Or will you say that you took upon you to restore the true sense of that divine writer, and to instruct others how they might best profit by reading him, before you had so much as a literal knowledge of the most plain, open, and repeated doctrine contained in his book? You can't but remember what value I always expressed for Kempis, and how much I recommended it to your meditation.

You have had a great many conversations with me, and I dare say that you never was with me for half an hour without my being large upon that very doctrine which you make me totally silent and ignorant of.

As an undeniable proof of this you must remember that the second time I saw you, and when your brother was with you, I put into your hands the little book of the German Theology,⁵ and said all that I could in recommendation of the doctrine contained in it. If that book does not plainly lead you to Jesus

¹JW's letter of May 14, 1738; see *Works*, 25:540–42.

²I.e., Law's *A Practical Treatise upon Christian Perfection* (London: William Innys, 1726); and *A Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life* (London: William Innys, 1729).

³Law is quoting JW's prior letter; the 'holy man' is Peter Böhler.

⁴JW, *The Christian's Pattern* (1735).

⁵*Theologia Germanica*. See JW to Samuel Wesley Jr., Nov. 23, 1736 (*Works*, 25:487–90).

Christ, I am content to know as little of Christianity as you are pleased to believe; or if you are for stripping yourself naked of your own works, or your own righteousness, further than that book directs, I had rather you was taught that doctrine by anyone else than by me.

Above a year ago I published a book against the *Plain Account of the Sacraments*, etc.⁶ You may perhaps be too much prejudiced against me to read it, but as you have made yourself a judge of the state of my heart, and of my knowledge in Christ, you ought to have seen that book, to help you to make a right judgment of my sentiments. What I have there written I judged to be well-timed after my former discourses; governed through all that I have written and done by these two common, fundamental, unchangeable maxims of our Lord, 'Without me ye can do nothing';⁷ 'If any man will come after me, or be my disciple, let him take up his cross and follow me.'⁸ If you are for separating the doctrine of the cross from following Christ, or faith in him, you have numbers and names enough on your side, but not me. The conversation I have had with you is past and gone, and you have it in your power to represent it as you please; but the facts I have appealed to must continue facts, and prove all that which I appeal to them for.

You say, 'Why did I scarce ever hear you name the name of Christ? Never, so as to ground anything upon faith in his blood.' This I leave untouched, and bear it as if you had called me a Mahometan.

You go on, 'If you say you advised other things as preparatory to this, if you advised them because you knew I had faith already, verily you knew nothing of me, you discerned not my spirit at all. I know that I had not faith, unless the faith of a devil, the faith of Judas, that speculative, notional, airy shadow, which lives in the head, and not in the heart.'

Did you never hear anything of this from me? How far I may have discerned your spirit, or the spirit of others that have conversed with me, may perhaps be more a secret to you than you imagine, but I claim nothing on that head.

But granting you to be right in the account of your own faith, how am I chargeable with it? Have either I or any of my writings any tendency to fill your head full of airy shadows?⁹

Here I am to suppose that after you had been some time meditating upon an author that of all others leads us the most directly to a real, living faith in Jesus Christ, after you had judged yourself such a master of his sentiments and doctrines as to be able to publish them to the world, with directions and instructions concerning such experimental divinity, that years after you had done this you had only the faith of a devil, or Judas, an empty notion only, in your head; and that you was in this state through ignorance that there was any better to be sought after, and that you was in this ignorance because in my conversation I never directed or called you to this true faith.

But, sir, as Kempis and I have both of us had your acquaintance and conversation, so pray let the fault be divided betwixt us, and I shall be content to have it said that I left you in as much ignorance of this faith as he did, or that you learnt no more of it by conversing with me than with him.

If you had only this faith till some weeks ago, let me advise you not to be too hasty in believing that because you have changed your language or expressions you have changed your faith. The head can as easily amuse itself with a 'living and justifying faith in the blood of Jesus' as with any other notion; and the heart which you suppose to be a place of security, as being the seat of self-love, is more deceitful than the head.

⁶William Law, *A Demonstration of the Gross and Fundamental Errors of a late Book, called, 'A Plain Account of the Nature and End of the Sacrament of the Lords Supper' . . . wherein also the nature and extent of the redemption of all mankind by Jesus Christ is Stated and Explained* (London: W. Innys & R. Mansby, 1737).

⁷John 15:5.

⁸Matt. 16:24 and parallels.

⁹Orig., 'tendency to bring the spirit of the devil or Judas into you, only fill your head'.

I must now transcribe a long passage in your letter, because not a word of it ought to be omitted. It is thus: 'I beseech you, sir, by the mercies of God, to consider deeply and impartially whether the true reason of your never calling me to this was not that you had it not in yourself? Whether that man of God was not in the right who gave this account: "I began to speak to him of faith in Christ. He was silent. Then he began to speak of mystical matters. I spoke of faith in Christ again. He was silent. Then he spoke of mystical matters again, I saw his state at once." And a very dangerous one, in his judgment, whom I know to have the Spirit of God.'

This man of God,¹⁰ whom I can willingly believe to be as divine as you represent him to be, and whose conversation, short as it was, left a good impression upon my mind, was accidentally presented to me in Somerset Gardens, as the acquaintance of an author I was inquiring after, and whose book was then in my hands. I was not half an hour with him in that public place, nor had any intention at that time of saying anything to him but upon the matter above mentioned. In discourse of that kind he took occasion, as he says, to speak of faith in Christ. I was silent, except in approbation of what he said. But that I then began to speak of mystical matters is as false as anything that can be said of me. For I spoke not one single word of any doctrine of religion, either mystical or not. Or if I had spoke of mystical matters, would that have been a receding from the subject he was upon? Is not faith in Jesus Christ the very sum and substance of what is meant by mystical religion? He said very little to me on faith, but for aught I know there might be what he calls a first and second time in what he said to me. But that I a second time began to speak to him of mystical matters is a second great falsity.¹¹ I leave you now to judge of his *seeing my dangerous state at once*.

As this falsity lies amongst us three, I suppose you will not think it proper that either of you should have any share in it, it being fitter to be ascribed to that state you have provided for me. I am content that you should do with it according to your pleasure.

Your last paragraph, concerning my sour, rough behaviour, and obscurity of conversation on the most important subjects, as inconsistent with Scripture and the fruits of a living faith in Christ, I leave in its full force. Whatever you can say of me of that kind without hurting yourself will be always well received by me. I am

Your real friend and well-wisher,

W. Law

I have not yet received Bartholomaeus a Martyribus,¹² which I long ago lent to Mr. [Thomas] Horn[e] and you.

Endorsement: by JW, 'Mr Law'.

Source: holograph; MARC, MA 1977/610/94.¹³

¹⁰Peter Böhler.

¹¹A passage added here is struck through by Law: 'For as I said before, not one syllable came from me concerning any doctrine of religion.'

¹²Bartholomew of the martyrs, Archbishop of Braga (1504–88). It is not clear if the book that was loaned was his spiritual biography: *La vie de dom Barthelemy des Martyrs, religievx de l'Ordre de S. Dominique, archevesqve de Bragve en Portvgal* (Paris, 1663), or one of the volumes of his writings.

¹³Transcription published in *Works*, 25:543–46.

From the Rev. William Law

[Putney, Surrey]
[c. May 22, 1738]

Sir,

Without the smallest degree of disregard either to you or your letter,¹ I had not sent you an answer to it had it not been for the part of it where you say there were two persons present with Mr. [Peter] Böhler and myself. There were two persons present, but only one witness, for we spoke only in Latin, and they both declared to me they understood not Latin.

I mentioned not your qualification for translating Kempis with the least intention to reproach either your design or performance, but only to show you that it deeply engaged your attention to those very truths which you suppose you were a stranger to through my conversation.

If you remember the *Theologia Germanica* so imperfectly as only to remember ‘something of Christ our pattern, but nothing express of Christ our atonement’, it is no wonder that you can remember so little of my conversations with you. I put that author into your hands, not because he is fit for the first learners of the rudiments of Christianity, who are to be prepared for baptism, but because you were a *clergyman*, that had made profession of divinity, had read as you said with much approbation and benefit the two practical discourses, and many other good books; and because you seemed to me to be of a very inquisitive nature, and much inclined to meditation. In this view nothing could be more reasonable for you than that book, which most deeply, excellently, and fully contains the whole system of Christian faith and practice, and is an excellent guide against all mistakes both in faith and works. What that book has not taught you I am content that you should not have learnt from me.

You say the two maxims I mention may imply, but do not express, ‘He is our propitiation, through faith in his blood.’ Is not this, therefore, a mere contest about words and expressions? When I refer you to these two maxims or texts of Scripture, will you confine me to them alone? Does not my quoting them necessarily refer to every part of Scripture of the same import? When Christ says, ‘Without me ye can do nothing;’² when the apostle says, ‘There is no other name given under heaven by which we can be saved;’³ when he says ‘We are sanctified through faith in his blood’, and ‘through faith in him’,⁴ is there anything here but a difference of words, or one and the same thing imperfectly and only in part expressed?

I mentioned not the answer to the *Plain Account*, etc., as a proof of the manner of my conversation with you, but of my faith in Christ as the atonement for us by his blood, at this time; which is what you directly questioned and called upon me for.

You number up all the parts of my letter, which are only speaking to the same parts in yours, as things entirely beside the point. If they are not to the point in mine, how came they to have a place in yours, which was written under *divine direction*? Why did you give me occasion to speak of things that needed nothing to be said of them? Had you said but one thing, I would have spoke to nothing else. In your first letter I was blamed for not calling you to such a faith in Christ as strips us naked of our own works, our own righteousness; for not teaching you this doctrine, ‘Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ with all thy heart, and nothing shall be impossible to thee.’ This is the faith in Christ which all mystical spiritual books are full of. What you have heard from me on this head of faith, in our former conversations, would make a volume; but because I appealed to a text of Scripture, ‘Without me ye can do nothing,’ you have quitted this faith; and now you say this, and no other, is the question, ‘whether I ever advised you to seek first a living faith in the blood of Christ’.

¹JW’s second letter to Law in this series, dated May 20, 1738 (*Works*, 25:546–48).

²John 15:5.

³Acts 4:12.

⁴Cf. Heb. 10:4; 1 Cor. 10:30.

But, sir, this is not the main question of your first letter; had you had only this question to have proposed you would not have written to me at all. But if I tell you that you conceived a dislike to me, and wanted to let me know that a man of God had shown you the poverty and misery of my state; if I tell you that this was the main intent of your letter, you know that I tell you the truth. [...⁵] But this matter, it seems, now is of no importance.

I was a stranger to him,⁶ received him friendly, listened to him humbly, consented to his instructing me. I said not one single syllable of any doctrine of religion, mystical or not. We presently parted, in all appearance friendly. He passes a sentence of condemnation upon me as in a poor miserable state, which lay open to his eyes. This *man of God* told nothing of this to *myself*, but goes away to another man of God, and invents and tells things as false as if he had charged me with picking his pocket; and, what is well to be observed, this judgment passed upon me is founded upon those very things which are thus false and wholly his own invention. This other man of God confirms this sentence, as spoken by one that he knew had the Spirit of God, and in obedience to a divine call is obliged to let me know.

[... another omission of JW text] Who made me your teacher? Or can make me answerable for any defects in your knowledge? You sought my acquaintance, you came to me as you pleased, and on what occasion you pleased, and to say to me what you pleased. If it was my business to put this question to you, if you have a right to charge me with guilt for the neglect of it, may you not much more reasonably accuse them who are authoritatively charged with you? Did *the Church* in which you are educated put this question to you? Did the bishop that *ordained* you either deacon or priest do this for you? Did the bishop that sent you a missionary into Georgia require this of you? Pray, sir, be at peace with me.

[W. Law]

Source: published transcription; Christopher Walton, *Notes and Materials for an adequate Biography of ... William Law* (London: Printed for Private Circulation, 1854), 94–95.⁷

⁵Editor inserts here: 'This letter is copied from the original rough draft in the author's own handwriting, in which the passages of his opponent's letter are omitted, as in this instance.'

⁶Again, Peter Böhler.

⁷Walton's transcription is republished in *Works*, 25:548–50.

[From John Hutchings?¹]

[Pembroke College?] Oxford
c. June 4, 1738

... For in the evening I received a letter from Oxford which threw me into much perplexity. It was asserted therein that no doubting could consist with the least degree of true faith; that whoever at any time felt any doubt or fear was not weak in faith, but had no faith at all; and that none hath any faith till the law of the Spirit of life has made him wholly free from the law of sin and death.

Source: JW published summary; *Journal*, June 6, 1738 (*Works*, 18:254).

¹JW does not identify the author, but he had been corresponding with Hutchings during this time and Hutchings was gravitating toward the expectation among some Moravians of absolute assurance as the sign of justification.

From James Burnside

Providence [South Carolina]
August 25, 1738

Reverend Sir,

All glory, all power be ascribed to the Almighty I AM for all the undeserved favours and blessings which he is daily pouring down upon us. I thank him with all my soul, mind, and strength (and do endeavour to show the same by my life) for your unforeseen, unexpected reception in England. May he who is able grant you your heart's desire and fulfil all your mind so far as may tend to his glory and the eternal good of all you converse with.

Good Mr. [George] Whitefield, of whom (nor you) we are not yet worthy is just going for England. He will inform you on the state of the church better than I can.

I pray the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ to send you to us with speed. Amen.

I am devoted to your service by the strongest bond—my heart is joined with yours. Let us praise the Lord! Pray for me, my friend, and for her who is dear to me. Farewell, perhaps till we meet in an eternity of bliss.

Your affectionate, firm friend and servant in Christ,

James Burnside

My best respect attend your brother Charles [Wesley] and Mr. [Benjamin] Ingham.

Endorsement: by JW, 'Aug. 25'.

Source: holograph; MARC, MA 1977/610/29.

From William Delamotte

[Cambridge?]
October 10, 1738

Dear Sir,

I thank God for your coming to Blendon.² Though I myself had not so much of your company,³ I can trace your footsteps and reap the benefit of it in the blessed effect it has had on others. O may God continue to set his seal to your ministry wherever you go! Mr. Piers,⁴ I believe, has felt great comfort, and is pressing for the full assurance of faith. God grant he may feel his desire accomplished! And may we all so increase in grace as to become helpers of your joy.

Can a man properly be said to be born of God till he has an assurance of faith? St. John makes the test of our new birth *our* victory over the world and sin; if so, I fear, I am still unregenerate, for sin works powerfully in me, and seems to be frequently proclaiming its conquests over me. And yet my soul is often in a sweet peace, nay, sometimes overwhelmed with joy, and always pants for closer union, a fuller manifestation of the Son of God. How is this consistent with the true justifying faith? I could be glad of your opinion and advice. I would have spoke to you at Mr. [John] Bray's, but my mouth was held in that I could not speak. Therefore I should be glad if you would supply the want of that, with a line or two, and you will very much oblige,

Your sincere friend in Christ,

William Delamotte

God has increased my audience last night to upwards of eighty. O may he increase them in number, and knowledge, and the love of his holy name. Continue your prayers for us. Adieu!

Source: published transcription; *Collection* (1797), 20.⁵

²The Delamotte family home.

³William was still studying at Cambridge.

⁴Rev. Henry Piers (1695–1770), grandson of an Irish baron, was educated at Trinity College, Dublin. After a curacy in Winwick, Lancashire, in 1737 he became vicar of Bexley, Kent, the parish of the Delamotte family. While visiting the Delamottes in 1738, CW befriended Piers and helped him towards a conversion experience, awakening his support of the evangelical movement. Through the 1740s Piers was particularly supportive of the Wesley brothers.

⁵Reprinted in *Works*, 25:567–68.

From the Rev. Samuel Wesley Jr.¹

Tiverton, Devon
November 15, 1738

Dear Jack,

The charge of evil-speaking is carried as high as it can go, so that my wife understands my being included now, as well as I did at first. Your bitterness is much better than Mr. Law's, though did Susurrus² fit me even as exactly as you can suppose, that would by no means excuse his having drawn it, no more than his fault or yours could justify mine. To convince you I may sometimes pray against it, I will apply to the same magazine that furnished me against false doctrine: 'From envy, hatred, and malice, and all uncharitableness, good Lord deliver me.'³

I have many remarks to make on your letter, but do not care to fight in the dark, or run my head against a stone wall. You need fear no controversy with me, unless you hold it worthwhile to remove these three doubts:

1. Whether you will own, or disown in terms, the necessity of a sensible information from God of pardon? If you disown it, the matter is over as to you; if you own it, then—

2. Whether you will not think me distracted to oppose you, with the most infallible of all proofs, inward feeling in yourself, and positive evidence in your friends, while I myself produce neither?

3. Whether you will release me from the horns of your dilemma, that I must either talk without knowledge, like a fool, or against it, like a knave? I conceive neither part strikes. For a man may reasonably argue against what he never felt, and may honestly deny what he has felt to be necessary to others.

You build nothing on tales, but I do. I see what is manifestly built upon them; if you disclaim it, and warn poor shallow pates of their folly and danger, so much the better. They are counted signs or tokens, means or conveyances, proofs or evidences of the sensible information, etc., calculated to turn fools into madmen, and put them without a jest into the condition of Oliver's porter.⁴

When I hear visions, etc., reprov'd, discouraged, and ceased among the new brotherhood, I shall then say no more of them; but till then I will use my utmost strength that God shall give me to expose these bad branches of a bad root, and thus—⁵

Such doctrine as encourages and abets spiritual fireballs, apparitions of the Father, etc., etc., is delusive and dangerous. But the sensible necessary information, etc., is such; *ergo*, I mention not this to enter into any dispute with you, for you seem to disapprove them, though not expressly disclaim, but to convince you I am not out of my way, though encountering of windmills. I will do my best to make folks

¹This letter is part of an extended exchange between JW and Samuel Jr. concerning the strong distinction JW made immediately after Aldersgate between his new spiritual vitality and prior spiritual life. The exchange began with JW's letter of July 7, 1738 (*Works*, 25:558–59). No record of Samuel's initial response survives. According to his diary JW sent a second letter on Oct. 12, to which Samuel Jr. replied about Oct. 20; though neither of these letters survive. JW's third letter, of Oct. 30, can be found in *Works*, 25:575–78. It is this letter to which Samuel Jr. is replying most directly now.

²JW had appealed to this character in Chapter 21 of William Law's *Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life*, a character guilty of speaking evil about others, in his July 7 letter to Samuel Jr. (see *Works*, 25:559).

³BCP, General Supplication.

⁴Oliver Cromwell's porter, named Daniel, claimed to be clairvoyant, and was committed to Bedlam as insane.

⁵The closing dash may indicate a mutilation in the holograph in front of Priestley, but more probably implies Samuel Wesley's hint: 'If you wish me to stop criticizing, mend your ways!'

wiser.

I will borrow from our Litany, a prayer you will join in: 'That it may please thee to strengthen such as do stand, to comfort and help the weak-hearted, to raise up them that fall, and finally to beat down Satan under our feet. We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.'⁶

My wife joins with love. We are all pretty well. I am, dear Jack,
Your sincere and affectionate friend and brother,

Samuel Wesley

Address: 'To the Rev. Mr. John Wesley'.

Source: published transcription; Priestley, *Original Letters*, 88–90.⁷

⁶BCP, Litany.

⁷Republished in *Works*, 25:578–79.

From John Bray

London
November 18, 1738

Dear Brother,

God is love. He that dwelleth in love dwelleth in God, and God in him.¹ I now feel his divine fire penetrating my soul.² O may the divine fire kindle in your soul as well. Let not your heart be troubled. Be not afraid. The Lord Jesus will descend from heaven in a flame of fire. I know that you seek Jesus, who will be found of them that seek him. Should he tarry, wait for him. He will suddenly come to his temple, which he has long been preparing for himself. Did he ever forsake them that seek him? They that know his name Jesus will put their trust in him; for thou, Lord, has never failed them that seek thee. Seek the Lord and his love. Seek his face evermore. It will not be in vain. He that has begun a good work in you will not leave it till he brings forth judgment to victory. The Lord is not slack concerning his promises. His truth shall never fail. His promise is not at an end. His mercy is fresh every morning. He will renew your youth like an eagle, and make fat all your bones. You shall flourish like an herb and be fat and well-looking.

He also will do it [that] men shall sense fear and put their trust in the Lord. For them that are meek will he guide in judgment; and them that are gentle will he learn [i.e., teach] his ways, which are mercy and truth. To them that fear him, he will show them his covenant of peace. Though it be far above, out of their sight, his salvation is near them that fear him, that glory may dwell in our land. His merciful name is stretched out full to lift up them that are down. The Lord gives sight to the blind. The Lord helpeth them that are sick. The Lord careth for the righteous and the Lord careth for the stranger. Doth he not care for his own children, who are bought with blood, for whom he died, in whose nature he arose and ascended far above all heavens. Jesus hath all power in heaven and earth, and quickeneth whom he will. Because he loveth, ye shall love also. He hath said it who also will do it, who is the Amen, the faithful and sure witness; whose name is King of kings and Lord of lords; who has said, 'I go to my Father and your Father, to my God and your God'. Is he a father—will he not regard his children? Is he a god—will he not save you? He will avenge his elect that raised eyes high unto him who is able to save.

Is there any God who can save after this sort, who giveth his son to die for his rebel? When there was no one to help, his own arm brought salvation. Shall he not with him give us all things freely? Yea my brother, he will add to your peace, love, and joy. O why not open your mouth wide and he will fill it. Nay, your whole soul shall be satisfied with his goodness. Do not you now taste that the Lord is gracious? O look unto Jesus and may your soul be satisfied with his love, which hath height and depth and strength and breadth. O may it embrace you on every side. Amen. Will he not hear the poor when he crieth, and he that hath no helper? When one depth calleth another, yea I will hear saith the Lord, who is mighty and will help. If the Lord help, will he not love? Why he will help according to his excellent greatness, which he showed when he raised Christ from the dead. For what did he raise Christ but that we might live in his sight. He has prepared a place for us, that where he is we might be also. Will he not make us meet for it? Yea, if we hinder not, his Spirit shall move upon our dark chaos and create all things anew. For it is he that makes us, and not we ourselves. Wherefore hope in his mercy for his <saints?> like it well.

You ask me in what time and what manner the Spirit bore witness in me? May the Lord give you an answer of peace. I believe the Lord was always with me, though I once little regarded his gracious influence in stirring up holy desires. But my unholy heart ran after vanity, which hindered his love from flaming out. But doubtless there were the seeds of life in my soul, which produced desires after God which he graciously regarded, for the weakest desires he does not reject. But when I was about seventeen

¹1 John 4:16. Much of Bray's letter is composed of allusions to or quotations from Scripture, which will not be identified in detail.

²Bray's typical spelling: 'I knowe feele his devine fier pennitratin my sole' And he uses no punctuation or paragraphing.

years old the Lord showed me I had not that pearl of great price—living faith. My soul was humbled within me. I made my complaint unto him and showed him my troubles. I sought him, or rather he sought me. I was weary, helpless, and poor. I had strong desires but no feeling. I knew not the Lord. But searching the Scriptures, which testify of Jesus, about a month or longer, he manifested himself to me to be a God of love. He showed that he loved me, the unworthiest of men. The same time my soul replied 'I know I love thee'. O how sweet was his love unto my taste. O give thanks. He loved me before but then told me so, and gave me the witness of his Spirit, which produced love, joy, peace—which has been a principle of new life growing and spreading itself through my whole nature, I hope to the glory of his grace. O may the Lord continue his mercy to me till mortality is swallowed up of life, that with open face I may be changed from glory to glory, as by the Spirit of the Lord. That I may walk worthy of the Lord who has called me to his kingdom and glory. Amen.

O may the same Lord be rich unto all who call upon him, that they may be saved and that he would make a short work upon earth. O that the Lord may bless your ministry to every soul the Lord shall send you. O may the Spirit of your Father always speak in you; to the hearts of all you speak may it be the pure word of God and beget sons to glory, that you may receive that 'Well done good and faithful servant, enter into the joy of your Lord'. Amen. My love to all I know: Mr. [John] Sarney, [John] Gambold, [Henry] Washington, Graves,³ the good women, Mr. [Christopher] Wells. O may they seek till they attain, etc.

The Lord has given to a woman the assurance of faith when your brother baptized Mr. Sims's maid at Islington when at prayer at Mr. [George] Stonehouse's.⁴ And to both the women baptized. Thanks be to God. May his word still sound and be glorified throughout the earth. Amen. We triumph at our new room. Pray for us. Mr. G[o]uld has received comfort tonight, declared it publicly tonight, being at our room a large number. Charles Delamotte came in and made our hearts glad to God. May his coming be sanctified. Amen.

Go on dear friend in taking forth the love of Christ, the freeness of his grace, the infinite merit of his blood, his readiness to save sinners when enemies and far off. If they will hearken to his voice and turn to him, he will have mercy. Our God will abundantly pardon. With him is plenteous redemption, and [he] will redeem Israel from all sins. Amen.

My sister is weary till the Lord turn her sickness into health and purge out all her dross and make her perfect through sufferings. Amen.

All join in love. May the Lord Jesus be with you in reading this scrabble, and with his Spirit seal all the truths and good wishes here written to all that shall hear it, if worth reading.

From yours in Christ (may I continue so in life or death),

Jo. Bray

Address: 'For / The Revd Mr John Wesley'.

Endorsement: by JW, 'J. Bray / Nov. 18. 1738'.

Source: holograph; MARC, MA 1977/610/14.

³Charles Caspar Graves (c. 1717–87), of Mickleton, Gloucestershire, matriculated at Magdalen College, Oxford in Oct. 1736, and was just being drawn to the Methodists.

⁴The baptism took place on Nov. 14; see the account in CW, MS Journal. The 'Mr. Sims' being referred to was likely either the bachelor Peter Syms (b. 1716), a butcher in Paved Alley, Leadenhall Street; or his married uncle, who lived nearby.

From James Hutton

[London]

November 23, 1738

Dear Friend,

At a general meeting of the bands the matters of greatest importance I send you account of.¹

Some persons had been ensnared, and many more were likely to be, by the too familiar intercourse at societies with young women. One of our brethren's hearts is in very great confusion on this account, insomuch that he meets not with his band, and our brother [John] Shaw has escaped with the skin of his teeth; and my own heart has, indeed, escaped, but it was owing to a secret passion which I had for *another*, which I found not out till yesterday. The devil would make havoc of us altogether. Some people also, the present archbishop² especially some time since, took offence at the promiscuous meeting of persons of both sexes, and themselves pointed out the regulations we are come to on that head—viz., that the women, married and unmarried, meet by themselves, excepting only the husbands of any of them with their wives and the ministers or he that expounds. I seem to see that this will produce a speedy settling of some female bands, a thing we much wanted.

A register or writer was appointed—James Hutton!

Also Mr. [Thomas] Broughton advised us to be cautious whom we admit, so then—every person to be admitted at our Friday society is to give in his name on a Friday, which the *bands* are to consider, whether he or she be proper to be admitted. This may for a time keep off that which *must* come—*false brethren*.

Also we appointed November 24 a day of solemn fasting and prayer, to beg of God to be with us on Monday next, when we shall first (it having been found that the want of a president at every meeting has been the cause, or seemed to be, of confusion) cast a lot to see whether it will be good for us to have a president for the *year*, whose business is to preside in our meetings, and only to see to the execution of what shall be determined by the whole society. We are unanimous almost that such an office will be of use, but as a doubt may arise we will cast a lot about it. Then the names of all the bands, with as many blanks as bands, will be shaken together, out of whom one will be taken for that office, as it shall happen. N. B. Now if a blank be drawn, it seems as if the person to be presid^{ent} was not yet admitted into the bands, so that the choice will be put off another month or longer, as shall be judged proper. The first lot will determine whether there shall be such an officer.

Then out of the rest of the lots will be chosen two persons [as] monitors, whose business will be to tell everyone what faults are observed in him, concealing his informer. And no defence of himself to be allowed, only put to his own heart, no farther notice being taken of anything unless the person persist in

¹Religious societies in London had a long history already, to which JW and Peter Böhler added on May 1, 1738, when they formed that in Fetter Lane. Unlike most, it was open to more than members of the Church of England, at least as visitors. Through the advocacy of Böhler it was subdivided into several bands, or little societies. The same was true of a similar society founded later that same month by James Hutton. When JW returned from Herrnhut he strove to reform these and as many other of the older religious societies as would agree to various measures for improving their spiritual efficacy, especially that of incorporating bands as small confessional groups within their organization. When he moved on to Oxford to reform the societies there along similar lines. Ingham and Hutton were left in charge of the London societies. Speedily Hutton, though a layman, became the key administrator, especially as Ingham seemed eager to evangelize his native Yorkshire. The important correspondence between JW and Hutton on the administration of these London societies during late 1738, 1739, and 1740 is known chiefly from the letters preserved by Hutton, now in the Moravian Archives—for over twenty of JW's there preserved we have only three of Hutton's preserved by JW: this of Nov. 23 (answering JW's of Nov. 16, and itself answered on Nov. 26), and letters dated Mar. 4 and July 1, 1740.

²John Potter (c. 1674–1747) had recently been elevated to Archbishop of Canterbury.

his misbehaviour. These are to meet with the leaders of the bands.

That leaders and other officers wait and serve at love-feasts.

That they that speak stand up, and no one speak till he be sat down.

That one person keep the door, another snuff the candles and place the people in their seats, every night, this office to go through all the bands. I and Hartley³ are the two first.

My beloved brother, God is with us. He also is with you. May he strengthen your hands in God, and may Charles Delamotte and your brother also feel the divine influence. May your hearts burn with love to your Saviour and mine while you speak of the wonderful things *he* hath done for us all. May ye all be of one heart and soul, without jealousies, evil-surmisings, or evil-speaking, a fault or set of faults too easily admitted into religious people. May ye all speak the same thing. May you and I be preserved from the creatures! May your societies increase! I have not been able to get a quarter of an hour with brother Fox⁴ since I saw yours to me. He owes me a little money, and I fancy fears to come near me. He need not. I am very glad to hear of the daily offence taken at you and your brother. Walk simply with God, and I will engage you shall not want it; walk in darkness, and you may chance to stumble upon it, and that would do you no good. I will send Mr. Wells's money with a parcel of books directed to some of you speedily.

My love to Mr. [John] Sarney, [Charles Caspar] Graves, Coombs,⁵ [Henry] Washington, [Robert] Watson, Evans,⁶ and whoever is among you that feareth the Lord, Mrs. Cleminger, Mrs. [Thomas] Fox, Mrs. Ford, to Charles Wesley and Charles Delamotte.

Your dear brother,

Jas. Hutton, Register

Benjamin Ingham works har(d) for him and me.

[added in the hand of Ingham] My spirit is with you. Grace be with you all. B. I.

Address: 'To / The Revd John Wesley, A.M. / Fellow of Lincoln College / Oxford'.

Postmark: '23/NO'. *Charge:* '3'.

Endorsement: by JW, 'Js Hut. Nov. 23, 1738 + / J Gamb[old']s Money of Mr. Rock'.

Source: holograph; MARC, MA 1977/610/82.⁷

³Orig., 'Hartlie'. Bernard Hartley (1718–1801) was a carpenter and stuff maker.

⁴This is likely Thomas Fox, currently in London; alternatively John Fox was a member of the Fetter Lane society in London.

⁵Thomas Coombs (c. 1716–70), the son of William Coombs, an Oxford tradesman, received his BA from Brasenose College, Oxford in 1737 and was ordained deacon in 1738. He was drawn briefly to the Methodist cause in late 1738 through the witness of CW (see MS Journal, Sept. 27, 1738). Hutton, like the Wesley brothers, spelled the last name 'Combes'.

⁶JW refers frequently to a Mr. Evans in Oxford at this time, but never gives a first name.

⁷Transcription published in *Works*, 25:585–87.

From Emilia (Wesley) Harper¹

[Gainsborough, Lincolnshire]

November 24, 1738

Dear Brother,

Yours I received,² and thank you for remembering me, though your letter afforded me small consolation.

For God's sake tell me how a distressed woman who expects daily to have the very bed taken from under her for rent can consider the state of the churches in Germany. I am ready to give up the ghost with grief. How is it possible in such extremity to think of anybody's concerns but my own, till this storm be blown over some way, or my head laid low in Gainsborough churchyard? We owe at Christmas two years' rent for this house, and as it was my hard hap to marry a tradesman without a trade, the burden of the day has laid on me from the beginning. Yet still I hoped for better, and when Mr. Harper went to Derbyshire, last Martinmas was twelvemonth, I helped him with all my summer profits, in hopes if his business was good for anything he would pay me with interest. But vain were my hopes. He just can after a very poor manner maintain himself, and sometimes—once in six months, perhaps—he will give me 10 shillings, and thinks himself very kind to me too. I have sold many of my clothes for bread. Is not that calamity? I want many of the common necessities of life, and am almost always sick. If this be not a state of affliction, there is no such thing in the world. Not but yet I have a bed to lie on. But Christmas will soon be here, and if Bob Harper will do nothing for to raise half a year's rent I cannot get it myself, though I could help somewhat towards it. And tis a cold time of year to be turned out of doors. Sam and Charles³ (God bless 'em) kept me safe at midsummer. My comfort is, this is the last year I have to turn over in this house, and some way perhaps (though unknown to me) God may bring me out of my troubles.

Now that you may not think me a reprobate because I feel my afflictions, I assure you that I habitually trust in God and submit to his providences. Nay, further, I always have a secret hope that I shall not be quite brokenhearted, but shall still live to see happier days. Pray write soon. Remember the natural affection you have always shown to your Emme, and forsake her not in the day of her distress. Love to your sister in trouble is more pleasing in the sight of God and man than preaching to a thousand where you have no business. If you had come to me, instead of going to Germany, and laid out *your money* in travelling hither instead of visiting Count Zinzendorf, you would have been, I dare say, as acceptable to our common Master.

Where is honest Charles? Pray give my love to him, and abundance of thanks for midsummer. I have but an unfortunate life to lose, and am commanded by our Saviour not to fear them who can only kill the body.⁴ I know all things are possible with God, and he can even now preserve this weak sick creature, and restore me to a state of comfort. But since in all human appearance my time draws near its end, my health is not only decayed, but destroyed, and the storm just ready to fall on me will in all likelihood take the small remains of life I have left. Hear and remember *these*, which may prove my dying words. You seem to love me from your infancy. I am sure of my side (for I know not seemings⁵) I loved you tenderly.

¹JW had officiated at the marriage of Emilia and Robert Harper, an apothecary in Epworth, on June 13, 1735, in Miserton, Nottinghamshire. Harper proved inept at holding a job, and mainly interested in Emilia's financial resources. They were now separated, never to be reunited, and Emilia would soon join her brothers in London.

²JW had written Emilia on Nov. 4, according to his diary; the letter does not survive but this response offers clues to its contents. There are no paragraph breaks in Emilia's original.

³Samuel Wesley Jr. and CW.

⁴See Matt. 10:28.

⁵Cf. Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, Act. 1, Scene 2, line 77: 'I know not "seems".'

You married me to this man, and as soon as sorrow took hold of *me you left me to it*. Had you the same, nay, a quarter of the love to me I have for you, long since you would have been with me. It was in your power. You who could go to Germany, could you not reach Gainsborough? Yes, *certainly*, and had my soul been lost through self-murder *my damnation* would have justly laid at your door. I can write no more, but am, dear brother, while I live,

Your affectionate sister, and real friend,

Emilia Harper

Address: 'To / The Revd Mr John Wesley / Fellow of Lincoln Colledge / Oxford / By way of London'.

Postmark: '27/NO'. *Charges:* ((4)), 'In all 7'.

Endorsement: by JW; 'S[ister] Em. Nov. 24. 1738'.

Source: holograph; MARC, DDWF 6/9.⁶

⁶Transcription published in *Works*, 25:589–90.

From William Fish¹

London
November 25, 1738

My Dear Friend, whom I love in the truth,

Grace be with you and peace from God our Father in our Lord Jesus Christ.² I protest by the rejoicing I have in Christ Jesus my Lord. I die daily to myself and grow stronger and stronger in the power of my Saviour's resurrection. The refreshments that come from his presence into my soul satisfy it, as it were, with marrow and fatness. I know my Saviour's voice, and my heart burns with love and desire to follow him in the regeneration. Having no confidence in the flesh, I loathe myself and love him only. My dear brother, my spirit even at this moment rejoices in God my Saviour, and the love which is shed abroad in my heart by the Holy Ghost destroys all self-love, that I could lay down my life for my brethren. May Jesus remember you now. He is in his kingdom, for he quickeneth whomever he will, and has *now* power on earth to forgive sins.

I *know* that my Redeemer liveth, and have confidence towards God that through his blood my sins are forgiven. He has begat me of his own will, and saves and delivers me from the power of sin, so that it has no dominion over me. His Spirit bears witness with my spirit that I am his child by adoption and grace. And this is not for works of righteousness which I have done, for I am his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works, so that all boasting is excluded. I was found of him, that sought him not (and of this I am confident, that whosoever cometh to him he will in no wise cast out).

It is now about eighteen years since Jesus took possession of my heart. He then opened my eyes and said unto me, 'Son, be of good cheer, thy sins are forgiven'. And since that time the whole bent of my will has been towards him night and day, even in my dreams! By abiding in him I am more than conqueror (through his strengthening me) over those corruptions which before I was always a slave to. I have many things to say to you, but you cannot bear them yet. When Christ has sent you the Comforter, then you will have all things. He will lead you into *all truth* and his unction will show you far, far greater things than the most exalted wisdom of man can attain to.

Now the God of peace, which brought again from the dead our Lord Jesus Christ, that great shepherd of the sheep, through the blood of the everlasting covenant, make you perfect in every good work, working in you that which is well pleasing in his sight. To him be glory in the church of Christ Jesus. And that you, and all those who wait for his appearing, may find the consolation of Israel, is the earnest prayer of

Your affectionate brother in Christ,

William Fish

Address: 'To / The Revd. Mr. John Westley / Fellow of Lincoln College / Oxon'.

Postmark: '25/NO'.

Endorsement: by JW, 'Mr Fish / Nov. 25. 1738'.

Source: holograph; MARC, MA 1977/610/59.³

¹William Fish was a lay member of the Fetter Lane Society who resisted the efforts of JW and CW to tie the society closely to Church of England practice. Fish championed lay speaking and by June 1739 disavowed the Church of England, aligning more with the Moravians.

²As with John Bray, William Fish's letter is composed largely of quotations and paraphrases of Scripture.

³JW published a partial transcription, combined with a portion of a letter dated Dec. 5, 1738, in JW, *Journal*, Dec. 5, 1738 (*Works*, 19:23–24).

From an Unidentified Correspondent

[c. December] 1738

My Most Dear and Honoured Father in Christ,

In the twentieth year of my age, 1737, God was pleased to open my eyes and to let me see that I did not live as became a child of God. I found my sins were great (though I was what they call a sober person) and that God kept an account of them all. However, I thought if I repented and led a good life, God would accept me. And so I went on for about half a year and had sometimes great joy. But last winter I began to find that whatever I did was nothing. My very tears I found were sin, and the enemy of souls laid so many things to my charge that sometimes I despaired of heaven. I continued in great doubts and fears till April 9, when I went out of town. Here for a time I was greatly transported, in meditating and seeing the glorious works of God, but in about three weeks I was violently assaulted again. God then offered a Saviour to me, but my self-righteousness kept me from laying hold on him.

On Whitsunday¹ I went to receive the blessed sacrament, but with a heart as hard as a stone. Heavy laden I was indeed, when God was pleased to let me see a crucified Saviour. I saw there was a fountain opened in his side for me to wash in and to be clean. But alas! I was afraid to venture, fearing I should be too presumptuous. And I know, and am sure, I at that time refused the atonement which I might then have had. Yet I received great comfort. But in about nine days time my joy went out, as a lamp does for want of oil, and I fell into my old state, into a state of damnation. Yet I was not without hope, for ever after that time I could not despair of salvation: I had so clear a sight of the fountain opened in the side of our Lord. But still when I thought of death, or the day of judgment, it was a great terror to me. And yet I was afraid to venture to lay all my sins upon Christ.

This was not all. But whenever I retired to prayer I had a violent pain in my head. This only seized me when I began to pray earnestly, or to cry out aloud to Christ. But when I cried to him against this also, he gave me ease. Well, I found God did love me and did draw me to Christ. I hungered and thirsted after him and had an earnest desire to be clothed with his righteousness. But I was still afraid to go boldly to Christ and to claim him as my Saviour.

July 3. My dear sister came down to see me. She had received the atonement on St. Peter's Day.² I told her I thought Christ died for me, but as to the assurance she mentioned I could say nothing.

July 5. She went. That night I went into the garden, and considering what she had told me, I saw him by faith, whose eyes are as a flame of fire, him who justifieth the ungodly. I told him I was ungodly, and it was for me that he died. His blood did I plead with great faith, to blot out the handwriting that was against me. I told my Saviour that he had promised to give rest to all that were heavy laden. This promise I claimed, and I saw him by faith stand condemned before God in my stead. I saw the fountain opened in his side. I found, as I hungered, he fed me; as my soul thirsted, he gave me out of that fountain to drink. And so strong was my faith that if I had had all the sins of the whole world laid upon me, I knew and was sure one drop of his blood was sufficient to atone for all. Well, I clave unto him, and he did wash me in his blood. He hath clothed me with his righteousness and has presented me to his Father and my Father, to his God and my God, a pure, spotless virgin, as if I had never committed any sin. It is on Jesus I stand, the Saviour of sinners. It is he that hath loved me and given himself for me. I cleave unto him as my surety, and he is bound to pay God the debt. While I stand on this rock I am sure the gates of hell cannot prevail against me. It is by faith that I am justified and have peace with God through him. His blood has made reconciliation to God for me. It is by faith I have received the atonement. It is by faith that I have the Son of God and the Spirit of Christ dwelling in me. And what then shall separate me from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus my Lord?

¹May 21, 1738, the day of CW's religious assurance.

²June 29.

You must think what a transport of joy I was then in, when I that was lost and undone, dropping into hell, felt a Redeemer come, who is 'mighty to save', 'to save unto the uttermost'.³ Yet I did not receive the witness of the Spirit at that time. But in about half an hour the devil came with great power to tempt me. However, I minded him not, but went in and lay down pretty much composed in my mind. Now St. Paul says, 'After ye believed, ye were sealed with the Spirit of promise.'⁴ So it was with me. After I had believed on him that 'justifieth the ungodly',⁵ I received that seal of the Spirit which is the 'earnest of our inheritance'.⁶ But at that time I did not know anything of this. My sins were forgiven, but I knew I was not yet born of God.

July 6. In the morning, being by myself, I found the work of the Spirit was very powerful upon me (although you know God does not deal with every soul in the same way). As my mother bore me with great pain, so did I feel great pain in my soul in being born of God. Indeed I thought the pains of death were upon me, and that my soul was then taking leave of the body. I thought I was going to him whom I saw with strong faith standing ready to receive me. In this violent agony I continued about four hours, and then I began to feel 'the Spirit of God bearing witness with my spirit, that I was born of God'.⁷ 'Because I was a child of God he sent forth the Spirit of his Son into me, crying, Abba, Father.'⁸ For that is the cry of every newborn soul. O mighty, powerful, happy change! I who had nothing but devils ready to drag me to hell, now found I had angels to guard me to my reconciled Father and my Judge, who just before stood ready to condemn me, was now become my righteousness. But I cannot express what God hath done for my soul. No; this is to be my everlasting employment, when I have put off this frail, sinful body, this corrupt, hellish nature of mine; when I join with that great multitude which no man can number, in singing praises to the Lamb that loved us and gave himself for us! O how powerful are the workings of the Almighty in a newborn soul! The love of God was shed abroad in my heart, and a flame kindled there, with pains so violent, yet so very ravishing, that my body was almost torn asunder. I loved. The Spirit cried strong in my heart. I sweated. I trembled. I fainted. I sung. I joined my voice with those that excel in strength. My soul was got up into the holy mount. I had no thoughts of coming down again into the body. I who not long before had called to the rocks to fall on me, and the mountains to cover me, could now call for nothing else but, 'Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly.'⁹ Then I could cry out with great boldness, There, O God, is my surety! There, O death, is thy plague! There, O grave, is thy destruction! There, O serpent, is the seed that shall forever bruise thy head. O, I thought my head was a fountain of water! I was dissolved in love. 'My Beloved is mine, and I am his.'¹⁰ He has all charms. He has ravished my heart. He is my Comforter, my Friend, my All. He is now in his garden, feeding among the lilies. O, 'I am sick of love.'¹¹ He is altogether lovely, 'the chiefest among ten thousand'.¹² O how Jesus fills, Jesus extends, Jesus overwhelms the soul in which he dwells!

Source: published transcription; JW, *Journal*, Dec. 5, 1738 (*Works*, 19:24–26).

³Heb. 7:25.

⁴Eph. 1:13.

⁵Rom. 4:5.

⁶Eph. 1:14.

⁷Rom. 8:16.

⁸Cf. Gal. 4:6.

⁹Cf. Rev. 22:20.

¹⁰Song of Sol. 2:16.

¹¹Ibid., 2:5.

¹²Ibid., 5:10.

From the Rev. James Hervey¹

Stoke Abbey [Devonshire]

December 1, 1738

Most Dear and Reverend Sir,

Whom I love and honour in the Lord. Indeed it is not through any forgetfulness of your favours, or unconcernedness for your welfare, that you have not heard from me, but through the miscarriage of my letter. Immediately on the news of your first arrival in England I made haste to salute you, and wondered why your answer was so long in coming. But wondered more when I heard that you had left the nation a second time, without being so condescending as to own me, or so kind as to vouchsafe me a single line. But now, sir, that I am assured under your own hand that you have escaped the perils of the sea, the perils of foreign countries, the perils of those that oppose the truth; are restored in safety to your native country, are re-settled at Oxon, and both have been doing, and still are doing, spiritual and everlasting good to men—I may truly say, ‘My heart rejoiceth, even mine.’ O that I could give you a comfortable account of myself, and of my zeal for God! Alas! I must confess with shame and sorrow, ‘My zeal has been to sit still!’ I am not strong in body, and lamentably weak in spirit; sometimes my bodily disorders clog the willing mind, and are a grievous weight upon its wheels; at other times the mind is oppressed with sloth, and thereby rendered listless and indisposed for labouring in the Lord. Pray for me, dearest sir, and engage all my friends to cry mightily to heaven in my behalf, if so be this dry rod may bud and blossom, this barren tree may bring forth much fruit.

I live in the family of a worthy gentleman,² who is a hearty well-wisher to the cause of pure and undefiled religion; who desires no greater happiness than to love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity; who would be glad of a place for himself and household in your prayers. Dear sir, will you permit me to inform you what is said, though I verily believe slanderously said, of you? Tis reported that the dearest friends I have in the world are setters forth of strange doctrines, that are contrary to Scripture and repugnant to the Articles of our Church. This cannot but give me uneasiness, and I should be glad to have my fears removed by yourself.³ Tis said that you inculcate faith without laying any stress upon good works; that you endeavour to dissuade honest tradesmen from following their occupations, and persuade them to turn preachers. Now these calumnies I wish you would give me power to confute, who am, dear sir,

Your ever obliged and grateful friend,

J. Hervey

Source: published transcription; *Arminian Magazine* 1 (1778) 132–33.⁴

¹Answering JW's of Nov. 21, 1738 (*Works*, 25:581–82).

²Paul Orchard (c. 1681–1740).

³JW's reply of Mar. 20, 1739 (*Works*, 25:609–10) implies that at this point his extract for the *AM* omits one of Hervey's questions, which was probably in this form: ‘How far do you believe that privilege of the children of God, the not committing sin, to extend?’

⁴Republished in *Works*, 25:596–97.

From John Bray

London
December 5, 1738

Loving Brother (I had almost said 'son'),

O that God by me would instruct you to the kingdom of God, that out of my treasure would bring things new and old which may be the savour of life to your soul. Rely on the truth of God which came out of the mouth of a babe. It will [prove] sound. It was the Lord's work, that it might be marvellous in our eyes. His works are great, sought out of all them that have pleasure therein. Though it appear not as yet, trust in him who also will do it. His works are perfect—all, not one faileth. But in his children's deliverance his power shall be known. His power was great in bringing you out of the hand of Pharaoh, who required bricks the full bale without straw. The Lord heard your groaning and sorrows and came down to help you.

His power was known to me. I have seen and therefore speak. Has he begun and shall he not make an end. Stand still fears and go forward in faith. He will make a way for his ransomed to go over. Nay, you have already passed the sea of your sins; look back and see your enemies on the shore. Stop and sing the song of Moses and the lamb. Say not, say not can he give bread also or provide meat in the wilderness. Murmur not, he will give meat enough and drink enough. He will give drink in the desert. Out of the rock shall waters flow in a barren and dry land. The Lord is our helper, the holy one of Israel in the midst of us. Trust in the Lord forever, for in the Lord Jehovah is everlasting strength. He doth try and prove his children, to do them good in their latter end. Look not back at the flesh pots, the garlic and onions of the land, but after the milk and honey, the bread and water, which cometh from above and giveth life unto the world. The weakest desire, the faintest endeavour, will find acceptance from the kind lover of souls—the Lord. O friend, keep your eye single and your whole body shall be full of light.

It is hard to keep our hearts from the creature, which was made for [the] Creator, who only satisfies them. He will honour them who honour him above all things. They that seek him with their whole hearts shall him. Him I say who filleth all things living with plenteousness. O Jesus, lover of souls, defend and dwell in the heart of thy servant. Show him thy love wherewith thou lovest him. O let him taste and see how gracious thou art. Arise and shine, thou true light and enlighten, quicken, and revive thy own work. Thou great master-builder, make thy servants thy own habitation through thy Spirit. O let them receive thee and receive power to become sons of God, and of thy fullness have grace for grace. O that with open face they may behold the glory of the Lord, and be changed into the same glory as by the Spirit of the Lord. Amen.

Loved Jesus, thou art the thing we long for. Thou art our hope in the land of the living. If thou reject us, we are of all men most miserable. O show thy servants thy works and their spiritual children thy glory. O let all see the salvation of God, for I know then who thou are, the holy one of God, who killeth and maketh alive, who woundeth and healeth, and canst do all things. Thou hast eyes and seeth, ears and heareth, and hath the breath of life. O breathe on these thy servants, that seeing they may see, hearing they may hear, and understand by thy Spirit the deep things of God, that wisdom in a mystery criest in us the hope of glory, and preach him to others, even the truth as it is in Jesus.

And may the Lord work with you and confirm your words, that with all boldness you may declare the whole counsel of God. And may the power of the Lord be always present to heal, that your labour may never be in vain in the Lord. O that by you he would build the desolate heritage, and raise the ruins thereof. O let thy word go forth and great shall be the company of preachers. The harvest truly is great. O Father, send forth labourers into thy vineyard and prosper the work of these hands unto them. O prosper their handiwork, that the time of singing may come that great is the Holy-Holy-Holy One in the midst of us; that we may not be termed 'forsaken' anymore. Amen.

O Jesus, who hast power with God, the only God, and canst mightily deliver the sons of Jacob and Joseph, stretch forth thy hand to heal. And let a nation be born, as once thou was sent to the healing of the nations. The heavens are the work of thy hands. All things are under thy feet. Make thy power to be known, though it be by children and through the holy child Jesus. Father glorify thy son by giving him

the heathen for his inheritance and the utmost parts of the earth for his possession. Is he not thy only son, in whom thou always delightest, who was always with thee, from the beginning ere the world was made? Hath he not fulfilled all thy pleasure in becoming man—living, and dying, and rising, and ascending, and sitting on thy right hand. O hear him interceding for us rebels. And through him bring us to God. Though far off, make us nigh by the blood of Christ thy Son of thy love, in whom thou art well pleased. Wilt not thou give him his heart's desire who thirsteth to save sinners? How loving Lord. Just and true will it be. Can thou hear the cry of thy Son's blood which speaketh better things than the blood of Abel? O avenge his blood on his and our enemy, the devil, and bruise him shortly under our feet, and make our foes his footstool. I believe thou art able and also will do it. Amen. Lord Jesus, be it according to our faith. Amen.

I have been in great heaviness for the sudden death of John Wilkes's son, who was forsaken of men but I hope chosen of God's precious. O cry aloud to them that think they stand, lest they fall. It is easy to say 'though all should forsake thee, yet will not I'. But who can stand when God does not uphold? If anyone is overtaken in a fault, let us not be soon angry or cast them off, but pray for patience towards all men, especially to the afflicted members of Christ, of whom the world is not worthy—those the particularly brethren of Christ, a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief. Our poor friend was quite distressed and wanted us to make a gathering at the room. I denied him. Wherever he went he met with the same mercy. I went to him and heard he still drank drams. I and [name crossed out] told him if he did not leave drinking I would do no more for him—all reflected on him. He grieved much, and being very weak it seized him so he was out all day. Before the evening he came home, was taken speechless and died in the morning. I had spoken to Mr. [George] Stonehouse for him, who promised to let him have one pound to set him up. He had not heard of it. The Lord I hope has taken him, blessed be his name. We want help for the work of the Lord. Hasten your coming my friend. Love of my wife and little ones to you and brother John.¹ May he have you all in his holy keeping. Amen.

J. Bray

Address: 'To the Reverend Mr. / John Wesley'.

Endorsement: by JW, 'J. Bray, Dec. 5, 1738'.

Source: holograph; MARC, MA 1977/610/15.

¹This is likely a reference to John Purdy (c. 1717–55), originally of Ryton, County Durham, who was in London by 1738 working as a tailor and active in the Fetter Lane society. Purdy accompanied JW to Bristol in 1739 and remained there, assisting JW for a time until he decided to marry.

From William Fish

London
December 5, 1738

My Dear Friend,

I cannot but acknowledge that my joys are sometimes abated by sorrow; but then my sorrow is after a godly sort, so that I must not say my joys are interrupted. For although 'heaviness endures for a night', unspeakable joy 'cometh in the morning'.¹ I am always in a habitual disposition for prayer, though I have not always the same fervency in prayer. I can 'in everything', without exception, 'give thanks'; especially as troubles and afflictions have abounded, so, in an extraordinary degree, consolations in Christ have abounded also.

My dear friend, bear with my narration after what manner I was born of God. It was an instantaneous act. My whole heart was filled with a divine power, a joy unspeakable, drawing all the faculties of my soul after Christ, which continued three or four nights and days. It was as a mighty rushing wind coming into the soul, enabling me from that moment to be more than conqueror over those lusts and corruptions which, before that time, I was enslaved to. It is a salvation beyond what we can express. I know *I dwell in Christ and Christ in me. I am bone of his bone and flesh of his flesh*. And what shall I say? O that I were dissolved, that I might be with him where he is! But I will wait till he summons me hence, for his time is best. O that I might have my request, and that God would grant the thing that I long for—viz., that you and all that desire 'The Beloved' may be espoused to him, and receive the earnest of that 'inheritance which is incorruptible and fadeth not away, reserved for those who are kept by the power of God, through faith, unto salvation, ready to be revealed in these last times'.²

Your sincere friend and brother in Christ,

William Fish

Source: published transcription; Moore, *Life of Wesley*, 1:109–10.³

¹Cf. Ps. 30:5.

²1 Pet. 1:4–5.

³JW published an excerpt from this letter combined with portions of a prior letter dated Nov. 25, 1738, in JW, *Journal*, Dec. 5, 1738 (*Works*, 19:23–24).

From the Rev. Samuel Wesley Jr.¹

[Tiverton]
December 13, 1738

Dear Jack,

You own abundantly enough to clear Mrs. [Elizabeth (Ayscough)] Hutton from any misrepresentation as to you, and me from misunderstanding her. I was but too right in my judgment.

1. You was not a Christian before May 24, but are so now, in a sense of the word you call obvious; which was so far from it that it astonished all who heard you then, and which I deny to be so much as *true*.

2. You hold the witness of the Spirit as containing a clear information of adoption, whereof pardon is a part, to be absolutely necessary to your salvation and that of others, unless excused by invincible ignorance. Enough! Enough! Yet,

3. You apply Joel amazingly, though you give up *such* visions as I speak of; yet not allowing me to call *such* bad branches of a bad root. That I may not be guilty any more of putting them more or less into every letter, I'll discuss their matter fully by itself once for all, desiring you in the meantime to say what other Scripture dreams or visions you would insist on, whether all between Genesis and Revelation? I am afraid Ahab's lying spirits² may be but too pertinent.

That you were not a Christian before May, in your sense, anyone may allow; but have you ever since continued sinless? Sin has not the dominion? Do you never, then, fall? Or do you mean no more than that you are free from presumptuous sins? If the former, I deny it; if the latter, who disputes?

Your misapplication of the witness of the Spirit is so thoroughly cleared by Bishop Bull³ that I shall not hold a candle to the sun. What portion of love, joy, etc., God may please to bestow on Christians is in his hand, not ours. Those texts you quote no more prove them generally necessary in what you call your imperfect state than rejoicing in the Lord always contradicts. Blessed are they that mourn. There is a time to weep, and a time to laugh, till that day comes when all tears shall be wiped from our eyes—which I take it will hardly be before death; to which happiness God of his infinite mercy, through Christ, bring us all.

We join in love. As your last letter is dated from Oxford, I write thither, though you may be gone by this time. I am, Dear J[ack],

Your affectionate, sincere friend and brother,

S. Wesley

I had much more to say, but it will keep if ever it should be proper.

Address: 'To the Revd. Mr. John / Wesley Fellow of Lincoln / Oxford / by + post'.

Postmark: 'TIVER / TON'. *Charge:* '4'.

Endorsement: by JW, 'b[rother] S[am]. Dec. 13, 1738/ Ansd this and the next and Visions to them[?]' ; on p. (3), 'You make no more of infant baptism than they do; but require as full a change as though there had been no such thing' (both endorsements in abbreviated longhand).

Source: holograph; MARC, DDWF 5/14.⁴

¹Replying to JW's letter of Nov. 30 (*Works*, 25:5:95).

²See 1 Kings 22:20–23; 2 Chron. 18:18–22.

³JW takes Samuel Jr. to be referring to George Bull, 'A Discourse Concerning the Spirit of God in the Faithful', in *Some Important Points of Primitive Christianity* (London: Smith, 1713), 3:879–914.

⁴Transcription published in *Works*, 25:598.

From Count Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf

Texel
December 14, 1738

Mein lieber H[err] Wesley,

Ich habe ihr Schreiben so guth ich gekont verstanden. Es gehet mir damit, wie es Ihnen Vielleicht zuweilen unter denen Brudern gegangen ist, ob sie gleich besser Teutsch, als ich und die um mich seindt, Englisch können Ich binn sehr vergnügt, Wenn ich höre daß der Heyland, wächst allenthalben, und ich will dazu das meinige beyzutragen gerne alle thage *mehrbenen*. Laßen sie, mich kühnlich wißen, was sie zu erinnern haben, ich will Ihnen gehör geben. Die Differentz der Engellandischen unnd Mährischen leute wird sich wohl auch in gewissen Verfaßungen eußeren, denn ich finde daß es etwas kostet biß das Schema der Welt regierung, und das Schema der Kirche gäntzlich getheilet sind, wie sie unser Heyland zu seiner Zeit theilete. Wir mengen uns aber in nichts, das uns nicht befohlen ist, und also kann das so gehen, wann nur die brüder mit uns geduldt haben, die wir unsere Verfassungen unterm Creutze lernen.

Weil ich, wie gesagt, dero Brieff nicht völlig gefasset so muß ich es dismahl dabey bewenden lassen, daß ich ihnen versichere aufrichtig zu seyn,

Ihr ergebener Bruder,

Zinzendorf

Translation

My Dear Mr. Wesley,

I have understood your letter as well as I was able. It is for me as perhaps it was sometimes for you among the Brethren, although you can speak German better than I and those around me can speak English. I am very pleased to hear that the Saviour is growing everywhere, and for my part I will gladly [do more] to contribute to it all my days. Let me know boldly what you wish to bring to mind; I will give you a hearing. The difference among the English and the Moravian people will express itself in certain dispositions, for I find that it will be costly until the form of the worldly government and the form of the church are entirely separated, as our Saviour separated them in his time. We do not, however, mix ourselves up in things that are not commanded to us, and thus it can continue in this way only if the brethren have patience with those of us who are learning our condition under the cross.

Because I, as was said, did not fully grasp your letter, I must thus this time be content with this: that I pledge to be straightforward with you.

Your devoted brother,

Zinzendorf

Source: manuscript copy for records; Herrnhut, Germany, Unitätsarchiv der Evangelischen Brüder-Unität, R.13.A.17.8.¹

¹The transcription and translation given above were prepared by Dr. Jonathan Strom, in consultation with Paul Peucker of the Moravian archives in Bethlehem, PA.

From the Rev. Samuel Wesley Jr.

Tiverton, Devonshire
January 24, 1738/9

Dear Jack,

Charles tells me you reckon I am a letter in your debt.² In value it may be, but tis not in number, for I had no answer to my last. I cannot say it positively either desired or deserved one, and perhaps you may stay for my letter about dreams, which has laid by me a good while, to save postage, but at last I believe I shall be provoked to send it anyway, rather than raise expectation so long for a trifle, or what you may think so. I have heard something since I wrote which I look upon myself as obliged to tell you.

1. A place is taken, I am told from the news, for Mr. [George] Whitefield to expound in publicly. I hope it is with the bishop's approbation and consent at least, and not done in ⟨fo⟩rce of the Act of Toleration only.

2. You have permitted and encouraged an Anabaptist t⟨eac⟩her in one of our pulpits, being present yourself both a⟨t Morning Prayers? ...³⟩ and the sermon.

3. You have spoke in build⟨ings not consecrated? ...⟩

not using the Liturgy, and pray⟨ing extempore? ...⟩

but said you would do so now ⟨...⟩

If any Church of England m⟨inister ...⟩

could approve it. These facts ⟨...⟩

Good Mr. Whitefield seems mighty much agreed w⟨...⟩

persuasion in his journal as indeed he and you ⟨...⟩

more of infant baptism than they do, but ⟨...⟩

change as though there had been no such ⟨...⟩

wonder should most of them ⟨...⟩

deplore it, if by any other w⟨...⟩

We join in love. I am ⟨...⟩

as soon as I can, because my ⟨...⟩

has been. I am ⟨...⟩

Source: holograph; MARC, DDWes 9/16.⁴

²From the evidence of his diary (admittedly inconclusive), JW does not appear to have replied immediately to his brother's letter of Dec. 13, and this letter supports such a conclusion, as does his endorsement of the Dec. 13 letter. Thus it seems likely that the letter noted in the diary as written to Samuel Jr. on Feb. 3, 1739, in fact answered that of Dec. 13 and this of Jan. 24, although unfortunately the extract from that reply preserved by Whitehead refers only to the letter of Dec. 13.

³The right lower quarter of the page is largely missing, leaving a gap of about half of each of the remaining sentences.

⁴Partial transcription published in *Works*, 25:599.

From an Unnamed Follower

Wapping
February 9, 1739

Sir,

Your prayers are desired for a child that is lunatic, and sore vexed day and night, that our Lord would be pleased to heal him, as he did those in the day of his flesh, and that he would give his parents faith and patience till his time is come.

Source: published transcription; JW, *Journal*, Feb. 9, 1739 (*Works*, 19:34).

From same Unnamed Follower

Wapping
February 13, 1739

Sir,

I return you hearty thanks for your prayers on Friday for my tortured son. He grows worse and worse. I hope the nearer deliverance. I beg your prayers still to our Redeemer, who will cure him, or give us patience to bear the rod, hoping it is dipped in the blood of the Lamb.

Sir, he is taken with grievous weeping, his heart beating as if it would beat through his ribs. He swells ready to burst, sweats great drops, runs about beating and tearing himself. He bites and pinches me, so that I carry his marks always on me. He lays his hands on the fire and sticks pins in his flesh. Thus he has been these five years. He is in his eleventh year, a wonder of affliction; I hope, of mercy also, and that I shall yet praise him who is my Redeemer and my God.

Source: published transcription; JW, *Journal*, Feb. 13, 1739 (*Works*, 19:34).

[JW adds on Feb. 17: 'a few of us prayed with him, and from that thim (as his parents since informed us) he had more rest (although not a full deliverance) than he had had for two years before.]

From the Rev. George Whitefield¹

Steeple Ashton, Wiltshire
February 13, 1739

Honoured Sir,

Your prayer is heard! This morning I visited your mother, whose prejudices are entirely removed, and she only longs to be with you in your societies in London. Arguments from Tiverton,² I believe, will now have but little weight. We parted with prayer. Brother [Westley] Hall rejoiced in spirit, and so, methinks, will you and brother Charles.

Honoured sir, how shall I express my gratitude to you for past favours? I pray for you without ceasing. But that is not enough; I want to give you more substantial proofs. Believe me, I am ready to follow you³ to prison and to death. Today I was thinking, suppose my honoured friend was laid in a dungeon for preaching Christ. O how would I visit him! How would I kiss his chain, and continue with him till midnight singing psalms! Perhaps our friends may think none of these things shall befall us. But I know not but they may be nigh, even at the door. As for my own part, I expect to suffer in the flesh. I believe I shall be exalted; I know I must be first humbled. I am assured you will not be ashamed of me when I am a prisoner. I only suspect myself. But God's grace will be sufficient for me. Let us, then, honoured sir, (if such a one as I may give a word of exhortation) follow our Master without the camp, bearing his reproach.⁴ Let us cheerfully suffer the loss of all things, and lay down our lives for his sake.

I refer you to brother [James] Hutton for news.⁵ I pray continually that as your day is, so may your strength be. I pray that you may not only have peace, but joy in the Holy Ghost, and be filled with all the fullness of God. I know you pray for, honoured sir,

Your affectionate son in the faith,

George Whitefield

I salute all most kindly.⁶

Address: 'To the Rev. John Wesley, in London'.

Source: contemporary manuscript transcription, Cardiff (Wales) Central Library, Manuscript Collection, MS 1.553, pp. 114–15; collated with published transcription, *Collection* (1797), 18.⁷

¹Having returned from his first visit to North America, Whitefield began touring the western side of England. His *Journal* records that after leaving Salisbury on Feb. 13, he visited 'an old disciple, my brother Wesley's mother', staying with her son-in-law, the Rev. Westley Hall. That evening Whitefield reached Steeple Ashton (called 'Stapleashwin' in both *Journal* and letter), held a service in his lodgings, and 'wrote some letters'.

²I.e., from Samuel Wesley Jr.

³'Follow you' is missing in the Cardiff ms. transcription.

⁴See Heb. 13:13.

⁵This sentence appears only in the Cardiff ms. transcription.

⁶The postscript appears only in the Cardiff ms. transcription.

⁷Transcription in *Collections* (1797) republished in *Works*, 25:600–01.

From the Rev. George Whitefield¹

Bristol
March 3, 1739

Honoured Sir,

I rejoice sincerely in your indefatigable zeal, and great success in the gospel of our dear Redeemer. Does not God by this cry out to those that have ears to hear, 'This is the way; walk in it'?² Just now I am come from Bath, and was much refreshed by the sight of Mr. Thomson,³ Griffith Jones, etc. God greatly blessed my conversation to them. Lady [Mary] C[ocks] is as yet self-righteous. But what I said staggered her. She will henceforward, I believe, pray for deliverance. I wrote to her this morning. Another young gentleman from Bath intends joining our friends at the university. Brave news brother [Charles] Kinchin sends from thence. How secretly, in spite of all opposition, is the kingdom of Jesus Christ carried on! Here is a child of nine years old filled with the love of God, and very desirous of receiving the sacrament! Brother Brown knows him.⁴ How would you advise me to act? I think I would not advise brother Brown to come here till you do. He will be a great help to you in this city, because he knows our friends. There is a glorious door opened among the colliers. You must come and water what God has enabled me to plant.

Since I begun this I hear you are gone to Oxon. Honoured sir, I heartily pray God to bless your endeavours, and make you stronger and stronger. Opposition here is not so great as it has been. I am now cast out, blessed be God. May I not now hope that I begin to be a disciple of Christ?

Honoured sir, I love you more than words can express, and am, honoured sir,
Your dutiful son and servant,

George Whitefield

Source: published transcription; *Collection* (1797), 18–19.⁵

¹Replying to JW's of Feb. 26 (*Works* 25:601–03).

²Isa. 30:21.

³Rev. George Thomson (1699–1782), the evangelical vicar of St. Gennys, Cornwall.

⁴John Brown (1712–94), a woolen draper in London awakened by Whitefield and converted by CW in June 1738. Brown would travel with JW to Germany in 1738 and eventually align with the Moravians. See *DEB*, 148–49.

⁵Republished in *Works*, 25:604–05.

From the Rev. George Whitefield¹

Bristol
March 22, 1738/9

Honoured Sir,

I rejoice at the success God has given you at Oxford and elsewhere. And immediately kneeled down and prayed that you may go on from conquering to conquering. I propose, God willing, to write to [Henry] Washington, etc. Turn them, O Lord, and they shall be turned!²

I thank you most heartily for your kind rebuke. I can only say it was too tender. I beseech you, by the mercies of God in Christ Jesus, whenever you see me do wrong, rebuke me sharply. I have still a word or two to offer in defence of my behaviour, but shall defer it till I come to town. If I have offended, I humbly ask pardon, and desire the brethren to pray that I may be such as God would have me to be.

If the brethren after prayer for direction think proper, I wish you would be here the latter end of next week. Brother [John] Hutchin[g]s sets out tomorrow for Dummer. Mr. Chapman brings an horse to London which you may ride. I go away, God willing, next Monday seven[n]ight. If you was here before my departure, it might be best. Many are ripe for bands. I leave that entirely to you—I am but a novice; you are acquainted with the great things of God. Come, I beseech you, come quickly. I have promised not to leave this pe(ople) till you or somebody came to supply my place. I am (re)signed as to brother [James] Hutton's coming hither. The good Lord direct him.

Desire the brethren's advice in the following case. Joseph is arrived. Because he would not submit to a lot whether he should go with me to England or not, I said he never should return if he went. On board he behaved well, exceeding well. William Wallace did not so, which made me think that had he submitted to a lot it would have been appointed him to go with me. What shall I do? Shall I keep to my vow that he should not return, or shall I break it? I am indifferent. I will do as the brethren shall direct.

Great comfort and joy in the Holy Ghost does God of his free grace give me. I find myself strengthened in the inner man day by day. I feel an intenseness of love, and long that all should be partakers of it also. I hope I grow in grace. To free grace be all the glory.

God will fight for our dear brother Charles [Wesley]. (I thank) him for his letter.³ Blessed be God that y(ou) both are not so brief as usual. God will bring light out of darkness. All these things are not against but for us.

Be pleased to bring the account of my temptations with you, and though unworthy permit me to subscribe myself, honoured sir,

Your dutiful son and servant,

G. W.

March 23, 1738/9

Honoured Sir,

I beseech you come next week. It is advertised in this day's journal. I pray for a blessing on your journey in our meetings. The people expect you much. Though you come after, I *heartily* wish that you may be preferred before me. Even so, Lord Jesus. Amen. Amen.

Our brethren are here together. They advise that you should go through Basingstoke, and call at Dummer, and there take the horse brother Hutchin[g]s rides thither. Whosoever you shall appoint may ride brother Chapman's. The Lord direct us all in all things.

¹Answering JW's of Mar. 20 (cf. *Works*, 25:610–11), to whose missing opening it offers clues.

²Cf. Jer. 31:18.

³This letter does not appear to have survived.

Address: 'To / The Revrd. Mr. John Wesly / at Mr. John Bray's a Brazier / in little Britain in Alders / gate London'.

Postmarks: '26/MR', 'B/ris/tol' (i.e., 'ris' 'tol' within loops of 'B'). *Charge:* '4'.

Endorsement: by JW, 'G W / March 23. 1739 / ad 27'.

Source: holograph; MARC, MA 1977/610/126.⁴

⁴Transcription published in *Works*, 25:611–12.

From the Rev. Samuel Wesley Jr.¹

Tiverton, Devon
March 26, 1739

Dear Jack,

I might as well have wrote immediately after your last as now, for any new information that I expected from my mother; and I might as well let it alone for any effect it will have, farther than showing you I neither despise you on the one hand nor am angry with you on the other.

I am sorry Georgia lies should pursue Whitefield. I like not any lies, but that epithet does not mend them. I shall never understand that matter now, since I am persuaded you will hardly ever see me face to face in this world, though somewhat nearer than Count Zinzendorf.²

I am glad you encouraged no sectary to preach in our Church. The matter of any discourse or prayer after it was not objected against, but there being any such exhortation at all; but you will do it no more, and it is past.

Charles has at last told me in plain terms [that] he believes no more of dreams and visions than I do. Had you said so, I believe I should hardly have spent any time upon them, though I find others credit them, whatever you may do. You quoted Joel, gave a good character of him that saw the Father, and said assurance so given might be. This was either defending them, or else to no purpose that I can see. It was otherwise unnecessary puzzling the cause.

You make two degrees or kinds of assurance. That neither of them are necessary to a state of salvation I prove thus:

1. Because multitudes are saved without either. These are of three sorts: 1) all infants baptized who die before actual sin; 2) All persons of a melancholy and gloomy constitution, who without a miracle cannot be changed; 3) All penitents who live a good life after their recovery, and yet never attain to their first state.

2. The lowest assurance is an impression³ from God, who is infallible, that heaven shall be actually enjoyed by the person to whom it is made. How is this consistent with fears of miscarriage, with deep sorrow, and going on the way weeping? How can any doubt after such a certificate? If they can, then here is an assurance whereby the person who has it is not sure.

3. If this be essential to a state of salvation, tis utterly impossible any should fall from that state finally, since how can anything be more fixed than what Truth and Power has said he will perform? Unless you will say of the matter here (as I observed of the person) that there may be assurance wherein the thing itself is not certain.

We join in love; we are pretty well in health. I shall take up no more of your time than to tell you, I am,

Your affectionate friend and brother,

S. Wesley

Source: holograph; University of Melbourne (Australia), Queen's College Library, Sugden Collection, WF2.⁴

¹Apparently a reply to JW's imperfect letter of Feb. 3, 1739.

²Samuel Jr. is chiding JW for traveling to Germany to see Zinzendorf, but not coming to see him.

³Annotation over the line, possibly by John Wesley, 'No'.

⁴Transcription published in *Works*, 25:613.

From John Cennick

[Reading, Berkshire]
March 29, 1739

Dear Brother,

Forever blessed be the Lord my strength! Because he is not slack in his promise, as some men count slackness, for when all fled from me, and I was left alone, yet was I not alone, for the Spirit of my God was powerful upon me! And my dear Saviour excited me to courage! By mere providence I did not receive yours till this morning,¹ and I dare say you will praise God with me when I relate my reason.

On Saturday last, the 24th instant, as I conceive it might be past six in the evening, I was inclined to walk, thinking to divert my soul in solemn solitude. (It was after I had borne the slanders of an incensed people, and the slight carriage of my intimate friends; I can't say but I was entirely composed, though just before a gentlewoman had sent to me to know if I had altered my principles, and if not, to forbear to hold friendship with her son. This then I weighed, whether the love I bore to him, which was extremely [great], or the love of a crucified Saviour, was most to be desired; and immediately answered in these words, 'Pray give my service to Mrs. Pidgeon, and when I see the way I have taken displeases my Redeemer, then I will readily decline it, and be again fond of my dear company, but till then I am glad to lose a friend, knowing tis for my Master's sake.') I had scarce been walking an hour ere I thought on the troubles I was brought out of, the cares I had so lately overcome, when heaven descended into my calm breast, and filled me with unutterable joy, and such peace that neither the world could give or take away. My soul abode in this transporting enjoyment till near eight of the clock. All this while I had sweet communion with God and his Christ. I triumphed mightily over all the glory of the world, all the reproaches of Christ I esteemed riches, and all the shame I was to share I trampled on and despised! I looked for Satan to disturb me, but he was gone! For the old man to allure me, but that was silent! Within was love and peace, without thankful adoration, amazement, and rejoicing! I beheld the beauty of the Trinity, shining on my soul as the sun in his strength! The Lamb of God embraced me as a son of his love! And the Holy Spirit moved prolific on my spirit, as it did once on the confused waters in the creation! My barren bosom flamed as the altar when the bright rays of the Sun of righteousness shined upon me. My soul was ravished into angelic harmony, and my heart danced for joy, for lo! I saw the day of peace dawn, the eyelids of the morning were opened, and the promised Star of Jesse arose in his glory! O for some angel's tongue to tell the beauties that sparkled in his light! But it sufficeth that we believe hereafter we shall all receive of his fullness, and be eternal partakers in boundless felicity. And now I was interrupted with the coming of Mr. Pidgeon and Mrs. Mortimer, both inspired with sparks of infernal rage, and it pleased God to give me power not only to silence their perverse disputes, but they went away all serene and peaceable, and thanked me for my good company. So may God calm the fury of every opposer, and show his truth and salvation to every enemy that hath [done] evil in his sanctuary.

Now had I received your letter before I had declared the goodness of the Lord to them of mine acquaintance, then perhaps they had readily concluded it to be mere delusion, because you mentioned intercession for my concerns on Saturday; and because of your encouraging me to fight manfully on Christ[']s banner. My sister² is greatly reclaimed, and begs me to give her sincere love to you. Mrs. Newbery is the only person that comes to the society, and [it] is her alone that is not shaken, who also desires to be remembered. Mr. Boody is indifferently silent, but ready to hear our reproach, and to join in despising. I have much to write, but am obliged to defer. All I at present shall say is that I believe many if not all will return to our society, being generally inclined. I think to be in Oxford next Monday in business, God willing. Pray remember me in love to all the friends of Christ. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with your spirit.

Jno. Cennick

¹JW's diary records a letter to Cennick on Mar. 21, 1739; it does not survive.

²Sarah ('Sally') Cennick, of Reading, Berkshire.

Pray be so good when you write to mention your care for Mrs. Willmot, and entreat God for her conversion. I heartily wish it may please God to send hither our dear brother [George] Whitefield, for many have told me should he come they would hear him, though all opposed him. God's will be done in earth, as it is in heaven. Amen.

Address: 'To / The Revd. John Westley / att Mr. Huttons, Bookseller, near Temple Bar / London'.

Postmarks: '30/MR', '[RE]AD[ING]'. *Charge:* '3'.

Source: holograph; London: Moravian Archives and Library.³

³A contemporary secondary copy of this letter is present in Cardiff (Wales) Central Library, Manuscript Collection, MS 1.553, pp. 213–16. A transcription was published in *Works*, 25:617–18.

From the Rev. George Whitefield¹

[Thornbury, Gloucestershire]

April 3, 1739

Honoured Sir,

Yesterday I began to play the madman in Gloucestershire, by preaching on a table in Thornbury street. Today I have exhorted twice, and by and by shall begin a third time—nothing like doing good by the way. I suppose you have heard of my proceedings in Kingswood.² Be pleased to go thither, and forward the good work as much as possible. I desire you would open any letters that come directed for me, (and) (if you judge me worthy) send me a line to Gloucester. I wish you all the success imaginable in your ministry, and I pray God my dear Bristol friends may grow in grace under it. Parting from them has struck a little damp upon my joy. God will quickly revisit, honoured sir,

Your unworthy son and servant,

GW

My hearty love to the brethren.

Address: 'To / The Revrd. Mr. John Wesly / at Mrs. Grevil's in Wine-street / Bristol'.

Sealed, and apparently delivered by personal messenger.

Endorsement: by JW, 'G Wh, April 3, 1739'.

Source: holograph; MARC, MA 1977/610/127.³

¹On Sunday, Apr. 1, Whitefield introduced JW to 'this strange way of preaching in the fields', and on Monday, Apr. 2, took his leave of Bristol, where JW took over this ministry, thus described in his *Journal* for that day: 'At four in the afternoon I submitted to "be more vile", and proclaimed in the highways the glad tidings of salvation.'

²Originally a royal hunting preserve (the 'King's Wood'), this area about four miles east of Bristol city center was now the site of several coal pit mines. William Morgan had pioneered field preaching in this area, joined soon by Whitefield and the Wesley brothers. Whitefield had initiated the plan in Apr. 1739 of building a school there for educating the children of the coal miners, leaving this project in JW's hands when he departed for North America.

³Transcription published in *Works*, 25:621.

From the Rev. James Hervey

Stoke Abbey [Devonshire]

April 4, 1739

Reverend and Dear Sir,

Yesterday I returned from St. Gennys [Cornwall], the parish of worthy Mr. [George] Thomson, where I have been about six weeks, dispensing, according to my slight knowledge and weak capacities, the Word of God among them. O that my frailties and imperfections may be pardoned, and my poor service be acceptable to our Creator, profitable to our fellow-creatures!

I take this first opportunity of acknowledging the receipt of your last,¹ which awaited me at the Abbey. I heartily thank you, good sir, and beg leave to commend you. Commend you for clearing up and vindicating your doctrine from the objections raised against it. I think the preachers of the gospel are to stop the mouths of the gainsayers, as well as to warn them that are unruly, support the weak, comfort the feeble-minded. Your printed sermon I have not had the pleasure and advantage of reading,² therefore am still in the dark with regard to your opinion concerning the regenerated not committing sin. But I presume you understand that text to be meant of habitual sin; that those who are children of God cannot sin of malicious wickedness, cannot be reconciled to the love of sin, nor continue in a course of sin. That they cannot knowingly and contentedly admit of any iniquity to dwell undisturbedly within them, as filth and sediments do at the bottom of a standing water; but like the working sea are always emptying and discharging themselves of whatever filth they have contracted, or iniquity they have committed. So that though sin and wicked inclinations, tempers, passions, be in them, yet not as their delight, but great unhappiness, not as the friends they caress but as the enemies they abhor; which are always hated, and as constantly fought against as felt.

For your plain dealing I both commend you and thank you. Faithful are the wounds of a friend, as health to the soul; and a soothing silence while I am in the way to destruction is the worst of cruelties. That I want a living faith in Christ is undoubtedly a hard saying, but I cannot, I dare not, say it is a false one. No, dear and faithful sir, I submit to the charge, I plead guilty, and promise to practice your advice. To ask that I may receive. O that I had a spirit of prayer and supplication! that I could pour out strong cries to him that is able to save, to give me faith among the true believers, and holiness among them that are sanctified! You know my wants (while others, wretchedly mistaken, believe me rich). You are acquainted with my misery, therefore I hope, I beg, you will pray, and more abundantly pray for, dear and honoured sir,

Your loving, grateful, though very unworthy, humble servant,

J. Hervey

I hope to hear from you soon.

Address: 'To / The Revd. Mr. John Wesley / at Mr. James Hutton's / at the Bible & Sun / next the Rose Tavern / Temple Bar / London'.

Postmark: '9/AP'. *Charge:* '4'.

Endorsements: all by CW, 'Hervey / Apr. 4 / '39.', 'Ann Gestine[?] / S. Rickard / B Sharp'; and in a later, bolder hand, 'April 4, 1739/ Jam[e]s Hervey to my B. / simple, kindly, honest'.

Source: holograph; MARC, DDP 1/39.³

¹JW to Hervey, Mar. 20, 1739, *Works*, 25:609–10.

²*Salvation by Faith* (1738); see *Works*, 1:117–30.

³Transcription published in *Works*, 25:624–25.

From William Oxlee

London
Friday, April 13, 1739

Dear Brother in Christ Jesus,

Being this night at Fetter Lane, and after I had heard my brother [James] Hutton expound powerfully on the 15th [chapter] of St. Luke's Gospel, a person said that anyone might send a letter to Mr. Wesley by a friend that was going to Bristol. After this I came home, and as I was at prayers it came to my mind to send to you, for I have often thought of the sweet counsel I have had when we conversed together as dear friends. But alas, I am unworthy; therefore how justly has God removed you far from me. My nature perhaps may, but my spirit cannot, repine at the loss of you, if I only consider that I am out of hell. Indeed at first it came very near my heart, till my blessed Saviour was so very gracious as to show me that I must not only part with my beloved friends but also my life—when he that gave it is pleased to call for it. And thus in his strength I gladly resigned to his will, firmly believing that the Lord that sent you will be with you. For God, who has all things and is love itself will not send anyone on a warfare on their own charges. For he saith, I will sustain thee with the right hand of my righteousness, and will make thee beautiful through my comeliness which I will put on thee; and so I am always with you, even unto the end of the world. So that no weapon that is formed against thee shall prosper. For if thou walkest through the waters, I will be with thee. And through the rivers, they shall not overflow thee. When thou passest through the fire, thou shalt not be burnt. Neither shall the flames kindle upon thee. Yea, if thou stagger not at the promise through unbelief, thou shalt be able to chase a thousand, and ten thousand shall fall by thy right hand. But it shall not come nigh thee. Neither shall any evil approach to hurt you. For thou shalt get upon the lion. And the adder and the young lion shalt thou trample under thy feet. For although a host of men shall encompass thee round about, yet in the name of the Lord thou mayest destroy them all. For the Lord can disperse them like chaff, and curse them to vanish like smoke. Therefore my dearly beloved brother, only believe; for I experimentally know and am sure that the Lord is not slack of his promises, and he solemnly declares that nothing shall by any means hurt us if we be followers of that which is good. And which of us can convince him of sin? And if he tells us the truth, why should we not believe him? O may the same love that moved God to give us these great and exceeding precious promises move him to enable us to believe and embrace them as our portion and inheritance forever. Amen; Lord Jesus, so be it!

Suffer me now, dear brother, to speak of other affairs. As to dear brother Charles Wesley, he remains in great weakness of body, but is not so very weak as to prevent his preaching and expounding. And I believe that if he will but expound sometimes at one society, and sometimes at another, and so visit them all in their turn, and send some person else when he cannot come, that this will be an effectual means of keeping them all up. When we (I mean the leaders of the bands) met last Wednesday at brother [John] Bray's, I spoke to him about it and he said that he intended to proceed in that manner. If you think it necessary, when you write you may mention it. Our brother [Richard] Ridley is come home and says that some people very eagerly receive the word. And he has told them that you would come down and he is desirous to have someone go down. It is to be spoke[n] of next Wednesday night at Fetter Lane. Our brother [Shepherd] Wolfe and John Wright are gone to Oxford, and we hear by a letter that they had a joyful journey, having had an opportunity of speaking to several by the way. And they say that they go on gloriously at Oxford, for they re[turne]d with such love as they never before saw. And they are so overflowing with love and joy that they desire to be dissolved and to be with Christ. And our brethren at our last love feast, particularly four or five of them, that they were quite overcome. Glory be to God for his unspeakable love! O praise the Lord! O our souls and all that is with[in] us praise his holy name for his amazing love to the children of men. Our brother Jones is returned from the country and is much better in health. And the Count is come,⁴ whom it was said would come this spring. He came here safe

⁴Count Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf.

this night, and I am told will stay here but very few days. We have heard from our brother [John] Brown and he says that a hundred people came to hear him at one time, and four or five at another, and are so exceedingly fond of him that they are <ready⁵> to put him in their bosoms. They even strive who shall <hear?> him most, or keep him longest. Our sister Betty Hopson⁶ is gone into the country for eight months and desires all her friends to write to her. Our dear brother [Westley] Hall is not come to town yet. I have been told that our brother Easy's wife has got to serve a workhouse with Chandler ware. Our sister Henny Todd, I mean the young woman that came out of the Marshalsea prison, has been very much troubled in her mind and being oppressed on to know the meaning of it. She has owned that she is married and that her trouble is about her husband's soul, for he is a bad liver. We have talked to and prayed with him, and had too the societies. He seems to attend, but says but little. Pray for him.

And now, dear brother, may the Lord Jesus Christ be with your spirit and with the spirit of my brothers Hodges,⁷ Purdy,⁸ Easy, and all my unknown brethren and sisters. Amen. Accept my, and all the brothers' and sisters', love.

Yours in Christ,

W. Oxlee

Pray let us hear often from you all. My brother Bland desires to be remembered kindly to all of you, especially Purdy.

Our sister Howard came as I was trying to do up this letter and desires to give her love to you, but she cries and says she is not worthy.

Address: 'For / Mr. Westley at / Brister [*sic*]'.
Endorsement: by JW, 'Oxlee London / Apr 13 / a[nswere]d 27'.
Source: holograph; MARC, MA 1977/610/106.

⁵A small portion of the letter is missing. This recreation is based on the apparent tail of a 'd' remaining.

⁶Betty Hopson, who had left her grandfather's home in London to avoid an arranged marriage, became a silk dyer. She was drawn into the renewal movement surrounding James Hutton and others in the late 1730s. By 1742 she had married and aligned firmly with the Moravians, serving for half a century as one of their laborers in London.

⁷Joseph Hodges (1710–78), smith, was one of the members of the Fetter Lane Society who would soon side with the Moravians; cf. Benham, *Hutton*, 93, 411.

⁸John Purdy; Oxlee spells 'Perdy' here and below.

From the Rev. Samuel Wesley Jr.¹

Tiverton, Devonshire

April 16, 1739

Dear Jack,

I heartily pray God we may meet each other with joy in the next life; and beg him to forgive either of us as far as guilty, for our not meeting in this. I acknowledge his justice in making my friends stand afar off and hiding my acquaintance out of my sight!

I find brevity has made me obscure. I argue against assurance (in your or any sense) as part of the gospel covenant. Because many are saved without it. You own you cannot deny exempt cases, which is giving up the dispute. *Your assurance*, being a clear impression of God upon the soul, I say must be perpetual, must be irreversible, else tis not assurance from God infallible and omnipotent.

Your seeing persons reformed is nothing to this. Dear (broth)er, do you dream I deny the grace of God? But to (suppo)se the means whereby they are so is this sense is [in] my opinion as very *petitio principii*² as ever was. You quarrel not at the word 'miracle', nor is there any reason you should, since you are so well acquainted with the thing. If I was as I have been, I should desire some of the plainest. You say the cross is strongly represented to the eye of the mind. Do those words signify in plain English, 'the fancy'? Inward eyes, ears, and feelings, are nothing to other people; I am heartily sorry such alloy should be found among so much piety. The little reflection on my poor correspondent at Oxford is quite groundless. I don't remember he says singing (add rolling, etc.) was the only sign of her new birth; tis brought as a fruit of it. May we judge the tree by the fruit? Such visions I think may fairly be concluded fallacious—only for being attended with so ridiculous an effect.

My mother tells me she fears a formal schism is already begun among you, though you and Charles are ignorant of it. For God's sake take care of that, and banish extemporary expositions and extemporary prayers. I have got your abridgment of Halyburton,³ and have sent for Watts.⁴ If it please God to allow me life and strength I shall by his help demonstrate that the Scot⁵ as little deserv(es) preference to all Christians but our Saviour as the (book) to all writings but those you mention. There are (two) flagrant falsehoods in the very first chapter. But your eyes are so fixed upon one point that you overlook everything else. You overshoot, but [George] Whitefield raves.

I entreat you to let me know what reasons you have to think you shall not live long. I received yours dated 4th on Saturday the 14th. The post will reach me much sooner, and I shall want much to know what ails you. I should be very angry with you, if you cared for it, should you have broken your iron constitution already; as I was with the glorious [Blaise] Pascal for losing his health and living almost twenty years in pain.

My wife joins in love. We are all in tolerable health. I am, dear Jack,

Your sincere and affectionate friend and brother,

S. Wesley

¹Answering JW's of Apr. 4 (*Works*, 25:622–23), which did not arrive until the 14th.

²'begging the question'.

³JW, *Abstract of the Life and Death of ... Thomas Halyburton* (London: Oswald, 1739).

⁴I.e., the original from which JW drew his abstract: *Memoirs of the Life of the Reverend, Learned, and Pious Mr. Thomas Halyburton ... 2nd edn. with a large recommendatory epistle by Isaac Watts* (London: R. Cruttenden, 1718).

⁵I.e., Halyburton.

᾿Τὸ λ)οιπὸν, ἀδελφῶ, προσεύχεσθον περὶ ἡμῶν. κ. τ. λ.⁶

Address: 'To the Revd. Mr. John / Wesley at Mrs. Grevilles / in Wine Street / Bristol'.

Charge: '3' (but no postmarks).

Endorsement: by JW, 'April 16, b[rother] S. / [answered] May 9, 1739'; and at a later date, '᾿(Gre)at Piety, tho mistaken! / I think ys was ye last I recd fr him'.

Source: holograph; MARC, DDWF 5/15.⁷

⁶Finally, brothers, pray both of you for us.' (Cf. 2 Thess. 3:1.) 'κ[αί] τ[ᾶ] λ[οιπά]', i.e. 'all the rest', or 'etc.'.

⁷Correlated with and text for a few places where the original letter is torn drawn from Priestley, 95–97; and Clarke (1823), 420–22. Transcription published in *Works*, 25:634–35.

From John Bray

[London]
May 11, 1739

Dear Brother,

I love you, which makes me write to you.¹ I have a great dislike to it, having a slow hand and duller head.² May Jesus my master help me to write something to your edification and comfort, for he loves to show his strength in weakness, that his power may be known. O that I was truly vile in mine own eyes, then should I be precious in my Master's. O Jesus, suddenly kill me, destroy me, that thou mayest live in me and thy perfect will [be] the only end of all I do. O that thy good Spirit might breathe nothing but love in me, and it is a sweet breath. O Holy Spirit, blessed Comforter, come and breathe thy life by these words into the souls whom thou hast made. Thou can quicken a world as easily as one man; O let thy breath go forth and they shall be made after thy likeness. O move thou free Spirit and replenish the earth. Let thy clouds drop down their dew. Water the earth with thy goodness. Let the tender grass appear, that we may be like a watered garden whom you have blessed. May Jesus be our shepherd, and may we all bear twins and none [be] barren among us. May our field be the garden of the Lord. O may the Lord Jesus carry the lambs in his bosom and gently lead those with young.

O thou mighty lion of the tribe of Judah awake and stand up to help us, lest the old dragon, the ravenous wolf, come and devour thy poor flock. O Lord he rages horribly, but thou who dwelleth on high are mightier. Stir up thy strength and come and help us. Lift up thy hand, destroy the enemy and the avenger. Art not thou it that has slew Rahab and killed the dragon? O take to thyself thy mighty power and reign. For we will not go out in our own strength. It is not our sword that shall help us, but thy right hand, thy arm, and the light of thy countenance. For he has a favor unto us, therefore will we not fear, though the earth be moved, and though the hills be conveyed into the midst of the sea. For the Lord God omnipotent reigneth. His right hand will teach him terrible things when he cometh to judge the earth.

O may we kiss the Son, lest he be angry so we perish in his wrath. But will the Lord be angry with his people who seek to please him, to be found of him not having their own righteousness but the righteousness of God by faith in Jesus Christ? Will he not be found by such as seek him with their whole heart? Yea, he has found you, and standeth at the door and knocketh, saying 'Open to me my sister, my spouse, my undefiled one whom my soul longeth for'.³ He is near them that fear him, that glory may dwell in our land. O may every soul answer the beloved bridegroom saying, 'Come away my beloved, my father, my sister, and mother'. Yea the marriage of the Lamb has come. Even so, come Lord Jesus, come quickly, Amen. Come Lord Jesus, come quickly, Amen, Amen. May all the people say 'Amen'. His love is better than wine.

O my dear friend, have you not tasted of the new wine our Lord hath made? Hath he not spoke the word throughout now? O harken! It is the Lord's voice. It is possible you may not know the voice of the Lord as yet. Say but 'Speak Lord, thy servant heareth'.⁴ His word will beget you again into a fellowship with the saints, and truly our fellowship is with the Father and with his Son Jesus Christ. Glory be to God on high for his tender love wherewith he hath loved you, and chosen you to build to himself a house. O may it never be moved, but stand fast forever. And may your hands be serving in the Lord, and your whole soul sink deep into God. O may you be drowned in love. O may you be filled to the brim of all the fullness of Jesus, who is the fulness of him that filleth all in all. Amen. All the people say 'Amen'.

¹According to JW's diary, he wrote Bray on Apr. 27 (does not survive); so this may be a reply.

²Literally: 'I love you which macks me right to you I have a grate dis-licke to it having a slowe hand and duler hed.' There are also no paragraph breaks in the original.

³Cf. Song of Sol. 5:2.

⁴1 Sam. 3:9.

My kind love to brother Perdue⁵ and all the bands. May the Lord Jesus bind them all in the bundle of life and give them all life eternal. Amen. All is well, blessed be God. Wife, and sister, and children [send] love. Pray for us in your holy bonds of love. The Lord Jesus be with your spirit. Amen. Amen. From

Yours in the fellowship of Jesus,

John Bray

Address: 'To / Mr. John Wesley at Mrs. Grevil's / at her house in Vine Street / in / Bristol'.

Endorsement: by JW, 'Jo. Bray May 11, 1739 / a[nswere]d June 2'.

Source: holograph; MARC, MA 1977/610/16.

⁵I.e., John Purdy, who was with JW.

From the Rev. George Whitefield¹

London
c. May 20, 1739

[I built the first Methodist preaching-house, so called, at Bristol in the year 1739. And knowing no better, I suffered the Deed of Trust to be drawn up in the presbyterian form. But Mr. Whitefield, hearing of it, wrote me a warm letter asking:]

Do you consider what you do? If the trustees are to *name* the preachers, they may exclude even *you* from preaching in the house you have built. Pray let this deed be immediately cancelled.²

Source: published extract; JW, circular letter titled *The Case of Birstall House* (1783), I.4.³

¹From the evidence of his diary, JW furnished summaries of his Bristol ministry to Whitefield who had originally urged him to take over this work. Letters to Whitefield are noted on Apr. 18, May 5 and 16, June 3, 20, and 23, none of which are extant. From the Gloucester area Whitefield had moved to London on Apr. 25, beginning an open-air ministry there, making preaching excursions into neighbouring towns, and preparing for his return to Georgia. This excerpt was likely in answer to JW's (missing) letter of May 16 (the first stone of the preaching house on the Horsefair was laid on May 12).

²In a letter to Joseph Benson, Nov. 29, 1782, which was revised to for the circular letter sent out in early Jan. 1783, the second sentence appears as: 'If you let the trustees name the preachers, they may exclude you and all the brethren from preaching in the houses you have built.'

³See *Works*, 9:505–06; and the similar summary in JW, *Journal*, May 12, 1739, *Works*, 19:56.

From Susanna Burdock¹

[Bristol]
June 4, 1739

Dear Mr. Wesley,

How shall I make you sensible of what I have suffered since I saw you? Words are utterly insufficient to give you any idea of it. I have passed two such terrible nights that I have scarce strength to walk over [i.e., across] the room. Though I am obliged to conceal my disorder, lest my papa (who would be glad of a pretence to parish me) should judge from the irregular motion of the spirits, and other symptoms, that I am inclined to a fervour, and apply things proper in such a case.² He came home Saturday³ with fury in his looks and began to talk to me about what I had said concerning your doctrine and the impressions it had made on me in a manner that intimated if I could not be of his opinion I should say nothing in defence of my own.

But I thank God I had none of these fears that would have possessed me in opposing him on any other occasion, but I spoke freely and told him I thought we had been greatly injured by those that had the care of our souls. That they had not discharged their duty in speaking plainly to us the truth of the gospel, but were too apt to temporize and accommodate themselves to the least of their hearers. My papa said I was the more inexcusable for not observing strictly what was made so easy. I agreed with him in that point, but told him I thought, notwithstanding our negligence, the rule that was set us ought to be perfect, for we should be apt to fall short of it with all our care; and for my part, that you had made me sensible of a great many sins that I should never have discovered but for you; and that you had either studied the Scriptures more than our clergy or knew mankind better, which must qualify you for being at least as good of teacher as any of them; and that I had found such advantages by hearing you that I thought it my duty to do it unless I had such an excuse as I dared plead at the great tribunal; and whether his command would justify one then, I left him to judge. In short, I said everything, yet I could get nothing but reiterated commands never to hear you again. And yet I love this cruel, this inexorable, father with such tenderness that I have not fortitude to leave him, to give him pain, to disoblige him forever; never to see him more is worse than death.

Oh dear Mr. Wesley advise me. Pray for me. Pray that the whole stream of my affections may be turned into another channel. What shall I do? I cannot long support this dreadful uneasiness of mind. I have but one way, and heaven (who sees my distress) seems to direct me to it. It is by marrying—and, if you do not think it a sin, to marry a man (who, notwithstanding he is possessed of every agreeable quality in life) I never can love, more than I do any Christian. I am certain I shall be at full liberty to act in every respect as I wish to do. Pray give me your opinion in this point and you will add to your obligations already conferred on

Your sincere and unworthy friend,

S. Burdock

P. S. My papa has watched me so since I began to write that I have made twenty blunders. Pray send your

¹Susanna ('Suky') Burdock, the daughter of Ebenezer and Agnes (Hatch) Burdock, was baptized on Dec. 11, 1720 at Christ Church, in Bristol. She remained active in Bristol Methodism, becoming a close friend with Charles and Sarah Wesley when they settled there. In Dec. 1755 she was married to CW's friend, Rev. George Stonehouse.

²Her father was an apothecary.

³This would be June 2. JW records conversations with Susanna Burdock in his diary on May 13, 26, 29, 30, and June 1–2 (*Works*, 19:389–92).

answer to Mr. Thornhill's⁴ and they will convey it to me. I believe I need not mention your keeping this letter in secret from everybody.

Endorsement: 'Trans[cribed] from ye orig[inal] by me, J[ohn] Purdy'.⁵

Source: contemporary ms. transcription; MARC, MA 1977/610/23.

⁴William Thornhill (c. 1700–1755) was a surgeon attached to the Bristol Infirmary from its opening in 1737. His wife Elizabeth (d. Dec. 28, 1739) was active in the early revival in Bristol, and the mother of Rebecca (Thornhill) Scudamore (1729–90).

⁵For the likely occasion of creating transcriptions of this series of letters from Susanna Burdock, see her letter of Aug. 11, 1739 below.

From Susanna Burdock

[Bristol]
June [6?¹], 1739

Nothing could be more welcome than the few lines you send me by Sarah. I have done violence to my inclination in not writing you before. But you have the cure of so many souls that it cannot be expected, which made me afraid of being troublesome. You tell me what I am, and give me such a dreadful prospect of what I shall be that it has almost sunk me to death. I should have utterly fainted, but that I believe verily to see the goodness of the Lord in the land of the living.

What low in quietude have I been in. I find an irresolute, doubting state in the cause of religion, in the most unhappy circumstance of mind that a person can be reduced to. O speak to me, tell me, is there no medium to be chosen between absolute inconsideration and that strict piety which requires us to leave all? I already leave all in my heart, though I do not do it literally.

My papa has not spoke to me once since that night he was so angry with me—except on business, which he cannot avoid. What shall I do? I cannot leave him, and I will not rely upon anything those blind guides say to me. I will cast myself upon God, and beg that he will give me a true heart and a discerning mind to read the Scriptures, that I may know his will; and enable me when I know it to execute it to the utmost of my power. But who indeed, when you are gone, will assist me to see my errors? I shall be entirely destitute of human aid and worse than one in the desert. For all I hear, and all I see, is quite foreign to what my heart is full of. I have not even the liberty of enjoying my own thoughts because mama won't let me be alone but as little as possible.

I must this moment leave you for very disagreeable company.

Adieu

Endorsement: 'Trans[cribe]d by John Cennick from ye original'.

Source: contemporary ms. transcription; MARC, MA 1977/610/24.

¹JW records in his diary writing to Miss Burdock on June 5, 7, and 9 (see *Works*, 19:393–93). This letter is in response to one of these three, likely the first.

From Susanna Burdock

[Bristol]
June [11,¹] 1739

I have just now heard that you are to leave us tonight and am inconsolable at the news. What I fear has fallen upon me. I flattered myself that papa would relent, or that I should find means to converse with you before you went. But my hopes are quite vanish[ed], and there is not a creature in the world more forlorn and friendless. Perhaps God Almighty may suffer me to think so, in order to make me fly to him, and that I may not have the least dependence on any earthly succour. Be it so, O Lord. Let me be abandoned of every name of comfort upon earth, but hide not thyself from me. O take me into thy care and protection. I renounce the world and all human trust. Be not thou far from me. Haste ye to help me, O Lord, God of my salvation. But I will tarry the Lord's leisure. I will be strong and he will comfort my heart. And I will put my trust in the Lord. I wish you what I know you think the greatest happiness in the world, the converting of all the souls you meet with.

Adieu

P. S. I did not think it till now, but I believe I love you as well as I do my papa.

Endorsement: 'Transcribed from the original by me: J Purdy'.

Source: contemporary ms transcription; MARC, MA 1977/610/25.

¹JW notes in his *Journal* on June 11, 1739 (*Works*, 19:65) that he received a letter from London requesting his return and decided abruptly to leave Bristol. He notes in his diary (19:393) writing a note to Miss Burdock that evening, likely in reply to this letter.

Rev. Josiah Tucker to the *General Evening Post*¹

Oxon
June 14, 1739

Sir,

Being come to the university on some urgent business,² I have not leisure to return a formal answer to the letter printed in your paper against my queries, but shall beg leave for the present to put together some few observations on the affair; which, if shown to be not satisfactory, shall be followed by a fuller reply.

Mr. [George] Whitefield having boasted that he received *extraordinary illuminations* and *surprising influxes* of the Holy Spirit.³ That it not only appealed to his understanding, but even *over-ruled* and *forced* his *will*. That he could no more describe its operations to an unregenerate person than he could describe colours to a man born blind. That nevertheless the best way of conveying his meaning was to compare them to a flame of fire, hot water, or the motions of the fetus in the womb.⁴ These I say, and many other the like blasphemous and enthusiastical notions, having been propagated with too much success among several well-meaning but *ill-judging* people, I thought it my duty as a clergyman and a Christian to prevent, as far as was in my power, the spreading of such dangerous principles, which strike at the root of all religion and make it the jest of those 'who sit in the seat of the scornful'.⁵

But how to compass my design was the great difficulty, for to *reason* and *dispute* with them, I very well knew, was to no purpose. They saw, and heard, and felt, or fancied that they did so, and there was no persuading them to the contrary.

I therefore resolved to allow them their own terms, not denying their principles and pretensions, but only enquiring what *advantage* or *benefit* they received by them, hoping by this means either to draw them out of their unintelligible jargon, and to show the world they had not meaning under these pompous sounds, or if they really had, to give them an opportunity of convincing mankind, in a speedy and concise way, that they actually did enjoy *somewhat superior* to the rest of their fellow Christians, who pretend to no more than the *ordinary* and *common assistance* of the Holy Ghost.

Accordingly I drew up my queries in the civilest terms I was master of, using no *personal reflexions* or uncharitable expressions, but desiring a plain narrative of the effects and benefits arising

¹Josiah Tucker (1713–99), received his BA from St. John's College, Oxford, in 1736 and was appointed curate at St. Stephen's church in Bristol in 1737. By early 1739 he was serving at All Saints, where he was formally inducted as rector on July 22 (JW would attend the induction; see his diary for this day, *Works*, 19:399). George Whitefield sparked the revival in Bristol in early 1739, and on Mar. 30, in a private conversation, drew a stark contrast between his earlier supposed religious life and what he had experienced in the new birth. One of those present conveyed this conversation to Tucker, who requested a transcription of Whitefield's claims. Tucker published the transcription in mid-April as well as a set of 'Queries' addressed to Whitefield. By then Whitefield had left Bristol, having recruited JW to take his place. So in mid-June JW published (anonymously) an 'Answer to the Queries sent to the Rev. Mr. Whitefield' (see *Works*, 31). This is Tucker's response to that 'Answer'. For more on this dispute, and full texts of the published items, see *Wesley and Methodist Studies* 6 (2014): 126–56.

²Tucker received his MA from Oxford in 1739, this visit was likely part of that process.

³Tucker note: 'See his "Character signed by himself," the original now in my custody; the contents whereof I was apprized of long before, except the part relating to his own *wit* and *sagacity*. Compare it with his last *Journal* [(London: Hutton, 1739)], p. 81[–82], namely, Mr. Seward's Case.'

⁴Tucker note: 'These are Mr. Whitefield's own similes; and it is very true, as my antagonist smartly observes, "I have not a clear head" in these matters.'

⁵Cf. Ps. 1:1.

from these *extraordinary impulses*; concluding with a promise of being myself a convert if they could convince me it would better my condition and convey any spiritual advantages which I do not enjoy already.

But it seems great was my crime in daring so much as to doubt of these things. For Mr. Whitefield first of all, by his friends, prevented the printing of them in the *Bristol Journal*;⁶ and next would not vouchsafe any reply, but wrote a letter wherein he tells me very *lordly* and *laconically*, ‘My motto is, “Answer him not a word”’—applying the expression of Hezekiah against the *blasphemous* Rabshekah to his own case and mine.⁷ He has likewise pronounced sentence against me, ‘That while I continue in this way of thinking, he absolutely despairs of meeting me in heaven.’⁸

Agreeable to this, his friend and assistant at Bristol, the Rev. Mr. Hutchins,⁹ put out some remarks on my queries, wherein, with the *usual Christian spirit* and meekness of the sect, he affirms ‘That I have cast a slur upon my gown, ... that I ought to quit the ministry, ... and that I got it by downright falsehood and equivocation.’ With a great deal more that favoured strongly of *absolute* predestination and reprobation.¹⁰

The next whose vengeance I have drawn down upon me is the gentleman in print. He indeed has not thought proper yet to proceed to the *grand anathema*, but out of his abundant goodness directly concludes, ‘That I have done great dishonour to my ministerial character, and am an errant deist’, because I dispute the necessity of an *extraordinary effusion* of the Holy Ghost in this age of the church, and because I cannot believe that in *influencing* and *disposing* us to good actions, and checking us from bad ones, *he doth over-rule and force the will*. Happy is it for us that the Methodists, with their allies the field-preachers in Scotland,¹¹ have not yet the power in their hands of destroying all whom they weakly imagine to be *God’s enemies*.

But setting aside these, their very gentle *reproofs*, let us come to their *reasonings*:

This gentleman is pleased to call his letter an answer to my queries, and the title bespeaks it so. But the contents have no other relation to them than a *wilful perverting* of their meaning. For I ask about one thing and he answers about another. My queries are concerning those *extraordinary* and *surprising effusions*, or the *new birth* these people pretend to in *particular* and maintain to be *absolutely necessary* to salvation.¹² And this gentleman is so good as to inform us what are those *ordinary* and *common*

⁶Tucker note: ‘This attempt of the Methodists to take away the liberty of the press shall be proved upon them, if denied.’

⁷Cf. Isa. 36:21.

⁸Tucker note: ‘Some of Mr. Whitefield’s followers have insulted and reviled me in passing along the streets, and declared that they looked upon me as the enemy of God and his religion. This was owing to Mr. Whitefield’s pointing at me so often in his prayers and describing me in his harangues to the populace.’

⁹I.e., John Hutchings, who worked closely with Whitefield in Bristol in 1739.

¹⁰These reflections by Hutchings were likely circulated as a broadsheet or in a published letter. No record of them has been found beyond this summary by Tucker.

¹¹Tucker note: ‘See a letter from a Scotch field preacher in his late *Journal*. See likewise his associating with the Welsh itinerant Howell Harris.’ [The letter is from Ralph Erskine, and appears in *A Continuation of the Rev. Whitefield’s Journal* (London, 1739), 97–98.]

¹²Tucker note: ‘I have been credibly informed from several eye-witnesses, friends to Mr. Whitefield, that at the societies in Bristol Mr. Wesley has prayed “That God would visibly manifest some token of his favour.” And presently after that there were persons that screamed out, and put their bodies into violent agitations and distortions, seeming all over convulsed, to the fright and amazement of several people. But upon others offering their assistance, Mr. Wesley called out, “Let them alone, *they can no more help it than the sun cease to shine*.” And then they went to prayers and sung an hymn, invoking the

assistances of the Holy Spirit, which are communicated to all good Christians in *general*. In this I really think he has succeeded pretty well. But this was not the question asked him. Thus he goes on quoting texts of scripture, and seems vehemently moved against an antagonist that nowhere exists but in his own imagination.

For if he will call the *ordinary* operations of the Holy Ghost whereby ‘we hope to have our minds enlightened, that we may know our duty and be assisted in performing it’; I say, if he chooses to call it *extraordinary*, rather than join with the common and usual manner of speaking (whereby in calling it *ordinary* we distinguish it from the *extraordinary* and *miraculous* effusions in the apostolical times and infancy of the church), he may be as singular as he pleases for me. I will not contend with him about words and names. Though indeed he seems not determined with himself whether he will call it so or not, for in his pretended answer to my second query he says, ‘If there is an intercourse with the deity, such as a Christian ought to have, we have no occasion to call it “extraordinary”.’ His cavilling therefore was only to serve a *present turn*.

But the true state of the case was this: Mr. Whitefield had advanced notions that could not possibly be defended.¹³ He had pretended to have received into his soul *extraordinary influxes* of the deity, the *use* and *benefit* of which neither he nor his friends have yet been able to make out, though these queries were put to him for that very intent. He had represented the *regenerate* as mere machines, being actuated by the Spirit to such a degree as to have their wills *over-ruled*, and consequently to be no more *moral agents* than a piece of clock work.¹⁴ This his friend seems aware of, and therefore shifts the question instead of answering it, a usual artifice in a bad cause.

His next attack is on my phrase and diction. Here he says I ought not to have asked, ‘After *what manner* they come into my mind, but after *what manner* we are *enabled* to *discern*, *believe*, and *embrace* them’. This I think is not worth disputing about; as he likes his own style best, let him please himself. But my reason of inserting it was to find out after *what unusual manner* Mr. Whitefield came by his *extraordinary* principles, etc., if he had any—namely, whether or no by immediate inspiration, as some of his followers believe concerning him, and as his *Journal* in many places seems to imply.¹⁵

On the third query the gentleman is a little severe, for it seems he had met with a copy (not one of those printed in Bristol) which had a small particle (i.e., ‘or’) inserted in, greatly injuring and obscuring the sense. And this is the beginning and ending of his triumph.

But before I take my leave of him, I would desire him to consider that if I really was a deist, as he represents me, I should not have been such a strenuous opposer of Mr. Whitefield. No, the deists seem

Holy Ghost to *come down upon them*; and afterwards returned thanks that he *was come*, singing another hymn. This being ended, these enlightened persons were placed on an eminence for the rest to behold.’ [Tucker may be hinting that he suspects JW is the author of the ‘Answer’.]

¹³Tucker note: ‘To gain credit with the populace, when he was upon the *marvellous* he often had in his mouth at Bristol this *dreadful imprecation*, “If what I say be not strictly true, may all that ever heard me, may you that now hear me, and all that shall hear me hereafter, *rise up in judgment* against me, and *rejoice* at my *damnation*.”’

¹⁴Tucker note: ‘See his “Character, signed by himself,” and many parallel places throughout his *Journals*.’

¹⁵Tucker note: ‘Witness a stupid printed paper in doggerel verse by one “Jacques, a glover” in Bristol:

He doth not *premeditate*,
For the Spirit doth to him *dictate*.

‘And Mr. Whitefield says himself, “He can produce two cobblers in Bristol that know more of true Christianity than all the clergy in the city put together.” Query, whether these *cobblers* are *inspired*?’

strongly inclined to favour his cause, and foment the division.¹⁶ They in particular are highly delighted with his *shocking* scheme for confessing the women—the *graver* part with the *abuse* and miserable *perversion* of Scripture sentences, and the more *dissolute* with his *indecent* and *loose* interrogations. This is a scheme so *evidently* calculated to *promote* vice and lewdness that many people still *persist* in thinking it is only a waggish *sneer* put upon him. But the gentleman need not be told the contrary. As he appears to be Mr. Whitefield's friend, he must know that it is a genuine and real piece, approved and recommended by the *heads* of the sect, and actually put in *practice*, both in London and Bristol. Since therefore he has taken upon him to vindicate Mr. Whitefield's *principles* and *conduct*, he is here called upon publicly to defend it.

I think I have nothing more to do than to add for this gentleman's further satisfaction, according to his request, my own notions about the operations of the Spirit, or *regeneration* and a *new birth*. And this I shall transcribe out of a discourse preached at Bristol,¹⁷ with a view to stop the *epidemical enthusiasm*:

That there is an *ordinary*, constant, and regular operation or providence of the deity, *concurring* with and *aiding* our weak endeavours, *checking* evil thoughts and *inspiring* good and virtuous, is a fundamental principle of all religion, natural and revealed.¹⁸ It is indeed what every man, *good* and *bad*, has *experimentally felt within himself*. And none, not even an infidel, if he believes there is a God at all, will dispute this instance of his care and providence.

Nay, every orthodox Christian will affirm farther that this *preventing assistance* is promised in a greater degree to all within the pale of the Church, provided they improve their ten talents proportionably than to those who are *strangers* to the *covenant of grace*; being what is styled the 'ordinary gift' of the Holy Ghost.¹⁹

The person therefore who is baptized into the Christian faith, and endeavours to live a life answerable to his holy profession, recommends himself by *these means* to the divine favour and assistance, is enabled to go on from strength to strength, to cast off by degrees original corruption of his nature, and so *progressively*, according to the nature of *free agents* and *probationary creatures*, has his inward constitution (all the faculties and powers in his mind, *impaired* and *degenerate in themselves*) thus recovered, rectified, and improved. And this great change, or rather this *changing state*, commencing at our baptism and gradually increasing with our own endeavours, is by a figurative way of expression very frequent in the Holy Scriptures called 'regeneration' or a 'new birth'.

To this I shall beg leave to subjoin another passage in the same discourse. *Speaking of the unreasonableness of those persons who blamed the clergy for denying their pulpits*, I observed,

¹⁶Tucker note: 'See some late pamphlets from that quarter.'

¹⁷It does not appear that Tucker ever published this sermon.

¹⁸Tucker note: 'See Woollaston, pages 106–07' [i.e., William Woollaston, *The Religion of Nature Delineated* (6th edn.; London: Knapton, 1738)].

¹⁹Tucker note: 'See [Elisha Smith,] *The Cure of Deism* [(1736)], Vol. 2, Chap. 15. This book, with Mr. Hart's *Sermon on the Harmony of Natural and Revealed Religion*, [John] Conybeare's *Defence [of a Revealed Religion]* (1732)], and Bishop [Joseph] Butler's *Analogy [of Religion]* (1736)], Mr Whitefield told me himself "were only *defences* of the *outward* or *historical* part of religion, and that the authors know nothing of the *internal* and *saving faith*." See his character of Archbishop Tillotson [in the broadsheet]. [Note, Tucker seems to be confusing the author in his second reference; intending Thomas Curtis, *The Harmony between Natural and Revealed Religion, asserted in a Sermon* (London: Parker, 1731).]

that long and loud have been the cry of the infidels against *priestcraft* and *enthusiasm*, and the clergy of the Established Church have been always pointed at as the avowed patrons and promoters of them. But when there has been any *real priestcraft* and *enthusiasm* (suppose which you will) spreading, all others of *what sect and denomination soever* have either been silent in the affair or abettors of it. And the clergy, the only persons who have risen up in vindication of men's rights and liberties of *reasoning* and *judging* for themselves, they have endeavoured to pluck off the vizard—when it was their *interest*, if they acted upon *bad principles*, to have *kept it on* and *encouraged* the infatuation.

For any person who will think at all may easily perceive that this *new set of principles* is capable of great *improvements*, and might be made a *growing fund* of secular power and greatness to the clergy. It is but the priest's assuming to himself the prerogative of *conveying* these *trances*, *enlargements*, and *experiences*, and of judging whether *genuine* or *spurious* (a privilege the *unwary multitude* would readily consent to); and then, if the *plot succeeds*, *all is his own*. For having thus the *keys of heaven* in his keeping, he would soon be master of the *treasures on earth*.

J. Tucker

Source: published transcriptions. While no surviving copy has been located, the citation in the *London Magazine* reprint states that this letter appeared in the *General Evening Post* on June 19, 1739. The transcription above follows identical reprints in the *Gloucester Journal* (June 26, 1739), p. 4; *Gentleman's Magazine* (June 1739): 294–97; and *London Magazine* 8 (July 1739): 340–43.

From Susanna Burdock

[Bristol]
June 23, 1739

I do not know that anything could prevail upon me to write at this time to any person but yourself, because I have for these eight days had such a raging pain in my teeth and one side of my head that I can scarce hold it up. But I am so glad to hear you have returned,¹ and long so much to tell you what has happened to me that I can forbear no longer; for I know the same generous and human[e], as well as Christian, nature that made you feel my affliction, will give you an equal pleasure in hearing that affliction and misery is exchanged for joy and peace, and at a time when I least expected it. You may remember I wrote to you the afternoon you went from hence,² not knowing anything of your going. But when the maid brought me word you were to set out that evening for London, I gave myself up to the most unreasonable grief that ever was. I thought I had lost the only person that could assist me in working out my salvation, and that probably you might never return, and I should be drawn back to my old course of life.

With these melancholy affections, without one alleviating thought of a past good conduct, or opinion of my strength to stand any shock for the future, I sat down, if possible to ease my mind, by writing to you once more. But you were gone to the brickyard and my letter came back, which I now send you to show how quickly the translation was from grief to joy. For I had scarce finished it when I found my heart strangely altered. My concern about you lessened every moment and I was enabled to put my whole trust in the Lord, in full confidence that he would never leave me nor forsake me whilst I implored his aid and protection. I wanted to be alone, to pour out my soul before him in praises and thanksgiving, but it was not then in my power. I grew all rapture. I could have seen my greatest enemies with joy. And it was as difficult for me to hide it as it had been before to conceal my sorrow. At last it settled in a perfect peace and tranquillity, and I rested better that night than I had done since I saw you at Mrs. [Elizabeth] Thornhill's. The next day I went to French Hay³ to visit a lady my papa had promised me to during the Whitsun-week.⁴ I went with pleasure. And in the temper I was then in I believe I could have embarked for the most distant climate without fear or reluctance. Everything I saw or heard that day furnished me with an opportunity of saying something to the praise and glory of God. I went to bed very serene and thankful for the mercies of the day. But I had not been long there before I was seized with such unaccountable terrors, such dismal apprehensions of I know not what, that it kept me from sleeping the greater part of the night. I was the more surprised at this because I could not attribute it to any great degree of guilt, for I never spent a day more to my satisfaction. But I believe it was only an attempt of the devil to weaken my faith. For I thank God my peace returned with the light, and has been very little interrupted since. 'Heaviness may endure for the night, but joy cometh in the morning.'⁵ I saw Miss Wigginton⁶ in the country. We both rejoiced much to meet so unexpectedly. I promised to let her know when you came back, but have been prevented from writing by my illness. I have one piece of news to tell you—papa has absolutely forbid my speaking to Mrs. Thornhill.

Source: contemporary ms transcription (by John Purdy); MARC, MA 1977/610/26.

¹JW arrived back in Bristol on June 19, 1739.

²Her letter of June 11, 1739, above.

³An area about 3 miles north of Bristol; now spelled Frenchay.

⁴I.e., the week of Pentecost.

⁵Cf. Ps. 30:5.

⁶Perhaps the daughter of Ebenezer (d. 1745) and Ann (Bundy) Wigginton (d. 1757). CW brought Ebenezer and Ann into Methodists circles. He baptized Ebenezer on Oct. 26, 1739 (see CW, MS Journal).

From the Rev. George Whitefield

London
June 25, 1739

Honoured Sir,

I wrote my last before I saw your kind letter.¹ I thank you for it, and hereafter shall, by the divine assistance, observe your caution.

I suspend my judging of brother [Samuel] Wathen's and [John] Cennick's behaviour till I am better acquainted with the circumstances of their proceeding. I think there's a great difference between them and Howell Harris. He has offered himself thrice for Holy Orders. Him therefore and our friends at Cambridge I shall encourage. Others I cannot countenance in acting in so public a manner. The consequences of beginning to teach too soon will be exceeding bad. Brother [Benjamin] Ingham is of my opinion.

I cannot think it right in you, honoured sir, to give so much encouragement to those convulsions which people have been thrown into under your ministry. Was I to do so, how many would cry out every night? I think it is tempting God to require such signs. That there is something of God in it I doubt not. But the devil, I believe, does interpose. I think it will encourage the French Prophets,² take people from the written Word, and make them depend on visions, convulsions, etc., more than on the promises and precepts of the gospel. Honoured sir, how could you tell that some who came to you 'were in a good measure sanctified'?³ What fruits could be produced in one night's time? By their fruits, says our Lord, shall you know them.

I hear, honoured sir, you are about to print a sermon against predestination.⁴ It shocks me to think of it. What will be the consequence but controversy? If people ask me my opinion, what shall I do? I have a critical part to act. God enable me to behave aright. Silence on both sides will be best. It is noised abroad already that there is a division between you and me. Oh! my heart within me is grieved! Providence tomorrow calls me to Gloucester. If you will be pleased to come next week to London, I think God willing to stay a few days at Bristol. Your brother Charles goes to Oxon. I believe we shall be excommunicated soon. May the Lord enable us to stand fast in the faith, and stir up your heart to watch over the soul of, honoured sir,

Your dutiful son and servant,

G. W.

¹The letter to which Whitefield is replying is apparently that of June 23, recorded in JW's diary (*Works*, 19:385) but not known to survive.

²A group of French Protestants in the late seventeenth century who sensed the second coming was near and that they were experiencing a new outpouring of the Holy Spirit, which was marked by fits, trances, and prophecies. In 1706 a small contingent brought their prophetic spirit to London, gaining scattered followers and significant critique.

³Whitefield first wrote, then struck out 'justified'. In the extant letters JW does speak of people receiving 'remission of sins', 'the gift of the Holy Ghost', or 'the Spirit of adoption', but there seems to be no instance of this phrase, which is probably quoted from the missing letter of June 23.

⁴JW had initially agreed with Whitefield not to enter into disputes about predestination, but found it increasingly difficult to avoid the topic, and became convinced by seeking God's guidance through drawing lots that he should 'preach and print' (see his letter to James Hutton, Apr. 30, 1739, *Works*, 25:639–40). Thus in May 1739 he published (and distributed initially mainly in Bristol) Sermon 110, *Free Grace*, *Works*, 3:544–61. So Whitefield's attempted intervention was too late.

God willing, I intend answering brother Wathen's letter in person. It gave me satisfaction. I would have brother Michel⁵ sell my *Journals*. My hearty love to him and all.

Address: 'To / the Revnd. Mr. John Wesly / at Mrs. Grevil's a Grocer / in Winestreet / Bristoll'.

Postmarks: '26/IV'. *Charge:* '4'.

Endorsement: by JW, 'G Wh. June 26. 1739 /ad 27'.

Source: holograph; MARC, MA 1977/610/128.⁶

⁵Likely referring to Thomas Mitchell, an early member of the Bristol society.

⁶Transcription published in *Works*, 25:661–62.

From William Delamotte and Francis Okely

[Cambridge]
June 25, 1739

My Dearest Brother,

I received your kind letter, for which I return my hearty thanks. You coming to town has been a sufficient answer to it, for I am told you heard a letter of mine which contains an account of a battle in which I was engaged for the kingdom of our Lord. But now my brother, I can tell you that I trust the Lord is about to triumph gloriously.

I was walking out yesternight and I ⟨met a man¹⟩ coming home from work. I entered upon some conversation with him in the name (and I trust the strength) of our dear Master, and God was pleased to set his seal to my weak endeavours. I had not talked long ere he was struck. He said he had never heard the truth before. He was a great sinner, and desired a farther acquaintance. This morning another came to me, whom I trust is a gracious soul indeed. He has promised to introduce me to some more of his acquaintance who will rejoice to hear the word. I am to go to his house to explain the Scriptures. I hope to give you a farther account. What a great matter this little fire has kindled. For I am well assured it is of God, because it has been astirred in with so much opposition. Pray for us, my dear brother. Pray that this little one may become a thousand, this small one a strong nation.

I rejoice to hear of your success. May you still increase, but may Satan decrease. O it is a glorious employ to win souls to Christ. O that I was more eager in it. O that I could be always on the full stretch for God.

God is very gracious to my soul. He is continually shedding his love abroad in me. O that I was thankful. I call on you, my brother, to give thanks on my behalf.

My love to Mrs. [Elizabeth (Whitefield)] Grevil, Mr. Ellis,² and the rest of the Israel of God. Beg their prayers for one who desires to love them in the bowels of Jesus Christ,

Their unworthy brother,

William Delamotte

A line or two, could you spare time, would be very acceptable. Direct to my father's³ at Fresh Wharf.

Dear Brother,

May you go on in the strength of the Lord God, and make mention of his righteousness only! May you be made still more instrumental to the pulling down of Satan's strongholds, and spreading the glorious light of the gospel of Jesus in the heart of this nation! O may Christ's kingdom come, may his will be done in earth as it is in heaven. May we be his people, by his being first made our God! My dear brother, I could even envy you (if it was lawful) the exceeding honour you are called to in the publication of the gospel to lost sinners. I beseech you to pray for me that I may know and *feel* myself one, which I cannot say I do at the present. If I be converted myself, how glad shall I be in being called to convert and strengthen my brethren.

I am

Your sincere but unworthy brother in Christ,

F. Okeley

¹A small portion is torn away with the wax seal; the missing text is implied by the context.

²Either John or Joseph Ellis, of Bristol.

³Peter Delamotte (d. 1749), of Bexley, a sugar merchant.

I have got my brother Okeley to write a line or two. May the Lord sanctify it to you. Let it be the beginning of a lasting correspondence betwixt you. Write to him, and press him to be instant in answering your letters, for he loves to lay still. I cannot persuade him to exercise those talents God has given him. I have exhorted him to assist Mr. Rogers⁴ of Bedford during his stay at home in the vacation. But he has scruples about expounding. Write to him your whole mind about it. If he is in the wrong, and you think it is only a whimsey, spare him not. But if it should be weakness, use him as a babe in Christ, and give him a cordial of love to comfort his soul. May the Lord have mercy upon him. He is one who has been heartily buffeted with the law, philosophy, and other of those bitter cups which you have so deeply drank of. But I trust Christ is now about to make him free. Even so, come Lord Jesus! Come quickly!

Address: 'The Revd. Mr Jno Wesley / at Mrs Grevil's in / Vine Street / Bristol'.

Postmarks: '25/IU', 'CAM / BRIDGE'.

Endorsement: by JW, 'W Del June 25, 1739'.

Source: holograph; MARC, MA 1977/610/52.

⁴Jacob Rogers (1715–79) received his BA from Trinity College, Cambridge in 1737 and was ordained deacon that year by the Bishop of Lincoln. He came to Bedford to serve initially as a curate at St. Paul's. On being converted to Methodism by Benjamin Ingham (with whom he went to grammar school), he was expelled from his curacy, and began preaching outdoors with George Whitefield. He soon gravitated to the Moravians, among whom he served congregations in North America and England.

From the Rev. Ralph Erskine¹

[July 1739]

I desire to bless my Lord for the good and great news your letter bears about the Lord's turning many souls 'from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God', and that such 'a great and effectual door is opened' among you as the 'many adversaries' cannot shut. O may 'he that hath the keys of the house of David, that openeth and no man shutteth, and shutteth and no man openeth', set the door of faith more and more open among you, till his house be filled and till he gather together the outcasts of Israel. And may that prayer for the adversaries be heard, 'Fill their faces with shame, that they may seek thy name, O Lord.'

As to the outward manner you speak of, wherein most of them were affected who were cut to the heart by the sword of the Spirit, no wonder that this was at first surprising to you, since they are indeed so very rare that have been thus pricked and wounded. Yet some of the instances you give seem to be exemplified in the outward manner wherein Paul and the jailer were at first affected, as also Peter's hearers, Acts 2. The last instance you gave, of some struggling as in the agonies of death and in such a manner as that four or five strong men can hardly restrain a weak woman from hurting herself or others, this is to me somewhat more inexplicable, if it do not resemble the child spoke of, Mark 9:26, and Luke 9:42. Of whom it is said, that while 'he was yet a coming, the devil threw him down and tore him.' Or what influence sudden and sharp awakenings may have upon the body I pretend not to explain. But I make no question Satan, so far as he gets power, may exert himself on such occasions, partly to hinder the good work in the persons who are thus touched with the sharp arrows of conviction, and partly to disparage the work of God, as if it tended to lead people to distraction. ...² However, the merciful issue of these conflicts in the conversion of the persons thus affected is the main thing.

When they are brought by the saving arm of God to receive Christ Jesus, to have joy and peace in believing, and then to walk in him and give evidence that the work is a saving work at length, whether more quickly or gradually accomplished, there is great matter of praise. ...

All the outward appearances of people's being affected among us may be reduced to these two sorts: one is hearing with a close, silent attention, with gravity and greediness, discovered by fixed looks, weeping eyes, and sorrowful or joyful countenances; another sort is when they lift up their voice aloud, some more depressedly, and others more highly, and at times the whole multitude in a flood of tears, all as it were crying out at once, till their voice be ready to drown the minister's, that he can scarce be heard from the weeping noise that surrounds him. ... The influence on some of these like a land-flood dries up; we hear of no change wrought. But in others it appears in the fruits of righteousness and the tract of a holy conversation. ...

May the Lord strengthen you to go on in his work! And in praying for the coming of his kingdom with you and us, and I hope you shall not be forgotten among us, in our joint applications to the throne of grace.

I am, reverend and dear sir,

Your very affectionate brother and servant in Christ,

Ralph Erskine

Source: published extract; JW, *Journal*, June 30, 1739 (*Works*, 19:75–76).

¹Rev. Ralph Erskine (1685–1752) and his brother Ebenezer seceded from the Church of Scotland to form an 'Associate Presbytery' in 1736. On the advice of George Whitefield, JW wrote to Erskine in 1739, seeking advice about guiding the revival in Bristol.

²The ellipses in this letter are shown in JW's extract in his *Journal*, indicating his elisions from the (no longer extant) original.

From the Rev. George Whitefield

Gloucester
July 2, 1739

Honoured Sir,

I confess my spirit has been of late sharpened on account of some of your proceedings; my heart has been quite broken within me. I have been grieved from my soul, knowing what dilemma I am reduced to. How shall I tell the Dissenters I do not approve of their doctrines without wronging my own soul? How shall I tell them I do without contradicting my honoured friend, whom I desire to love as my own soul? Lord, for thy infinite mercy's sake direct me so to act as neither to injure myself nor friend. Is it true, honoured sir, that brother Stock is excluded the society because he holds predestination? If so, is it right? Would Jesus Christ have done so? Is this to act with a catholic spirit?

Is it true, honoured sir, that the house at Kingswood is intended hereafter for the brethren to dwell in as at Herrnhut? Is this answering the primitive design of that building? Can I beg money for a thing I count unnecessary? Did the Moravians live together till they were obliged by persecution? Does the scheme at Islington succeed? As for brother [John] Cennick's expounding, I know not what to say. Brother [Samuel] Wathen I think no way qualified for any such thing.

Dear honoured sir, if you have any regard to the peace of the Church, keep in your sermon on predestination.¹ But you have cast a lot. Oh! my heart in the midst of my body is like melted wax. The Lord direct us all! Honoured sir, indeed I wish you all the success you can wish for. May you increase though I decrease! I would willingly wash your feet. God is with us mightily. I have just now wrote to the bishop. Oh wrestle, wrestle, honoured sir, in prayer, that not the least alienation of affections may be between you and, honoured sir,

Your obedient son and servant in Christ,

G. W.

Address: 'To / The Revrd. Mr. John Wesly / at Mrs. Grevil's a Grocer / in Wine-street / Bristoll'.

Postmark: 'GLOCES / TER'. *Charge:* '3'.

Endorsement: by JW, 'July 2, 1739 G Wh./ a[nswere]d 3d', and separately, 'July, Aug., Sept., Oct./ 1739'.

Source: holograph; MARC, MA 1977/610/129.²

¹Whitefield now seems aware that the sermon *Free Grace* had been printed, and is hoping to persuade JW not to circulate it; cf. his earlier letter to JW of June 25, 1739.

²Transcription published in *Works*, 25:667.

From John Oulton¹

Leominster
July 13, 1739

Dear Sir,

Yesterday I came off a journey and met with your kind letter,² in conjunction with Mr. [George] Whitefield's, and Mr. [William] Seward's. My soul was much refreshed and encouraged in reading each of them. And as to your enquiry, there is no uncommon appearances of God in these parts. We are a little society of persons, that I hope have experience of the grace of God. We believe regeneration necessary to salvation, and that we are justified by faith in Christ without works, and that without holiness no man shall see the Lord. We also believe the promises of God, and pray and wish for the accomplishment of them—viz., that God will destroy Babylon and Antichrist, in the nations, churches, and hearts of God's people; that he will heal the breach of his people, and give them one heart, and one way, that they may fear him for ever; that Christ's kingdom will come, and his will shall be done on earth as it is done in heaven; that the stone cut out of the mountain without hands will smite the image, and become a mountain, and fill the whole earth. Then the knowledge of the Lord shall cover the earth, as the water do the sea. And sinners shall fly as a cloud, and as doves to their windows, whose conversion we long and pray daily for. And our hearts cannot but cleave to the instruments God is pleased to make use of in this great and strange work. Strange to a blind world that lieth in wickedness, but we hope God will enlighten and deliver them. Lord breathe on these dry bones! And of this stony hearted generation, raise up children unto Abraham, make you instrumental in turning many to righteousness, and then you will be one of them that shall shine as the stars for ever and ever.

Sir, you well know that tall cedars are far more exposed in a storm than low shrubs. The more successful you are against Satan's kingdom, the more likely you are to be the butt of his rage and malice. And this old serpent, who beguiled Eve through his subtlety, will make the utmost use of all his policy and power against you. But, notwithstanding Satan can transform himself into an angel of light, so as to dazzle and deceive the eye of human reason in its highest and clearest discerning; yet I trust that you live in that Spirit which is superior to angelic nature, and will discover and secure you from all Satan's strong delusions, which is my heart's desire and fervent prayer to God for you. I hope that you will excuse my freedom herein, it is the effect of my tender concern and regard for you, and the glorious cause you are engaged in. Some further account of its success at your leisure would exceedingly oblige, dear sir,

Your very affectionate friend and well-wisher, in our dear Lord,

John Oulton

Source: published transcription; *Collection* (1797), 25–26.

¹John Oulton pastored the Baptist church of Leominster from 1731–49, and was supportive of the emerging revival movement.

²JW records writing Oulton on July 9 in his diary; the letter does not survive.

From the Rev. George Whitefield

London
July 23, 1739

Honoured Sir,

I thank you for your kind reproof.¹ Henceforward I will beg of God to keep the door of my lips, that I offend no more with my tongue. I would not willingly have one unprofitable word proceed out of my mouth. I am often with persons that commend me; I take it as my cross. I look upon them only as people talking in their sleep. I generally find those that so praise me to my face are but mere novices in the spiritual life. However, God always gives me thorns in the flesh. May I by them be taught true humility and poverty of spirit. I love you more for reproving me. I abhor nothing more in Christians than reservedness. Matters go on well here. People are more and more hungry, and God gives me greater power. Forty pounds were collected yesterday for the colliers.

Your brother Charles may be expected the middle of next week. Ralph Erskine has sent you a letter; pray keep up a constant correspondence with him, and, honoured sir,

Your unworthy son and servant in Christ,

GW

Source: published transcription; *Collection* (1797), 21.²

¹Apparently some of Whitefield's criticisms in his letter of July 2 had been based on unfounded hearsay, a point made in JW's letter of July 19 (noted in his diary, but does not survive). This is Whitefield's response.

²Republished in *Works*, 25:668–69.

From Susanna Burdock

[Bristol]
August 9, 1739

I cannot let you out of town without writing once more,¹ lest you should think me weak enough to take anything ill that your sincerity and friendship prompted you to—which I am so far from that I think myself under all possible obligations to esteem and speak well of you as long as I live. But what am I to do in order to obtain the salvation that is offered through Christ to all that are sincere? Does not a great part of zeal in Christianity consist in a conscientious discharge of the common duties of the state of life which God has placed me in? I am sensible of my own vileness. I know I can do no[t] one good thing of myself. But I daily pray to be made a new creature, and I hope you will do so for me wherever you are. You seem to promise me that I shall be at liberty to hear you again, though not yet. Why do you think so? Or for what reason do you imagine I am not suffered to do so now? I think it is because I shall have no friend but God alone. The prayers are charming, and I think I know the author of some of them.² I had like to have heard you once more. There was [a] gentleman come to our house yesterday, highly provoked at you, and began to say a great many shocking things, which I would not hear and told him I lamented of all things that I could not go to the society as usual. So he would have engaged to get my papa's consent to go with him Sunday night in the room,³ in order to prove to me that you were a villain from what you said. I told him I would hear all his malice could invent for an opportunity of going once more. But mama said I should not be seen in such company, and so it dropped.

Adieu

Endorsement: 'Transcribed from the original by me: J Purdy'.

Source: contemporary ms. transcription; MARC, MA 1977/610/27.

¹JW left Bristol for a short trip to Wells on Aug. 9.

²JW had apparently given her a copy of *A Collection of Forms of Prayer for Every Day in the Week* (Oxford, 1733).

³The Methodist meeting house.

From Susanna Burdock

[Bristol]
Saturday night, nine o'clock [August 11,¹ 1739]

This is to beg the favour that you would send by the bearer now, or when it shall be more convenient, all those letters I have done myself the pleasure to write to you, which being answered are of no further use. I haven't the least notion of you making use of them to my disadvantage, but if it should please God to take you away suddenly, it is possible they may fall into the hands of people that may not have that strict regard to honour and religion that I am sensible you have; and you will always remember from experience that the best actions are liable to the worst constructions. If you saw the letter I had sent me by an unknown hand, you would not wonder I should be so cautious.

All happiness attend you,
Adieu.

Endorsement: 'Transcribed from the original by me: J Purdy'.

Source: contemporary ms. transcription; MARC, MA 1977/610/27.

¹This is the first of three possible Saturdays while JW remained in Bristol.

From Ebenezer Blackwell¹

London
August 14, 1739

Dear Sir,

Mr. [William] Seward, when I supped with him and Mr. [George] Whitefield last Sunday night, said he would send me the money they collected that evening on Blackheath for Kingswood School. By the newspaper of this day it mentions that there was collected £16.1.6, but I had sent me only £15.11, so that there is half a guinea difference. What is the reason I don't know till I hear from Mr. Seward, but however for the £15.11 I have sent our shop note, which Mr. Burrows or any other gentleman that remits money to London will give you cash for. I thought it was the best way to send it, because as I have seen g[oo]d handwriting (though I have not the pleasure of your acquaintance), before I should pay it I should know that it got safe to you.

It would be needless for me to pretend to give an account of all our friends, because I suppose the Captain² and Mr. [Thomas] Mitchell before this have acquainted you of everything, as they and I parted from Mr. Whitefield and Mr. Seward at the same time. This I can say, that there is a great number of our friends who earnestly wish for somebody to supply the place of our dear brother Whitefield. For my part I desire to trust to the Lord, who is not only able, but will certainly in his due time send us more of his true ministers. But at present for all-wise ends he may suffer us to grapple a little by ourselves, and have after this great plenty, as it were a dearth of religion in order to purge us and try us, that we know how to prize and value them that preach the truth as it is in Jesus. O that we had more thankful hearts for the mercies we daily receive, and made a more conscientious use of our closets, to look up to the Almighty for directions in all affairs, not in the least resting or relying on anything that we can do, but solely trusting in the merits, death, and suffering of our dear Lord Jesus for life and salvation. Then might we expect the blessing of God in this world, and our souls' everlasting salvation in the next. I should be glad when you have a leisure minute to have a line or two, and beg you will present my kind love and service to Mrs. [Elizabeth (Whitefield)] Grevil, and tell her that I thought I should have heard from her before now. I am, dear sir (with earnest prayers to the Almighty for continued success in your labours, and that all who name the name of Jesus may depart from evil),

Your weak but affectionate servant in Christ,

Eb. Blackwell

Pray give my kind respects to the Captain, Mr. Mitchell, etc.

Address: 'To The Revd. Mr. Jno Wesly'.

Endorsement: by JW, 'Mr Blackwell / Aug. 14, 1739 / a[nswere]d 22'.

Source: holograph; MARC, MA 1977/610/9.³

¹Ebenezer Blackwell (1711–82) was related to George Whitefield's mother Elizabeth. He apprenticed in banking under Thomas Martin of Martin's Bank, London—where he became a partner in 1746. Raised as an Anabaptist, Blackwell was baptized into the Church of England by Whitefield in June 1739, and in Aug. of that year helped Whitefield deal with money collected for establishing a school for colliers at Kingswood. JW was also in Bristol at the time and met Blackwell. Thus began a long friendship, working relationship, and correspondence. Blackwell's home in Lewisham, The Limes, became a favourite retreat for both JW and CW.

²Capt. James Whitefield (1709–66), brother of George and a supporter of the revival.

³Transcription published in *Works*, 25:675–76.

From the Rev. Charles Wesley

Bengeworth and Evesham
August 20, 1739

Dear Brother,

We have left the brethren at Oxford much edified, and two gownsmen besides Charles Graves thoroughly awakened. On Saturday afternoon God brought us hither. Mr. Seward¹ being from home, there was no admittance for us, his wife being an opposer and having refused to see George Whitefield before me. At seven Mr. Seward found us at our inn, and carried us home. I expounded at eight in the schoolroom, which contains two hundred, and held out the promises from John 16, 'I will send the Comforter'² On Sunday morning I preached from George Whitefield's pulpit, the wall, 'Repent ye, and believe the gospel.'³ The notice being short, we had only a few hundreds, but such as those described in the morning lesson, 'These were more noble than those of Thessalonica, in that they received the word with all readiness of mind.'⁴ In the evening I showed to near two thousand their Saviour in the Good Samaritan.⁵ Many, I am persuaded, found themselves stripped, and wounded, and half-dead, and are therefore ready for the oil and wine. Once more God strengthened me at nine to open the new covenant at the school-house, which was crowded with deeply attentive sinners.

Source: ms transcription; CW, MS Journal.⁶

¹This was Benjamin Seward (b. c. 1705), a brother of William Seward; William was now in North American with Whitefield.

²John 16:7–11.

³Mark 1:15.

⁴Acts 17:11.

⁵Luke 10:29–37.

⁶Transcription published in *Works*, 25:676.

From the Rev. James Hervey

[Stoke Abbey, Devonshire]

August 21, 1739

Dear and Honoured Sir,

Your letter from London¹ occasioned a speedy answer and a thankful acknowledgment. I suppose my epistle miscarried, otherwise you would not have taxed me with forgetfulness of a friend whom I am infinitely obliged to, and whom I dearly esteem.

You ask what I am doing in my present situation. I answer, The same that Basil and Nazianzen did in the wilderness: studying the Scriptures, furnishing my mind with saving knowledge, and fitting a poor deacon for the service of Christ's Church. With this farther difference between my inconsiderable self and those excellent persons, that they retired in the vigour of health, I under the infirmities of a crazy constitution; which I hope to have repaired by enjoying the most comfortable conveniences of life, and a respite from labour. At present, had I the strongest inclination, I have no manner of ability to bestir myself in the way you propose. I be a thundering Boanerges?²—I lift up my voice to the whole world, and make the canopy of the skies ring? Never, dear sir, never could you have made choice of so improper a person, so vastly unequal to the task.

Besides, I freely own I cannot approve of itinerant preaching. I think it is repugnant to the apostolical as well as English constitution. I find Timothy settled at Ephesus, Titus stationed at Crete, and other of our Captain's commanders assigned to their particular posts. These labourers (and industrious labourers they were) did not think it necessary or expedient to travel from this county to that, with words of exhortation in their mouths, but chose to lay out their pastoral vigilance upon the flock consigned to their care. Thus would I humbly advise my dear Mr. Wesley to act. Be content to imitate those primitive and only not inspired preachers. Fix in some parish, visit carefully your people, let every individual be the object of your compassionate zeal, in a word be a living Ouranius.³ O what good might this do to the cause of Christianity! How might neighbouring ministers follow the unexceptionable example, and from inveighing against my good friend, as they now unanimously do, honour him and tread in his steps!

Straitness of time obliges me to put an end to my letter; but no difference of opinion, no long-continued absence, nothing, I trust, in time or through eternity, shall be able to put an end to my respectful and honourable regard, my most affectionate and grateful esteem for dear Mr. Wesley; whom I love, and whose I am, with the greatest sincerity,

J. Hervey

Source: holograph; Oxford, Lincoln College, Library, MS/WES; copy, MA 1977/610/72.⁴

¹JW to Hervey, Aug. 8, 1739 (*Works*, 25:673–74).

²'Son of thunder'; cf. Mark 3:17.

³A character in Law's *Serious Call*, chapter 21: 'Ouranius is a holy priest, full of the spirit of the gospel, watching, labouring, and praying for a poor *country village*.' When Wesley reprinted his own abridgement of *A Serious Call* in his *Works* (Vol. 5, 1771), he placed an asterisk before this passage to emphasize its importance.

⁴Transcription published in *Collection* (1797), 15–16; and *Works*, 25:677.

From the Rev. Charles Wesley

Gloucester
August 23, [1739]

By ten last night the Lord brought us hither through many dangers and difficulties. In mounting, I fell over my horse and sprained my hand. Riding in the dark I bruised my foot. We lost our way as often as we *could*. Two horses we had between three, for Robin bore us company.¹ Here we turned back from a friend's house by his wife's sickness. Last night my voice and strength wholly failed me. Today they are in some measure restored. At night I with difficulty got into the crowded society, preached the law and the gospel from Romans 3. They received it with all readiness. Three clergymen were present. Some without attempted to make a disturbance by setting on the dogs, but in vain. The *dumb* dogs rebuked the rioters.

Source: ms transcription; CW, MS Journal.

¹Robin was a servant of Benjamin Seward, recently converted under CW's preaching.

From the Rev. Charles Wesley

Gloucester
August 24, [1739]

Before I went forth into the streets and highways, I sent, after my custom, to borrow the church. The minister (one of the better disposed) sent back a civil message. He would be glad to drink a glass of wine with me, but durst not lend me his pulpit for fifty guineas.

Mr. Whitefield durst lend me his field,¹ which did just as well. For near an hour and [a] half God gave me voice and strength to exhort about two thousand sinners to repent and believe the gospel.² My voice and strength failed together. Neither do I want them when my work is done. Being invited to Painswick,³ I waited upon the Lord and renewed my strength. We found near one thousand gathered in the street. I have but one subject, on which I discoursed from 2 Corinthians 5:19, 'God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself.' I besought them earnestly to be reconciled, and the rebels seemed inclinable to lay down their arms. A young Presbyterian teacher clave to us.

I received fresh strength to expound the Good Samaritan⁴ at a public-house, which was full above stairs and below.

Source: ms transcription; CW, MS Journal.

¹Possibly Richard Whitefield (b. 1708), brother of George, who had taken over control of the Bell Inn in Gloucester after his father's death.

²Mark 1:15.

³Painswick, Gloucestershire, 3 miles northeast of Stroud.

⁴Luke 10:29–37.

From the Rev. Charles Wesley

Randwick¹
August 26, 1739

The minister here lent me his pulpit. I stood at the window (which was taken down) and turned to the larger congregation of above two thousand in the churchyard. They appeared greedy to hear, while I testified, 'God so loved the world, that he gave his only-begotten Son'² These are, I think, more noble than those at Evesham.

After the sermon a woman came to me who had received faith in hearing Mr. [George] Whitefield. She was terrified at having lost her comfort. I explained to her that wilderness-state into which the believer is *generally* led by the Spirit to be tempted as soon as he is baptized by the Holy Ghost. This confirmed her in a patient looking for his return whom her soul loveth.

We dined at Mr. Ellis's of Ebley.³ Met our brother Ellis, who has the blessing of believing parents, two sisters awakened; one only brother continues an abandoned prodigal.

In the afternoon I preached again to a Kennington congregation.⁴ The church was full as it could crowd. Thousands stood in the churchyard. It was the most beautiful sight I ever beheld. The people filled the gradually rising area, which was shut up on three sides by a vast perpendicular hill. On the top and bottom of this hill was a circular row of trees. In this amphitheatre they stood, deeply attentive, while I called upon them in Christ's words, 'Come unto me, all that are weary.'⁵ The tears of many testified that they were ready to enter into that rest. God enabled me to lift up my voice like a trumpet, so that all distinctly heard me. I concluded with singing an Invitation to Sinners.⁶

It was with difficulty we made our way through this most loving people, and returned amidst their prayers and blessings to Ebley. Here I expounded the second lesson for two hours, and received strength and faith to plead the promise of the Father. A good old Baptist pressed me to preach at Stanley⁷ in my way to Bristol.

Source: ms transcription; CW, MS Journal.

¹Randwick, Gloucestershire, just north of Ebley, and about 7 miles from Gloucester (as JW notes in his *Journal*, Oct. 7, 1739, *Works*, 19:102). CW spells 'Runwick'.

²John 3:16.

³Ebley, Gloucestershire, 2 miles west of Stroud. CW spells 'Ebly'.

⁴CW is speaking metaphorically of a congregation as large as those that gathered in Kennington Common in London.

⁵Matt. 11:28.

⁶There was no hymn with this title in early Methodist collections. CW may be referring to 'Christ, the Friend of Sinners', which concludes its seventh stanza: 'He calls you now, invites you home!' (*HSP* [1739], 101–03). Or he may mean the hymn titled 'The Invitation', taken from George Herbert's *The Temple*, that was included in *HSP* (1739), 125–26.

⁷Likely Stanley Borough (also called King's Stanley), Gloucestershire. JW found a ready audience there a month later; cf. JW, *Journal*, Oct. 7, 1739, *Works*, 19:102.

From the Rev. Samuel Wesley Jr.¹

Tiverton [Devonshire]

September 3, 1739

Dear Jack,

It has pleased God to visit me with sickness, else I should not have been so backward in writing. Pray to him for us, that he would 'give us patience under our sufferings, and a happy issue out of all our afflictions; granting us in this world knowledge of his truth, and in the world to come life everlasting'.²

It is good news that you have built a charity-school, and better still that you have a second almost up,³ as I find by yours that Mr. [Ebenezer] Wigginton brought me. I wish you could build not only a school, but a church too, for the colliers, if there is not any place at present for worship where they can meet. And I should rejoice heartily to have it endowed, though Mr. [George] Whitefield were to be the minister of it, provided the bishop fully joined.

Your distinction between the discipline and doctrine of the church is, I think, not quite pertinent. For surely episcopacy is matter of doctrine, too; but granting it otherwise, you know there is no fear of being cast out of our synagogue for any tenets whatsoever. Did not Clarke die preferred?⁴ Were not Collins and Coward free from anathema?⁵ Are not Chubb and Gordon now caressed?⁶ My knowledge of this makes me suspect Whitefield, as if he designed to provoke persecution by his bodings of it. He has already personally disoblged the bishops of Gloucester and London, and doubtless will do as much by all the rest if they fall not down before his whimsies, and should offer to stand in his way. Now if he, by his madness, should lay himself open to the small remains of discipline amongst us, as by marrying without licence, or any other way, and get excommunicated for his pains, I am very apprehensive you would still stick to him as your dear brother, and so, though the Church [of England] would not excommunicate you, you would excommunicate the Church. Then I suppose you would enlarge your censure, which now takes in only most of the inferior clergy; but you have taught me to have the worse opinion of no man on that account, till you have proved your charge against Bishop Bull.⁷ At present I am inclined to think that the being blamed with him is glory.

You yourself doubted at first, and inquired, and examined, about the ecstasies; the matter is not therefore so plain as motion to a man walking. But I have my own reason, as well as your own authority, against the exceeding clearness of divine interposition there. Your followers fall into agonies. I confess it. They are freed from them after you have prayed over them. Granted. They say it is God's doing. I own they say so. Dear brother, where is your ocular demonstration? Where, indeed, is the rational proof? Their

¹Probably in reply to JW's letter of June 26 (noted in his diary), to whose contents it affords some clues.

²Samuel Jr. is gathering snippets from several collects, with the last phrase coming from the Prayer of St. Chrysostom.

³The New Room in Bristol was used initially as a charity school for poor children, and the 'second' school going up was that at Kingswood. See JW to George Whitefield, Apr. 28, 1741, *Works*, 26:58; and Best, *Cradle of Methodism*, 60, 79.

⁴Samuel Clarke (1625–1729), whose writings leaned toward unitarianism, if not deism.

⁵Anthony Collins (1676–1729), was an explicit deist; William Coward (c. 1657–1725) wrote pieces skeptical about the existence of the soul, that were declared blasphemous by Parliament.

⁶Thomas Chubb (1679–1747) was a lay deist writer; Thomas Gordon (d. 1750) was author of some strongly anticlerical Whig writings.

⁷See JW's earlier letter to Samuel Jr., Feb. 3, 1739 (*Works*, 25:599–600), where he accuses Bishop George Bull (1634–1709) of dissenting from fundamental Articles of the Church, particularly in light of his sermon critical of emphasis on the testimony of the Holy Spirit.

living well afterwards may be a probable and sufficient argument that they believe themselves; but it goes no farther.

I must ask a few more questions. Did these agitations ever begin during the use of any collects of the Church? Or during the preaching of any sermon that had before been preached within consecrated walls without that effect, or during the inculcating any other doctrine besides that of your new birth? Are the main body of these agents, or patients, good sort of people beforehand, or loose and immoral?

My wife joins in love to you, and Charles, if he is with you, or indeed wherever he is. For you know best his notions, and he is likely to hear from you before me. Phil⁸ is very well, my wife⁹ indifferent, and I on the mending hand in spite of foul weather. I am, dear Jack,

Your sincere and affectionate friend and brother,

Samuel Wesley

Address: 'To Mr. John Wesley'.

Source: published transcription; Priestley, *Original Letters*, 105–08.¹⁰

⁸Samuel Jr.'s daughter Philadelphia (1728–73).

⁹Ursula (Berry) Wesley.

¹⁰Reprinted in *Works*, 25:681–82.

From John Cennick

Bristol
September 10, 1739

Dear Sir,

I am going to give you a relation of what I have seen and heard since my last. On Thursday I went to Kendleshire about seven, where was really a very serious congregation. And accompanied with many friends, from thence I came to the fire engine, to our weekly society. And while I was expounding with power, on 'These are they who came out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb',¹ David Reynolds' wife [Mary] sat down in her chair, inwardly despairing and greatly sighing, and continued worse till I had finished. When I went to her, and would have comforted her, but lo 'her hour was not yet come'.² We prayed and sung some time, after which she seemed to revive, and got strength to go home. I stayed all Friday in the wood, and on the third chapter of Romans I expounded again, at another house near the former, and here a young woman of Siston³ cried out, and was followed by another, and thus for two hours or more they cried vehemently, 'My God, help me!' 'Oh! I perish!' 'Jesus Christ save me!' etc. After this I went home, but had a weight heavy indeed on my soul, my breast was pressed down with a cloud. I found the spirit of prayer abode with me all the while, and I kept fast my peace.

Sunday morning I rose up as before, bowed down, and I think the only temptation that I perceived was not to reveal the burden of the Lord that was then upon me to the people of Kingswood, at two in the afternoon as I had appointed. However I knew my Father had given me the work, and I was resigned to obey. I went to the sacrament at St. John's,⁴ had communion with Jesus, but through a glass darkly. I was now persuaded, somewhat more was to befall me this day than common. As I was kneeling before the altar, and had eaten the bread, I was lifting up my heart to heaven, and just moving my lips, when Mr. Hall denied me the cup for a time, in the face of a large congregation, with 'What do you mean by making additions?' And more to that effect, which I did not understand. I took the cup when he was pleased to grant it me, returned to my seat not visibly, yet secretly, in confusion. But reflected, 'Well, there is no one can hinder me of the river of life. No one (though they bid me forbear to partake of the outward signs) can prevent my reception of the blood of my Lord.' I began to think the days were at hand when I should be thrust out of the earthly house, the temple made with hands. But I know I shall not have my name blotted out of the Book of Life. My habitation is prepared, and no one can take it from me. Praise the Lord! Mr. Hamilton told me (who was an eye witness) Mr. Hall trembled when he came round with the cup to him. O may Jesus never deny him the water of salvation! Pray for him, dear brother, and stand yourself armed, ready to prove thyself courageous in our Lord's battles.

And now I came to the colliers, not disheartened at all, but rather urged on. Here, to a large attentive audience, I taught the necessity of the new life, from the latter part of the seventh chapter of St. John, where I was full of living water, and breathed out the truth, with power and success. One fainted, and bowed down her soul beneath her convictions. One man cried out aloud, 'O my dear brethren, I am filled with love. I have the Spirit of my God now glorious in my soul! O how shall I worthily speak what great things God hath done for me! And O my brethren, seek, seek, and you shall find the eternal life springing up in you also!' I looked on him and saw joy and inexpressible glory sit beautiful on his brow. We were wet to the skin, and although it rained furiously, they all stood admiring the wonderful works of God.

¹Rev. 7:14.

²Cf. John 2:4.

³Cennick spells 'Sisen'; JW spells 'Sison'. Siston was a substantial pin-making parish six and a half miles northeast of Bistol.

⁴The Church of St. John the Baptist in Bristol.

From Rose Green I came back to Mrs. Jones's, and as I was clearly discoursing of faith, and proving that heretofore we had worshipped an unknown God, one woman, who loved none of her neighbours, neither was loved of them, stood a while trembling, and then sat down with all the signs of a wounded spirit, and a broken contrite heart. Her pangs increased till she at last cried out for very disquietness, and was near three hours ere she recovered her strength. Then she desired me to pray. I began to pray, but my voice was overpowered by the loud shrieks of another. I begged those round to pray with me, and press God in the prayer of our Lord. We all joined fervently, and poured out many tears. And straight everyone's tongue was loosed, so that at near four in the morning all together were on their knees, praying amidst the cries of the wounded souls for mercy! And it was not long ere one joined in praising God, and visited and assisted the others. So that before five we all parted, and everyone went away to his home, amazed and begging God that this might be evermore remembered by every spectator. O pray for us, that we may triumph in the Lord our strength, and that he fail not to hear his inheritance! I am full of work. O may God proportion my strength thereto!

Adieu, dear brother,

John Cennick

Pray give my sincere love to brother [John] Bray, and greet all the household of faith in my name.

Source: published transcription; *Collection* (1797), 26–28.

From the Rev. Joshua Read¹

Bradford
September 11² [1739³]

Honoured Sir,

Yours I received not till after you preached at Burryfield,⁴ and that day I was under a very great disorder of body, and the day being wet could not attend your ministry.⁵

As you began your last letter to me thus, 'I am neither a Calvinist or an Arminian', so I shall begin mine, assuring you that I am neither a 'bigot or a sceptic in religion'. You write that you contend for the faith once delivered to the saints with earnestness, which I desire alway to do; and what if I prove from what you have wrote to me, and from what I have heard from you, that you are a Calvinist, though you will not own the name? For—

First, one great doctrine you have strenuously asserted is man's lost and undone estate by nature; 2) you frequently inculcate the necessity of the 'new birth'; 3) this you describe from Acts 26:18; 4) you assert God alone to be author thereof, from Philippians 2:13. All which doctrinal truths Mr. Calvin earnestly contends for, and nothing in his writings is contrary thereunto. I heartily agree with you, that I do not count a man converted to God because he is converted from wrong opinions, as you write many of the Quakers and Papists have been by your ministry. As some resist the truth, so many hold the truth, in unrighteousness. O that you and I may daily experience that Christ hath set up his kingdom, and doth sway his righteous and gracious sceptre by his Word and Spirit, in our souls. If the kingdom of God is not within us, we may preach to others, and be castaways ourselves! O that we were more conformed to the doctrine and life of our Saviour! I ascribe all the success of my ministry to free and sovereign grace, by which grace I am what I am.

I cannot pass over in silence (as you have done) the 17th Article of the Church of England,⁶ which we both solemnly have subscribed, and by our subscription professed before all the world our belief of. On which article many others have their dependence, and in the firm belief thereof some of our blessed Reformers and others have sealed the truth with their blood. The Lord enable us to stand fast in his counsel, that we may keep back nothing that is profitable, that we may not shun to declare all the counsel of God. The Lord hath and will sanctify his people by his truth, and his word is truth. But he will never own or bless any doctrines contrary to the form of sound words contained in the Holy Scriptures. All Scripture is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness. The

¹The Rev. Joshua Read (who died an old man, c. 1745–46) was minister of the Grove Meeting House at Bradford-on-Avon, Wiltshire, whose Presbyterian congregation was at this very time being split by doctrinal controversy, so that Read's junior colleague, a Unitarian, took over, while Read himself built a new Independent Chapel on Morgan's Hill—the 'very trying dispensations of Providence' mentioned in the letter. JW had first met Read on one of the occasions when he preached in the open air at Bath. Read had warmly thanked Wesley, so that when JW was refused the parish church at Bradford on July 17 he went to see Read, only to find him less friendly, especially as he had been informed that at Oxford JW was taken to be 'a little crack-brained'. JW therefore preached on the hill overlooking the town at a place 'called Bear Field, or Bury Field'. He preached there on several subsequent occasions.

²The date might possibly be '17th'—the second numeral is smeared.

³The year is added in another hand.

⁴JW wrote Read on Aug. 23 (according to his diary). While that letter does not survive, Read's reply shows that this was another of those letters seeking advice about the physical phenomena occurring among JW's Bristol adherents.

⁵The paragraph was apparently added after the completion of the letter and the postscript.

⁶The article 'Of Predestination'.

immutability of God's counsels is supremely declared in his word, that he who runs may read it. For he worketh all things according to the counsel of his own most holy and righteous will. Romans 8:30. This doctrine contained in the aforementioned article well agrees with your prayers in the Service book [BCP]. And do you not always pray, in the Office of the Burial, that it may please the Lord, of his gracious goodness, shortly to accomplish the number of the elect and hasten his kingdom? The contrary doctrine is not only unscriptural but also uncomfortable to an enlightened, awakened, and renewed soul. *Sed hac* (*ulyz?*) *non ultra*⁷ as to the former part of your letter.

It is a strange, and even a surprising account you give of some under your ministry, and as I seem to conclude from what you wrote, that yourself was a stranger thereto till you came to Bristol.

I shall pass by the outrages of the Anabaptists at Münster in Germany; as also the unaccountable agitations both of mind and body in the Quakers at their first appearances in this land, and sometimes (as I have heard) to this very day in some of their assemblies; and I have thought these people the more admire you on the account of what you have related, and many are witnesses to.

As to the French Prophets,⁸ their rise, progress, and fall, you perhaps know as much as I can tell you.

And as to Mr. Mason,⁹ a Church [of England] minister in Water Stratford, Buckinghamshire, who is well known by his *Spiritual Songs* (to which is added penitential cries by Mr. Shepherd,¹⁰ who for about twelve years was a Church minister, and for more that thirty years pastor of a Dissenting congregation at Braintree in Essex, with whom I was well acquainted). This Mr. Mason aforementioned had two sons [of] which I know—the one a conformist, the other a nonconformist mind. This good man (for I question not he was so) in his later years was under a strong illusion, and being ever accounted eminently pious, many harkened to him, and left their families and abode with him. For he told them Christ had appeared to him, and that in a very little time he would make his second appearance at the place of his residence, and thither sayeth he must the saints be gathered. My honoured pastor, Mr. Chandler of Bedford was an eyewitness to the unaccountable and unjustifiable proceeding of those gathered to him, who endeavoured to persuade Mr. Mason of the delusion that both he and the people with him were under, but all in vain. But the story is too long for me now particularly to relate.

That which I have further to add is concerning Mr. Davis, a minister in Rothwell, Northants,¹¹ whom I know and have heard. He was a man of good learning and a ready utterance. At his first coming into the county he was for some time at my father's house, and told my mother at his departure that he was going to preach the gospel at Rothwell, which my mother thought he spoke with an air of too much self-confident boasting. I think about two years after he, with his wife, were again at our house, and by that time many were in very strange fits, and being asked concerning them his wife thus expressed herself, that she could wish her soul in their souls' stead who had these fits. Their antic gestures and unbecoming behaviour while Mr. Davis was preaching would take up much time particularly to relate. When they were in these fits while Mr. Davis was preaching he would thus express himself, 'Regard them not, it will be well enough with them, etc.' The observation I then made (being well acquainted with the

⁷The third word is uncertain; the apparent general meaning is 'But this adds nothing more'.

⁸See the note on George Whitefield's letter to JW, June 25, 1745, above.

⁹John Mason (d. 1694), author of *Spiritual Songs* (London: Northcott, 1683).

¹⁰Thomas Shepherd (1665–1739) was ordained an Anglican priest, serving first at St. Neots, then in Buckinghamshire. He later left the Church of England, and in 1694 became pastor of the Independent Castle Hill Baptist Meeting, Northampton. In 1700 he moved to Bocking, Essex, preaching in a barn for several years before a chapel could be built. He served there the remainder of his life. In 1693 he published *Penitential Cries ... begun by [John Mason] and carried on by another hand*.

¹¹Richard Davis (1658–1714) was pastor of a Congregationalist church in Rothwell for twenty-five years, marked by significant growth during the time of some of the manifestations described.

relation—from first to last) was, Some of these appeared afterwards to be real Christians, but many others not so.

I shall now briefly give you some observations on the whole, and propose a few queries, to which I shall desire your answers.

First, then, I observe that much of nature was to be seen in such fits. Daily experience proves that a moving discourse hath a natural tendency to raise the affections, *si vis me flere dolendum est, primum ipsi tibi*,¹² (cf. Ezekiel 33:32). And women more generally are sooner and easier affected than men, from some causes you and I can account for.

Secondly, I observe there is sometimes a diabolical agency in raising or promoting such fits, and as you have mentioned this I need not insist on it, as otherwise I could do. And in the French Prophets I have thought that Satan had a principal hand in their agitations.

Thirdly, I observe that it is the work of the Holy Spirit to convince of sin. And the convictions of the Spirit are either common or special. Many come under a common work who never prove sincere converts, and yet God's ordinary way of working true grace in the souls of his elect is first by bringing them under a spirit of bondage by the law before he lovingly reveals his Christ and his covenant to their souls by the spirit of adoption. Thus the law is a schoolmaster to bring us to Christ, who is the end of the law for righteousness to everyone that believeth.

The queries I would propose are these three:¹³

First, how was it with them before they had these fits upon them? Were they before this persons of ignorance or knowledge? Were they of sober lives, or vicious and profane?

Secondly, how is it with them under those fits? Can they, after the fit is over, tell you what most affected them in hearing the word? Was it any particular doctrine you was upon, or come they upon any when you are treating on different and various subjects?

Thirdly, how is it with them after the fit is over? Are they subject to these fits only while they are hearing of you, or is it afterwards as well as then?

And finally, what can their conversations witness for them?

I shall rejoice might the evidences of a sound conversion appear in an humble and close walking with God. Some remarkable instances I can give you of some while they have been hearing of me. But having already enlarged, I shall instance only in one. While I was preaching at Basingstoke, Hants (where I often preached), a young woman was hearing of me, and fell into a fit, and was immediately carried away. I think it was about the middle of the sermon; the text was in 20 John, 2nd verse. I do not remember she made any disturbance in the congregation. When I had done the exercise, I went to her house, knowing her to have a godly character. I told her I was sorry she should be so taken while she was hearing of me. Her answer was either in these words, or in words to this effect, that she was never better in all her life, and that the opportunity was a good opportunity to her.

And now, dear sir, I commend you to God; and pray you may be greatly owned of him in bringing in and building up, desiring your prayers for me, who lately have met with very trying dispensations of Providence, and who continually stands in need of the supplies of the Spirit of Christ. And so remains an unworthy labourer in the Lord's vineyard,

Joshua Read

P. S. Not one link of that glorious chain, Romans 8:30, shall or can ever be broken, either by men or devils. The Lord enlighten such who are ignorant of his truth, and convince such who are opposers of it. I find the godly in all ages have not questioned the truth of God's electing love, though under darkness and temptation they have at times been under many doubts and fears as to their interest therein, in which they have been supported by fresh applications by faith to the blood of the covenant.

¹²Horace, *Ars Poetica*, 102–03 ('If you want me to weep, you must first suffer yourself').

¹³JW answered these queries in some detail in his letter of Oct. 27, 1739 (*Works*, 25:695–96).

No address.

Endorsement: by JW, down the margin of first page, 'Write to Mr. Harris of Mr. Stevens'.

Source: holograph; MARC, MA 1977/610/111.¹⁴

¹⁴Abridged publication in *Works*, 25:682–85.

From John Cennick

Bristol
September 12, 1739

My Dear Brother,

Far be it from me to attribute the convictions of sin (the work of the Holy Ghost) to Beelzebub! No; neither do I say that those strong wrestlings are of God only. I thought you had understood my opinion better touching this matter. I believe that before a soul is converted to God the spirit of rebellion is in everyone that is born into the world; and while Satan armed keepeth his hold, the man enjoys a kind of peace. Meantime, the Holy Ghost is offering a better peace, according to that scripture, 'Behold, I stand at the door, and knock.'¹ Now, after the word of the Most High has touched the heart, I think the serpent is seeking to root it up or choke the seed. But as the Spirit of God has gained entrance, he rageth with all his might; and, as far as he hath power, troubleth the soul with the justice of God, with fear of having passed the day of grace, or having sinned too greatly to be forgiven, in order to make them despair. Hence ariseth a fierce combat in the inward parts, so that the weaker part of man, the body, is overcome, and those cries and convulsions follow.

On Monday evening I was preaching at the school² on the forgiveness of sins, when two persons (who, the night before had laughed at others) cried out with a loud and bitter cry. So did many more, in a little time. Indeed, it seemed that the devil, and much of the powers of darkness, were come among us. My mouth was stopped, and my ears heard scarce anything, but such terrifying cries as would have made anyone's knees tremble! Only judge. It was pitch dark, it rained much, and the wind blew vehemently. Large flashes of lightening, and loud claps of thunder, mixed with the screams of frightened parents, and the exclamations of nine distressed souls! The hurry and confusion caused hereby cannot be expressed. The whole place seemed to me to resemble nothing but the habitation of apostate spirits; many raving up and down, crying, 'The devil will have me!' 'I am his servant!' 'I am damned!' 'My sins can never be pardoned!' 'I am gone, gone for ever!' A young man (in such horrors that seven or eight could not hold him) still roared, like a dragon, 'Ten thousand devils, millions, millions of devils are about me!' This continued three hours. One cried out, 'That fearful thunder is raised by the devil. In this storm he will bear me to hell!' O what a power reigned amongst us! Some cried out with a hollow voice, 'Mr. Cennick! Bring Mr. Cennick!' I came to all that desired me. They then spurned with all their strength, grinding their teeth, and expressing all the fury that heart can conceive. Indeed, their staring eyes and swelled faces so amazed others that they cried out almost as loud as they who were tormented. I have visited several since who told me their senses were taken away; but when I drew near, they said, they felt fresh rage, longing to tear me to pieces! I never saw the like, nor even the shadow of it before. Yet I can say I was not in the least afraid, as I knew God was on our side. My judgment is as my dear brother's; my heart as thy heart! Do what seemeth good in thine eyes. I will be ready to serve and honour you, as my brother in the Lord and as a shepherd of the flock of Jesus. I beg you will give my sincere love to all the church of God, and let them know that I am of their family, though but young, weak, and unworthy.

Peace be ever your reward; and glory, not yet revealed, be your portion for ever!

Adieu!

J. Cennick

Source: published transcription; *Arminian Magazine* 1 (1778): 179–81.

¹Rev. 3:20.

²I.e., the New Room.

From the Rev. Benjamin Ingham¹

Osset [Yorkshire]
September 14, 1739

My Dear Brother,

Wait the Lord's leisure, and be still. His time is the best time. 'Be strong, and he shall comfort thine heart; and put thou thy trust in the Lord.'²

I shall be very glad to see you, when the Lord pleases that we shall meet together. O that we may do and suffer his will in all things. It is following our own wills that creates us trouble and confusion.

All your opposition will work together for good. The more the clergy oppose the truth, the more it will prevail. Their preaching against us and our doctrine excites a curiosity in people to hear us, and to see if these things be true; whereby many have their eyes opened. If this work is of God, it cannot be overthrown; if it be of men, I wish it may speedily. We have nothing to do but to follow our leader. O that he may direct all our ways aright!

I say very little about the clergy in public. I preach the truth of the gospel, according to the light the Lord has given me into it, and leave it to the Lord to bless it as he pleases. I take not notice of lies and calumnies, unless I am asked whether or no they are true. It is endless to answer all that is said. Our Saviour says, Let them alone. He is concerned for the welfare of his Church. Let us, therefore, depend upon him, and let us mind what he says to us in his holy word. Let us love our enemies, and pray for them; and let us love one another; and thereby shall all men know that we are his true disciples. We must be hated in this world. Let us, therefore, take great care to secure ourselves an inheritance in the next.

Benjamin Ingham

Source: published transcription; *Arminian Magazine* 1 (1778): 181–82.

¹This letter may be responding to one JW records sending Ingham in his diary on Aug. 23 (which does not survive).

²Ps. 27:16 (BCP).

From the Rev. Ralph Erskine¹

Dunfermline [Scotland]

September 28, 1739

Reverend and Dear Sir,

I desire to bless the Lord for the good and great news your letter bears about the Lord's turning many souls from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God, and that such a great and effectual door is opened among you as the many adversaries cannot shut. May he that hath the keys of the house of David, that openeth and no man shutteth, and shutteth and no man openeth, set the door of faith more and more open among you, till his house be filled, and till he gather together the outcasts of Israel, and may that prayer for adversaries be heard, 'Fill their faces with shame, that they may seek thy name, O Lord.'²

As to the outward manner you speak of, wherein most of these were affected who were cut to the heart by the sword of the Spirit, no wonder that they were at first surprising to you, since they are indeed so very rare that have been thus pricked and wounded. Yet some of the instances you give seem to be exemplified in the outward manner wherein Paul and the gaoler were at first affected, as also Peter's hearers [in] Acts 2. The last instance you give, of some struggling as in the agonies of death, and in such a manner as four or five strong men can hardly restrain a weak woman or a child from hurting themselves or others, this is to me somewhat more inexplicable, if it do not resemble the child spoke of Mark 9:26 and Luke 9:42, of whom it is said that 'when he was yet coming the devil threw him down and tare him'. Or what influence sudden and sharp awakenings may have upon sudden bodily convulsions I pretend not to explain. But I make no question, Satan, so far as he gets power, may exert himself on such occasions, partly to mar and *hinder* the beginning of the good work in the persons that are touched with the sharp arrows of conviction, the enemy being unwilling to quit his old possession; and partly also to prevent the success of the gospel on others, while he seeks thus to disparage the work of God, and bring it under contempt and reproach, as if it tended to lead people only to madness and distraction. And in the meantime a holy sovereign God may permit it for hardening a wicked generation, justly leaving them to stumble, and for trying the faith and constancy of his own children, whom he has called effectually. However, the merciful issue of these conflicts, in the conversion of these persons thus affected, is the main thing. When they are brought, by the saving arm of God, to receive Jesus Christ, to have joy and peace in believing, and then to walk in him, and give evidence that the work is a saving work at length, whether more quickly or gradually accomplished, there is great matter of praise.

As to the work of God among us, an account whereof you seem to desiderate, though we cannot deny but we sensibly feel now and then some remarkable breathings of the Spirit of God in praying and preaching, and frequently hear of savoury impressions made by the Word upon the hearts of people, and of some good fruits following; and though any instances of his powerful presence this way seem at this juncture to relate more to the carrying on of the good work where begun than to the remarkable conversion of others; yet we want not instances of his power and pity this way, though not appearing outwardly in such sudden and visible effects as these you mention. All the outward appearances of people's being affected among us, in time of preaching, and especially at sacramental occasions, in time of communicating, or other such solemn seasons, may be reduced to these two sorts. One is, hearing with a close, silent attention, with gravity and greediness, discovered by fixed looks, weeping eyes, joyful or sorrowful like countenances, evidencing tenderness in hearing. Another sort is when the Word is so affecting to the congregation as to make them lift up their voice and weep aloud, some more depressedly, others more highly, and at times the whole multitude in a flood of tears, all as it were crying out at once, till their voice be ready to drown out the minister's, so as he can scarcely be heard for the weeping noise that surrounds him. And though we judge that the more solid and judicious of the auditory are seldom so

¹Erskine is replying to JW's letter of Aug. 24, 1739 (*Works*, 25:680–81).

²Ps. 83:16.

noisy as others, though perhaps as much and more affected inwardly, yet of these that are thus outwardly affected we conceive some to be under a more common, and others under a special gracious influence of the Spirit of God, which we can know only by the fruits and effects that follow. The common influence, like a land flood, dries up, we hear of no change wrought; the other appears afterward in the fruits of righteousness and the tract of a holy conversation.

As to the impression the Word makes upon these whom we take afterward to be true converts, the degrees and duration of a law work or conviction are various, and the saving issue comes to be known also at sundry times and in divers manners. Some have been more quickly touched and turned to the Lord and his ways, others have been many weeks, yea, many months, if not years, under much heaviness, bondage, grievous terrors, and horrible temptations; some relieved very gradually, with a word now and a word then impressed upon them, and some outpouring of the Spirit upon them now and then, and further degrees of illumination and divine teaching, till by little and little they have come to more establishment in the faith, and till they be brought off from all confidence not only in their own works and duties in point of justification before God, but also from all confidence in and dependence upon their best frames, tears, enlargements, influences, and attainments, to a solid life of faith upon the grounds that are unchangeable.³

My dear sir, I will enlarge on this point, in some hints; under a blessing, they may be useful to you and us both. A delusive spirit may sometimes lead poor souls to rest upon impressions, motions, and what they feel within them, as if these were to be the ground and reason of their hope, whereas the true feelings and sealing of the Spirit is the fruit and effect of faith, ('after ye believed ye were sealed,' Eph. 1:13); and the true Spirit of God within a believer, leads him to a dependence upon Christ without him, in the word of grace and promise, and not upon a Christ within him, nor upon any created or communicated graces, gifts, experiences, tears, sorrows, joys, frowns, feeling, or whatever else, is not God himself in Christ, exhibited in the covenant of grace. This is a mark and sign of a work that is divine and saving. As saving knowledge empties a man of his own knowledge, making him in his own eyes more brutish than any man, and not having the understanding of a man; so saving faith empties him of his own faith. Many hope to be saved. Why? Because they trust in God—and so it is not God, but their own faith and trust in him, they hope upon. But true evangelical faith, of divine operation, leaves the man that has it nothing to lean unto but Christ, is a bare word, and a 'thus saith the Lord'. It leaves him nothing in all the world to hang by but the girdle of God's loins (Isa. 11:5); the faithfulness of a promising God, a divine testimony. It leaves him neither righteousness nor strength in himself, that he may come to the proper language of faith, saying, Surely in the Lord have I righteousness and strength. It leaves him wretched, and miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked, that he may prove only the tried gold and white raiment, and the eye-salve that Christ has to give him; it leaves him quite destitute of and denied to all good in himself, that he may have nothing but what he has in Christ. Of such Christ says, 'Blessed are the poor: to this man will I look, even to him that is poor.'

The man that feels peace, joy, and comfort in a false way is in the most dangerous condition, because here the affections are so sensibly touched, and the thing looks so like unto true grace, that it is easier to convince one of the weakness and unsoundness of all other signs than of this. But God's saving work is not only a *filling* work, giving people grace and holiness, humility, the spirit of prayer, faith, love, joy, repentance, zeal, making all things new; but also an *emptying* work, which is the great mysterious part of religion, whereby God shakes a man out of all his religion and righteousness, natural or gracious, in point of dependence, and makes all things nothing, that God and Christ may be all in all. That saving faith that will abide the trial of death and judgment can only stand upon such everlasting and immutable grounds as these: the word and promise of God, which is everlasting (1 Pet. 1:22–25); the righteousness of Christ, which is everlasting (Dan. 9:24), being the righteousness of God, and of him who is Jehovah our righteousness; and the grace and fulness that is in Christ, which is also the grace and fulness of God,

³Erskine, *Fraud*, distills the next three paragraphs by a concluding clause to this paragraph: 'viz., the promise of God, the righteousness of Christ, the grace and fullness that is in him, etc.'

and everlasting—not as in the stream, and communicated to us, and so may soon dry up; but as it is in the spring and fountain, God himself in Christ, in whom God and all his grace and fulness ever dwells. To rest upon these grounds, is to rest upon the eternal God himself, the rock of ages, and to be like Mount Zion, that can never be moved.

Such are the remains of corruption, even in those that are true converts, and so powerful is the legal bias of their hearts, leading them to rest on their duties, graces, frames, feelings, and enjoyments, that oftentimes it may require many years' trial and probation, ere they come to know themselves, and whether God is their only resting place. So that it is not such a *proper question to inquire* what they feel? as where they stand? If it is upon a ground on which they shall be able to stand in judgment, and stand to eternity? As when Christ suffered, the just for the unjust, it was to bring us to God; so when the Spirit is sent, there is nothing wherein his gracious operation and saving power is more exerted, from time to time, than in bringing sinners to God, by sweeping away all their refuges of lies, and destroying all their false confidences in any thing whatsoever that is not of God. It is no easy matter, but a work of omnipotence, to be thus brought unto God. The power of Satan is not put forth more in any way than by leading men to trust in anything—duties, frames, feelings, or whatever else—providing he can keep them back from such a faith in Christ as terminates upon God, and all the glorious attributes of God in him, according to the gospel plan of divine grace, reigning through his righteousness unto eternal life. If Satan has power, he will never suffer a man to come thus to God, and to God only. Hence the saving efficacy of the gospel, when accompanied with the power of the Spirit of God, is expressed by a turning men from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God. Christ the mediator is only the great ordinance of God for restoring a number of lost sinners and redeeming them to God by his blood, or the way by which unholy sinners are brought back to a holy God, as the only centre of their rest—to which the more they come, the more holy they are; and to which, if they never come, they never have any true holiness, true religion, or true conversion.

May the Lord strengthen you to go on in his work, and in praying for the coming of his kingdom with you and us. I hope you shall not be forgotten among us in our joint applications to the throne of grace. Pray let me hear at your leisure hours more and more of what the Lord is doing among you. I am, reverend and very dear sir,

Your affectionate brother and servant in Christ,

Ralph Erskine

Source: published transcription; Donald Fraser, *Life and Diary of the Revd. Ralph Erskine* (Edinburgh: William Oliphant, 1834), 291–97.⁴

⁴JW published a much abridged and slightly reworded version of this letter in his *Journal*, June 30, 1739 (*Works*, 19:75–76). This version came to Erskine's attention when it was quoted (and criticized) in 1742 by Alexander Webster. Providing a more complete and corrected version was a key purpose of Erskine publishing *Fraud and Falsehood Discovered* (Edinburgh: s.n., 1743), where this letter appears on pp. 6–9. But Erskine indicates there that he has elided a section which JW too had omitted ('etc.' functioned like '...' in the eighteenth century). So we give the complete version as found in Fraser. The shorter version found in Erskine, *Fraud*, 6–9, is republished in *Works*, 25:688–90.

From John Edmonds¹

London
October 8, 1739

Reverend Sir,

My dear and most worthy brother, the love and esteem I have for you make me take pen in hand. Sometimes I want opportunity, another time cannot write to you because my proud heart sinks, esteemed. Another time I am empty and dead to thought. But ah, I now have an opportunity, though I being very flat and I know not what to declare unto you. I will look to the Lord to direct my pen. O my dear friend, when I can act with a more single eye to the glory of my Lord, then will he make me a more joyful instrument to work by. O pray that this cursed self may be rooted out by a single eye wrought in me by our Lord. If we seek the praise of men, verily we have this low, this base, reward. May these beggarly thoughts be trampled under our feet. But oh, this is a root of bitterness growing in my base deceitful heart. Oh when, when shall we all seek the <...²> which cometh from our Lord only. Does not our Lord will <...> He willet this, our sanctification. Is it not he and he only that worketh in us to will and to do of his good pleasure? Is it not the privilege of all believers, with St. Paul, to have the mind of Christ? O may we all be filled with this same mind. I say filled, filled with this mind, not to seek our own. But as he sought not his own glory, but the glory of his Father that sent him; so may not we seek our own glory, but the glory of him that has bought us with a price—even his own precious blood.

My dear friend, I know it will not a little rejoice your heart to hear that our Lord favours us with his presence. The light of his blessed countenance hath shown on us at our assembly. O it is he alone that hath done great things for us, whereof you with us may rejoice. Last Wednesday our brother [Richard] Bell (that is deaf) came and was an instrument of doing us much good. They could not think he ever tainted by man's wisdom, for he is shut out from this by his deafness. He came and simply declared what the Lord had done and showed unto him. He declared Satan had got advantage of him. You have heard how he neglected the means of grace—a snare of the devil I myself with most of us have lately escaped. The love I now feel for my Bristol brothers and sisters shall make me more particularly [resist the snare], by this experience of myself and others.

Satan pushes us at a dislike of the Church—this thing, and that, or other thing is not right nor pleasing to God. But see what empty trifling things they are he aims at. Indeed, not worthy our thought. Yet we are dead and flat and cold, painful and uneasy. In this state we soon are tired in waiting for deliverance. We tarry not the Lord's leisure, but soon give the enemy occasion to rejoice. When he hath gotten this victory, he thirsteth our destruction still, then plyeth another bait: 'Now as your heart is always lifted up to God; nay and momentarily,³ what need you to use retirement? Will you be brought into bondage to private prayer or fasting?' These and many impressions of his suggestion will and doth he load us with. And he now being turned into an angel of light, we perceive not his cloven feet. For he near mimics joy and love and humility too. But my dear, dear friend, my dear brothers and sisters, be not ignorant of his devices. Examine yourselves. Are you not under their temptation? Wise in your own eyes; nay, wiser than your teacher? Obstinate, self-willed, not esteeming another better than yourselves? But out of these snares hath my Lord delivered me, with several others. Our brother Reed hath our Lord delivered out of this net, and he now goeth on his way rejoicing with [Shepherd] Wolfe, who rejoiceth greatly. There are others in danger. O may the Lord deliver them also. Amen. Our brother [Richard] Bell said he was with our brother [John] Shaw, who was talking with another. Bell, being deaf, was curious to know what he said to this

¹John Edmonds (1710–1803) was a founding member of the Fetter Lane society, and became one of the oldest surviving members of the English Moravian community. See Benham, *Hutton*, 33, 90, etc.

²A small portion of the letter is missing, at the end of two lines on a fold.

³Likely means 'moment by moment'.

man. Shaw told [Bell] he had been telling him that a man who wore a black gown⁴ could not have the witness in himself. This shocked him, and soon the Lord opened his eyes and showed him the delusion. Happy the soul that always fears himself, to whom the Lord giveth to know and feel himself blind and very weak. O that we will continually walk in the path that will lead us to a full loss of self. This path is walking in Jesus, for as life cometh in him, self dieth in us. If we keep walking here, we shall follow the great apostles and also shall die daily.

The enemy rageth violently among the society. He cometh now with drums and huzzas, with envy, malice, and ⟨?⟩ cloven foot. But he cannot end here. No, let us look for much more of his furor to be belched out against us. O may our Lord strengthen us to suffer mocking, scourging, imprisonment, death. Our strength lies in the LORD Jehovah. It is the Lord that delivereth the souls that are his. May we always remember and look to receive from the same bountiful hand that gave us our justification. I say as we received that freely, so too look and wait to receive our fullness of sanctification freely also.

O my dear, dear friend, I am weak and feelingly blind. Why here is a mystery: the Lord hath opened my eyes to behold the wonder of his free, his boundless, extensive love; nay he has strengthened me with his might; and now am I weaker and more blind than before? But this is spiritually designed. My Lord has given me experimentally to⁵ know. And I can say with St. Paul, having nothing I profess all things. When I am empty of myself, I am full of Jesus. I now know how to abound in the Lord and also to suffer the want of all spiritual comfort. Blessed and praised be the name of our God. He hath given me to be thankful. My happiness now does not consist in my joys nor anything I feel of myself, but what my Lord is made unto me and of God. My light, my strength, my love, my life lies in Jesus. Though I change, yet doth not he. He is the same forever and ever. I feel the pureness of my Lord. He is my star by night and sun by day, my friend to cheer, my bread to stay, my strength, my shield, my safe abode, and robe before the throne of God.⁶

I thank my brother Charles [Wesley] for his letter. I am glad to find him tried. May he in all things follow his master. My heart now is longer than my paper. I could run at length. O pray, pray for me. I love, love, love you both. Wishing you filled with all the fullness of God. Amen.

Yours,

Jno Edmonds

P. S.⁷ My love to all the brethren. Exhort them to bear one another's burdens—a thing few know what this meaneth. May Jesus give you all this knowledge. Amen.

Address: 'To the Revd Mr John Westley / at Mrs Grevil's, Grocer / in Vine Street / Bristol'.

Endorsement: by JW, 'Edmonds Oct 8 1739 / a[nsware]d 10'.

Source: holograph; MARC, MA 1977/610/55.

⁴A priest.

⁵Orig., 'to experimentally to'.

⁶This sentence is an abridgement of stanza 12 of a hymn of Count Zinzendorf that JW translated and included in *HSP* (1739), p. 158; the original hymn reads 'wine to cheer', which Edmonds reproduced then wrote 'friend' over the top of 'wine'.

⁷This postscript is added at the top of the first page.

From the Rev. Charles Kinchin

Dummer [Hampshire]
October 9, 1739

My Dear Brother,

I write this to inform you that I am just upon setting out for Oxford, and thence probably for London, in order to print my sermon upon the Necessity and Marks of the New Birth.¹ I have revised and enlarged it, have made a preface and a dedication to the Vice-Chancellor,² Dr. Mather,³ [and] the heads of houses, with their societies. Mr. [John] Hutchings has perused the whole. I shall leave him at Dummer in the meanwhile. I asked the Vice-Chancellor for liberty of the University Press. His answer was that he could by no means consent to it. I have wrote him a letter, to desire him to peruse the discourse before he absolutely refuses the Press. I write this to desire your prayers and the prayers of your friends around you, that God would bless my journey and the design of publishing the discourse. The Vice-Chancellor has wrote me no answer. I propose therefore to wait upon him at Oxford, to know whether he received my letter, and to desire Mr. [John] Gambold and Mr. [Christopher] Wells to peruse my sermon. If I had any opportunity I could be glad you might have a sight of it, too.

My dear brother, I was not at Oxford when you directed a letter to me at Mr. Fox's the latter end of July.⁴ But I have had the letter since, and will you not hear me patiently if I fairly represent the matter concerning Mr. [Thomas] Fox again unto you? I think it my duty, my brother, for I hope upon reconsidering the thing it will appear to you as well as to me, etc., that you are not clear of your engagement to him. This is a paragraph of your letter to me: 'When I was at Oxford I set upon recovering the Castle stock,⁵ and collecting the arrears of subscriptions, out of which I engaged to pay Mr. Fox's rent. When I was called away, I supposed you would have supplied my place. While I am here, I can't solicit contributions at Oxford. Ten shillings I will gladly contribute myself. I shall rejoice to hear you have fixed him in some business.' Now, my brother, is there not more of evasion than simplicity in this paragraph? Here you allow you engaged to pay Mr. Fox's rent. Therefore ought you not to stand to your engagement? To dissolve it you say, 'When I was called away, I supposed you would have supplied my place.' How so, my brother? Who is most concerned to fulfil your engagements? You or I? If the care of my parish would have allowed me to have resided in Oxford, after I had resigned my fellowship, yet why should you imagine that I would of course take upon me your engagement to pay Mr. Fox's rent, without your giving me any intimation of what you had done, or of what you would have me do in your stead? I knew nothing of what you had engaged till Mr. Fox told me, which occasioned my writing to you upon the subject. And he said nothing as I know of as to your promising it out of the Castle stock. You say, 'While I am here, I can't solicit contributions at Oxford.' Nor more can I, while I am *here*, by word of mouth speak to you *at Bristol*. You say, 'I shall rejoice to hear you have fixed him in some business.' Mr. Fox is in debt. His debts should be paid first. The best business he and we can think of is to buy and sell fowl and pigs (which he can keep in his yard), and cheeses. There will be need of about £30. Mr. Hutchings wrote this very day to Mr. [Benjamin] Ingham to ask charity for him. I am to write to Lady [Mary (Bethell)] Cocks, Mr. [George] Stonehouse, etc. We propose he shall have the money we can raise by way of loan, which we may withdraw upon mismanagement, and to make him accountable for everything. You know how much you was for his staying at Oxford, when there was a motion for his

¹It does not appear that this sermon was ever published.

²Theophilus Leigh was the current Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University.

³John Mather, D.D. (c. 1677–1748), President of Corpus Christi.

⁴JW's diary records a letter to Kinchin on July 28, 1739; the letter does not survive but Kinchin here gives a good sense of at least a portion of its content.

⁵A fund for support of prisoners in Castle prison.

settling at London. If you shall rejoice to hear him fixed in some business, lend a helping hand, my dear brother, and do as we do upon the occasion; then it is likely, with God's blessing, you may see him fixed in some business soon. We all join in love to you and all friends around you. We constantly pray for you, and desire your prayers. If you write within a week, direct to Mr. Fox's.

Your unworthy brother,

C. Kinchin

Address: 'To / The Revd Mr John Wesley / at Mrs Grevil's, Grocer / in Wine-Street / Bristol'.

Postmark: '12/OC'. *Charges:* ((3)), 'In all 7'.

Endorsement: by JW, 'C Kinchin / Oct. 9, 1739 / a[nswer]d Dec. 17'; also '~~Mr. Godfr[ey], Exeter~~'.⁶

Source: holograph; MARC, MA 1977/610/92.⁷

⁶JW seems to be noting that on this day, Dec. 17, 1739, he wrote to Lawford Godfrey of Exeter, who replied Dec. 25 (see below).

⁷Transcription published in *Works*, 25:690–91.

From Thomas Andrews¹

[Seend, Wiltshire]
[c. October 29, 1739]

Reverend Sir,

As I wrote the *rules and considerations* (in No. 25 of *Country Common-Sense*) with an eye to *Mr. [George] Whitefield, yourself*, and your *opposers*, from a sincere desire to do some service to Christianity, according to the *imperfect* notions I had at that time of the real merits of the cause, I at the same time resolved to take any opportunity that should offer for my *better* information.

On this principle it was that I made one of your audience, October 23, at Bradford.² And because I thought I could form the best judgment of you and your doctrines from your sermon, I resolved to hear that first; which was the reason that, although by accident I was at the same house, and walked two miles with you to the place you preached at, I spoke little or nothing to you. I must confess, sir, that the discourse you made that day, wherein you pressed your hearers in the closest manner, and with the authority of a true minister of the gospel, not to stop at faith only, but to add to it all *virtues*, and to show forth their *faith* by every kind of *good works*,³ convinced me of the great wrong done you by a public report, common in people's mouths, that you preach *faith* without *works*. For that is the only ground of *prejudice* which any true Christian can have, and is the sense in which your adversaries would take your words when they censure them. For that we are *justified* by faith only is the doctrine of Jesus Christ, the doctrine of the apostles, and the doctrine of the Church of England. I am ashamed that, after having lived twenty-nine years since my baptism into this faith, I should speak of it in the lame, unfaithful, I may say, *false* manner I have done in the paper above mentioned! What mere *darkness* is man, when truth hideth her face from him!

Man is by nature a *sinner*, the child of the devil, under God's *wrath*, in a state of *damnation*. The Son of God took pity on this our misery. He made himself man, he made himself sin for us; that is, he hath borne the *punishment* of our sin, the chastisement of *our* peace was upon him, and by his stripes we are healed. To receive this boundless mercy, this inestimable benefit, we must have faith in our Benefactor, and through him in God. ...⁴ But then true faith is not a lifeless principle, as your adversaries seem to understand it. They and you mean quite another thing by *faith*. They mean a bare believing that Jesus is the Christ. You mean a living, growing, purifying principle, which is the root both of inward and outward holiness; both of *purity* and *good works*, without which no man can have faith, at least no other than a dead faith.

¹Thomas Andrews (1710–39) of Seend, Wiltshire, though a young man, was 'remarkable above his years both for piety, sense, and learning' (JW, *Journal*, Mar. 12, 1749, *Works*, 20:264). He was the author of a series of essays entitled *Country Common-Sense*, by 'a Gentleman of Wiltshire' (Gloucester, n.p., 1739). The last essay in this collection (XXV, pp. 160–65) was devoted to the topic of 'enthusiasm', and included both rules to be observed by those who opposed supposed enthusiasm, with several suggestions for discovering a spirit of delusion, to 'help keep well-meaning Christians from it'. JW read this essay and reprinted in his *Journal* (July 31, 1739, *Works*, 19:86–87) Andrews' irenic rules. While Thomas himself unfortunately died of smallpox shortly after this encounter with JW, he passed on an appreciation that led his father, the Rev. Thomas Andrews, to receive JW warmly in Mar. 1749.

²Bradford-on-Avon is about seven miles west of Seend. Andrews apparently was in Turleigh, two miles west of Bradford, that morning, to walk with JW to Bradford.

³JW's text, according to his diary, was Rom. 8:15 (see *Works*, 19:413).

⁴This is JW's indication that he is eliding a portion of Andrews' letter.

This, sir, you explained in your sermon at Bradford, Sunday, October 28,⁵ to near ten thousand people, who all stood to hear you, with awful silence and great attention. I have since reflected how much good the clergy might do if, instead of *shunning*, they would come to hear and converse with you; and in their churches and parishes would farther enforce those *catholic doctrines* which you preach, and which I am glad to see have such a surprising *good effect* on great numbers of souls.

I think, indeed, too many clergymen are culpable in that they don't inform themselves better of Mr. Whitefield, yourself, and your doctrines, from your own mouths. I am persuaded if they did this with a Christian spirit the differences between you would soon be at an end. Nay, I think those whose *flocks* resort so much to hear you ought to do it out of their *pastoral duty* to them; that if you preach *good doctrine* they may edify them on the impression so visibly made by your sermons, or, if *evil*, they may reclaim them from error.

I shall conclude this letter with putting you in mind, in all your sermons, writings, and practice, *nakedly* to follow the *naked* Jesus:⁶ I mean, to preach the *pure doctrines* of the gospel without respect of persons or things. Many *preachers*, many *reformers*, many *missionaries*, have fallen by not observing this; by not having continually in mind, 'Whosoever shall break the least of these commandments, and teach men so, he shall be called the least in the kingdom of heaven.'⁷

Source: published transcription; JW, *Journal*, Nov. 1, 1739 (*Works*, 19:113–14).⁸

⁵JW's text, according to his diary, was Acts 20:26–27 (*ibid.*, 414).

⁶A phrase taken from Thomas à Kempis, *Imitation of Christ*, iii.37.

⁷Matt. 5:19.

⁸Reprinted in *Works*, 25:697–98.

From the Rev. George Whitefield

Wrote at sea,¹ dated at Philadelphia
November 8, 1739

Honoured and Dear Sir,

God has been pleased to send us a comfortable passage. The orphan-house accounts come right, within ten pounds. I have had great assurances given me that it will be a *Pietas Georgiensis*, equally remarkable with the *Pietas Hallensis*.²

I am almost persuaded that what was to be done by Dean Berkeley elsewhere,³ God's mighty hand will bring to pass in Georgia. I shall continue there above six months. If Mr. [John] Hutchings would come to supply my place, I would keep the parsonage of Savannah. Otherwise, I will resign all but the orphan-house.

God has been pleased to send me great inward trials; but uncommon enlargements have followed afterwards. I have read Guyse and Doddridge on the Evangelists,⁴ and wrote to both. The former I think excellent, the latter, ingenious, elaborate, but too superficial. Neal's lives of the Puritans have been of use.⁵ I think they held the truth as it is in Jesus. The Quakers have set us an example of patient, resolute suffering, as the best means to weary our enemies. I want the lives of Luther and Calvin, to get some short account of the history of the Reformation.

At my return I trust I shall open my mouth and speak boldly, as I ought to speak. The account of my infant years was wrote by the will of God. Pray let it be published, without any material diminution or addition.⁶ He that hideth his sins shall not prosper. My *Letter to the Religious Societies* I give for the schools at Bristol.⁷ The Lord prosper the work of your hands upon you. I have wrote to the Bishop of Gloucester [Martin Benson], and have delivered my soul by meekly telling him of his faults. God has made my pen the pen of a ready writer. I long to hear how affairs go on in England. Are you yet the Lord's prisoner? If they make any laws whatsoever, I trust notwithstanding I shall preach with all boldness. O, dear sir, pray publicly, as well as in private, for

Your unworthy, loving servant,

GW

Source: published transcription; *Arminian Magazine* 1 (1778): 178–79.⁸

¹Whitefield embarked from Georgia on the *Elizabeth* Aug. 13, arriving Philadelphia on Nov. 2.

²The title of an account of the orphan house at Halle, written by August Hermann Francke.

³Appointed Dean of Derry in 1724, George Berkeley (1685–1753) began seeking to found a school in Bermuda for training native Americans, hoping a revival would break out in North America that could then return to bring new spiritual life to Europe. The project failed to gain sufficient support.

⁴John Guyse (1680–1761) had just released the first volume of *The Practical Expositor; or, an exposition of the New Testament in the form of a paraphrase*, 3 vols. (London: Oswald, 1739–52); and Philip Doddridge (1702–51) had just released the first volume of *The Family Expositor; a Paraphrase and Version of the New Testament*, 3 vols. (London: J Wilson, 1739–48).

⁵Daniel Neal (1678–1743), *History of the Puritans*, 4 vols. (London: R. Hett, 1732–38).

⁶It appeared as *A Short Account of God's Dealings with the Reverend Mr. George Whitefield, A.B. ... From his Infancy, to the Time of His entering Holy Orders* (London: Strahan, 1740).

⁷*A Letter from the Rev. Mr. George Whitefield to the Religious Societies, lately set on foot in several parts of England and Wales* (London: Strahan, 1740). Whitefield had particularly committed to raising money for a school for the collier's children in Kingswood, and JW was busy setting it up, to join the school run at the New Room.

⁸Reprinted in *Works*, 25:698–99.

From an Unidentified Correspondent

[London]
c. December 10, 1739

Many of our sisters are shaken: J[enn]y C[hamber]s¹ says that she never had faith. Betty and Esther H[opson]² are grievously torn by reasonings; the former, I am told, is going to Germany. ... On Wednesday night there are but few come to Fetter Lane till near nine o'clock. And then, after the names are called over, they presently depart. It appears plain, our brethren here have neither wisdom enough to guide nor prudence enough to let it alone.

Mr. B—n expounds much, and speaks so slightly of the means of grace that many are much grieved to hear him; but others are greatly delighted with him. Ten or fourteen of them meet at our brother [Matthew] Clark's³ with Mr. [Philip] Molther, and seem to consult about things as if they were the whole body. These make a mere jest of going to Church or to the Sacrament. They have much confounded some of our sisters; and many of our brothers are much grieved.

Source: published transcription; JW, *Journal*, Dec. 13, 1739 (*Works*, 19:129–30).

¹Jane Chambers (b. May 26, 1711) was among the women in the Fetter Lane Society who remained with the Moravians in the split.

²Esther Hopson (1714–94), the sister of Betty, married John West and (like her sister) spent her life in faithful connection with the Moravians; cf. Benham, *Hutton*, 92.

³Matthew Clark was an early member of the Fetter Lane Society, who went with JW when the split at Fetter Lane occurred.

From Mrs. MacCune¹

[London]

December 14, 1739

Reverend Sir,

Yesterday I received a nameless letter dated from Lincoln College,² and know[ing] none there that would have such care for the welfare of my eternal soul except yourself, believe you the author. For which I return my unworthy thanks to almighty God for making you, his minister, the instrument of conveying such spiritual advice to me, his unworthy servant. I beg of you to give me his grace to receive it with pure affection, that it may bring forth in me the fruits of a true and lively faith, to his honour and glory; and the salvation of my immortal soul, through Jesus Christ, my only saviour and redeemer; by whose strength alone shall I be enabled, though lame, to walk without halting. But as I am weak, oh pray for me, that the Lord Jesus would not be pleased to suffer me to be led into any bypath, but by his power to walk in the good old way which he himself has taught and commanded—which can never be in forsaking his ordinances and disobeying his commands. How can my soul be still in such a state of sin? He has not only bid us wait for him, but wait upon him with faith and we shall receive the promises.

O my dear friend, how I long to see you settled over a little flock, watching and feeding them as a tender father would his little children. For,

O indeed the sheep will stray,
When their shepherd goes away.

Just after yours came to my hands, Mr. [Matthew] Clark came to let me know that Mr. [James] Hutton and Mr. [Philip] Molther would dine with me today, if I was not engaged. Who are but just gone from me, and all very well in health. Since that I have seen our good friend Mr. [William] Oxlee³ who, bless God, is very well. And I hear your mother is much better. I purpose her a visit, and your sister [Martha] Hall, but have not yet had an opportunity

The postscript of my last you have not answered, or you would have heard from me. Make me a friend and be free [with me]. I am not a sister in the society, yet [I] hope me a sister in the Lord Jesus. I beg the Lord to send you soon unto us, when I hope to see you at my house, but in the meantime should be glad to hear from you. And let me know if anything I mentioned in my last came to you by any other hands. Instead of being still, I fear they talk too much. Let no one know you wrote to me—I choose it not—nor yet me to you. When read, commit it to the flames. I am greatly interrupted by company setting at the fire, but thought it my duty to answer.

Excuse me.

Endorsement: by JW, 'Mrs. Mac-cune / Dec. 14, 1739 / a[nswere]d by go[ing]'.

Source: holograph; MARC, MA 1977/503, Box 4, file 13.

¹Daniel and Priscilla. MacCune were friends with JW, his mother Susanna, and sister Martha (Wesley) Hall. They participated in the emerging revival in London, aligning by 1742 with the Moravians. See the letter from Susanna (Annesley) Wesley to JW, Dec. 13, 1740, below.

²There is no record in JW's diary of a letter sent to Mrs. MacCune.

³She spells 'Oxley'.

From an Unidentified Correspondent

[London]
December 14, 1739

This day I was told, by one that does not belong to the bands, that the society would be divided. ... I believe Brother [James] Hutton, [Matthew] Clark, [John] Edmonds, and [John] Bray are determined to go on, according to Mr. [Philip] Molther's directions, and to 'raise a church', as they term it; and I suppose above half our brethren are on their side. But they are so very confused they don't know how to go on; yet are unwilling to be taught, except by the Moravians.

We long to see you; nay, even those would be glad to see you who will not be directed by you. I believe, indeed, things would be much better if you would come to town.

Source: published transcription; JW, *Journal*, Dec. 14, 1739 (*Works*, 19:130).

From Lawford Godfrey¹

Exon [i.e., Exeter, Devonshire]

December 25, 1739

My Dear Friend John Wesley,

I read thine of the 17th on [the] 22nd,² whereby I perceive thy thoughts have been often employed on the grand objection made by Dr. W—³ to thy doctrine, on those two evangelical sentences of the apostle, Romans 14:17, 'The kingdom of God is not meat and drink, but righteousness and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost.' And as thou hast given me thy plain thoughts on this subject, and desirest mine, I am so fond of holding a Christian correspondence with thee as to answer thy request, in a spirit, I hope, of meekness.

Had the doctor been really a doctor in divinity, I think, he could not have granted 'all thy doctrine to be true' and at the same time 'dangerous'. And his fear of 'leading men into enthusiasm or despair' by the doctrine of truth favours too much of the spirit of this world, and of that wisdom which is foolishness with God. Since enthusiasm, properly speaking, is necessary to salvation. Because without divine inspiration, 'The natural man knows not the things of the Spirit of God.'⁴ And no man can savingly (i.e., feelingly and experimentally) say, 'that Jesus is the Lord but by the Holy Ghost'.⁵ And the natural man is so very remote from this experience that, before he comes savingly to know the Lord, it is necessary he should first know himself. And for these *great ends*, the Lord, by the secret workings of his Spirit, sometimes, yea often (as in a moment) brings to man's remembrance his whole evil course of life; as our Saviour once in the days of his flesh told the sinful Samaritan woman, 'all that ever she had done'.⁶ But such convictions are so frequent with mankind that they esteem them but as checks of natural conscience (too much from the prejudice of that education which flows from worldly wise, but still, natural men). And while such 'reproof of instruction' is taken to arise from man's nature, even so long are men estranged from Christ, how wise soever in their generation! But no sooner comes the creature fully to believe those gracious discoveries to arise from the immediate inspiration of the Almighty, but that creature is laid low, even in the dust, and then made to say feelingly as Job did: 'I have often heard of thee by the hearing of the ear; but now mine eye seeth thee wherefore I abhor myself, and repent in dust and ashes.'⁷ Yea, such souls are sometimes brought to their wits end! And, Saul-like (when knocked down to the ground, and convinced of the gross iniquity of *his* soul, by an *heavenly* visitation), cry out and say, 'Lord what wouldst thou have me to do?'⁸ And here is the agony of the new birth. And though attended with the *deepest* contrition, the eye of the mind being *now* opened by the divine hand to see its being *utterly* lost and undone *for ever*, without a *Saviour*; yet blessed are all they of every nation who are truly brought into this state, for this is the entrance into that eternal life, which is immediately received by the power and coming of our Lord Jesus Christ. O then, what balmy dew, heavenly manna, and angel's food distills into the soul, when it really feels the truth of those most gracious words, '*This is life eternal*

¹Lawford Godfrey (c. 1681–1747) was a Quaker, residing in Exeter, who was described at his death as 'a minister of nearly 40 years'.

²JW's letter of Dec. 17 has not survived.

³Rev. Dr. John Walker (c. 1674–1747), canon of Exeter Cathedral. Cf. JW's account of their exchange in his *Journal*, Nov. 24, 1739 (*Works*, 19:123).

⁴Cf. 1 Cor. 2:14.

⁵1 Cor. 12:3.

⁶Cf. John 4:39.

⁷Job 42:5–6.

⁸Acts 9:6.

that they might know thee, *the only true* God, and Jesus Christ whom thou has sent'⁹ How can such do less than to neglect their worldly engagements to *promote* the *knowledge* of Jesus Christ, even as the poor woman left her water pot and her errand to Jacob's well unfinished, to run into the city of Sicar on the Lord's errand, with this noble invitation: 'Come, see a man who has told *me* all that ever I have done? Is not *this* the Christ!'¹⁰

But to return, every regenerate mind must know that 'The kingdom of God is not *meat* and *drink*', since *they* are but elements of this world. They were *indeed* a *shadow* of good things to come, but could never make the comers to them perfect, as pertaining to the conscience; nor were they *imposed* by *divine obligation*, 'but till the time of reformation'.¹¹ Wherefore, that Christ *alone* might become the great and only ordinance of heaven to the church of the New Testament, he blotted out the hand-writing of all those elementary ordinances, and took them out of our way, by nailing them to his cross (Col. 2:14). And hereby made good that prophecy, 'Yet, once more, I shake not the earth *only* but *also* heaven.'¹² For thus have I learned in secret, that till then the divers washings, or baptisms, and carnal [shadowy] ordinances were imposed by divine authority upon the Jews. But, forasmuch as they could none of them, nor all of them put together, give an entrance into the Kingdom of God, or of *his* Christ (i.e., into the immoveable church of the New Testament), therefore, the Lord shook them, though *once* the very ordinances of heaven, divinely suited to a shadowy and typical dispensation. And for this glorious *end*, that he might establish his *own* spiritual immoveable kingdom in the hearts of his people, of all nations, by the virtue of his own power alone. Since therein *only* is *all sufficiency*. And wheresoever he is rightly known, such souls are brought to the lively experience that he, and he *only*, is their *all*, being 'made of God to them wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption'.¹³ Then can they *truly* say 'the kingdom of God is not *meat* and *drink*', because *they* perish with the using.

But 'it is righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost', which are so inseparably joined together that *they* can never be put asunder, either by man or devils; but remain unshaken and immoveable, *forever* and *ever*. Even so, amen!

And thus, my dear friend, through the virtue of *omnipotence* made manifest in our *weakness*, the children of God 'do *glory* in the Lord'.¹⁴ Because they *savingly* know 'he had *really* translated them into the kingdom of his *dear Son*'.¹⁵ And as this is immoveable *in itself*, so neither can they be moved, any more than Mount Zion. While they hold fast that grace and truth that is come to, and given them, by Jesus Christ. For they *most sensibly* feel it conferred upon them in the one baptism of the Holy Ghost, whereby *only* they are enabled 'to put on Christ'.¹⁶ There is, *then*, no distinction to be made, either 'of Jew or Gentile, bond or free, barbarian or Scythian, male or female'.¹⁷ For all such are '*one* in Christ Jesus'.¹⁸ *May the whole world enjoy this greatest of blessings*. Amen.

Herein then (as I have learned Christ) is the bond of our Christian fellowship. For all those *happy* souls whose 'fellowship *truly* is with the Father and with the Son, through the Holy Ghost which he hath

⁹John 17:3.

¹⁰John 4:29.

¹¹A phrase used by George Fox to dismiss the continuing obligation to outward ceremonies like Eucharist and baptism; e.g., *Gospel Truth Demonstrated* (London, 1706), 761–63.

¹²Heb. 12:26.

¹³1 Cor. 1:30.

¹⁴1 Cor. 1:31.

¹⁵Cf. Col. 1:13.

¹⁶Rom. 13:14.

¹⁷Col. 3:11.

¹⁸Gal. 3:28.

given them', must have 'fellowship one with another'.¹⁹ It cannot *possibly* be otherwise. And this heavenly fellowship is attended with 'the wisdom which is from above', and 'is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entreated, full of mercy, and good fruits, without *partiality* and without *hypocrisy*'.²⁰ And here only 'the fruit of righteousness is sown in *peace*, of them that make peace'.²¹ And thus come the saints in *all* nations to learn charity, *Christian charity*! So that to them, 'circumcision is nothing, and uncircumcision is nothing'; but the new creature, and that 'faith which worketh by love',²² to the purifying of *their* hearts. This is, *to them*, the *one* thing needful, the blessed *sum* of their religion and heavenly *bond* of their union, because this *only* can give them an interest in Jesus Christ, and is the faith of the 'operation of God',²³ freely 'delivered to the saints',²⁴ for Jesu's sake.

And since such are *convinced* that 'the Kingdom of God (or let me say, the government of the *Prince of Peace* upon *their* hearts) 'is not *meat* and *drink*'. So the *wisdom* and *charity* of the saints are to be exercised toward one another in *those things*, according to the primitive pattern set forth by the holy and *great* apostle of the Gentiles, in that 14th chapter to the Romans, in a particular manner.

For though meats and drinks, and divers washings are not *worth* contending for, as not appertaining to the Kingdom of God, yet there are many religious souls who place so much religion in them that, were it *at once* proposed to them to quit the sign, in order fully to enjoy the divine substance without it, it would (possibly) be too mighty a truth for them to embrace, since their education has led them to believe their communion to stand in the participation of those elements. And therefore infinite eternal goodness may give thee, and thy dear fellow labourers, a Christian liberty to partake with them of the shadow, that ye may be instruments in *his* hand to bring them on the divine substance, the thing *itself*, 'the kingdom of our God, and the power of his Christ',²⁵ wherein *only*, to me, is '*salvation* and strength'.²⁶

So on the other hand, I should 'build up those things which I have once destroyed, and thereby become a transgressor',²⁷ should I return again to these elements, because *to me* they have appeared the beggarly elements of this world. Since I have been bred up among a people who were first gathered and settled by the power of an endless life *without them*, and brought out of the wilderness by being given to lean, *purely* and *only*, on their beloved. Therefore, Christian charity will, yea, *must* indulge me in the disuse of the sign, while I am preserved in a state of 'fellowship with the Father and the Son' without it, 'through the Spirit'.²⁸ So 'let him that eateth not, judge not him that eateth',²⁹ and the contrary; since 'whatsoever is not of faith is sin'.³⁰ *This* is Christianity; *this* is apostolical.

'A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another, *even as I have loved you*.'³¹ Here is the divine root of charity. Then the branches grow, to the letting every man 'be fully persuaded in

¹⁹Cf. 1 John 1:3–7.

²⁰James 3:17.

²¹James 3:18.

²²Cf. Gal. 5:6.

²³Col. 2:12.

²⁴Jude 1:3.

²⁵Rev. 5:10.

²⁶Rev. 12:10.

²⁷Gal. 2:18.

²⁸Cf. 1 John 1:3–7.

²⁹Rom. 14:3.

³⁰Rom. 14:23.

³¹John 13:34.

his own mind',³² and if 'any' *sincere* 'one be otherwise minded, God will reveal even this thing to him'.³³

It was in *this* love my soul embraced thee and thy dear brother Charles Wesley when first I saw you, feeling your spirits in a large measure under the influence and conduct of the meek Spirit of Jesus Christ, devoted to God, which was unspeakable consolation to my soul. And whosoever is of *this* number, the *same* is my brother, and sister, and mother. May the *Father of lights* prosper you in his work. May the indwellings of *his* Spirit preserve you, and all his children every where, to the kingdom of *his* glory! And this, dear friends, shall we experience, as we abide in the unity of the *one* eternal Spirit, which is the *only* bond of our peace with God and with one another. Amen. Through Jesus Christ, in whose love I renewedly salute you, and bid you farewell, Who am,

Your Christian friend, and fellow labourer in God's vineyard,

L. Godfrey

P. S. I greet the brethren everywhere who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity, and hope soon to hear from one or both of you.

Source: published transcription; *Collection* (1797), 21–25.

³²Rom. 14:5.

³³Cf. Phil. 3:15.

From Philip Henry Molther and James Hutton¹

London
January 25, 1740

My Dear Brother,

I return many thanks to you for sending me the translation of the German hymn I desired. You have done it perfectly well, except one expression in the two last lines of the second verse, which I think much more emphatical in the German than they are expressed in the English: '*Dem alle mahl das Herze bricht, wir kommen, oder kommen nicht*'—'whose heart breaks always, we may come or not'.² However, I like it better than any other hymn I have seen in English, and I wish from the bottom of my heart that our dear Saviour may give us a deep feeling sense of those deep expressions, which testify of the unexpressible power of the blood of the Lamb applied to a poor, miserable, and empty heart of a sinner.

My dear brother! I love you with a real love in the wounds of my Redeemer, and whenever I remember England and the labourers in the kingdom of our Saviour therein, you come in my mind, and I cannot but pray our Lord that he may manifest and open unto you the hidden treasures of the mystery of the gospel, which, as I have seen by two of your discourses, you want to know and to experience a little more in its depths.

It is a blessed thing to preach out of that fullness, and by experimental notions of the blood of Christ, which through its unspeakable power can melt marble-like hearts more than the fire of a goldsmith. If you seek for it as an *empty poor* sinner, it will undoubtedly be given unto you, because it is only for such ones; and when we cannot reach it with our desires, we may surely believe that our hearts are not *empty vessels*. This is a very great and important thing, and a mystery as well as all other things, unless the Lord hath revealed them unto us. I wish that our Saviour for his own sake may give you an entire satisfaction in this matter, and fill up your heart with a solid knowledge of his bloody atonement. My love to your brother Charles, and all your brethren. I am

¹Philip Henry Molther (c. 1714–80) was born in Alsace, educated at Jena, and in 1737 became tutor to Zinzendorf's son Renatus. In 1739 he was ordained and appointed to missionary work in Pennsylvania. Arriving in London on Oct. 18, 1739, Molther was faced with a three months' delay before his vessel sailed. James Hutton introduced him to the Fetter Lane Society, where he was distressed with the popular charismatic phenomena. He strongly discouraged 'their sighing and groaning, their whining and howling', but also discouraged more orthodox spiritual exercises. When JW returned from the Bristol area on Nov. 3, Mrs. Turner told him that 'Mr. Molther had fully convinced her she never had any faith at all, and had advised her, till she received faith, to be "still", ceasing from outward works'. Even John Bray had fallen prey to Molther's French-oriented quietism, with its threat of complete separation from all church-related activities. This led to the disruption of the society on July 20, 1740.

There is no indication in JW's diary of previous correspondence with Molther, who had probably asked JW personally to translate a favourite German hymn into English, before JW left London for Bristol on Dec. 12, 1739; the letter enclosing the translation had apparently been sent earlier.

²This was JW's version of 'Ich habe nun den Grund gefunden', by Johann Andreas Rothe, which had been published in Zinzendorf's *Gesang-Buch der Gemeinde in Herrn-Huth* (1737), 249–50. JW's translation appeared later this year in *HSP* (1740), 91–92. In fact, JW failed to translate the couplet in question, giving only the merest hint of it (in the word 'may'), but devoting the last four lines of the stanza primarily to the theme of the preceding lines:

Father, thy everlasting grace
Our scanty thought surpasses far:
Thy heart still melts with tenderness,
Thy arms of love still open are
Returning sinners to receive,
That mercy they may taste, and live.

Your affectionate and unworthy brother,

P. H. Molther

[Molther added a brief message in German to Johann Töltzschig, who was apparently in the Bristol area, and in touch with JW. The sheet was then turned over to James Hutton, who also wrote a note in German to Töltzschig, and then a longer one to Wesley.]

Dear John Wesley,

I love you, my dear brother, and wish you what I wish for myself. Access to the prisoners has been denied me. I have showed Mr. Crouch your letter,³ and desired him to procure a list and meeting of those that manage the Foundry. I desire you will send me word what day Charles [Wesley] sets out. Comes he through Oxford? What day will he be there? What day in London? I think to go some way to meet him. Kiss him, and take a kiss yourself. Mr. Morgan, the minister, and his wife are here.⁴ They stay about a fortnight. My love to all. Yours,

Jas. Hutton

[William] Oxlee and Simpson⁵ are gone to Nottingham.

[There follows on a flap of the address page a letter in German from Jos. Verding to Töltzschig, with a postscript sending greetings to all the brethren, and especially John and Charles 'Westley'.]

Address: 'To the Revnd / Mr John Wesley / at Mrs. Greville's / Grocer / at / Bristol'.

Postmarks: '29/IA', 'RJ' within a circle. *Charge:* '4'.

Endorsement: by JW, 'J Hu & Molther / Jan. 25, 1740 / J a +'.

Source: holograph; Bristol, Wesley College, D6/1/204 (pp. 1–2), and Pitts Library (Emory), John Wesley Collection (MSS 153), 2/2 (pp. 3–4).⁶

³Apparently a letter written from Bristol about Jan. 17, 1740, wherein JW asked Hutton to set up a meeting with the managers of the Foundry property. Mr. Crouch may be Peter Crouch, a broker for sales in London at the time; or the Mr. Crouch who had society meetings in his home on Dowgate Hill.

⁴Rev. William Morgan (b. c. 1715) and his wife. A native of Merthyr, Glamorganshire, Morgan matriculated Christ Church in 1734, received his BA in 1738 and was ordained deacon by the Bishop of Oxford in May 1738. He was appointed as curate at Idbury and Church Westcote, Oxfordshire, and began some field preaching among the colliers of Kingswood (preceding Whitefield!). His openness to CW and the revival likely led to him being removed from his curacy, as he remained in London, participating in the Fetter Lane Society, and by August was drawn to the Quakers. There is some evidence he then left ministry and trained for medicine. See *Alumni Oxonienses*, CCed, and *WHS* 6 (1908): 102–03, 124–27.

⁵John Sympson (b. c. 1710) of Gainsborough, Lincolnshire, was admitted to Lincoln College, Oxford, in 1728, where in 1730 JW became his tutor. After graduation in 1731 Sympson was ordained and served as curate in Grayington, Lincolnshire for a while. JW's diary records several letters to him, as 'Sympson' from 1733–38, but from 1739–40 as 'Simpson'. By 1739 Sympson was also in London, and became one of the leaders in the Fetter Lane Society advocating 'stillness' or 'quietism'; cf. JW, *Journal* Apr. 19, 1740 (*Works*, 19:146).

⁶Transcriptions published in *Works*, 26:3–4.

From Howell Harris¹

Builth, Breconsh[ire]
February 1, 1739/40

My Dear Brother,

Tonight I received yours, which with the agreeable news I have of the power among you was a sweet refreshment to my soul. Shall I hide from you how nearly the Spirit of God did knit my soul to you? But what agreement has light with darkness! I yet live on distant glimpses, supported by an hidden power (and am called) to sow the seed, but in myself experiencing often the dead(ness of) a dry heart. I am nothing, but as I am acted on by another. I believe it will be to the glory of God if you come to us, and if you could afford a considerable time, to go over South Wales. We are weak, and I am in hopes the Lord will send you with the fullness of the blessings of the gospel of peace, to cut us deeper, and to strengthen and root us in faith and love. I am now going to part of North Wales, i.e., to Cardiganshire, Pembrokeshire, and Carmarthenshire, and it would rejoice me if I should hear that the Lord did incline your heart and the rest of the brethren to pray for me. I don't intend to return till about Lady Day.² Then, if the Lord sends me (but I have not yet thought of it alone) I would be willing to see my Bristol friends. I long for some of that power, life, and love God gives among you, and to that end I should rejoice to have a call to come. Pray recommend me to the prayers of the society, that I may grow in faith and love. My love to brother [Thomas] Mitchell (I received his letter, and thank him; but have no time to answer it), Mrs. [Elizabeth (Whitefield)] Grevil, and all the brethren, etc., when you write to the London brethren. I am now going to the lion's mouth. But I hope the angel of the Lord goes before me. O when shall I see you! Can you contrive to come for some weeks between the both holydays,³ if you cannot now, while I am from home? O may I call myself

Your sincere brother in Christ,

How[el]l Harris

There is a m(en's soc⁴)iety to promote universal charity, of many (..)inations and discourse on practical divinity, and I wish providence would (..) once. It is near Ned Price of Watford,⁵ on Wed(nesday) Feb. 13, and you may have (time?) in two churches, I believe.

Address: 'To / The Revd. Mr. Jn. Westley att / Mrs. Grevils Mercer in Wine street / Bristol'.

Endorsement: by JW, 'H. Harris Feb. 1, 1740 / ad v 2d +'.

Source: holograph; MARC, MA 1977/610/78.⁶

¹Howell Harris (1714–73), the lay catalyst of the evangelical revival in Wales, first met JW in Bristol on June 19, 1739. About Dec. 1, 1739, JW sent Harris an account of the revival in the Bristol area (see JW to Thomas Price, Dec. 6, 1739, *Works*, 25:701). It was possibly to this letter that Harris was responding, though more probably to one sent from Bristol in Jan. 1740. JW had already made his first brief visit to South Wales, Oct. 15–19, 1739, probably at Harris's request, and went again Apr. 7–12, 1740, 'at the pressing instance of Howell Harris'.

²I.e., Mar. 25; the feast of the Annunciation.

³Apparently between Lady Day and Easter.

⁴Two small tears in the manuscript affect this paragraph written in the left margin.

⁵I.e., Thomas Price, one of Harris's converts, who resided in Watford Fawr, Glamorganshire.

⁶Transcription published in *WHS* 13 (1922): 102–03; *Journal of the Historical Society of the Presbyterian Church in Wales*, 19 (1934): 258–59; and *Works*, 26:5.

From Howell Harris

[Builth, Breconshire]
February 1739[/40]¹

In reading your sermon on *Free Grace*, I was grieved to find that, while maintaining general redemption, and avoiding the decree of reprobation, you deny particular election. I know that this doctrine is of no use to the souls of any but those who are called; and only so far of use to them as to enable them to see farther into God's love to them—in that, when there was nothing in them to move him to it, they were called, while others were left to themselves. Such a view of his love increases our love to him; renders us more in love with holiness, as the image of so good a God; and makes all duties agreeable to us. Viewing ourselves as enemies by nature, and actual transgressors of his law, God's election of a certain number, known to himself, to be called by his ministers and to have this call particularly applied by his Spirit excludes boasting, but does not imply a decree of reprobation with respect to others. For he lays them under no necessity to sin, but condemns them for sinning.

Pray come and help us in Wales, for we are much under the spirit of bondage. But I hope God is among us, though he is longer in bringing some to the freedom of the gospel than others.

O pray that Christ may ever abide in me. If Christ be mine, then all is mine. I long for more assurance and greater degrees of holiness.

Source: published transcription; *Evangelical Magazine* n.s. 25 (1847): 126.

¹The published transcription gives the date as Feb. 1739; but this is clearly Old Style, because JW did not published *Free Grace* until May 1739.

From Guillam Snowde

London, Newgate Prison
February 12, 1739/40

As I am to answer to the God of justice and truth, before whom I am to appear naked tomorrow:¹ I never had carnal knowledge of Anne Davis, and I cite every person who dares affirm I had to answer it before that just God.

I came to Bristol with a design to go abroad, either as a surgeon, or in any other capacity that was suiting. It was by chance there that I unfortunately saw Mr. [Robert] Ramsey.² He told me, after one or two interviews, that he was in the service of Mr. John Wesley, and that he would introduce me to him, and which he accordingly did. And I cannot but say but that the doctrine that I heard from him I always was fond of. However, unhappily for the [fact] I consented with him [Mr. Ramsey], and I believe between us we might take the value of five and thirty guineas out of the drawer belonging to the said gentleman, and which was collected for the building the school in Kingswood, etc. I did never take any money from Mrs. [Elizabeth (Whitefield)] Grevil (excepting six pence, which was out of some person's breeches picked, and which I believe was Will's).

I acknowledge the justice of God in overtaking me for my sacrilege, in taking that money which was devoted to almighty God. But he, I trust, has forgiven me this and all my other sins, washing them away in the blood of the Lamb. I hope all those that I have wronged to likewise forgive me for his sake.

Guillam Snowde

(No address or postmark.³)

Endorsement: by JW, 'G. Snowde / Feb. 12. 1739/40'.

Source: holograph; WWEP Archive holds photocopy [Baker describes as in MARC; but not in current catalogue]. Also published by JW in *Journal*, Feb. 12, 1740 (*Works*, 19:138–39).

¹His name is spelled 'Gilham Snowd' in The Ordinary of Newgate, *His Account of the Behaviour, Confession, and Dying Words of the Malefactors who were Executed at Tyburn on Wednesday the 13th of February* (London: John Applebee, 1739/[40]). He is listed among those condemned to die of Feb. 13, but it is then reported that he received unexpectedly on Tuesday evening a reprieve from the King.

²Robert Ramsey (d.1742) was an acquaintance that JW gave a position as teacher in early 1740 at the small school connected to the New Room in Bristol. Ramsey persuaded JW to appoint Snowde as his assistant. But the two men soon pilfered some money from the school and fled to London, where they both were eventually charged with other crimes. Ramsey was put to death in London on Jan. 13, 1742 (see JW, *Journal*, *Works*, 19:245).

³This is described as a paper that was hand delivered, rather than a formal letter. For context and an abridged transcription, see JW, *Journal*, Jan. 31– Feb. 12, 1740 (*Works*, 19:137–39).

From the Rev. Benjamin Ingham¹

[Ossett?]

February 20, 1740

My Dear Brother,

The most dangerous time in the Christian race seems to be when a person receives forgiveness of sins, especially if he is filled with great joy, and of long continuance. Indeed, all states of great joy are dangerous, if not humbly received. If persons have not now a guide, or are not guidable, it is ten to one but they run into error and bypaths. Many souls miscarry here, and never get further in their spiritual progress; they run on till all their joy and strength is spent. And then they lose themselves, and are all in confusion. I have met with several persons with whom it has been thus, and how to help them I know not. They do not get forward. I believe indeed that they will be saved, yet their degree in glory will be low. They are but in the first state of religion. You ask what are the marks of a person that is justified but not sealed. I cannot give you any certain infallible marks. But a person to whom the Lord has given the gift of discerning will tell, and without the gift we shall never be able to know surely. However such persons are meek, simple, childlike; they have doubts and fears within; they are in a wilderness state. In this state they are to be kept still and quiet to search more deeply into their hearts, so that they may become more and more poor in spirit, or humble. They are likewise now taught wholly to depend upon Christ. By all means keep them from confusion. If they come into confusion, as they are very apt to do, they receive inconceivable damage. But if they continue still meek and gentle, searching into their hearts, and depending upon Christ, they will find their hearts begin to be sweetly drawn after Christ. They will begin to loathe and abhor sin, and to hunger and thirst after righteousness. They will get strength daily. Christ will begin to manifest himself by degrees. The darkness will vanish. The day star will arise in their hearts. Thus they will go on 'from strength to strength',² till they become strong. And then they will begin to see things clearly, and to understand what the Lord has done for them; so, by degrees, they will come to have the assurance of faith. You ask whether in this intermediate state they are 'children of wrath' or 'heirs of the promises'. Without doubt they are children of God. They are in a state of salvation. A child may be heir to an estate before it can speak or know what an estate is; so we may be heirs of heaven before we know it, or are made sure of it. However the assurance of faith is to be sought after. It may be attained. It will be given to all that go forward, but who serve till they know themselves. We must first be humble and poor in spirit—we must be deeply so. We must have a constant, fixed, abiding sense of our own weakness, unworthiness, corruption, sin, and misery. This it is to be a poor sinner. If I were to be with you, I could explain things more largely. But I am a novice, I am but a beginner, a babe in Christ. If you go amongst The Brethren, they are good guides. But yet, after all, we must be taught of God, and have experience in our own hearts, or else it will not do. May the Spirit of truth lead us into all truth. I am,

Your poor, unworthy brother,

B. Ingham

Address: 'To / The Rev Mr John Wesley / at Mr Brays Brasier in little / Brittan / London'.

Postmark: '22/FE'.

Endorsement: by JW, 'b[rother] Ingham Feb. 20. 1740 / a[nswere]d 26'.

Source: holograph; MARC, MA 1977/610/87.

¹Replying to a letter from JW (c. Feb. 10), which does not survive.

²Ps. 84:7.

From James Hutton¹

London
March 4 [1740]

My Dear Brother,

I hope you arrived safe at your journey's end, and your company as well as yourself.

Did you go, as I wished for you, with a satisfied heart? Now I have a little leisure I will just put you in mind of something which you apprehended wrong.

Thacker did by no means count you his enemy because you told him the truth, supposing it true that he had acted by not a right spirit. I had heard of what passed Wednesday, and I asked him. He did not tell it [to] me till I asked him, and then he spoke of it without the least resentment. On Sunday night he would not have spoken one word if I had not called to him to speak, as you may easily judge by his making no reply to what you said. Therefore the conclusion you made publicly of him was not quite well grounded: 1) His behaviour, which occasioned your saying he acted not by a right spirit, you mistook, and was misinformed perhaps. 2) He counted you not *(his²)* enemy. 3) Therefore there was no visible proof of what you judged, and declared your judgment, concerning his heart. Now, my brother, I must tell you plainly, if there is one in the bands whose spirit I like the best it is Thacker's, and I believe when you know him more than you do at present you will judge of him as I do.

I hope our dear Saviour, who loves us at such a rate as to call us continually to receive the benefits of his death, and to enjoy the blessed privilege of dying to every motion of self, will preserve us from all hurry of soul, and from the war of our reason, understanding, and passions, which so deafen our souls against hearing his sweet voice.

If you will pray to our Saviour you will want no manner of thing that is good; but you must pray quite empty, and without desiring your own will. Our Saviour's eyes are very sharp, and nothing can be hid from him. The least thought of our heart he can discover, and if we hide anything from him he will not hear us.

I wish you sincerely to be as our Saviour would have you, and that he may give you strength of soul (not body only) sufficient for the many and great works you have engaged yourself in. To know the depth of your insufficiency will drive you to him who is almighty. Much of the matter lies in that knowledge. If you have not that, you may go on seemingly in a shining way for a time, but neither the work will last nor will the labourer stand himself. If the wrestle against flesh and blood in your own heart be not over, how will you stand against principalities, etc., at the same time. *They* (principalities) will watch to have occasion against you, and perhaps they may make use of flesh and blood. I tremble for you, yet I will not distrust. I am not without much hope for you, that you will be preserved, but I know this, that no one who is not truly acquainted with his heart can stand long.

How will you be amazed when you come to experience more than you do at present! I wish you well over the fiery trial. I love you, and I must speak all I have in my heart, and I hope you will not take it amiss.

If you do desire indeed experienced labourers and helpers to assist you, our Saviour will find them for you. But every soul who may have received some grace is not at once fit to be a labourer.

¹JW had spent almost a month in London before setting out for Bristol again on Monday, Mar. 3. On Tuesday and Wednesday, Feb. 26 and 27, he had faced at Fetter Lane some who sought to convert others to their own neglect of religious exercises, and had 'expostulated the case with them'. Hutton points out that in at least one instance Wesley had acted mistakenly, that of William Thacker (1715–66), a butcher of Clare Market, who did in fact become a Moravian. (Hutton spells his name, 'Thacquer'.)

²A small piece of the manuscript is torn away, but the content is clear.

I desire you will tell [Edward] Nowers that Charles Metcalf[e]³ is received into the fellowship of the Brethren, and that Charles wishes Nowers may find no rest till he knows himself, and is born again of the Spirit, and find[s] rest in the wounds of Christ.

If his watch comes to my hands, to whom shall I deliver it? There lies in my shop (I believe from Mr. [Henry] Newman's) a parcel directed for you. What shall I do with it? Desire Charles Wesley not to call at Benjamin Seward's. His *madness* was nothing more than a violent fever. My love to dear Charles. Tell him I do not forget him. I suppose he knows by this time of Goter's matter.⁴ Underneath <is> the receipt for Mrs. [Elizabeth (Whitefield)] Grevil. You may send me by the post <a> receipt for the sum on account of the *Hymns*.⁵ I am, <wi>th love to all friends,

Yours very heartily.

Jas. Hutton

Write often, or let someone write for you.

Address: 'To / The Revd. Mr. J<ohn Wesley> / at Mrs Grevil<'s> in Wine Stre<et> / Bris<tol>'.

Postmark: 'R. I.' (?) in a circle. *Charge:* '4'.

Endorsement: by JW, 'Jas. Hun, March 4 / ad 8', 'Inventory of Linnen, &c / Settle Acct of Debts / Wt print? / Order v S'.

Source: holograph; MARC, MA 1977/610/83.⁶

³Charles Metcalfe (1716–79), a London linen draper and friend of James Hutton, became one of the leaders among English Moravians, though in 1759 Zinzendorf characterized him as 'a good man, but a busybody' (Benham, *Hutton*, 361).

⁴On July 29, 1739, Charles Wesley had paid £19. 16s. 8d. damages and costs for trespassing on the land of Richard Goter on his way to preach on Kennington Common.

⁵Apparently *HSP* (1739).

⁶Transcription published in *Works*, 26:6–7.

Affidavit of Captain Robert Williams¹

Bristol
March 14, 1740

The Life and Conversation of that Holy Man Mr. John Wesley, during his Abode at Georgia.

The affidavit of Mr. Robert Williams, of the City of Bristol, merchant, in relation to Mr. Wesley's conduct during his abode at Savannah in Georgia.

Robert Williams, of the City of Bristol, merchant, maketh oath that he well knows John Wesley, late of Savannah, in the province of Georgia, clerk, but now resident in the city Bristol; and saith that about the month of August (which was in the year of our Lord 1736) he, this deponent, arrived at Savannah aforesaid, on board the ship Grenadier (William Woodward commander) in order to trade and settle plantations there (he having before obtained a grant from the Trustees for five hundred acres of land); and saith that he continued there for the space of two years, and then made a voyage to St. Christopher's (on which voyage he was out about four months), and then returned back again to Savannah aforesaid, where he continued upwards of six months, and then left the colony, in order to proceed to England, and accordingly arrived at the port of London the beginning of November last (to wit) 1739; and this deponent saith that during the time he was at Savannah he traded very largely, built very considerable buildings both at Savannah and other parts of the said colony, and greatly improved large tracts of land there, and was esteemed to have one of the chief settlements in the said colony; and this deponent saith that soon after he arrived at Savannah aforesaid (the said Wesley then being, and for near the space of twelve months before having been, resident there), the common conversation in company there was concerning the said John Wesley, his method of preaching, and manner of life and behaviour, and how he had seduced the common persons, there settled, to idleness, and what other mischiefs he had there done; and particularly saith it was then common fame, and a current report and received opinion amongst most of the principal settlers there, that the aforesaid Wesley had been guilty of using too great familiarities with one Mrs. Sophia Christiana Hopkey (niece to Thomas Causton,² Esq; Chief Magistrate of the said town of Savannah), and that he continued so to do till such time as the said Sophia Christiana Hopkey was married to one Mr. William Williamson, of Savannah aforesaid (a gentleman of considerable note there); and this deponent saith that after the said Sophia Christiana Hopkey was married to the said Mr. Williamson, a report was that some uneasiness had arisen between them, touching several letters and messages sent by the said Wesley to the said Mrs. Williamson, desiring her to meet him at divers unseasonable hours and places in the night (many of which were at his the said Wesley's own closet), and that thereupon the said Wesley solemnly promised to desist accordingly; but this deponent saith that notwithstanding such protestations he, the said Wesley, did not desist from such practices, but persisted therein, which this deponent the better knows for that he, this deponent (being, as aforesaid, esteemed one of the chief settlers there) was, by virtue of a precept or summons from Thomas Christie, Esq. (recorder of Savannah aforesaid) summoned, with forty-three others of the principal inhabitants of the town and county of Savannah, to appear on the grand jury, at a court to be held before

¹While not a formal letter, this affidavit was printed and circulated, becoming the subject of other correspondence. For more on the original situation, see the letters of Thomas Causton and Alexander Garden in Aug.–Sept. 1737 above. JW published an extract of his manuscript journal covering the trip to Georgia to respond to this affidavit (see *Works*, 18:121–216) in June 1740. The affidavit continued to be circulated, so JW excerpted the relevant portion of the first extract of his *Journal* and published it in 1741. When the affidavit was still being circulated in 1742, JW resorted to publishing a public letter to Robert Williams, dated Aug. 3, 1742 (see *Works*, 26:83–85).

²Orig., 'Costen'.

the bailiffs and recorder of the said town, on the 22nd day of August, which was in the year of our Lord 1737, in order to inquire into the behaviour and proceedings of the said Wesley, in the particulars before-mentioned; and this deponent saith that he, with forty-three others, in obedience to such precept or summons, attended the court on the said 22nd day of August aforesaid, and were then and there sworn on the grand jury, to inquire into the matters and things aforesaid; and this deponent further saith that while the said Court was sitting, and this deponent, and other the said persons, were charged and sworn on the grand jury as aforesaid, two several bills of indictment were preferred against the said John Wesley, on the prosecution of the said William Williamson, for misdemeanours, and for writing and sending the several letters and messages to the said Sophia Christiana, wife of the said William Williamson, to meet him at unseasonable times and places, and endeavouring to seduce her as aforesaid; and this deponent saith that after the said bills were preferred, and sent to this deponent and the rest of the said grand jury, there were at least ten credible witnesses produced before them, in support of the charges against the said Wesley, contained in the said bills, and several of the said letters before-mentioned to be sent by the said Wesley to the said Mrs. Williamson were then also produced (some whereof were signed, and others not signed); but this deponent saith that all the said letters were by the said witnesses proved to be of the handwriting of the said John Wesley, and the other charges in the said bills were also proved to be true; and thereupon this deponent and the rest of the grand jury unanimously agreed to, and accordingly did find the said bills against the said Wesley for the offences aforesaid; and this deponent saith that the same day on which the said bills of indictment were found, he, this deponent, was in company with some of the said bailiffs (judges of the said court) who told this deponent that as the said bills of indictment were found against the said Wesley, they would show him (being a clergyman) all the lenity they could, especially in a new colony, and therefore would admit him to bail if he could get any proper persons who would bail him for his appearance at the then next sessions; and this deponent saith that afterwards (and as this deponent believes the same day) the said John Wesley was bailed by two freeholders of the said town of Savannah, one of which he believes to be Henry Lloyd, but the name of the other this deponent cannot recollect, for this the said Wesley's appearance at the then next sessions, in order to take his trial for the offences aforesaid; and this deponent further saith that a little before the sessions came on (at which the said Wesley was bailed to take his trial as aforesaid) he, the said Wesley, about the middle of the night, in a secret clandestine manner, quitted the colony, deserted his bail, and went off in a boat for Purrysburgh (being about twenty miles from Savannah) and from thence (as was reported) walked on foot to Charles-Town in South Carolina (being about two hundred miles) and from thence embarked for England; and this deponent saith that the next day after the said Wesley so quitted the said colony, and deserted his bail as aforesaid, the justices having notice thereof, threatened to prosecute and imprison his said bail, for such his desertion and leaving the said colony, who were in the utmost confusion concerning the same; but by the interposition of this deponent and several other of the inhabitants of the said colony, on behalf of the said bail, and the lenity of the justices there, and to prevent destruction to their respective families, they, the said justices on this deponent's leaving the said colony (being the 3rd day of June 1739) had respited the recognizances of the said bail during pleasure.

Robert Williams

Sworn at the city of Bristol aforesaid, the 14th Day of March 1739[/40], before me (one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace of and for the said city).

Stephen Clutterbuck, Mayor

N. B. He who desires farther satisfaction, may apply himself to the Reverend Mr. George Whitefield, who is lately come from Bristol.

Source: published transcription, circulated as broad sheet in 1740; reprinted in [Anon.], *The Progress of Methodism in Bristol* (Bristol: J. Watts, 1743), 43–48.

From the Rev. Charles Wesley

Bengeworth
March 19, [1740]

[[Dear Brother,]]

I want the names of the bands [in London¹]. Pray send them to brother [William] Oxlee for me.

[[What news of Kitty?² Does she mourn for Christ? How often do you see her? Where is she? What does she?³]]

Before I went in to the society last night, Mr. Canning⁴ came at the desire of all my friends to dissuade me 'for the adversaries were resolved to do me a mischief which I ought to avoid by going out of the way for a while' I answered in the words of Nehemiah ('should such a man as I fly?'⁵), not in confidence of my own strength, for by nature I am afraid of every thing and person. But I was told in the morning Psalms 'Whoso dwelleth under the defence of the most high, shall abide under the shadow of the Almighty. ... He shall defend thee under his wings and thou shalt be safe under his feathers. His faithfulness and truth shall be thy shield and buckler. Thou shalt not be afraid for any terror!'⁶ I went in and immediately set upon the opposers, bade them glory over me for they had terrified me now. I was really afraid—to leave Evesham. I durst no more do it than I durst forsake my Captain or deny my Master. They had found the way to keep me. Neither could I stir while any one of them opened his mouth against me. When they were all as quiet as lambs, when they durst no longer look me in the face but I had driven them all before me, then and not till then should I depart hence. No man answered a word after this declaration.

I then endeavoured to show the sincere ones from their fear and anger that they knew not what manner of spirit they were of. [I] spoke searchingly, I trust, to the unbelieving heart. All were deeply attentive and some apparently convinced of sin. Mrs. Canning in particular is in the depth of holy mourning.⁷

After the society we passed an hour in songs of triumph. Some Quakers joined with us and found their giving God praises with their tongue did not at all obstruct the melody of the heart.

I received great comfort from those words in the first lesson of today (March 19) 'Then the men of the city said unto Joash, Bring out thy son that he may die because he hath cast down the altar of Baal, and because he hath cut down the grove that was by it. And Joash said unto all that stood against him, Will ye plead for Baal? Will ye save him? ... If he be a god let him plead for himself because one hath cast down his altar.'⁸

At 3:00 in the afternoon there was none to plead for him or to disturb me in the work of God, but I showed poor sinners the way of salvation from the words that first offered, Job 5:18, 'For he maketh sore, and bindeth up; he woundeth, and his hands make whole.' The tears that were shed gave

¹Lists this early are not known to survive; the first list in Foundery Band Lists is Apr. 1742

²This may be Kitty Hargreave, a friend of the Wesley family in Epworth who sent greetings to CW frequently in the early 1730s through letters of his sisters. Perhaps more likely is a Kitty Davis living in Bristol (mentioned once in JW's diary in 1741), but nothing more is known of her.

³This personal paragraph is in shorthand.

⁴Thomas Canning (1698–1782), who was headmaster of John Deacle's charity school, founded in 1736 on Port Street in Bengeworth.

⁵Neh. 6:11.

⁶Ps. 91:1–5.

⁷Jane Belcher (b. 1702) married Thomas Canning in 1729 in Pebworth, Gloucestershire.

⁸Cf. Judg. 6:30–31.

comfortable evidence that my labour hath not been in vain in the Lord.

Now the enemy is fairly beaten out of the field, I propose (unless he turns again tonight) to leave Evesham tomorrow. Methink you are now joining with us in 'thanks be to God which giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ!'⁹

Address: 'To / The Revd. Mr Wesley / at the School-house¹⁰ / Bristol'.

Postmark: 'AVER / SHAM'.

Endorsement: by JW, 'C[harles] March 19, 1740 / a[nswere]d 24'.

Source: holograph; MARC, WCB D6/1/160a.

⁹1 Cor. 15:7.

¹⁰I.e., the 'New Room', which functioned as a school too, not the Kingswood school.

From Elisabeth Edwards

[London?]
March 24, [1740]

My Dear Brother,

I give you good news, that the Lord of glory is arose and taken possession of my heart.¹ O the beauty which [is] in Jesus! I cannot express my Saviour's love. I stand amazed to see what Christ has done for my soul. O my dear brother, I have an unfeigned love to my secure members. O I lightly[²] rejoice, and my joy no man taketh away. I speak little to any of my friends, because they will not believe that the Lord has done so great things for my soul, but want to know how and after what manner the Spirit came to me. The only way is to come and see, then they will learn of my dear Saviour. My beloved is beautiful, and I love him. He comes in his garden to walk, and his banner round me is love. In me he lives and moves and has his being. No man can take away my confidence. I know I am secure.

My scions[?] often weary me when they tell me I must soon realize I am not right. Indeed I love them for their care. But I must attend the marriage of the Lamb, and he will lead me.

I am going to Oxford this week, and I desire to hear from you. Direct for me at John Edwards' near Daniel Fry's[?], St. Aldate's, Oxford. Pray give my love to brother Amos[?] and the reason I write not to him is want of time. I hope he will write to me. My dear brother, I know your tender care over my soul, for which the Lord will not let you lose your reward. O I love you in the bowels of Christ. Grace be with all that love our Lord Jesus in sincerity. Amen.

From your weak sister,

Elisabeth Edwards

Address: 'To the / Reverend Mr John / Wesley at / Bristol'.

Postmark: present but illegible.

Endorsement: by JW, 'Eliz. Edwards / March 24. 1740 / a[nswere]d 29'.

Source: holograph; MARC, MA 1977/503, Box 4, file 13.

¹Edwards' spelling is very uneven; for example, she spells the concluding part of this sentence: 'taken posocine of my hart'.

²This word appears to be spelled 'lekrelly'.

From the Rev. George Whitefield

Savannah [Georgia]

March 26, 1740

Honoured Sir,

Since I returned here, I received your letter and journal.¹ — I thank you for both, and shall wait almost with impatience to see a continuance of your account of what God is doing or has done amongst you. He knows my heart—I rejoice in whatever God has done by your hands. *I prae, sequar, etsi non passibus equis.*²

I could now send a particular answer to your last. But, my honoured friend and brother, for once hearken to a child, who is willing to wash your feet. I beseech you by the mercies of God in Christ Jesus our Lord, if you would have my love confirmed towards you, write no more to me about misrepresentations wherein we differ. To the best of my knowledge at present, no sin has *dominion* over me, yet I feel the strugglings of indwelling sin day by day. I can therefore by no means come into your interpretation of the passage mentioned in the letter, and as explained in your preface to Mr. Halyburton.³ The doctrine of *election*, and the *final perseverance* of those that are truly in Christ, I am ten thousand times more convinced of, if possible, than when I saw you last. — You think otherwise. Why then should we dispute, when there is no probability of convincing? Will it not in the end destroy brotherly love, and insensibly take from us that cordial union and sweetness of soul, which I pray God may always subsist between us? How glad would the enemies of the Lord be to see us divided? How many would rejoice, should I join and make a party against you? And in one word, how would the cause of our common Master every way suffer by our railing disputes about particular points of doctrines?

Honoured sir, let us offer salvation freely to all by the blood of Jesus; and whatever light God has communicated to us, let us freely communicate to others. I have lately read the life of Luther, and think it in no wise to his honour that the last part of his life was so much taken up in disputing with Zwingli and others—who in all probability equally loved the Lord Jesus, notwithstanding they might differ from him in other points. Let this, dear sir, be a caution to us. I hope it will to me. For by the blessing of God, provoke me to it as much as you please, I do not think ever to enter the lists of controversy with you on the points wherein we differ. Only I pray to God that the more you *judge me*, the more I may *love you*, and learn to desire no one's approbation, but that of my Lord and master Jesus Christ

Ere this reaches you, I suppose you will hear of my late excursion to Charleston. A great work I believe is begun there. Enclosed I have sent you Mr. Garden's letters.⁴ They will serve to convince you, more and more, of the necessity you lie under to be instant in season and out of season. Oh, dear honoured sir, I wish you as much success as your own heart can wish. Was you here, I would weep over you with tears of love, and tell you what great things God hath done for my soul since we parted last. Indeed and indeed, I often and heartily pray for your success in the gospel. May your inward strength and outward sphere increase day by day! May God use you as a choice and singular instrument of promoting

¹This was one of JW's manuscript journal letters, with a personal letter attached (the first extract of JW's printed *Journal* was not yet published until June 1740). While it has not survived, the personal portion clearly criticized Whitefield's divergent views upon sin and salvation.

²'Go before, that I may follow, though with unequal steps;' cf. Virgil, *Aeneid*, ii.724, '... *sequiturque patrem non passibus aequis*'.

³During his mission in Georgia JW was introduced to the *Memoirs of ... Thomas Halyburton* (2nd edn., 1718). On his return to England, he published in early 1739 *An Abstract of the Life and Death of the Reverend, Learned, and Pious Mr. Tho[mas] Halyburton*, including a doctrinal preface (see *Works*, 13:26–31) and a commendatory foreword by Whitefield. When JW issued a second edition of this abridgment in 1741, Whitefield's foreword was removed.

⁴Rev. Alexander Garden, of Charleston.

his glory on earth, and may I fee you crowned with an eternal and exceeding weight of glory in the world to come! This is the hearty desire of, honoured sir,

Yours most affectionately in Christ Jesus,

G. W.

Source: published transcription; Whitefield, *Letters*, 1:155–57.⁵

⁵Abridged version included in *Works*, 26:11.

From the Rev. Charles Wesley

[Oxford]
April 1 [1740]

Breakfasted with brother [Richard] Viney¹ at Mr. Bully's.² Found I could not dispatch my affairs this morning, and agreed to stay here till tomorrow. Encouraged [[Charles Graves]] against the fear of man which had almost separated him from the despised followers of Christ.³

Tis time to leave off. My love to all our dear brothers and sisters. Let us never forget to make mention of one another in all our prayers. I long to hear that *their soul* prospers, their one soul in all. [[What news from dear Kitty?⁴ Not so dear neither, but I could part with her for her good. O pray that I may be always likeminded.

Adieu!]]

[P.S.] Brother [John] Cennick⁵ has not [sent⁶] the letter he promised me. My best and heartiest love to his and my colliers.⁷

Heard that a C[hurch] living was vacant which probably I might have the refusal of, or rather which I might be refused. Had a sudden thought whether I ought not to be refused it, to demonstrate it is no fault of mine that I do not preach within stone-walls? Brother [Thomas] Maxfield, before I communicated my thoughts, had had the very same and himself first mentioned them to me. In all probability neither will the canons present me, nor the bishop give me institution and induction. Should I not for this very reason offer myself, that they may be without excuse? What the living is, or where, I know not. I care not. Commend the matter to God and send me your advice to London.⁸

Address: 'To / The Revd. Mr Wesley / At the School-house / Bristol'.

Postmark: 'OXFORD'.

Endorsement: by JW, 'C[harles] March 31, 1740 / a[nswere]d Ap 5'.

Source: holograph; MARC, MA 1977/503, Box 5, file 9.

¹Richard Viney (fl. 1738–44) was a London tailor with business contacts in Germany and proficiency in German. He was an early member of the Fetter Lane society, and interpreted for Peter Böhler in London. Viney joined JW in visiting the Moravians in Germany in 1738. On his return to England Viney continued for a while to lead the Moravian continuation of the Fetter Lane society.

²Mr. Bully was a local supporter of the Oxford Methodists in the late 1730s.

³Indeed, in Dec. 1740, Graves signed a paper formally renouncing the practices of the Methodists. He would be reconciled to the Wesley brothers in 1742. See Seymour, *Huntingdon*, 1:48–49.

⁴See note on Mar. 19 letter above.

⁵CW spells 'Senwick'.

⁶Orig., 'promised'; almost certainly a mistake.

⁷All of the above are personal notes at the end of a journal letter.

⁸This addition is written vertically in the left margin of the first page.

From the Rev. Charles Wesley

[London]
April 15, [1740]

Expect more in my next. Write soon and largely. I do not forget my dear brothers and sisters and trust they do not forget me. How go they on at Kingswood? My best and heartiest love to you. My brethren George and John Reynolds must write to me. It will do good. Get them a secretary. Let prayer be made without ceasing by the church for me. My soul is among lions. Who is sufficient for these things.

Be strong.¹

Address: 'To / The Revd Mr Wesley / at the School-house / Bristol'.

Endorsement: by JW, 'C[harles] April 15, 1740 / a[nswere]d 19'.

Postmark: '15/AP'.

Source: holograph; MARC, MA 1977/503, Box 5, file 8.

¹These are personal notes at the end of a journal letter.

From the Rev. John Gambold

Stanton Harcourt
April 15, 1740

Dear Sir,

I don't write to you for the same reason that I don't write to Count Zinzendorf, who was pleased to give me leave to correspond with him. I am afraid I am none of your people, and your time and care is misemployed upon me.¹ I could use some pious words, in order to draw others from you, but my heart tells me I should not be sincere therein. I cannot sincerely put myself into any of those classes to which you have something to say. I neither enjoy the glorious privileges of the gospel, nor hope for them, nor mournfully and impatiently lament the want of them. I have not always so much as the foundation for you to work upon, a reverential and general belief of some great thing the gospel is to do for mankind beyond what they had or have already. Yet I must not lie against God, in denying that most commonly I have some degree of sensible and unforced love to Christ as a Redeemer. I have, I say, when I interrogate my heart about it, some witness of this, but of no other temper within the Christian scheme. For what benevolence I have for mankind (which I can plainly distinguish from the Christian sort) arises only from reason and reflections on human life. No, I hang upon the gospel by a mere thread, this small unaccountable inclination towards Christ.

Tis now about two years since I lost several things I had before, that looked like spiritual qualities; and some time after I had this one thing in the room of them. I must own I had it not before, though otherwise all seemed to be well with me. My scheme was such that Christ might be brought curiously and handsomely, but did not enter essentially and feelingly into it. Though hearty in the spiritual life, I mentioned Christ with little better views [than] that unbelieving statesmen show a respect for religion, for the good effect it is calculated to have on the people. Yet if now it is otherwise, I have (to all appearances) lost as well as got by the exchange. I have nothing of that power now to govern my passions and resist a temptation, that I had formerly. My inability to meditate, and feed myself with glittering imaginations; and my no comfort, confidence, or zeal in prayer; I do not reckon so great evils as this—both because the robbing me in these respects might be only the removing of some human (partly) and fantastic devotion, whereas the abridging me in the other respect removes all divine as well as human righteousness from dwelling in me; and also because it seems to imply the absence of the very first thing Christ must do for a soul that he forms again. Can he be supposed to have set up his throne in a soul that neither feels him governing it in a new way, nor can govern itself in the old way, but is as a city without walls, trodden down continually by evil spirits?

The moralists say that if freedom of will is once taken away there can be [no] virtue or vice, reward or punishment; and I believe that whenever God will punish anyone in anger, and according to the rigour of the law, it shall be for such things as he had (one way or other) real power to avoid; and therefore people generally have, in some degree, such power. But then I believe that as what men commonly have of this power or (effectual) freedom of choice is a little scattered, uncovenanted portion of the Christian salvation, and therefore truly grace, though much inferior to what faith, and a perfect faith, brings; so sometimes (and particularly when we are in the transition from legal righteousness to faith) I believe that much effectual freedom of choice, or the power of ruling and ordering ourselves, is in a manner wholly taken from us. Nor is this in itself any extraordinary thing, but the proper state of our present being. I have learnt however to acknowledge myself a true and rightful slave of Satan, till Christ sets me free. He exerts his dominion more nakedly upon me now than before. I cannot make head against him, but his will is and must be done in me. I perceive that if formerly I had the reins more in my own hand it was not a conquest over him, but a concession from him. In short, these are two controversies

¹Actually, in Dec. 1740 Gambold came under the influence of the quietist Moravians, threw over JW's friendship, and in 1742 seceded from the Church of England to join the Moravians; in 1754 he became one of their bishops.

about my salvation, which Christ is to manage for me against two parties, which more or less have a right on their side. That with his Father, whether I a transgressor of the law shall be pardoned, is already over and determined in my favour. That with Satan, whether I an old servant and just captive of his shall be taken from him and removed into another realm, is now depending. Christ my advocate must carry this point for me as well as the other, upon some fair and legal ground, and therefore it is so long a doing because I as a bad and backward client do not furnish him with proper matter for his plea.

My sister is still very weak, and desires your prayers.² I put your brother in mind of that business of answering certain queries, etc. He seemed backward, but I believe he will do it. My papers are just ready, and I will deliver them to you the first opportunity. I hope I shall see you at Oxford; if not I would send them by any safe hand. I have done my best, and have endeavoured that the whole piece should be as useful, and have as little superfluous or otherwise faulty as possible, especially when (upon a perusal of the whole) one part or passage is balanced with another.³

I am, dear sir,

Yours,

JG

Address: 'For / the Revd Mr J. Wesley / at Mrs Grevil Grocer / in Wine street / Bristol'.

Postmark: 'OXFORD'. *Charge:* '4'.

Endorsement: by JW, 'April 15, 1740, J. Gambold'.

Source: holograph; MARC, MA 1977/610/66.⁴

²Martha Gambold (born 1713) would die the following year; buried Oct. 29, 1741 in Stanton Harcourt.

³Gambold was writing a tragedy, *The Martyrdom of Ignatius*, and is consulting both Wesley brothers on it; the work was published only posthumously in 1773.

⁴Abridged transcription published in *Works*, 26:13.

From an Anonymous Calvinist Critic¹

[London?]
[May] 1740²

[p. 3]

Reverend Sir,

I have perused your sermon, published under the plausible title of *Free Grace*.³ If an enemy to the power of godliness had declared himself against *the election of grace* by as plain indications of implacable hatred as you have done in this printed sermon, I should not have been surprised at it; when I remember what opposition that, and other doctrines founded upon it, have met with from the Pelagians of old, Papists, Socinians, and the self-righteous Arminians of late. But to hear the whispers of the enemy reviving from the mouth, and pen, of the reverend and learned Mr. Wesley gives me room to apprehend that there is none in time can plead exemption from sinning.

I am persuaded that it was neither enmity, or any other known or wicked motive, gave rise [p. 4] to this discourse against *election*, but a certain ill-grounded persuasion that what you have delivered is 'the truth as it is in Jesus', and therefore found yourself obliged to declare it to the world.

However (*humanum est errare*⁴) I'm far from advising you to venture your *eternal all* upon this bottom. You'll therefore pardon me, when I say that I'm convinced, not only that what you have delivered is *not* 'the truth as it is in Jesus',⁵ but also find myself obliged to declare so much to you.

And though in justice to the well *ordered* and *everlasting covenant*, I cannot be of your mind, in the point of universal *redemption*; yet let us agree to 'put on bowels of mercy, gentleness and long-suffering',⁶ in meekness *enquiring the way to Zion: That when the day breaks, and the shadows fly away*, it may be reported in Emmanuel's land, '*See how the disputing children are come home, and lovingly warm their souls under the Redeemer's wings.*'

You have been at some pains (section 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8) to put the Calvinistical notion of *election* in a clear light. You might have said all in less bounds—viz., they hold an eternal, absolute, personal *election* of a certain number of Adam's seed to salvation, without an antecedent respect to any qualification in them, and they leave you to conjecture how God shall deal with the rest.

You also hold an election, which (if I mistake not) is this (§28): 'An eternal unchangeable decree to save all men *in the general, respecting this qualification or condition*, if they should suffer Christ to make them alive; that God [p. 5] foreseeing who would and would not suffer Christ to make them alive, did eternally and unchangeably elect those who would.' And you leave them to conjecture how God shall deal with the rest.

I find, upon examination, that the difference between the two schemes, as to the consequences, is not worth the half of your sermon. Yes, you'll say, 'The doctrine of absolute *election* is attended with seven consequences horrible in their nature, hurtful in their tendency, uncomfortable to man, and

¹This public letter is occasionally misidentified as by George Whitefield (who published his public letter on Dec. 24, 1740). From internal evidence it is clear that this critic was not closely linked to the Methodist revival—as contrasted with both Whitefield and 'Christianus' below. For more on this point, see Ian J. Maddock, 'Solving a Transatlantic Puzzle: John Wesley, George Whitefield, and "*Free Grace*" Indeed', *Wesley and Methodist Studies* 8 (2016): 1–14.

²This published letter was first advertised in *London Magazine* (May 1740), 252.

³Sermon 110, *Free Grace* (*Works*, 3:544–61), which JW published in Bristol in May 1739.

⁴'To be human is to be capable of error.' Note JW's later use of this same axiom in Sermon 39, 'Catholic Spirit', I.4, *Works*, 2:84.

⁵Cf. Eph. 4:21; quoted by JW in the preface to *Free Grace* (*Works*, 3:544).

⁶Cf. Col. 3:12.

blasphemous towards God, and my election upon foreknowledge is not.' If those forced inconveniencies have determined you against absolute *election*, I hope if they should attend your own, you'll abandon that too. Let us see:

You'll admit there is a certain disposition in one man to embrace Christ, that is not in another who rejects him. For if there is no such disposition, then if ever God finds out any, it must be in an absolute way, which you will not allow (§3). Therefore in your own account, they are only the elect, who 'according to the foreknowledge of God, would suffer Christ to make them alive'; i.e., whom he did foresee were disposed to believe. You'll admit that the omniscient God did, from eternity, foreknow the number and names of the persons so disposed, or (if you please) whom he was to dispose.

You'll grant also that this foreknowledge of God is *eternal*, *unchangeable*, and *infallible*, to exclude all possibility of mistake; and by consequence the state of those elected upon it must be *eternal*, *unchangeable*, and *infallible* also. And [p. 6] if so, then follows your first consequence (§9) 'Vain is our preaching, and vain the people's hearing, for whether with or without these, God *infallibly knows*, *whom he did foresee* in heaven, and whom in hell; these shall unavoidably be saved, and those unavoidably damned.' For it is absolutely impossible anything should be otherwise than as God did foresee it. For instance, if of forty persons, God did *eternally*, and *unchangeably* foresee twenty disposed, and twenty indisposed, to 'suffer Christ to make them alive', he as *eternally*, and *unchangeably* elected these, and overlooked those; upon which the state of both is *eternally* fixed. No one single circumstance in the state of either can be otherwise, than as *unchangeably* foreseen.

If so, your second consequence follows (§10): 'This tends to destroy holiness, by wholly taking away the first motives to follow after it—viz., the hope of heaven, and the fear of hell. These can be no motives to him to struggle for life, who believes' *God did foresee him in heaven, or hell*;⁷ 'his Lot is cast already', *upon the foundation of God's foreknowledge, who knoweth who are his*. And though he knows not whether it is heaven, or hell, this helps not the matter; for (*if you judge rightly*) if he knows he shall infallibly be in the one or in the other, it is not reasonable for him to be holy, or practice any particular branch of holiness; such as meekness or love. (§11) 'Yea if he believes' (*according to you*), 'suspects, or fears any such thing, what comfort can he have from any of the precious promises of God.' Which is your third consequence (§12). [p. 7]

Again, If the foundation of God's foreknowledge stands sure, 'This destroys *our* zeal for good works, for whether with, or without them, *we* shall unavoidably be in heaven or hell; and if *we happen* to know that the most part of mankind shall be damned, this lessens our love to them; *we* believe it is the will of God they should die. Yea, though we should not know whether they shall be in heaven or hell, only believe they shall *land* in the one or in the other, our labour is vain, etc.' Which is your fourth consequence (§17).

Also, 'by this doctrine' *of a foreknown election* 'the whole Christian revelation is destroyed, it is not necessary', 'for known to God are all his works'.⁸ The limited number of persons whom from eternity he did foresee in heaven shall infallibly be there, and not other shall, whether revelation or none, which is your fifth consequence (§18). All I foresee you can answer is, 'as God did infallibly foresee some in heaven, so he did as infallibly foresee the death of Christ, the Christian revelation, preaching, hearing and good works, as the means towards their being there'. So say I on absolute election, as God decreed a certain number to salvation, so he also decreed Christ's death, the Christian revelation preaching, hearing, and good works, as the means towards that end; And where is the difference?

⁷The author uses italics to indicate the places where 'election based on foreknowledge' is being substituted in JW's argument for where he was criticizing 'unconditional election', and particularly 'unconditional reprobation'.

⁸Acts 15:18.

Again, this doctrine of foreknowledge ‘makes the Christian revelation contradict itself’; for instance, the assertors of it interpret that text, ‘He is not willing that any should perish, etc.’⁹ as implying that God made no man to be damned, quite contrary to that text, Proverbs 16:4. ‘The [p. 8] Lord made *all for himself, yea, even the wicked for the day of evil*’; which is your sixth consequence.

Lastly, ‘this doctrine contains in it manifest blasphemies’ (§23, 24, 25). For instance, the Lord Jesus, the omniscient God, invited every individual sinner to him, and wept *because of the hardness of men’s hearts*, though he did foresee some of them in hell, as infallibly as his knowledge was clear and uninterrupted from eternity, and yet (with reverence to the *Eternal*, I repeat your words) ‘like a hypocrite, a deceiver, a man void of common sincerity, invites to favour whom he knew would never come’.

You see that the consequences with which you have loaded absolute election, do as naturally attend your *election* upon foreknowledge, which has made some consistent gentlemen of your way say that God suspends his knowledge in such a case—i.e., destroys his own being; and that God cannot know contingencies—i.e., what depends upon the will of another. Some men choose rather to bid an open defiance to heaven, than to hold predestination! I hope God will not allow you to be hurried their length. But perhaps, you’ll say that God’s foreknowledge has no causal *influence* towards the existence or non-existence of any thing. I answer, just as much as his positive decree; for instance, God did decree from eternity I should write today; he did eternally and infallibly foresee that you would read today; it is therefore as eternally impossible for you not to read as it is for me not to write; or it was as certain from eternity that you should read and I write, as it is when we have done both. And yet it is certain, you find yourself [p. 9] free to read or not read, and I myself to write or not to write. So that hitherto your doctrine of foreknowledge is as narrow, ungenerous, and ill-natured as absolute election. Let us see whether your next account of it is more generous.

You tell us (§3), ‘The grace or love of God is free in all to whom it is given.’ You must mean Paul’s love to God, or God’s love to Paul. Paul’s love to God is not free; Christ bought it, the Spirit wrought it and supports it. Therefore you must mean God’s love to Paul is free. What did constitute Paul’s title to that love? *Christ’s death*: That has founded a title to every individual of Adam’s seed, as well as to Paul. There must therefore be some distinguishing love to Paul, to make him differ from Simon, call it a second Love, or a more intense degree of the same love, or without degrees, the same love applied, or what else you please. It is plain, the *first* would be a cypher in Paul’s salvation, without the *last*. I ask, what did constitute his title to that second love? You answer (§3), ‘Not anything he is, or has done, not his good purposes, endeavours, good desires, or intentions; these flow from the grace, or love of God, not it from them.’ Never predestinarian made grace more absolute! It is then, in all possible respects, *free*, which others call *absolutely free*. And since it depends on nothing in, or about Paul, it must (if we speak sense) be irresistible too. Thus you have got into *absolute* and *irresistible grace*. You’ll go further, and own that God purposed yesterday to give that grace to Paul today; and [p. 10] what he purposed yesterday, he purposed from *eternity*. For there are no new acts in the will of God, but ‘through one Eternal Now, the same’. So that God’s love to Paul is *absolute, irresistible, and eternal*. You’ll also grant that God, from eternity, could distinguish Paul by name and person from Simon. That as purposely, freely, knowingly, and eternally, God dealt with Paul; so with every Peter and Paul who shall be in glory. And I am sure you will not deny that God from eternity did know their exact number, names, and persons. And as to the decree of God, it is his *eternal, continued thought* or *purpose* (use which term you will) knowing, foreknowing, seeing, discerning them, without the least desire, intention or endeavour on their side (as you have granted) to bribe his eternal respect. So that by what you have admitted, you are as absolute a *predestinarian* as any in town.

However, let that be as it will, you’ll overturn all immediately. Grace must depend, in its coming and going, on some power in man, though at the expense of God’s foreknowledge, power, and wisdom; yea, to the utter confusion of all God’s ways and works. And it must be confessed, you are not singular in this conduct; for enquire of the Council of Trent, of all papists (*excepting a few Jansenists*), of the Church

⁹2 Pet. 3:9.

of England (*excepting the Articles, and a few serious ministers, who are raræ avis in terris*¹⁰), and of all other universalists, whether grace is free? You shall be answered, It is free; and sometimes front their performances with *Free Grace*,¹¹ when their plain meaning is free in the general, free to all, and free to none, [p. 11] unless they bribe it with a good disposition, and a few good works to help it up—free, as it is God's, and bought as it is ours; first by Christ for everybody, and next by everybody for himself. Or free at a distance, which will never come to you, unless you go to it; and though it should happen to come, you may resist it. Or free for the taking, i.e., if you get faith, God will get grace; or if you get a purpose, a disposition, God will find faith, and more grace after that. Free in the purchase, bribed in the application. Free in the offer, clogged in the enjoyment. Free in the front, mercenary in the body. Free in sound, and bound in fact. Now, sir, if this was your meaning, why was you disingenuous, to write the first part of your sermon? And if not, why was you injurious, to write the last? For I defy an angel to reconcile both together, with the proviso he speaks sense. However, you'll attempt it.

§4, 'Grace is free for all.' What all? 'Every child of the first Adam, Christ tasted death for all, and procured the love of God in the general?'¹² How then comes the difference to be made? 'By God's foreknowledge of something in the one, which is not in the other.' What can that be? 'A power to choose, or to refuse.' Every man has that power (you say) in virtue of Christ's death, they are yet on a level. What's more? 'Faith in the one, and not in the other.' What faith? Either the general faith of Christ's coming to the world to save sinners, which devils have as well as men; or that which purifies the heart, and distinguishes from men and devils? You'll say *the last*; though the generality of your way are wise, though irreligious, to hold by *the first*. How [p. 12] does he foresee this faith in them—as his own, or as theirs, or as his and theirs together? Not entirely as his, for as such, he is willing every man should have it; not entirely as theirs, it is the gift of God. It must be his by giving, and theirs by acceptance and enjoyment.' How come they to accept of it, and not others? It must be either by a peculiar turn in their constitution, or by a certain act of their will? It cannot be by the *first*, that would argue partiality in the maker, or something worse, which you will not allow. It must then be by an act of their will, a turn, a desire, a purpose, call it what you will. It is very plain that all the awful and mysterious proceedings of God, in relation to man's salvation, entirely depend for success, on a single contingent turn in the will of man. And it is as plain, that thus far the *Creator* depends on the *creature*; the *creature* introduced as more absolute than the *Creator*; and the *Creator* traduced as the weak *creature*; which may appear by the following similitude.

An old, loving, though weak and imprudent prince passes an act of grace in favour of a rebellious province, and freely justifies every one of them. *So did my God* (you'll say) 'for the world is justified'. The prince gives them arms to fight, or not fight for him, as they found themselves disposed. *So did my God* 'give a power to choose, or to refuse'. The prince ordered estates to be purchased, and mansion-houses built for them, near his own palace. *So did my God provide a heaven, and there a mansion for every of Adam's seed*. The prince dispatches his servants, inviting the rebels to [p. 13] enjoy the effects of his generosity. *So did my God, ...* All this is well projected; behold the conclusion! Most part of the rebels scorn his love, return their enmity, employ all their power to frustrate their designs; and they are resolved, come death, come life, never to be reconciled.

This is reported to the prince. He is both sorrowful and angry at the disappointment. And whom shall he blame? He once set his love upon objects he now hates, because he was not knowing enough to foresee the reasons of his hatred; or fondly loves them still, though he knows they shall never love him. His weapons are employed against himself, and to the destruction of his subjects, because he was unwise, yea cruel in giving them; ignorant, in not foreseeing the abuse of them. His treasury is exhausted, his money lost, the estate unpossessed, the houses desolate. And the poor prince cannot help it, or make the

¹⁰Juvenal, *Satires*, vi.165; 'rare birds on earth'.

¹¹I.e., the title of JW's sermon.

¹²The author is not quoting but summarizing how he reads JW's argument.

rebels better minded towards him. And though he should attempt it, they have now power in their hands to oppose him, and effectually to resist him with his own weapons. But, *though he cannot reclaim them, he can destroy them*. How shall he destroy whom he is supposed to love? And how can he hate, who *is all love*? Thus the scheme, for most part, proves ineffectual, and it is more by the chance than good conduct, it takes any effect at all. For the touchy wills of the consenting few were within a hair's breadth of joining with the greater numbers, only some lucky *minute* or other cast the balance. The application is easy.

'Tis impossible, sir, upon your scheme, to distinguish between the characters of God and [p. 14] this loving, unwise, and ignorant prince. And shall such a one be our God, who cannot resist our will, whose love and hatred are, and are not like our own; with whom we can contend in projecting, and who cannot help himself more than we, when disappointed? He shall be our God, 'who is' (every way) 'the same today, yesterday, and forever';¹³ 'who is in one mind, and who can turn him, and what his soul desireth, that he doth';¹⁴ 'whose counsel shall stand, and do all his pleasure'.¹⁵ And as, by your scheme, God and that prince carry the same character, so your scheme and that are exact parallels, plausible in the projecting and first mentioning (which makes it take with those, whose notions of earthly princes and wisdom are uppermost, and those who spend more of their thoughts upon themselves than their God) but unfortunate in the execution, and merely accidental in its effects.

How will the *Eternal* come off without shame, upon this universal vagrant scheme? Let him sit from everlasting in consultation with his wisdom. Let him speak an universe to being. Let heaven, earth, and hell be shaken. Let all things in the power of the Almighty be done, even to the pledging his glory, casting his honour in the dust, and 'making his soul an offering for sin'.¹⁶ Where shall all this vast expense of eternal knowledge, wisdom, and power end? Fortune only can determine. The amazing contrivance is entirely at the mercy of one single fortuitous *cast* in the will of man, and the contriver himself said to have cast it on this accidental hinge, which one would think unworthy super-eminent wisdom. Said to have cast it! [p. 15] Who says so? Not angels, they cannot resist his will; but men embark in Satan's quarrel to say it! Men! Monstrous! 'Wonder, O heavens, be ye horribly afraid';¹⁷ 'the ox knoweth his owner, but my people know not me.'¹⁸

How will God come off? What if one of the pettish seed of Adam should in some period of eternity, rise and attack his God thus: 'Now thou Lord of this higher house, I am with thee, but I owe thee no more thanks than my brother in hell.' *How so?* 'Thou didst once pass an act of indemnity in his favour as well as mine.' *But I loved thee freely*. 'True; and whatsoever freedom was in thy love towards me, was also in thy love to him.' *I elected thee, and not him*. 'True; but why? Because thou didst foresee some turn in my will to choose the good, which thou didst not foresee in his.' *It was my grace gave that turn*. 'Not so, Lord; for that was not thy method, that would be a partial, arbitrary, absolute way of dealing. Not so Lord; thou hast given him an equal power of will with me. Thou didst intend the same favour for us both; the same Father loved us equally; the same Christ payed an equal ransom for us; the same Spirit worked the same grace in us. For, give me leave to say, my brother was once a child of God, though not now, so that my standing and his falling, can be owing to nothing but our will.' *Nay your standing is owing to my preserving grace*. 'Sure then his fall is owing to the want of that grace, which thou mightest have given him, and therefore thou mightest still be an odd, [p. 16] absolute being, who hast mercy on whom thou pleasest only; or else, I must glory in myself. Name the favour if thou canst, or the least circumstance of love intended to me peculiarly, I shall then, praise sovereign and distinguishing grace;

¹³Heb. 13:8.

¹⁴Job 23:13.

¹⁵Cf. Isa. 46:10.

¹⁶Isa. 53:10.

¹⁷Jer. 2:12.

¹⁸Cf. Isa. 1:2–3.

but till then, if ever thou should put the question, “Who made me differ from my brother in hell?” I shall answer, my well-disposed self.’

Sir, would not the heavens sweat for anguish, if there was room for this dialogue? Would not the angels tremble and blush to hear this language, between the uncreated *potter* and his *clay*? Would not awful majesty be overcome? You’ll say, ‘There will be no such language in heaven.’ It matters not if there will be such thoughts. ‘Nor such thoughts.’ If so, everyone of your way of thinking and speaking will change their thoughts before they are there. Whether they shall do this in time, at death, or in some middle state, I leave you to determine. For one thing is certain, that God will be praised in heaven, by subjects of eternal, unmoved, absolutely free, distinguishing and electing grace, each in pleasing trances of wonder. What moved the *Eternal* to put a difference between him and Judas? And if you shall be there, you will be as complete an absolute election-man, as they shall have among them, though you believe no such thing today.

But perhaps though you cannot agree to the notion of it in general, you’ll admit the particular propositions which make it up. You believe:

1. That no created motive can influence an uncreated mind to act or not act otherwise [p. 17] than he eternally thought fit to be done. Therefore it follows, that no created disposition, etc., can influence God to save any, but whom he purposed from *eternity* to save.

2. That there are no fresh purposes in the mind of God, as in that of man—‘He is not man that he should repent’¹⁹ and proceed upon reasons today, unknown to him yesterday. His purposes and the reasons on which he proceeds, are as eternal as himself. Therefore it follows that if God purposes to save John today, or twenty years hence, he purposed the same from eternity, and that upon eternal reasons.

3. That there is no formal, oral, judicial *decree* with God, as with men. The uncreated constant purpose of his mind, is his *decree*; call it thought, purpose, or decree, it matters not. Therefore it follows that God did eternally and unchangeably *decree* to save John. And if the affirmative holds, the negative must—viz., if God did not purpose to save Judas, when he hanged himself, neither did he (God) from eternity.

4. That if God purposed, today, to save John, through Christ, preaching, hearing, etc., he purposed the same salvation to John, by the same means from eternity, etc. Therefore, etc.

Now, if you deny the above Propositions, or any of them, you lose your God, and have a [p. 18] man in his room. And if you own them, you lose universal *redemption*, and find in its room an eternal, unchangeable purpose, or decree to save through Christ, etc., a certain number of Adam’s seed personally, nominally, freely, and absolutely, without respect to any qualification in them, more than in others.

After all, though you cannot deny the propositions, you’ll deny the conclusion no doubt (viz., absolute election), because of the seven consequences you have drawn from it, which induce you to believe, ‘it is not of God’. I have made the very same consequences attend your doctrine of foreknowledge. Why should you believe any of them to be of God, but pursue a third scheme? However, fearing you should throw away both, I shall answer your objections, which shall be as well to reconcile you to yourself, as reconcile you to others.

Object. 1 (§9). If Election holds, then ‘vain is our preaching, and vain the people’s hearing, for whether with, or without them, the elect shall be saved, and the non-elected damned’. Suppose yourself with the centurion (Acts 27:24) when Paul assured him from God that not one of them ‘in the ship should be lost’. You would say, no doubt (as now), *if so, vain is* ‘our fear to be cast on the rock’ (ver. 29). And *vain to* ‘confine our men in the ship’ (ver. 30). For *whether with, or without such fear and confinement, God cannot lie*. Nay, says Paul, except these men abide in the ship, they cannot be saved. So the Lord decreed the salvation of the elect, and puts the unanswerable question: How shall they be saved without [p. 19] faith? How shall they believe without hearing? How shall they hear without a preacher?²⁰ Therefore though election holds, you may preach on, there is no danger, the means are all decreed, as well

¹⁹1 Sam. 15:29.

²⁰Rom. 10:14.

as the end.

Object. 2 (§10). ‘This doctrine destroys the first motives to holiness in general—viz., the hope of heaven, and fear of hell. If men are unalterably adjudged either to life or death, these can be no motives to them to struggle for life. And though they know not which, it is not reasonable for them to strive, because it is not reasonable for a sick man to take physic at all, if he knows he shall unavoidably die, or recover, though he knows not which.’

You know you must unavoidably be in heaven or hell. Why then do you struggle for heaven? I hope you do not set up for a third place. Every sick man knows he shall either die or recover, yet the physician, and even the sick man might be tempted to think your conclusion a very odd piece, *for who knows but the Lord will be gracious*.²¹ Yea, though the sick man did know he was to recover and live, it is reasonable for him to take physic. Hezekiah was assured by Isaiah (2 Kings 20) that *the Lord would heal him, and add fifteen years to his life*. Why then, say you, was a plaster of figs applied to him? You ‘heard a man both in bodily and spiritual sickness say, “If I am ordained to life, I shall live; if to death, I shall die; so I need not trouble myself about it.”’ Hezekiah might have said, ‘If I’m ordained to health and life, I shall live [p. 20] fifteen years; if not, I shall die; therefore away with medicines.’ What if Hezekiah had been profane or desperate enough to say so, or others on the like occasion, and your man with the rest? Are we therefore to reject the eternal truths of God? Satan told Christ that God determined to care for him always, and therefore he might throw himself down from a pinnacle of the temple. Was Christ to do it? No. He commanded the tempter to retire. I wish your man had done the like.

You state this objection more particularly [in] §11, where you say absolute election ‘destroys branches of holiness, such as meekness and love, and tends to inspire a sharpness of temper quite contrary to the meekness of Christ; which appears in the assertors of it, towards those who oppose them on this head.’ Alas, sir! How come you to know this? Sure the members of the established Church, who are of your universal way, discover more sharpness of temper towards you than dissenting Calvinists. Were, or are the papists, who are of your way of thinking on this head, more meek towards Protestants, than Protestants towards them? Were or are the Jesuits, more loving towards the Jansenists, than the Jansenists towards them? Perhaps, some unlucky person opposed you on this head with some keenness, and you found yourself meek in the *interim*. What then? This might arise from his natural constitution, and that from yours; or this from the want of grace in him, and from grace in you. ‘He from his doctrine supposed me a reprobate’; and [p. 21] you supposed him void of ‘meekness and love’, and by consequence a child of the devil, so you was not at all behind with him. He ‘could not help applying his doctrine to me’; and would you help applying yours to him? ‘The enemy of souls applied it for him.’ True; and the same enemy applied yours for you. Yea (which is a bolder stroke), he applied the same doctrine for Christ (Matt. 4). So that you or the Calvinist need not expect better quarters from the devil.

Object. 3 (§12). ‘This doctrine tends to destroy the comfort of religion.’ This is turning the chace!²² We think the doctrine teaching a man, though a real child of God today, may open his eyes in hell tomorrow, to be the most uncomfortable of the two. However you say, ‘this is evident, as to those who believe themselves to be reprobated.’ As evident, say I, as to those who believe God did foresee them in hell. But who can help unbelief? None, except he who hath said, I pray that thy faith should not fail. ‘It is true of those who only suspect or fear it.’ I am sure not true, for I suspect and fear it, and enjoy many rays of comfort. *No comfort when you fear*. Yes, if you believe me, sometimes my trembling and mirth join so close that I cannot distinguish the one from the other.

§13, 14, 15. You give life to this objection by observing, ‘The assertors of *election* have their doubts and fear; whereas many of those who hold it not have a full assurance of faith to exclude all doubts and fear.’ This is a new turn! Universalists [p. 22] hitherto have thought others half mad to affirm assurance of salvation to be attainable in time. Universalists now do affirm the opposite ‘doctrine not to be of God, because it tends to obstruct, if not destroy that assurance’. How comes this about? The papists,

²¹Cf. Jon. 3:9.

²²An archaic expression for reversing what is on top.

after absolution, or any other sacrament, are assured they have grace, 'a feeling possession of God's love in their hearts, and the willingness of the Spirit'. The English Arminians deny not the assurance of grace—i.e., that they are children of God now, though possibly of Satan tomorrow. The Quakers are as strongly persuaded of a 'feeling possession of God in their hearts'. You plead for assurance with the rest. Do you mean anything more than they? No: 'this feeling possession of God in the heart, or the witnessing of the Spirit ... implies a full assurance that past sins are forgiven, but not a full assurance of our future perseverance.' The Council of Trent, and the popish writers have told us this much a thousand times over. And as you are convinced many of them take fond presumption for assurance, even of grace; so it cannot at all endanger you after salvation to lose your comfort for a time, in examining whether your assurance be of the same nature with theirs. Better to work out our salvation with fear and trembling, than to enjoy a temporary one, without either.

I confess, the salvation you contend for is not worth much fear and doubts; for when you have got it, you are only assured you have a created love or joy, the creature for your [p. 23] portion. Are you certain you shall have the Creator? No: 'I take no thought for tomorrow.'²³ Christ intended by these words we should take no thought for the creature. You intend we should take no thought for the Creator. 'We feel the Creator possessing our hearts, and his Spirit witnessing with us.' You really can never feel God in or about you. You feel only some created effects of an invisible unfelt hand, such as love and joy, etc. And though you are assured of these effects (besides the danger of their arising from other causes), you are assured of nothing material, in time or eternity. And yet you fear none. No: 'Because the Holy Ghost supports such assurance, and needs not a speculative faith to help it.' Supposing he did support it (which notwithstanding may be a delusion), yet Holy Ghost, love, assurance, and all may run away tomorrow, and leave you in hell. And yet you fear none. No: because 'If I abide in him, he shall abide with me from hour to hour.' I am apt to believe, if his eternal love be not engaged to keep you in him, your created love cannot keep him in you. It is not unsafe therefore to doubt a little of your strength to keep him; for according to your own account, one sinful thought, though on a death-bed, is enough to lose Christ's Spirit, grace, and glory. And yet you fear none. No: 'Because I have the full assurance of faith, etc.' If you believe the apostle's faith is the substance of things not seen, and the evidence of things hoped for—things not seen, not felt, not at hand, not in [p. 24] your possession—whatever assurance you have cannot be that of faith, but of sense; therefore not the chief comfort of the believer (though you say it is), because every created grace in you is vitiated by remaining corruption, and the least imperfection in any of them is enough to exclude the soul from God forever. And yet you fear none.

Real assurance of faith is a full persuasion in the soul that neither life or death, things present or to come, shall separate him from the uncreated love of God, in Christ Jesus.²⁴ This assurance, you say, 'is not necessarily implied in your full assurance'. Therefore, say I, your assurance is not good. Much like his, who said, 'If the blessed virgin stands at my bedside, I'm sure to be saved; if not, I'm sure to be damned.' But the full assurance of the imputation of the righteousness of Christ, apprehended by faith alone, is that which others labour for with doubts and fear. And you 'appeal to them to say it between God and them, whether their fears have not returned?' You should rather have put the question whether their fears have ever left them? For generally they cannot presume they are out of the reach of danger till in Christ's arms. They cannot be fearless in their enemy's land.

You add on this head (§16), 'A thought uncomfortable to those who have put on bowels of mercy ... that thousands and millions, without any preceding offence of theirs, are unchangeably doomed to everlasting burnings.' Is not this as uncomfortable a thought: that God unchangeably foreseeing thousands [p. 25] and millions should offend, and knowing the very persons who would, should notwithstanding create them merely to be damned? Does not this follow as plain on your doctrine, as that upon the other? But what shall you *gain at the Almighty's hand, to charge him foolishly*, and to say, 'Why hast thou made me thus?' *His ways are past finding out. He shall give account of his matters to none.*

²³Cf. Matt. 6:34.

²⁴Cf. Rom. 8:38.

Object. 4 (§17). ‘This doctrine destroys good works, by destroying our love to the evil and unthankful, and cutting off one of the strongest motives to acts of bodily mercy, such as feeding the hungry, and clothing the naked—viz., the hope of saving their souls from death.’ This runs upon an impossible supposition of knowing the evil, i.e., non-elected. The case is, sir, I can no more know them by others, than I can be omniscient. Therefore I take mankind, *especially the household of faith*,²⁵ as the objects of my love, and the acts of kindness, in relation to their souls and bodies. Nay, it does ‘whether you know them, or not, in either case, your labour is in vain’. This is more strange! *Election* must be down at any rate, *per fas aut nefas*!²⁶ I know not who are elected, who not. You know not who the foreseen are, who not. Therefore neither of us knows who the finally saved are, who not. And yet we both know of those now on earth, some shall unavoidably be saved, and others unavoidably be damned, though we know not which. Why then do we trouble ourselves about any living (if your argument be good)? ‘Our Labour is [p. 26] vain.’ Yea, why do we care for ourselves? For one thing is evident, you and I will infallibly be in heaven or hell, though we know not which. Why then may we not throw ourselves down a precipice? Allow me to say, this piece of reasoning is a little unbecoming.

Object. 5. ‘This doctrine tends to destroy the whole Christian revelation, by making it unnecessary, according to the desire of the modern unbelievers.’ The Lord has chosen men in Christ (*the great mean*), saves them by preaching, by his Word and Spirit. These are the means (as said before) decreed with the end. And till you find men set up for an end, without means to obtain it, I beg leave to think your doctrine produces more unbelievers. Examine the isle of Britain (though you go no further), you’ll find at a moderate computation, three thousand modern unbelievers, i.e., *deists*, of your universal way. I dare say, not one absolute election-man among them. And that your loose and generous doctrine, managed by the enemy of souls, is the spring of this evil, is too plain to be denied.

Object. 6 (§19). ‘It makes that revelation contradict itself, by being grounded on such interpretation of some texts as flatly contradict all the other texts, and indeed the scope and tenor of Scripture.’ You instance in some texts on the side of election, and in some on the universal strain. You found them literally opposite. Have you reconciled them? No: You left them as you found them. You say the election-interpretation of some texts contradicts all your texts. [p. 27] And does not your interpretation of some texts contradict the election-texts; and where is the difference? Have you reconciled their texts with your interpretation? No: ‘Better their texts have no meaning at all.’ Let that be as it will, I am sure your texts have a meaning, though you have not hit upon it. What texts prove election to be contrary to the tenor of Scripture?

‘1 John 4:8. God is love.’ – Your conclusion must be (if any) God does not hate, or is not hatred. Does he not hate devils? Does he not hate men—viz., the damned? Does he not hate wicked men on earth? Psalm 11:5: ‘But the wicked his soul hateth.’ Therefore your argument is not good. To whom then is God’s love? To some men in Christ; [1 John 4] ver. 16: ‘And we have known and believed the love that God hath to us (believers). God is love.’ No word of his love to any other.

‘Psalm 145:9: God is good to all’ (*not* ‘loving to every man’, as you have it), ‘And his tender mercies over all his works.’ True, good not only to Israel, but to all other nations. ‘He giveth rain to the just and the unjust. He filleth their hearts with food and gladness.’²⁷ Does this imply that God loved the heathen nations as he did Israel? Or that every man is an object of God’s redeeming love? If so, beasts may come in for a share. The text includes them. ‘His mercies are over all his works.’ ‘He giveth the beast his food, and the young ravens that cry.’²⁸ Whatever love this text implies suites a raven as well as a

²⁵Cf. Gal. 3:10.

²⁶‘Through right or wrong.’

²⁷Acts 14:17.

²⁸Ps. 147:9.

man.²⁹ [p. 28]

‘Romans 8:32. He that spared not his only Son, but delivered him up for us all; how shall he not with him freely give us all things.’ This text on which you have grounded your negative discourse, is remarkably foreign to your purpose. The apostle (ver. 33) says, ‘Who shall lay any thing to the charge of God’s elect, it is God that justified them’; how then shall he not *glorify them*; Yea, *give them every thing freely*, since ‘they are the called according to his purpose’ (ver. 28). No word of any other.

‘Acts 10:34. God is no respecter of persons.’ If you incline to have a literal sense of this text, it will follow that God respects no person; no not the persons of the Trinity. ‘Not so to be understood.’ How then? God does not respect one person or nation above another? Not so; he respected Cain not Abel; Israel, not the heathen nations. Was it for any good in Abel above Cain, or in Israel above other nations, he respected them? No. You teach (§3) that all good in or from man flows from grace; grace then must precede, and God’s respect precede that, or he respects now because he respected them before. Therefore it was no good, in the one or the other, was the cause of God’s respect; so far from it that if God had the same respect to Tyre and Sidon, they should have repented. —Whereas those to whom he had, were ‘a stiff-necked generation’.³⁰

You’ll say, he respected the Jewish nation because of some grand design he had in view—viz., the incarnation of Christ, of, and among [p. 29] them. True, and when that was accomplished, he had an equal respect to Jews and Gentiles, no respect of the persons of honest Cornelius (a Gentile), and Peter (a Jew): ‘The partition wall is broke down.’³¹ ‘In every nation, he that feareth him and worketh righteousness, is accepted of him,’³² i.e., such as are inwardly and outwardly holy, fearing God inwardly, and working righteousness outwardly. And this you grant flows only from grace, and grace from respect. Or thus; whom God respects, he respects in every nation; and who doubts it? It is the very language of election, but far from your scope.

You charge them (page 19) with saying, ‘That our being elected, no way depends on the foreknowledge of God.’

Sir, this is a mistake. What they say is that their being elected does not depend on God’s foreknowledge of any good in them, which you have granted (§3). But the foreknowledge mentioned (Rom. 8:30, 1 Pet. 1:1–2), which you have brought to confute them, is the very ground of their election; such as God did foreknow, or loved, or respected, them ‘he calls, justifies, and glorifies’. What foreknowledge do you mean in opposition to theirs? Is it of any ‘good intention, purpose, endeavour, etc.’? You say no (§3). Is it of any good intended for them above others? If so, this argues eternal respect, which is the foreknowledge they plead for.

‘Romans 10:12. The same Lord over all is rich in mercy, to all that call upon him.’ True. Yea, adds the apostle (v. 13) ‘he who calls [p. 30] shall be saved’, whether Jew *or* Greek; and who doubts it? What do you mean be this? Is it that everyone, who shall happen to say, ‘Lord have mercy upon me’, shall be saved? No; ‘not everyone that saith Lord, Lord shall be saved, or enter into my kingdom’.³³ Who then? Those who call from grace for grace; from faith for salvation. God must respect, and then give grace. They shall then call, and he then will hear. What is this to the matter?

‘James 1:5. If any of you lack wisdom let him ask of God that giveth to all men liberally, and upbraideth not.’ You take the advantage of the word ‘all’. *All* means everyone that asks. Everyone who asks will ask in faith, or not. If he asks not in faith, the apostle tells you plainly (ver. 7) ‘Let not that man

²⁹JW would eventually reach this same conclusion, but in a positive sense; cf. his Sermon 60, ‘the General Deliverance’, *Works*, 2:436–50.

³⁰Exod. 32:9.

³¹Cf. Eph. 2:14.

³²Acts 10:35.

³³Matt. 7:21.

think that he shall receive anything of the Lord.' If he asks in faith, he must do it from preceding grace; and grace from respect. This is very true; but not to your purpose. You observe rightly (p. 20) 'They say, Christ died not for all'; i.e., every man, whether saved, or damned. They say so. What say you?

'Romans 14:15. Destroy not him with thy meat', for whom Christ died, which you say, 'is a clear proof that Christ died for the damned'. A very dark one, say I. If Christ had said only 'false prophets should appear, who would deceive the elect',³⁴ you would have concluded the elect might be damned. But he adds, 'if it were possible', to rectify your mistake. Why should not you allow the apostle to forbid a brother act the part of a false prophet, [p. 31] in doing what in his power lay to deceive, or destroy his brother, for whom Christ died, *if it were possible*? Does the apostle mean anything more. No. He knew very well that Christ had said, 'none was able to pluck' any soul he died for 'out of his hands'.³⁵

For further proof of Christ's vain ransom you cite, 'John 4:42; John 1:29; 1 John 2:2; 1 Timothy 4:10; 1 Timothy. 2:6; Hebrews 11:19. Where Christ is said to be the saviour of the world; to take away the sins of the world; a propitiation for the sins of the world; the saviour of all men; a ransom for all; to taste death for all.' This last text is translated in our English Bibles, 'every man'. You have followed the original, tasted death for *all* (παντος).

The force of your argument from the above texts lies in the terms 'world' and 'all'. And if these terms imply not every individual of Adam's seed—yea, all the visible creatures of God—your argument cannot conclude. What do you mean when you write in the preface to your sermon, 'I am indispensably obliged to declare this truth to all the world?' Do you intend the brute and irrational creation? No, men only. Generations gone off the stage? No, but the living. Heathens in unknown parts of the world? No. Fools and madmen in known parts? Such as deaf, dumb, and blind? No. After these limitations, you think we understand what you mean—viz., *all* to whose hands your discourse shall come, and are capable to understand, read, or hear it. It is then strange that God who suites himself [p. 32] to the manner of speaking among men, should not be allowed the same intelligible liberty of speech with them, without taking him at a catch, to intend the salvation of the damned. Yea, if the humour takes us, the salvation of the brutes too. For the term 'world' includes them. Especially when God himself limits these terms in Scripture. 1 John 5:19, 'We are of God, and the whole world lieth in wickedness.' Here God's children are excepted and a whole world left behind. Hebrews 12:8, 'If you be without chastisements, whereof ALL are partakers, then are ye bastards, and not sons.' Here God's children are called ALL (a *world*) and yet all bastards, a *world lying in wickedness* left behind. Shall we not then do Christ the justice to allow him to pay a ransom, and taste death for his own ALL, his own world; especially that the nature of God, the nature of man, the tenor of the covenant of grace, the scope of God's revelation from the beginning till now, and the visible course of his providence, will no more allow us to think that he paid a ransom for the damned than that he intended glory for the brutes. Which, in reason, religion and observation might be made evident, if this was the proper place.

'2 Peter 3:9. The Lord is not slack concerning his promise;—but is long suffering towards us, not willing that any' (of us) 'should perish, but that all' (of us) 'should come to repentance.' What us? Believers, or those to whom God gave, or was to give faith as a gift. And who are they? Those among the [p. 33] multitude, on whom he is pleased to confer it, from eternal respect, not willing any of them should perish. 'Ezekiel 18:23.' In the preceding verse God says, 'if the wicked turn from all his sins, and keep my statutes' (that is, if renewed in heart, and reformed in life), 'he shall live'. I hope you'll admit the renewing of the heart, from which all acts of new obedience flow, to be God's immediate work. May we not then understand God? If I renew a sinner in heart and life, have I any pleasure in his death? No.

'Ezekiel 18:32.' God says in the preceding verse, 'make you a new heart and a new spirit', which God himself promises to do (Ezek. 36:26). And then may not God say, I shall give you a new heart and a new spirit, for 'I have no pleasure in your death'.

³⁴Matt. 24:24 and parallels.

³⁵Cf. John 10:29.

‘Ezekiel 33:11.’ In the preceding verse the people say, ‘If our sins be upon us, how shall we live?’ The Lord brought them to a sense of their sin and punishment, by giving them a new heart; therefore, says God to the prophet, Thus ‘the people speak’, and thus shall you speak to them, ‘as I live, I have no pleasure in their death’. I will their life, because I brought them to the gates of death. I will give them glory, because I gave them grace.

‘Deuteronomy, I have set before you life and death.’ If the life and death here spoken of respect temporal prosperity and misery, it is not to the purpose. If to eternal salvation, it is with the qualification of circumcising [p. 34] their hearts, which the Lord absolutely promises to do. [Deut. 30] Ver. 6. ‘And the Lord thy God will circumcise thine heart.’ And nobody doubts that man shall choose life, when the Lord circumcises, or renews his heart. What is it you mean by these texts? Is it that God really wills, and hath pleasure in the salvation of every man? If so, hell shall be an empty region, for ‘He is in one mind, and who can turn him?’ (Not the will of devils or men) ‘and what his soul desireth, even that he doth’ (Job 23:13). ‘His counsel shall stand, and he will do all his pleasure’ (Isa. 46:10). When God saith what he willet, that he will do, shall we contradict him to his face and say he cannot. When he says his council shall stand, shall we say it shall not? This language becomes the sons of Belial, not the expectants of glory.

Object. 7. Page 22. ‘This doctrine is full of blasphemy.’ I could wish to have room to turn the chase upon you; but I am not now on the offensive, neither shall I charge you (as you have cautioned on this head) with blaspheming, merely because you mention the pretended blasphemy of others. No, because I believe you spoke as you thought, and did not think as you ought; therefore, I pray the Lord forgive you.

You say election ‘represents Christ a deceiving unsincere hypocrite, because he invites sinners to him (Matt. 11:28). Wept over Jerusalem, and said, I would ... and ye would not; called those whom he knew would not come, those who were not [p. 35] able, whom he could make able, and will not.’ Your opinion must be that he did not know who were able to come to him, who not. That he could not make them able, though his power was present, that the success of the whole depended on the will of man. A strange ignorant weak creature Christ must be in your account! No wonder, if Universalists are Arians. A powerful being the will of man must be! No wonder if free-willers were vicious; they may be otherwise, when they please. It is strange God did not make that *same will* more like a creature, when he had it in *embryo*. Well, you’ll say, this must be true, or Christ insincere. Sir, neither of them is true. Christ ‘knew what was in man’.³⁶ He knew who were able to come, who not; that ‘none was able to come, except the Father did draw him’.³⁷ He was able to draw whom he pleased, and still a sincere God and man. You say ‘it cannot be denied he everywhere speaks as if he were willing, that all should be saved’ and therefore called. Soon denied, and as soon proved. He called not the righteous, but sinners; not the whole, but the sick; not the easy, but the weary; and by consequence a small number. Accordingly, in your first text, he invites ‘the weary and heavy laden’.³⁸ Weariness supposes conviction; conviction, grace; grace, eternal respect. Therefore Christ says, ‘All that the Father hath given me shall come unto me’;³⁹ ‘my sheep hear my voice’.⁴⁰ Christ calls them, and pray where is the insincerity? And can you deny the Lord to have the like meaning [p. 36] in his other gracious invitations, excepting where he speaks of inflicting, or not inflicting temporal judgments, as in your other text. And as to it, you’ll remember that as the Lord sent Jonah (a prophet) to Nineveh (a heathen city), to call them to an external humiliation, otherwise they should be overthrown; and on humbling themselves, are spared. So prophets are sent to Jerusalem, to call

³⁶John 2:25.

³⁷John 6:44.

³⁸Matt. 11:28.

³⁹John 6:37.

⁴⁰John 10:27.

them to the like repentance, under the like threatening. Christ, in the quality of a prophet, comes to them last; they are disobedient, therefore [he] tells them the city shall be overthrown; 'their houses left desolate'.⁴¹ But these external calls, and these external judgments, have no connection with the eternal salvation or damnation of Nineveh or Jerusalem.

You may possibly object here: *first*, Christ's insincerity in calling even the elect to life, knowing they would not answer till quickened by his power; and *secondly*, in weeping over Jerusalem, which himself had doomed to destruction. You'll observe that Christ is considered in three capacities: 1) of an absolute God, and as such whatever his soul desireth, even that he doth; 2) of mediator, God-man, as such whatsoever he willeth, the Father heareth, and giveth always; 3) of an absolute or real man, and as such he is touched with the feeling of our infirmities, sin excepted. He may pray and wish in behalf of his brethren, and even in his own behalf, as in the garden; and yet say, not my will, but thine be done. He may call and invite, and [p. 37] leave the success to God. He may as a preacher, cry out with a loud voice to a dead Lazarus, 'Come forth'; though as God he knows it is his omnipotence must give the hearing ear. He may preach like Ezekiel, over a valley of dry bones; though as God he knows it is his Spirit must give them life. He may wish and weep, and pray over Jerusalem with the bowels of a man, a countryman, a friend; and as God determine its overthrow, as you know he did many hundred years before. And if his inviting, calling, praying, wishing, be a mocking of his creatures (as you say), it is a mocking must hold, while the world stands. 'For it pleaseth God by the foolishness of preaching, to save' his people.⁴² Therefore it is a matter of moon-shine, whether it pleases you or not. But if you have any notion at all of your own sincerity, as a preacher, a countryman, a friend, you may entertain the like notion of Christ's sincerity, in the like capacity with you; with this difference only, he was not subject to error in judgment, and therefore not to sin. But you are to both, if I mistake not. From the whole, election secures the justice, mercy, truth, etc., of Father, Son and Spirit.

To gain the affections, as well as inform the judgments of your hearers and readers, concerning the blasphemies contained in election, you entertain them with a long rhetorical flourish. Pity so much ingenious language should carry nothing in it. The whole of it is this, that upon the supposition of election, and that Satan knows who the elected are, who not, he is a [p. 38] fool to tempt the one or the other. For in the one case, his labour is vain; and in the other, superfluous. I have already made it apparent that Satan has as much room to act the fool on your decree of foreknowledge, as on that of absolute election; and till you make the difference appear, I beg leave to say you have widely mistaken Satan's case in respect to both. He is just as much in the dark as to the persons of the elected, and non-elected, as you are, and therefore tempts all in the general. And though he should know one to be a child of God today, what know we but he may be of your opinion, to think he may be his own tomorrow, and say to God, as in the case of Job, 'Stretch now forth thy hand upon him, he shall curse thee to thy face.'⁴³ Though you and he may be mistaken. Yea, if God should point out to him the elected by name, would this abate his rage? No. He would act the same malicious though foolish part he did to Christ, who he knew was not only elected, but was *the Lord his God*. he would create them as much uneasiness as lay in his power. On the other hand, he is equally ignorant of the non-elected. For ought he knows, those over whom he triumphs today, may be tomorrow in Christ's arms. So that this pathetic scene of yours is entirely lost upon a false supposition. A supposition of Satan's omniscience to raze down election. But unless you had made him omnipotent too, *the election shall obtain it*. However, you venture to fix your foot, and [p. 39] join issue with every asserter of it. Every asserter! Too many for one man, unless he had been a Saul, to kill his ten thousands; for, *Ne Hercules quidem contra duos*,⁴⁴ and much less *all*. I am glad

⁴¹Matt. 23:38 and parallels.

⁴²1 Cor. 1:21.

⁴³Job 1:11.

⁴⁴'Not even Hercules could contend against two at once.'

you did not add the mathematical *Q. E. D.*⁴⁵

Source: published letter; [Anonymous,] *Free Grace Indeed! A Letter to the Reverend Mr. John Wesley, relating to his Sermon against Absolute Election, published under the title of 'Free Grace'* (London: H. Kent, 1740).

⁴⁵Abbreviation for '*quod erat demonstrandum*'; meaning, 'which is what had to be proven'.

From Samuel Hage¹

London
May 6, 1740

Reverend and Dear Brother,

Grace, mercy, and peace be with you, from God the Father and our Lord Jesus Christ, according to my desire. Being persuaded you will not reckon it troublesome, I make bold to write to you of the state of my heart—I hope in simplicity and truth. Indeed I need not say much of myself, but refer you to the seventh chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, there is my state described. For I know that the law is spiritual, but I am carnal, sold under sin. Yet I delight in the law of God after the inner man. Therefore I must cry out with the apostle, ‘O wretched man that I am’.² Yet I can with some confidence say that our Lord Jesus Christ will speedily deliver me from the body of this death. For I know it is by his free grace I am what I am, and that I have nothing to boast save in my infirmities. But shall I deny that Jesus hath done anything for my soul, and say that he hath not given me to taste of his love, though in a small degree? No, I will, through his grace, declare how gracious he hath been unto me in giving me to see my lost estate, and the necessity of a full assurance of his Spirit bearing witness with my spirit that I am a child of God. For I know he is faithful who hath promised and will carry on that work which he hath begun, until he hath finished that faith which he is author of. Therefore, since he hath given me a sight of himself, though at a distance, and a full sense of my own vileness, and saith to believe that he will never leave me nor forsake me, I cannot but declare it in the face of the pain. For I believe I should as much grieve the Holy Spirit to say our loving Saviour hath done nothing for my soul as to say I had acquired this of myself (which, God forbid). Therefore, seeing he hath made me acquainted with his voice by calling me in some measure out of the darkness into his marvellous light, I doubt not (though I am at present bound as was Lazarus when he came out of the grave) he will say, by and by, as he did to him, to ‘loose him and let him go’.³ And though he hath not opened my eyes quite yet, as I see men as trees walking, I doubt not but he will anoint them again and then I shall see clearly. Sometimes I am dead, and could then think it my duty to be still and wait quietly for the salvation of the Lord.

I would indeed write much more, but I have somewhat else to say in respect of that stillness which is crept in amongst us, which I am grieved to have occasion to mention. But first I will recount to you my brother Cooper’s⁴ opinion and mine of the stillness which God requires, which is that we should wait upon God in all his ordinances—not laying any stress upon them; not thinking that our prayers are God; not thinking that bread and wine are God; not thinking that the preacher, or the sermon, or reading the Scripture are God; but thinking God hath commanded and man ought to obey. In all these duties I think, through the assistance of God, to exercise myself both day and night—and in, not for these duties nor by these, expect to find God. Indeed many there are amongst us who would dissuade us from them, saying we cannot work until we have life. In that I agree with them. But I cannot agree with them that I cannot use the means of grace as means without trusting in them. Indeed, through the assistance of God, I will prefer Jordan, they may choose Abana and Pharpar.⁵ Yet I hope our loving Saviour will turn their

¹Samuel Hage may be a brother or other relation to John Hague, one of JW’s faithful male band leaders in London; cf. John’s letter to JW, Feb. 2, 1747.

²Rom. 7:24.

³John 11:44.

⁴Thomas Cooper (b. 1710) had been part of the Fetter Lane society, then joined the Wesley brothers at the Foundery, where he appears as a married man in the Foundery Band lists (1742–46) through July 1744. At that point he rejected the Wesley brothers (see CW, MS Journal, Jan. 27, 1745); and by 1755 was confined to a mental asylum; see CW to Sarah (Gwynne) Wesley, Sept. 22, 1755.

⁵Cf. 2 Kings 5:12.

hearts, and give us hearts to pray for them.

The day after you left us our dear brother [John] Simpson came to brother Cooper and told him he was deluded, that he knew not the Scriptures, neither the power of God. Brother Cooper found that he did not speak as the oracles of God, because he then found the power of God present with him, enabling him to withstand his words. In their discourse they brought in your name, and your dear brother [CW]. Simpson replied you was a crafty deluder of the people. O may our loving Lord lay none of these things to his charge! Amen. On Sunday brother Cooper and I spent some time together in prayer for him, and we believe it would be acceptable in the sight of God if you would write to your brother and advise with the brethren at Bristol to set apart a day of praying and fasting on this occasion. O my dear brother, you know a house divided against itself cannot stand. It may be our faithful high priest may stand between the dead and the living, and the plague may be stayed. Amen. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all. Amen.

From your unworthy brother,

Sam. Hage

Salute all the brethren. My love be with you all, especially brothers [Edward] Nowers, [John] Purdy, and [John] Deschamps. Brothers Cooper, [Shepherd] Wolfe, and [Joseph] Hodges salute you.

P. S. O dear sir, send me an answer; and if in anything I have erred, not knowing the Scriptures, neither the power of God, let me stand reprov'd, for my heart is above all things deceitful and desperately wicked. Pray for us that our weak faith fail not. Brother [Joseph] Hodges begs you would call upon his brother, who is now under great conviction and would gladly see you, if it be at any time convenient for you. The directions are as follows: Jonathan Hodges at Trem[a]haid in Welsh Newton parish, near Monmouth; or on his father's [farm], Jonathan Hodges Senior at Lydbrook near Ross[-on-Wye], Herefordshire. Please to direct of me at Mr. Claphams, in Pear Street close Market.

Address: 'To / the Revd. Mr. Jno Wesley / at Mrs Grevills in / Bristol'.

Postmark: '6/MA'.

Endorsement: by JW, 'b[rother] Hage, May 5, 1740 / a[nswere]d in C[harles]'s, 12';⁶ and 'Ask bro.

[John] Shaw, Where is Betty Fish? At whose house? How to direct to her? Ask bro. [Shepherd] Wolf how bro. Shaw is? how far altered?'

Source: holograph; MARC, MA 1977/503, Box 4, file 13.

⁶This letter of May 12, 1740 to CW does not survive.

From 'Christianus'¹

[London?]
[May 8, 1740²]

[p. 3]

My Dear Brother Wesley,³

I am persuaded it is the will of God that your sermon against predestination should be answered.⁴ He, as it were, compels me to do this, and I trust and am persuaded will assist me in it—that the faith of his elect should not stand in the wisdom of men but in the power of God.

You say in your preface, 'Nothing but the strongest conviction, not only that what is there advanced is the truth, as it is in Jesus,⁵ could have induced me to have printed'⁶ Take notice that that conviction only is the strongest, and to be regarded, which is wrought by the Holy Ghost. So that if what you have advanced is not the 'truth as it is in Jesus', then you must be mistaken in the conviction, and something else must have induced you to publish that sermon, which the Spirit and Word of God hath testified and declared to be as far from the truth as darkness from light. What this inducement is, I must tell you in love, and take heed how you doubt this love. But stay, methinks I find you taking heed. Whence comes it that you are ready to receive the caution? Not from yourself, I hope. Nor from any *ingenuous compliance* of your own, as some have termed it, but it is from the grace of God. It is a wise and good principle that consents to that which is good; and I hope you'll still own that man has not any thing wise or good in himself since his fall, but just the contrary. If you say God has given you this principle, and therefore [p. 4] you consent to receive the caution, you say true. But I must caution you again. Take heed how you say God hath given all men (in the strictest sense) this principle, for if all men have it, and it comes from God, it must act in all men, because there can come nothing from God but must bring life, and light, and love along with it. If therefore you receive the caution, remember from what principle you receive it, and who maketh thee to differ. You'll then find it impossible to thank God that you are not as other men are, because you'll see the best Christian as foolish in himself as the greatest reprobate. You'll then find the reason of your receiving life is not from any wisdom or ingenuity in yourself whereby you 'suffered Christ to make you alive', but from the riches of God's grace, 'wherein he hath abounded toward you in all wisdom and prudence'.⁷ In short, when you are fully convinced of sin by the Holy Ghost, then, and not till then, you'll find that your faith does not stand in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God. But to return, if the absolute determination of God is the only cause, and can alone secure the event of our salvation; if predestination to life is the eternal purpose of God; then that which induced you to oppose it must be ascribed to a mistaken zeal and fondness for your own opinion, and other natural causes, which are all centred in that stubborn will you and I brought into the world with us, and I trust God will subdue in due season. For I am confident he that has begun that great and glorious work of conversion in you, will finish it, because God is faithful, by whom you were called unto the fellowship of his Son.

¹Comments toward the end of the letter make clear that 'Christianus' is closely related to the early revival in London, where fractures are now emerging between the Calvinist, Moravian, and Wesleyan strands.

²The date of publication as advertised in the *London Evening Post* (May 8–10, 1740), p. 3.

³'Christianus' consistently spells the last name 'Westly'.

⁴Sermon 110, *Free Grace* (*Works*, 3:544–61), which JW published in Bristol in May 1739.

⁵Cf. Eph. 4:21.

⁶See *Works*, 3:544.

⁷Eph. 1:8.

There have been more disputes and contentions concerning predestination than any other doctrine besides; and yet no doctrine appears in a clearer [p. 5] light to those who have learnt it from the Spirit of God. Whence came these contentions then? Not from the doctrine, which is as true as the light of God that brings it; but, as the wise man says, 'By pride comes contention',⁸ and 'the beginning of it is as when one letteth out water'.⁹ Therefore my dear brother, look to the deceitfulness of your heart. I love the Lord and you, and therefore must tell you that you have both justified the wicked and condemned the just, and this is an abomination to the Lord. 'Woe to him that striveth with his Maker.'¹⁰ 'Woe to him that calleth evil good, and good evil; that putteth darkness for light, and light for darkness.'¹¹ Don't say I pass sentence before the trial. It is not I. All things are present with God, and he hath judged you. But your condemnation is mentioned now. As the truth shall appear by degrees, so may the dread of your dessert increase. And I pray God deliver you from it, by that effectual grace which in his infinite wisdom he is pleased to give to one and not to another, and yet without respect of persons.

I do not know that I could have chose a text more proper to predestination than that which you have taken to oppose—viz., 'He that spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all, how shall he not freely give us all things?'¹² How exceedingly must one of us be mistaken? You infer from the text, taking 'all' in the strictest sense, that Christ was delivered up for every particular person in the world, and seem to prove it from other scriptures. You have proved it from the wisdom of men as well as it can be done. But this proof is not sufficient to salvation; for I know (blessed be God for giving me this knowledge) that 'the wisdom of this world is foolishness with God'.¹³ Now let us examine the matter, and may Almighty God, the fountain of wisdom, send down the [p. 6] bright rays of his penetrating light into our souls that we may see the very truth as it is in Jesus, and that only for the same Jesus Christ's sake. Amen.

Now, in the first place, it will be necessary to observe that St. Paul was just before speaking of the saints (v. 27): 'And he that searcheth the heart, knoweth what is the mind of the Spirit, because he maketh intercession for the *saints*, according to the will of God'; and 'we know that all things work together for good to them that love God';¹⁴ which a reprobate cannot do. For whosoever hath truly loved God one moment, is a happy soul, his gracious God hath loved him from, and will love him to all eternity. He is found to be one of *them* 'who are' *the called* 'according to his purpose', which cannot be frustrated, and the apostle gives you the reason for it, v. 29: 'For whom he did foreknow he also did predestinate' *them saints*; and only *them* whom Christ maketh intercession for, *them* to whom all things work together for good, *them* whom he calls effectually, or according to his purpose, which was, is, and ever will be effectual. *Them* happy souls did he foreknow by their names and persons, as he did Moses and Jeremiah (Exod. 33:12; Jer. 1:5). 'And them did he predestinate, or determined before-hand, to be conformed to the image of his Son, that he might be the first-born among many brethren'; many positively, but few comparatively (v. 30). Moreover, 'whom he did predestinate he also called ...' as if he should say, this is not all; for *whom* he hath thus absolutely determined to be holy, *they* must be holy, *they* shall be holy. *Them* therefore he hath called to be holy, called *them* so that *they* shall not refuse, nay *they* cannot refuse, because the Almighty hath already determined it. *Them* therefore whom his [p. 7] infinite wisdom hath before determined, and afterwards effectually called to be holy, *them* hath his infinite justice, power, and mercy justified and made holy. Justification must be used here in the fullest sense of the word, and also

⁸Prov. 13:10.

⁹Prov. 17:14.

¹⁰Isa. 45:9.

¹¹Isa. 5:20.

¹²Rom. 8:32.

¹³1 Cor. 3:19.

¹⁴Rom. 8:28.

includes sanctification. *Them* therefore whom God hath according to his purpose effectually called to be holy, he hath also made, accounted, maintained, pronounced, and used as holy. And shall the Lord go thus far and no farther? O far be it from his elect to think so. Let us hear what the apostle saith; '*Whom* he justified, *them* he also glorified.' Thrice happy souls! They have still more meat to eat, which Belial and all his children know nothing of. Their triumph begins here in time, and their God of love will increase it in eternity. [Rom. 8] v. 31, 'What shall *we* say to these things?' Shall *we* from henceforth live in a servile fear of any thing past, present, or to come? God forbid. Let *us* rather with joyful thankfulness make the inference with the apostle, 'If God be for *us*, who can be against *us*.' But what *us* (*we* must keep close to the point) *us saints*, whom he hath been speaking of all along, as hath been plainly shown. And then, as an effectual means to excite *them* to a lively hope for all other things which *they* should need, and which were given to the departed saints before *them*, he immediately adds (v. 32): 'He that spared not his own Son but delivered him up for *us* all' (all *us* elected saints that are present, with *them* that are gone to take possession, and without any condition, but what he drew and enabled *them* to perform, according to his pre-determination and promise), 'how shall he not with him freely give *us* all things.' And lest you should think I have strained the point, observe very diligently the next verse. 'Who shall lay anything to the charge of God's *elect*?' From whence [p. 8] it appears as plain to me as that I have a pen in my hand, that St. Paul used 'all' in your text, not in the strictest sense, but only applicable to the *saints*, or God's *elect*, whom Christ maketh intercession for; which you may see still clearer by comparing the 27th verse with the 34th, 'who also maketh intercession for us'.

And it is strange how you can think that Christ died for anyone that he does not intercede for. 'I pray not for the world, but for them which thou hast given me' (John 27:9). And you may see he did not pray for the apostles only, by the 20th and 21st verses, 'Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also which shall believe on me through their word; that *they* all may be one, as thou Father art in me, and I in thee; that they also may be one in *us*, that the world may believe that thou hast sent me.' Now if you take the 'world' here in the strictest sense, you not only represent Christ contradicting himself in the 9th verse, but make both his death and intercession vain. For there was many then, and there are many now, that do not believe the Father hath sent him. From these, and many other texts of Scripture, it appears as clear as the sun at noon-day, that God delivered up his Son, not for every particular person in the world, but only for his elect. This is the true doctrine of Jesus Christ, wherein you have publicly declared that there is blasphemy clearly contained. And there you say you have fixed your foot. May the Lord remove it, if the counsel of his will hath determined it (I trust it hath), otherwise it will never be done; and here he hath in his rich love fixed my foot, which I am sure neither the devil, the world, nor myself can ever remove. Nay, the Lord himself cannot remove it. And why? Because he hath declared (Isa. 1:24) 'As he hath purposed so shall it stand.' And St. Paul tells me (Heb. 6:18), 'It is impossible for God to lie.' What stronger [p. 9] evidence of predestination, and perseverance, can be then required? Or rather, what stronger evidence can the Father give than the omnipotent testimony of his *own Word and Spirit*, which, together with him, *agree in one*.

I never meddle with reprobation but when I am obliged to it, always fearing lest I should speak too much of it. But now the cause of Jehovah is to be maintained, and he will maintain it himself, though by a worm as an instrument. You would seem to prove that God's decreeing not to save the reprobates is the same with decreeing to damn them. And you give this reason for it. 'For', say you, 'if you are dead, and altogether unable to make yourself alive, then if God has absolutely decreed he will make others only alive, and not you, he hath absolutely decreed your everlasting death.'¹⁵ Who would have thought our dear brother Wesley would have reasoned thus? Indeed to me, and to all that have been convinced or reprov'd of sin by the Holy Ghost, it is no great surprise, for we know the effects of carnal reason. We, through grace, can lay our hands on our own breasts, and say, 'God be merciful unto us for that which we see in another'; but if the Lord pleases to give you grace to look at yourself, now with me, in the loins of our father Adam, you'll then find how much you have been mistaken.

¹⁵*Free Grace*, §8, *Works*, 3:547.

God made Adam (and us in him) in his own image, after his own likeness, which certainly implied a will to choose, and a power to obey that command which he should lay upon him (and us in him) otherwise there could be no crime in their disobedience. Therefore Adam, and you and I, and all that were in his loins, of our own free and voluntary will became disobedient. Indeed Satan did tempt us, and though God permitted him so to do, he gave him no commission for doing it, and [p. 10] therefore cursed him for ever; which plainly shows that God had no hand in our fall. Now every wise and good man will own that this independent being was not bound to give an account of his own conduct, and therefore not bound, even in mercy, to redeem Adam or one of his posterity. Nevertheless he knew we should fall, and though he was not the author of it, nor bound to hinder us, yet, to communicate his mercy, he absolutely determined before-hand to deliver a certain number of them—even at the expense of leaving his own glory, in the second Person, for a time, that his offended justice might be fully satisfied for that number which in Scripture sometimes are called ‘his elect’, ‘his church’, ‘his sons’, ‘his brethren’; and our Saviour himself called them ‘his sheep’, and limited the end of his death to them (John 10:5): ‘I lay down my life for the sheep.’ I suppose you’ll own that if God had not condescended to this incomprehensible mercy of determining absolutely to save a few, even those few that believe in him, though he had decreed to leave us all in damnation, he could not have been said to have been the *cause* of our damnation; but on the contrary, that we damned ourselves, by eating the forbidden fruit of our own free and voluntary will. Now, how God’s predetermination to deliver one part will excuse the other part from being the cause of their *own* damnation is a question not to be answered. For if God make you first alive, and you kill yourself, and are now unable to make yourself alive, though God has absolutely decreed he will make *others only* alive and not you, it does not therefore follow that your death is to be charged on God; for you still killed yourself, and his decree has nothing to do with it. From whence it appears, that though God is the eternal cause of the elect’s salvation, he is not the eternal [p. 11] cause of the reprobate’s damnation; and consequently, decreeing not to save, and decreeing to damn, is not the same thing. If I could have expressed myself clear I would. But it is God alone that can fully explain this mystery to your soul. Indeed a wicked and presumptuous inference may be drawn from hence—viz., ‘Why does he yet find fault’,¹⁶ when he might have determined, instead of a few, to have redeemed all? ‘For who hath resisted his will?’¹⁷ This is that secret counsel of God which I dare not look into. It is my duty and privilege to acquiesce and rejoice in that which is revealed. And as I am content to be no wiser than St. Paul in this secret matter, I must borrow an answer from him, ‘Nay, but oh man, who art thou that repliest against God?’¹⁸ This mistake being shown, all your objections may be easily brought to the ground. Indeed as soon as I read them, like as the smoke vanisheth away, and like as wax melteth by the fire, so did they perish by the power of God’s grace. However, Bishop Beveridge, that man of God, has so fully answered them in a sermon which I have hereunto annexed,¹⁹ that it would have been needless to have said any more.

But I beg leave to observe to you some of the consequences of your sermon. In the first place, there is a general complaint of many weak brethren who have been greatly offended by it; and you know the caution our blessed Saviour gave to take heed how we offend one of his little ones. Secondly, there are a great many who are just awakened, and what little faith they have is, as it were, pinned to your sleeve. And though they understood not the doctrine aright before, yet they were not averse to it; whereas now they are so terrified with the blasphemies you say there is contained in it, that they will not hear one word concerning it. Nay, some of our brethren, who [p. 12] imagined themselves none of the weakest, have plainly discovered their weakness, by despising those that were not of their mistaken opinion. Surely

¹⁶Rom. 9:19.

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸Rom. 9:20.

¹⁹William Beveridge’s sermon on John 3:16, titled ‘The Love of God in Man’s Salvation’ (Beveridge, *Works* [1720], 1:118–25) comprises pp. 14–40 of the pamphlet.

such a behaviour is contrary to the true spirit of a Christian, and that expression of St. Paul's, which the Holy Ghost powerfully impresseth on every soul that he reproveth of sin, 'Who maketh thee to differ?'²⁰ Another consequence is, all who hold the doctrine are denied an admittance among the bands. And, I am told, there was one or two expelled on that account. Glory be to God, their salvation did not lie in their bands. Nevertheless, they might have received some benefits by them, which they were deprived of because they would not deny the doctrine which God had taught them. The next consequence may be to come, and that is the advantages our enemies will have over us, by our dissenting from the Church. That is what they have all along aimed at; and while our brother [George] Whitefield²¹ was here we kept our ground. But now the most of our brethren make nothing of speaking against the 17th Article of the Church of England publicly.²² I have heard some, who profess to have the Spirit of Christ, pray against it. Let me therefore say something to you in behalf of our absent brother Whitefield, who surely has the Spirit of Christ (and holds predestination). And what I shall say, I trust I shall speak in the same Spirit (that is), 'according to the grace of God which is given unto him. As a wise master-builder, he has laid the foundation and another buildeth thereon. But let every man take heed how he buildeth thereupon, for other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ.'²³ If the Lord shall convince you of your error, as I trust he will, I am persuaded he has given you so much grace already that you'll be as diligent to declare it to the world as you have [p. 13] been to oppose that doctrine whereon all other truths depend—viz., *original sin, justification by faith alone*, etc. As for my part, I am constrained to publish this, together with the bishop's sermon, because I am persuaded it is my Master's will, for the good of his elect. And I once more assure you, my dear brother, that what I have wrote I have wrote in love and sincere affection; and therefore, without making any apologies, I heartily pray that the Lord may give you the Spirit of truth, that you may be thereby guided into all truth. And I conclude,

Your ever affectionate, though unworthy brother,

Christianus

Source: published letter; A Letter to the Reverend Mr. John Westly: occasioned by his Sermon against Predestination. To which is added, A Sermon of the late Bishop Beveridge's upon the same Subject (London, for Midwinter, Ward, and Roberts, 1740), 1–13.

²⁰1 Cor. 4:7.

²¹'Christianus' consistently spells 'Whitfield'.

²²The Article 'Of Predestination', which affirms predestination to life.

²³1 Cor. 3:10–11.

From the Rev. Charles Wesley

The Foundery [London]
Ascension Day, Thursday, May 15 [1740]

Stood godfather with Howell Harris to my brother Hall's child,¹ and passed an hour or two at the Christian christening.

Brethren pray for your poor weak brother.²

C. W.

Source: holograph; MARC, MA 1977/503, Box 5, file 10.

¹According to the parish records of St. George's in Bloomsbury, Samuel Westley Hall, the son of Westley and Martha (Wesley) Hall, was baptized on May 2, 1740. It is unclear whether the date was recorded incorrectly there, or if this is a second christening service for their Methodist family. In either case, the child died soon after.

²These personal notes come at the end of a journal letter, and only the last sentence and initials are in CW's hand.

From John West¹

[London]
May 17, 1740

My Dear Brother,

The copy I intended for you not being very plain, I have got this wrote, which I cannot much commend; but if you cannot read this, if you will be so kind as to write me word, and I can write you one myself, which may be more intelligible. May all disputes and divisions cease among us. The former of which seldom reaches further than the head, if the person who begins it attains his end in convincing the other. It must be the Lord who must reach the heart. Oh may he look with mercy on us poor creatures, and lead us into all truth! My mother and aunt give their duty to you. Accept it also from

Your poor brother,

John West

Mr. Campbell desired his duty to you.

[West then encloses the following, written in a much neater hand]

**A Letter from a Member of the Moravian Church to a Friend of his
concerning Christian Education of Children²**

That a soldier of Jesus Christ ought not to trifle with children, or have an apish love for them, or cleave to them in a natural love by which the children are spoiled, that we take for granted. Neither ought their conversation with children to be childish or foolish, though hearty and childlike; not fondling, though loving and kind; not distracted, but a serene mind; not light or volatile, yet amiable and good humoured; and altogether proceeding from a heart that burneth with the love of Jesus.

To make a child fly out in a light manner of laughing or other extravagances is a grievous sin, by which the respect is laid aside which they ought to have for children upon the account of the words of Christ (Matt.).

All behaviour towards them ought to be such that one must be able to give a reason why the things were to be done so and not otherwise.

Therefore it is of the utmost necessity to go into the school of our Saviour to learn to understand this matter.

For as one must be careful to prevent levity in them, so one must take the same care to prevent self-will. Let them have their victuals, go to bed, etc., in the right time. Let them never be used necessarily to get the things they see and will have. Even for the first self-will they ought to be punished in such a manner as may be, but the correction itself must be done by us with a mind serene, and settled, and rightly disposed by prayer.

Our love or hatred for children must spring from this principle—viz., with Jesus we love what he loveth; with Jesus we hate what he hateth.

In that disposition children are to be received when they come into this world. Yea even before they are born they are to be consecrated and sanctified unto the Lord. Those that do it, they only must keep themselves in that frame of mind. And carnal attachment and natural love must in all things give way to the love of Christ, for whose sake they are loved. Out of a principle of real love they are corrected all together unto the Lord and nothing unto ourselves. The whole behaviour towards them ought to be the

¹John West (1717–98), a black silk-dyer in London, was active in the Fetter Lane society from its beginnings and remained an active Moravian until his death; cf. Benham, *Hutton*, 33, 91.

²JW likely sought this letter as one source of guidance for his current efforts in setting up a school for the collier's children in Kingswood.

same as towards brethren and sisters. One must be very careful not only to cross every self-will in his child, but also to watch lest it may be punished for nothing. However, there is less harm in it if it be not done in a hurry or precipitation but in the Lord. Then, if they are convinced at the correction, must not be frequent (especially if the child is once brought into an order) but such as may be felt, which the wisdom of parents must make proportional to their age. As soon as they come to a certain measure of understanding, their transgressions must be represented to them in an orderly and settled manner. One must solidly convince them of the cause of their being corrected or punished. But they never must be told our Saviour will have it so, etc., lest they get a base notion or aversion for him. But rather they are to be told they are corrected to the end their guilt may be taken away, and thus they may get the mastery over their self-will another time. The greatest caution must be taken to give them no occasion to think that they have been beaten in a fret or passion. In every thing one must appear grave, exact, and punctual, that they may never see in us any light or offensive motion or action, which might put them upon thinking 'My father and mother do such and such a thing themselves', which might cause the parents to be ashamed before their children and accuse themselves before the Lord.

Neither ought they to be told any untruth or falsehood—viz., 'This thing biteth', etc., when it is not true; or 'If you do this I promise to beat you' and yet they do not. They ought to be used to hear nothing else from their parents but truths; never any jesting or railing. Parents must likewise carefully avoid promising their children anything for doing this or that good action. But they must learn to do all things out of obedience and whatsoever is given them they must look upon as an undeserved kindness, lest they become greedy of reward. All their actions either must be done or let alone for the sake of Christ and their parents. To give them the least praise is against all wisdom. They ought never to be punished for outward damages they may occasion, though it be never so considerable, if it come from a want of understanding or reflection and be not against the express forbidding of their parents. No alteration of their countenance proceeding either from a lightness of mind or resentment is to be held guiltless. If they be spoken to, it must not be done with a noise or rashness, with a surly or angry countenance. Neither must anybody in their presence undertake their defence or give them praise.

They must not be forced, but persuaded with love, to the true Christianity. The true means to provoke their emulation are our holy and blameless conversation, our love for our Saviour, our faithfulness in great and small things, [and] a sweet description of our Saviour—how tender hearted he is towards us, what he hath done for us, and what he is ready and willing to bestow upon us. They never ought to hear of any other beauty, riches, honour, and rest than that which is in and with our Saviour. It also hath its blessing if they be frequently asked about their inward state, and their mind excited and laid hold on with some verses of hymns sung with them in an intimate, settled, awful, and grateful frame of mind in the presence of the Lord. In commending to them cleanliness in all things, we ought not to forget impressing upon their hearts the love for lowliness and the nothingness and perishableness of all pomp, magnificence, and pride. They must be kept from profusion and laziness, diligently employed in business, but liberality and officiousness faithfully commended unto them. The importance of following after Jesus, the beauty of his reproach, his humility, his lowliness and poverty, the easiness of his cross (yet it is very carefully to be observed that children by no means under the name of 'cross' may understand bodily sickness or such accidents which usually happen with all men) ought to be inculcated to them in the most expressive, lovely, sweet, and tender way, in words and actions. The conversation with natural worldly people and their children, they absolutely must be kept and restrained from; their conversation of both sex[es] likewise. And though there is no mystery or shame to be made of a great many things which they, according to the intention of Satan and his instruments, could in a perverse manner experience, something ought to be spoken of to them as opportunity requireth—holily, awfully, and in the innocent way of the Scriptures. Yet one must endeavour to cut off all occasions of curiosity, and of all knowledge not proper for their present state, and mention nothing else but is suitable to the purpose as every age and their calling requireth.

The respect for everyone, more especially for parents, always is to be maintained in them. Their exercise must be innocent and proportionable to their age and strength. Neither ought one to be scrupulous in bidding them jump about, if they cannot have in any other manner the motion of the body

so necessary for them. But they must do it without distraction or lightness of mind. Perhaps they would do it without being bidden. Therefore it is good to bid them so to do, lest they do it secretly by the deceitfulness of sin against the express forbidding of their parents. Jumping in itself is not sinful. They never ought to be left by themselves. One may often tell them something good and useful, and carry them as out of a particular favour (for as such they must learn to look upon it) to opportunities of hearing something good. Though one may endeavour to impress upon their minds a grounded notion of the pure and true doctrine of justification and holiness in an apostolical sense—viz., how we are to be saved as accursed sinners, without our merits, by mere and free grace; how our piety and much less the self-made virtues cannot contribute the least to it; but our zeal in holiness is as faithfully to be observed and put into practice as if we could thereby deserve our salvation, because he hath loved us first. Yet they must be kept with all possible circumspection for talking and gabbing about spiritual things from words without power, from knowledge without substance. The prayers to the Lord concerning their state in the same manner as a friend speaketh to another are always to be continued. ...³

Address: 'To / The Revd. Mr John Wesley / at Mrs. Grevill's Grocer / in Wine Street / Bristol'.

Postmark: '17/MA'.

Endorsement: by JW, 'J West, Ma 17. 1740 / on education / a[nswere]d in C's, May 20 / M and Mrs ltr'.

Source: holograph; MARC, MA 1977/610/136.

³This line is at the very bottom of the page and the last three words likely are not the end of the sentence, but an indication of more to follow (which does not survive).

From the Rev. George Whitefield

Cape Lopen¹
May 24, 1740

Honoured Sir,

I cannot entertain prejudices against your conduct and principles any longer without informing you. The more I examine the writings of the most experienced men, and the experiences of the most established Christians, the more I differ from your notion about not committing sin, and your denying the doctrines of election and final perseverance of the saints. I dread coming to England unless you are resolved to oppose these truths with less warmth than when I was there last. I dread your coming over to America, because the work of God is carried on here (and that in a most glorious manner) by doctrines quite opposite to those you hold. Here are thousands of God's children who will not be persuaded out of the privileges purchased for them by the blood of Jesus. Here are many worthy experienced ministers, who would oppose your principles to the utmost. God direct me what to do! Sometimes I think it best to stay here, where we all think and speak the same thing. The work goes on without divisions, and with more success, because all employed in it are of one mind. I write not this, honoured sir, from heat of spirit, but out of love. At present I think you are entirely inconsistent with yourself, and therefore do not blame me if I do not approve of all that you say. God himself, I find, teaches my friends the doctrine of election. Sister H— hath lately been convinced of it; and, if I mistake not, dear and honoured Mr. W— hereafter will be convinced also.

From my soul I wish you abundant success in the name of the Lord. I long to hear of your being made a spiritual father to thousands. Perhaps I may never see you again, till we meet in judgment. Then, if not before, you will know that sovereign, distinguishing, irresistible grace brought you to heaven. Then will you know that God loved you with an everlasting love, and therefore with loving-kindness did he draw you. Honoured sir, farewell. My prayers constantly attend both you and your labours. I neglect no opportunity of writing. My next journal will acquaint you with new and surprising wonders. The Lord fills me both in body and soul. I am supported under the prospect of present and impending trials with an assurance of God's loving me to the end; yea, even to all eternity.

Ere this reaches you, I suppose you will hear of my intention to marry.² I am quite as free as a child. If it be God's will, I beseech him to prevent it. I would not be hindered in my dear Lord's business for the world. I am now waiting for a fair wind. God bless the orphan house. Do not be angry with, but pray for, honoured sir,

Your unworthy brother and servant in Christ,

G. W.

Source: published transcription; Whitefield, *Letters*, 1:181–82.

¹I.e., Cape Henlopen, near Lewes, Delaware, where Whitefield was on ship preparing to return to Georgia after his spring evangelistic mission focused on Philadelphia and New York.

²Whitefield met Elizabeth Delamotte (1710–80), sister of William and Charles Delamotte, a couple of years earlier and was enamored by her, but torn by fear that marriage might detract from his evangelistic mission. He struggled with this tension during his 1739 voyage back to Georgia, before reaching the resolve to write Elizabeth and her parents on Apr. 4, 1740, proposing marriage (stressing his need for a 'help-meet' to assist with the growing temporal concerns of his ministry; see Whitefield, *Letters*, 1:159–61). At the time of writing this letter to JW, Whitefield had not heard that the Delamottes had shifted in loyalties toward the Moravians and Elizabeth firmly rejected his tepid proposal. She soon married William Holland; while Whitefield married Elizabeth (Burnell) James (1704–68), a widow whom he had known only for a few weeks, on Nov. 11, 1741.

From John Ellison¹

Bristol
June 9, 1740

Honoured Uncle,

My design in writing to you is to describe, if possible, the state I am now in, and to desire your directions. I have been very open to Mr. [Thomas] Richards and Mr. Sayse,² but found no benefit by being so. I am not troubled only with frequent relapses into sin; there is too total apostasy in my soul, and very seldom any returns to God—though always desires, and once a day (towards evening) resolutions, which I would observe punctually if I could. But I have no power to refrain from any sin. I scarce see anything in me but sin and misery. I am ever fearing eternal punishment, being to my certain knowledge in a state of damnation. I would give ever so much could I be now as earnestly seeking as I have been, but then I find I thought myself better and trusted in it, and therefore perhaps this is permitted by the wise counsel of God to happen to me. Everyone else is more faithful than I, no one falls into such gross sins wilfully and so often as I, nor do I believe anyone is so much tempted. You bid me believe. That's what I want to do, but I cannot. I cannot ask it, yet fain would if I could. I am convinced how great a sinner I am, yet cannot throughly and sensibly feel my want of a Saviour. I can find no rest, day nor night. When I am sinning, taking any pleasure, I cannot be easy; neither when I abstain from it. I am weary of waiting, but would wait still. Rather than continue thus eighty years, and be in the dark all the while, uncertain yet saved at last, I should desire to be annihilated. I do not know one temptation which ever I heard of but that I have, and yet continually without any intermission, except sometimes which I have no thoughts at all. O pray for me. You have faith, earnestly beseech Jesus Christ in my behalf that he will have mercy upon me also, the chief of sinners.

Mr. Farley is printing an errata for the *Journals*.³ Would you have one also for the large hymn book?⁴

Pray give my duty to my grandmother⁵, and love to Mr. [Edward] Nowers and [John] Purdy. If you can find opportunity, pray write and direct me.

Don't say, 'You must wait!' I have waited. 'Stand still.' I found no help from that. 'Believe.' I cannot. 'Pray.' I cannot. 'It will shortly be otherwise.' How do I know that? 'The Scripture says so.' What know I of the Scriptures? I did not see the apostles nor Jesus Christ, though I cannot think they are false. Pray excuse my freedom in writing thus, but I could not help writing, neither could I write otherwise.⁶

Your dutiful nephew,

J. E.

¹Susanna (Wesley) Ellison had separated from her abusive husband Richard in 1736 and moved to London, caring for her surviving children with help from her brothers. John Ellison (1720–91), the oldest child, had been supported by Samuel Wesley Jr. at Tiverton for three years, and recently JW had arranged for him to apprentice under Felix Farley in Bristol as a printer.

²Thomas Sayse, a hooper, appears on a 1741 list of the bands in Bristol; cf. *WHS* 19 (1934): 162.

³Felix Farley (1708–53), a printer in Bristol of Quaker ancestry, had been drawn into Methodism in Bristol. He even accompanied CW on some preaching tours; see CW, *MS Journal*, Nov. 18, 1740, and Aug. 24, 1741. Farley was about to release the first installment of JW's published *Journal*.

⁴JW was correcting proofs for *HSP* (1740); which would appear in print on July 14.

⁵Susanna (Annesley) Wesley.

⁶As this paragraph might suggest, John Ellison did not long remain active in the Methodist movement. But he maintained a cordial relationship with his uncle.

Nurse⁷ desires your directions concerning her house, which is in the greatest confusion.

[In an unknown hand at bottom and in left margin]

Dear Brother,

Blessed be the Lord for his great goodness. He is working on some of our little ones⁸ by his Holy Spirit. The last Saturday the Lord was pleased to show us there is some of 'em converted from sin, and two justified. He hath a great work on them, and also a beginning of his work on the girls. He that hath begun a good [work] on us will, we doubt not, carry it on to the perfect day. I am, my dear brother,

Yours in the bowels of Christ,

[Signature indecipherable]

[Another note in the left margin; likely in hand of Thomas Richards]

Pray let me know whether or no you commanded me to teach Rose to write. She says you did, but is very careless about it, and for another reason—viz., L[uc]y S[hu]te.⁹ I desire you would excuse me.

Address: 'For / the Revd. Mr John Wesley / at the Foundry / in Upper-Moor-Fields / London'.

Postmark: obscured. *Charge:* '4'.

Endorsement: by JW, 'J Ellison / June 6, 1740' and 'send Diary, etc'; also 'Lrs of June, July, Aug. Sept. 1740'.

Source: holograph; MARC, DDWF 7/1.¹⁰

⁷Possibly the N. Bath of CW's letter of June 28, 1740.

⁸The colliers' children being taught at the new school house.

⁹See CW's comments of the troubled state of Lucy Shute, in his letter to JW dated Oct. 24, 1740, below.

¹⁰Abridged transcription published in *Works*, 26:14.

From John Cennick

[Kingswood / Bristol]

June 16, 1740

My Dear Brother,

When I was coming from Bitton¹ on Sunday (without any offence of mine), a certain man rode up behind me, and struck me twice with a staff in the face. The last blow came upon my eye. Providence so ordered it that my cheek and my forehead saved my eye from being beat out. I can scarce see to write now, being in so much pain. I was so sick and so violently tortured in the afternoon on Sunday that I could scarce stand when I was expounding. Yet I took courage to say I hoped to be in the Horse-Fair. I rode thither, in the utmost pain and misery. Yet when I had preached some time, I found the pain decrease, and God gave me such strength that near two hours I proclaimed his everlasting gospel. Today I was there again (though I lodged at Kingswood, because we kept our love-feast there). Last night my eye was very painful, but the sympathy of the children of my people, and the tender pity they seemed to show for me by their tears and kind enquiries, was above measure, to make me patient. On Tuesday I was again present at Upton,² when I had such a voice that I was heard beyond all the fearful noise and uproar of the blind servants of Satan. Their master saw it, and set them to change their device. As noise proved useless, then they strove to throw me down, by swaying heavy against those behind me. This would not do; we triumphed. Then they threw dirt till I seemed as if I was standing in the pillory. Before I ceased, I turned to my persecutors and bade them no longer throw dirt when stones were so plenty. I bade them now perform their vow, and blow me up, or kill me by violence. And while I stood to face death in any way, without a spark of fear rising, or trembling, many confessed, 'Surely it is the doctrine of Jesus! See how they all stand without moving, amidst so many revilings.' Several of the heads left off. Some of the souls thus engaged are frightened, and quaking confess, 'I have done very wrong, but will do so no more.' For which cause one is turned out of his work. I asked Mr. Barry after church, in the church yard, whether he would always rail thus against us who were following Jesus in the way (he called) enthusiasm? He turned pale, fell in a rage, called out for a constable or a church-warden like a madman, saying, 'I have no business with you. Along! Along! You have disturbed me in mine office!' I said meekly, 'I do not disturb you, sir, I only ask you to answer me a civil question', and then turned away and left him. A gentleman stood by and asked, 'Sir, who is the man?' He raged because they could not find a constable, and answered, 'It is that rascally dog Cennick! I am glad he has spoke to me, now I will trounce the dog. There, see now, they go away singing!' The gentleman replied, 'They have been with Justice Harris. He told them it was the business of the ecclesiastical court; and were it not (seeing the young man wrongs no one, nor makes any breach of law or gospel), I will have nothing to do with that just man.' If your soul be among lions, then pray for me; for I am set in a den of dragons!

Your's affectionately,

J. Cennick

Source: published transcription; *Collection* (1797): 28–29.

¹Bitton, Gloucestershire; spelled 'Bitten' in orig.

²Upton Cheyney, Gloucestershire.

From Mary Purnell¹

Bristol
June 20, 1740

Reverend Sir,

Having this opportunity I thought it my duty to let you know what a miserable case my unhappy soul is in at this time, worse I think than ever. For I am without God in the world. Sometimes I think I am left to do my own will, for I have a proneness to all manner of evil and a hatred to all that is good. Oft times I am constrained to cry out, 'Was there ever such a damned sinner as I am, and yet out of hell?' For well may I say out of the abundance of my wicked heart my mouth speaketh such trifling words that I am terrified and confused, when I look back and see how idly I have spent that time which my Lord hath given me. But I find I have no power to help myself and can scarcely say from my heart 'Lord save me', for I am so hardened that I cannot grieve though my sins are great. O sir, it was not in the power of man to make me believe I was such a very devil as I find I am. But I can now say I am the chiefest of all sinners this side of hell. For I know if I had my desserts, I should have been in hell long ago. For I believe, did not the Almighty hold me continually, I should commit all manner of sins with greediness. Sometimes all hope of being saved is taken from me. Not that I am too great a sinner for Christ to save, but I cannot believe he will save me, which while I continue in this sin of unbelief, I know I am in state of damnation. If our blessed Lord did not stand in the gap, to turn away his Father's wrathful indignation, where should such a wretch as I be now but with the damned spirits in hell?

Last Monday night I was to hear Mr. [Westley] Hall and I was so bitter against him, without any reason, that I could have torn him to pieces. But when the Lord was pleased to take this from me, which was not long, I then fell to sleep most part of [his] expounding. But surely if there is mercy for all sinners, why should I despair of finding it, for I am the chiefest of all sinners. But dear sir, you that are the lover of [sinners], pray for me that I may not be lost through unbelief. That you may not come out as a swift witness against me in the last day, but that I may be found clothed with the righteousness of Christ and be your crown of rejoicing in that great day. And may you meet all your little flock with joy unspeakable and may you shine as the stars in the firmament for ever and ever. Amen.

And may the Lord now give you a double portion of his Spirit, and enable you to go on in his strength more and more, and reward you a thousandfold for all your works and labours of love which you have bestowed upon me and all poor sinners. How ought I to thank God for sending you amongst us and making of you the instrument to open my blind eyes that I might see my miserable state by nature. My sister [Sally] Huntington² is groaning under her wicked [ways], but can wait with patience, believing in Christ. My sister [Jane] Clancy sees herself a devil by nature and can't wait upon God. My sister Moberly is greatly grieved with her sisters in [her] house because they do not live in love. My sister Matthews do[es] not get forward, but is in the same trifling spirit she was in when you left us. My sisters give their duty to you and love to Mr. [Edward] Nowers. Dear sir, in bitterness of spirit have I writ unto you, but desire you to accept it with my duty to you and love to Mr. Nowers.

From your sinful servant,

Mary Purnell

Dear sir, if you thinks it not be time lost, please to send me a line.

My sister Latchum gives her duty to you and desires you to accept this from her, for she is sick with the measles and thinks she shall never see you more. When she was first taken she could rejoice in suffering, but now is out of all patience and sometimes wishes she was in hell, that she might know the

¹Mary Purnell, of Bristol, was visited by both JW and CW, and is noted in their respective diaries and journals. There are no punctuation marks or paragraph breaks in her manuscript. The spelling is fairly good, but occasionally phonetic; e.g., spells 'surely' as 'shuerly'.

²Sally Huntington and Jane Clancy are both mentioned in CW, MS Journal.

end of her misery. Sometimes the devil tells her she have no God, but then she have faith to believe that Christ will pray for her and desires your prayers. Her love to Mr. [Edward] Nowers.

Address: 'For / the Revd Mr John Wesley / to be left att the Foundery / in uper Moorefields near / Wind
<mill> hill / London'.

Endorsement: by JW, 'M Parnell June 20. 1740 / a[nswere]d Jul 7'.

Source: holograph; MARC, MA 1977/503, Box 4, file 13.

From Thomas Richards and Rev. Charles Wesley

Bristol
Saturday [June 21, 1740]

[A journal letter in the hand of Richards to which both Richards and CW add notes at the end:]

My Dear Brother,

Mrs. [Elizabeth (Whitefield)] Grevil says the letter is burnt. Mr. [Felix] F[arley] agreed with the carrier for 6 s[hillings] per hundred. He has promised to write himself. The orders, etc., will be sent as soon as possible. I will get the experiences as soon as I can. Mr. [Westley] Hall's coming here has been greatly blessed. I begin to be convinced in some measure of the evil of unbelief. O pray that the Lord would perfect his work in my soul! My love to all.

I am,

Your very unworthy brother,

Thomas Richards

[personal note by CW along left margin, page 2]

Rem[ember] the Index.¹ In my last hymn put 'tost' instead of 'racked'.² The lion is easier kept out than turned out; therefore discard [[Acourt³]]. *Sero sapiamus Phryges*.⁴ And follow you after our lapsed brethren and allow more time for confirming those that stand. Look after Bell junior.⁵ Be passive as to the cryings out, neither discouraging nor encouraging. The little flock here grow daily. My love to all with you. Duty to my mother.⁶

Address: 'To / The Revd Mr John Wesley /at the Foundry in / Upper Moor Fields / London / Single Sheet'.

Postmarks: '23/IV' and 'B/ris/tol'.

Endorsement: by JW, 'b[rother] Richards—June 21, 1740 / w[ith] C[hables]'s Journal / a[nswere]d in C[hables]'s 24'.

Source: holograph; MARC, MA 1977/503, Box 5, file 5.

¹CW is almost certainly referring to the second volume of *Hymns and Sacred Poems*, which JW was in final stages of preparing for publication; it would appear in print on July 14, with an index.

²Neither of these words appear in any hymn in *HSP* (1740), so another replacement might have been chosen.

³John Acourt was an ardent Calvinist, whose resolve to argue all the early Methodists into his Calvinist view set the societies in confusion. See JW, *Journal*, June 19, 1740 (*Works*, 19:152–53).

⁴Rendering a common Latin proverb (*sero sapiunt Phryges*) in the first person plural, present tense: 'We Phrygians (Trojans) become wise too late.'

⁵Apparently the married son and namesake of Richard Bell.

⁶Susanna (Annesley) Wesley, who was living at the Foundery.

From the Rev. George Whitefield

Savannah [Georgia]
June 25, 1740

My Honoured Friend and Brother,

I thank you for, and heartily say 'Amen!' to all the petitions you have put up in my behalf.¹ I want to be as my Master would have me—I mean meek and lowly in heart. Dear sir, bear with me a little longer; pray for me with great earnestness, and who knows but my God may give me to abhor myself in dust and ashes! He that hath given us his Son, will he not with him freely give us all things? For Christ's sake, if possible, dear sir, never speak against election in your sermons; no one can say that I ever mentioned it in public discourses, whatever my private sentiments may be. For Christ's sake, let us not be divided amongst ourselves; nothing will so much prevent a division as your being silent on this head.

I should have rejoiced at the sight of your *Journal*.² I long to sing a hymn of praise for what God has done for your soul. I am glad to hear that you speak up for an attendance on the means of grace, and do not encourage persons who run (I am persuaded) before they are called. The work of God will suffer much by such imprudence. I trust you will still persist in field-preaching. Others are strangers to our call. I know infinite good hath been done by it already, and greater good will yet be done thereby every day. But we must be judged of our brethren. May God bless you more and more every day, and cause you to triumph in every place.

Next Monday, God willing, I go to Charleston. My family is well regulated, but I want some more gracious assistants. I have near an hundred and thirty to maintain daily, without any fund. The Lord gives me a full undisturbed confidence in his power and goodness. Dear sir, adieu. I can write no more; my heart is full. I want to be a little child. O continue to pray for

Your most unworthy, but affectionate
brother and servant in our dear Lord Jesus Christ,

G. W.

Source: published transcription; Whitefield, *Letters*, 1:189–90.

¹The letter to which Whitefield is responding has not survived.

²The first published extract of JW's *Journal* had just appeared.

From the Rev. Charles Wesley¹

[Bristol]
[June 28, 1740]

Has the numb-fish touched you?² Are you *still*,³ that I have no account how things are carried on in London?⁴ You do not sure expect any more journal from *me*! I believe this will be the last.

On Monday I propose returning to Oxford, where I am to read a lecture.⁵ It may be I shall be here again in the latter end of the week.

You should immediately inform sister Lambert that Jacky⁶ is (much to his satisfaction) at Farley's.

Two rules are wanting: 1) That every person, before he can be admitted into the United Society, *be in business*; [and] 2) allow of, and use, the means of grace.

How could you ever, *you yourself*, incline to admit Mary Stretton? You shall be called Jesuit indeed when any man, woman, or child may impose upon you as often as they please. I expect to hear in your next (if you ever write again) that [John] Simpson has persuaded you to let him preach at the Foundery.

I can't find out William Worly, and forget whose 7 shillings it was which I have to pay him, but shall leave it for him with brother [Thomas] Richards.

Mitchell⁷ is coming about again, but I desire he may be no more trusted. Neither the generous, disinterested Anthony Williams,⁸ although I think he begins to see a little of his heart.

Your sending me no account of things confounds me so that I know not how or what to write—to William Seward especially. What did you mean by sending me the £200? Might not you have better received it in town than send the bills to me, to be sent back again? The mortgage, I hear, is [£]250.⁹ You must make up the sum, or you do nothing. I know not what to do with your bills, which are left at present in Mr. La(bee's)¹⁰ hands.

¹This personal note is written in CW's hand at the beginning of a journal letter in the hand of Thomas Richards.

²Referring to an electric ray, which stuns its prey with an electrical shock.

³I.e., has JW accepted the false teaching of the Moravians?

⁴Actually JW had written June 24, but the letter appears to have been delayed.

⁵The lecture was on Psalm 130, as part of the requirements for the Bachelor of Divinity degree that CW was pursuing (see CW, MS Journal, Nov. 2, 1739 and July 30, 1740). He soon abandoned this attempt.

⁶CW had just escorted John Lambert, son of John and Anne (Wesley) Lambert, from London to apprentice with the Bristol printer, Felix Farley.

⁷This is likely Thomas Mitchell, who was an early supporter of the revival in Bristol, but sided with Whitefield in the growing tension over the doctrine of predestination.

⁸The husband of Anne Williams, both early band members in Bristol; see JW to James Hutton, July 2, 1739, *Works*, 25:666.

⁹Whitefield and Seward raised the initial monies toward building the Kingswood school house, but it was finished and now controlled by the Wesley brothers. This transaction was apparently to buy out Whitefield's interest in light of the growing split over predestination.

¹⁰Francis Labee (d. 1755) was a surgeon/midwife in Bristol. He and his wife Sarah appear repeatedly in JW's diary from Apr. 1739 through June 1741. JW spells the name 'Labbe'. CW and his amanuensis typically spell it 'Labbee'. We follow the spelling in his will.

My duty to my mother, and love to Mrs. Seaton, etc.¹¹ I have strange things to tell you, but you are not very fond of my correspondence.

Sat[urday] Noon

Mrs. Ryan¹² (or many beside) will look to Jacky's clothes. The *Journals* are no longer called for here. [Felix] Farley promises to send his bill on Monday. Whence is the printing and binding to be paid? We shall be ruined by printing unless we first and beforehand have money to defray the charge. I intend to receive what we have to receive at Oxford next week.

N. Bath¹³ (herself gone wrong) makes great and just complaints of her light, lazy, scandalous lodgers. I know not what to do with them. They give great occasion to the enemy to blaspheme. [[What say you to Kitty?¹⁴ A fair riddance, say I!]]

Could not William Seward muzzle that wild ass's colt? [John] A[court], I mean; who, if the devil has any apostles, is one. For God and his gospel's sake let us learn a little incredulity and not so hastily give countenance to any man.

The noises and outcries are over.¹⁵ I have not spoke one word against them, nor two *about* them. The devil grows sullen and dumb because we take no notice of him. Yet the work of God goes forward (as many testify) since my coming hither.

[the text of the journal letter comes here; then a closing personal note:]

How is the rent of the house to be paid? There is no one besides sister Bath who is able to raise any money.

Address: 'To / The Revd Mr John Wesley / at the Foundry in / Upper Moor Fields / London / Single Sheet'.

Postmarks: '30/IV' and 'B/ris/tol'.

Endorsement: by JW, 'C[harles's] Journal / June 30, 1740' (date of its arrival in London).¹⁶

Source: MARC, MA 1977/503, Box 5, file 4.¹⁷

¹¹This is likely Arabella Seaton, a widow who resided on Aldersgate Street and appears briefly in a trial band at the Foundry in 1742; see Foundry Band Lists.

¹²Elizabeth Ryan, a member of the Bristol bands.

¹³The 'N' may stand for 'Nurse'; see John Ellison to JW, June 9, 1730. JW refers repeatedly to a 'sister Bath' in Bristol in his diary for 1740 (cf. *Works*, 19:418, 421, 431). On one occasion (Apr. 16, 1740; *Works*, 19:416) JW refers to 'Betty Bath'. It is unclear whether these are references to the same woman, or perhaps to a mother and daughter.

¹⁴See note on Mar. 19 letter above.

¹⁵I.e., the unusual emotional demonstrations that had occurred at some earlier Methodist meetings in Bristol.

¹⁶There are also two sets of notes for the London membership lists: '... for trial / Frances Reynolds w[idow] / Sus. Jeffreys u[nmarried] Eagle Court, Strand / Eliz. Dorrel u Do.'; 'm[en] / m[arried] Willm Standex, Chandler / Kings Str, Bloomsbury / u[nmarried] Willm Chad, Taylor / Kingstreet, 7 Dials'.

¹⁷Transcription published in *Works*, 26:17–18.

From Katherine Jason¹

Dummer [Hampshire]
July 1, 1740

Dear Sir,

Can you forgive me all that is past? And though I know you can, yet will I make no other use of your goodness to me than resolving through the assistance of God never to displease you for the future, either in thought, word, or deed, being sensible I cannot offend you in any respect wherein I shan't offend God and injure my own soul, which is the only real dread I have upon me. I dreamt a few nights ago I was walking in a church yard in great agony of mind and saw you at a distance, upon which I drew back a little that you might not see me. But upon your going into church I followed you, and saw a minister I did not know at the Communion table, reading over the commination,² a part of the service I was always very unwilling to join in, and then thought nothing but your own example could prevail upon me to do it from the bottom of my heart; which at length did, and I found inexpressible satisfaction from it. I am truly moved with the object of pity you describe. On the strange vicissitudes of this life you must know, I can't get any answer from one creature I write to for money. Neither can I hear one word from Mrs. Grevil about my clothes.³ Though I am every day in expectation of both. But notwithstanding that I would with the utmost pleasure convey a guinea to this poor lady if I knew how. And I think I know twenty people that would be glad to relieve her even out of their quadrille⁴ money, was she to apply to them. I heartily wish her disappointments may have a happy effect and make her fly to God, (in) whom alone is sure trust and satisfaction.

I am almost afraid to tell you a great piece of truth, which is that if my affairs would have permitted I should have been with Mrs. [Martha (Wesley)] Hall before now, for nothing but seeing her in the agonies of death could have given me more concern than her letter. Though I know as far as she differs from you and Mr. [Westley] Hall in her opinion, she is just so far in the wrong, and notwithstanding I have most unaccountable affection for her. Yet I pray to God we may never meet again in this life, provided it may be the least hindrance to our eternal happiness. But I shall not in this or any other respect take one step without your advice while you shall be so good as to give it me. She will never do me any hurt, I am sure, while I can read the Scriptures. For I know God will never suffer any impure thing to stand before him, and our vile natures must be renewed by grace before we can enter the kingdom of heaven. And I verily believe I could at this instant sooner submit to death than deny what I so well know. And though Mrs. Hall may possess every human virtue in the greatest degree that ever anybody did, yet is all this but as filthy rags in the sight of God and in mine—the greatest bar to our happiness being the most likely to deceive us. As to Dummer, I like it so well that I believe that I could live seven years in the family⁵ without wishing anything otherwise than what it is in any part of the family; unless in myself, which change I hope and long for. I am treated with the utmost kindness and civility so that I should be sorry to leave them abruptly. Though if you approve my intention, I shant continue here long. I hope Mrs. [Susanna (Annesley)] Wesley will go to Bristol if Mrs. Hall does. I beg my best respect to her, and I shall be very glad to hear she is well. Do just as you please as to bringing Mr. Wallis.⁶ I am sure I

¹Katherine Jason would marry John Hutchings in Stanton Harcourt in Nov. 1740.

²A part of the service in the BCP denouncing sinners, used particularly on Ash Wednesday.

³Apparently Jason had boarded for a while with Elizabeth (Whitefield) Grevil, in Bristol.

⁴A popular card game of the time.

⁵It is unclear whether Jason is staying with Rev. Charles Kinchin, rector of Dummer, or some other family in the parish.

⁶Taverner Wallis (d. 1779) had met Jason recently, and desired her to put him in touch with JW, which she did by letter; see Wallis to CW, Nov. 24, 1741.

would not give one farthing to see him, or any man living, unless I thought I could be of some real use to them, or they to me. Pray let me know beforehand what day I am to expect you, that I may beg of God to prepare my heart for so great a blessing. Come, I will release you, I am, dear sir,

Your most obliged and most affectionate humble servant,

K. Jason

Do pray for me.

Address: 'To / the Rev. Mr. Wesley / at the Foundery near / Moorfields / London'.

Postmark: '4/IY'.

Endorsement: by JW, 'M Jason July 1, 1740 / a[nswered]d 15'.

Source: holograph; MARC, MA 1977/610/89.

From John Cennick

[Bristol]
July 7, 1740

Dear Favourite of God,

I know you cannot take the silence amiss, when you consider how I have not quarter of an hour in a day wherein I might write. I have just now stole a spare moment from tea, to tell you publicly to give thanks for the great mercies of God shown to his flock, once so much abused, at Upton.¹

On Tuesday last, two men (particular enemies) came among the rest (though after them) with strong purpose to pull me off the place. When they were come and beheld the cruel treatment I bore from their brethren, their hearts failed them, and pity forced them to own the actions of the men of Belial a shame. And so zealous they waxed at last in our defence that, when they were ridiculed among us, they rose up, struck all who stood in their way, and bore down all before them. I believe there were near twelve on horseback who, seeing the war begin, forgot any more to mock, but rode off with all the haste they could. Mr. Parker Jr. was so enraged that he ran among them with a pitchfork. He was seized by another, cast down and deprived of his weapon, and beat severely. Then two of our society followed in resisting, trampled on their pans, cast down the men out of the cart, and forced an uncommon silence till I had ended. I was grieved sorely to hear this, and often did I beseech the Lord to put away this evil. I excluded one from the society, that the slander might not come on the church.

About five o'clock I set out again, and was never so cheerful in my life, though many declared that more than one hundred men were hired to put me to death. As I drew near, a brother told me that three or four justices of the peace were gone into Upton, either to take me up or those of our company who had resisted. I was not moved in the least, but commended the cause to my Father. I went forward, and being too soon, I sat down by the way to sing that hymn 'Why should the children of a king ...'.² As we were singing, one desired me to go forward and talk to the justices. I thought it improper. But being again met by another, I was told that a clerk of one of the justices waited for me on the hill. Then I went on readily, verily believing the Lord would now stand up for his people. I came into the room where three were sitting, one of whom was our dear friend Justice Hains of Wick.³ They behaved very grave and honourable, and thanked me that I was pleased to wait on them. I likewise thanked them for coming thither, that they might see the truth. They begged me to move from the place. My spirit forbad me, and I still persisted, as I had said in public I would stand in that place till God should deliver his children. I had God with me, so that they could not gainsay reasonably any thing I said. At last they agreed that I should have the place, and said they would hear me. Mr. Hains said if any for the future disturbed me, if I did but signify it to him, he would grant a warrant immediately. I thanked him, and being invited I went to his house. After I had done, and was Christianly entertained, I took with me Mr. Arthurs⁴ and cleared all objections, showed how I had been used, and leaving him fully pleased and satisfied, I came to Kingswood rejoicing. I could tell you much more, but time and paper bids me stay. My love to all the saints dwelling in London.

Your's,

J. Cennick

Source: published transcription; *Collection* (1797): 30–31.

¹Upton Cheyney, Gloucestershire.

²Isaac Watts, 'The Witnessing Spirit', st. 1, in *CPH* (1738), 43.

³Thomas Haynes (1698–76) was lord of the manor for Wick and Abson, and a JP.

⁴Charles Arthurs of Kingswood; see *CW*, MS Journal, Sept. 15, 1740.

From Sarah Mason¹

[London]
July 10, 1740

Reverend Sir,

I must own that you (and your dear brother) are much esteemed by your unworthy friend for what I see of the grace of God in you and for the many precious truths I have heard from you. And though I cannot say I can fully close in with everything I hear, yet I have reason to bless God that I have heard what I trust has been made of use both for instruction and establishment in the faith once delivered to the saints. And I still desire to prove all things and hold fast that which is good. And what I know not, may the Lord in his good time reveal to his trusting, growing creature.

As to the question of universal redemption, what must I say? Methinks Christ did in some sense die for all because the Scripture tells me he tasted death for every man. And that he is the saviour of all men (but especially of them that believe). But that he died in the fullest sense for and intentionally to save all the fallen race, methinks it cannot be because then how is it that all are not actually in the fullest sense made partakers of complete and eternal salvation? That there is a chosen number for whom Christ died in a peculiar manner I think seems clear from what is contained in the Scriptures of truth. Or what is the meaning of several of our Lord's own expressions—of his laying down his life for his sheep; his knowing them, etc.; and of his saying to some 'Ye believe not because ye are not of my sheep'?² And then does not our Lord seem plainly to insist that there is a number given him of the Father whom he prays for distinct from the others, where he says 'I pray not for the world but for those whom thou has given me, etc.'³ So that I think the doctrine of election is a truth clearly revealed, though by some wretchedly abused. But why must the matter be carried so far for us to assert an obscene decree of reprobation merely as an act of divine sovereignty (if it be so asserted)? I believe things will be set in a better light another day, and that though all that are saved are saved alone by grace, I also believe the judgment of others will appear to be of and from themselves. I am satisfied no decree of God will damn any soul that repents of his sins and believes in Christ; nor on the other hand that any decree of God will save any sinner living under the sound of the gospel who does not repent of his sins and believe the gospel, that does not receive forgiveness of sins through the blood of Jesus.

But dear sir I am far from thinking that all who hold the doctrine of predestination do it or argue for it in bitter zeal. For my once dear spouse, whose memory is still grieving to me, did hold that doctrine, but he was a man of an excellent spirit and could express his sentiments in the meekness of wisdom and with sincere Christian affection to those whose sentiments differed in that (or some other points) from his. I think I have heard him say he was not inclined to censure any except the censorious, for their censoriousness.

That has often been encouraging, and may it be daily pleaded at the throne of grace—viz., they also that love pred[estination] in spirit shall come to understanding and those that have murmured shall learn doctrine.

Dear, dear sir, pray for

Your unworthy friend, sister, and servant,

Sarah Mason

¹JW refers to writing a letter to Sarah Mason on Dec. 23, 1740 in his diary (*Works*, 19:445). The present letter indicates that she is a widow and moderate Calvinist. She may be the mother of Samuel Mason, a publisher who worked closely with George Whitefield and William Seward. She took in Seward's daughter for a time when he was killed in Oct. 1740 (see her letter to JW, Nov. 8, 1740, below). Her spelling in the letter is a bit rough.

²John 10:26.

³John 17:9.

The humble God will teach. I long ever dearly to grow day by day in that and every other grace of the blessed Spirit, looking to living upon and desiring all grace from him, in whom it has pleased the Master all fullness should dwell.

Address: 'To / the Revd. Mr. / Wesley'.

Apparently was hand delivered.

Endorsement: by JW, 'Mrs Mason / July 10, 1740'.

Source: holograph; MARC, MA 1977/503, Box 4, file 13.

From Howell Harris¹

Trevecka
July 16, 1740

Dear Brother John,

I was in hopes I should have heard from you ere this time, and likewise from brother Charles, how you have done since I left you. I was [im]mediately called abroad as soon as I came home from Bristol, and could have no time to sit down to write till now.

There were such reports of your holding no faith without a full and constant assurance, and no state of salvation without being fully and wholly set at liberty in the fullest sense of perfection. And that I had been carried away by the same stream, that many of the little ones were afraid to come near me. And their prejudices against you for that, and for opposing the doctrine of election, notwithstanding all my endeavours to remove it, seems almost invincible. And I have been staggered myself (till I shall hear from you) on sight of some letters that I have seen in Wales since I came down. These letters have informed me that the night I left London you turned a brother out of the society, charging all to beware of him, and such as conversed with him, as of the devil, purely because he held election.

My dear brother, cannot you see in a more cool spirit what was at the bottom of this? Do not you act with the same stiff, unbroken, uncharitable spirit which you do and ought to condemn in others? I assure you, by the little conversation I have had with that person, I found all the fruits of the love of God in him, and all room to hope that the Saviour is in him. And as to some aspersions laid to his charge, I have spoke to one here in the country who was at London not six weeks ago, and who had the best opportunity of being informed, who entirely cleared him. My dear brother, if the ministers of our dear Lord will thus eat and devour one another, will not the enemy take advantage? If you exclude him from the society, and from the fraternity of the Methodists, you must exclude brother [George] Whitefield, brother [William] Seward, and myself. And if you go on to take such methods as to let those who are without rejoice in our divisions, will you not grieve the Spirit of God in all the brethren? For while, my dear brother, you contend for the establishing the confidence of poor sinners in the promises, which I have never denied but have always in the most explicit terms asserted, as strong as possible, that whosoever would come to Christ on the terms of the gospel he would receive. But I hope I shall contend with my last breath and blood that it is owing to special, distinguishing, and irresistible grace that those that are saved are saved. Can you say in the presence of God that it was your good improvement of preventing grace that brought you to believe? How did you strive, but could not? And yet by showing (as you ought) that man can and doth damn himself, resist, quench and grieve the Spirit, you stumble and attribute to man what you always found wanting in yourself—viz., a power to be passive, to receive, to resign, to confide in Christ. You found all your power could not effect, and that it was all in the pleasure of another and so is still. You are faithful and watchful just as long as you are kept so. Look now to the teaching of God's Spirit in your heart, and less to your reason and learning, and then you will soon see that God chose you, and not you him. And see on what a tottering foundation you build—viz., your own faithfulness, and not God's unchangeableness. Indeed it is God's willingness to receive poor sinners to the covenant, and this favour should be set before those who are not made willing, and they should be exhorted to seek him with all their hearts. But the children of the covenant of grace should know that their

¹John Acourt's ardent effort to convince others of unconditional election led to JW refusing him admission to the Foundery society on June 19, 1740 (see JW, *Journal*). Acourt wrote to Howell Harris on July 3: 'My dear brother John Wesley ... turned me out of the society the night after you left us because (said he) I preach the doctrine of election. He now warns every soul to beware of me and all that converse with me as devils. He pleads his brother Charles's instructions for so doing' (*Journal of the Calvinist Methodist Historical Society* 23:350–52). Harris saw this as an expulsion solely on account of theological differences, and wrote to JW with some heat, the letter being published several months later in the Calvinist newspaper, *The Weekly History*.

salvation is not upon them but Christ. Can't you see your way is still the old covenant that you are preaching? This is not strengthening ourselves in the grace that is in Christ Jesus (or the faithfulness in him to give us what is promised), but this is strengthening and comforting ourselves in the grace that is in ourselves. We would still have it in our own hands. We can't bear to be told it is all in another. My dear brother, was not the grace of God irresistible in you when you was brought to the covenant? Could you make yourself passive, as you then were made? And if all the world had what you then had, would not they be in the same state as yourself?

If all the world his glory knew
Sure the whole world would love him too.²

Is not your reasoning making them that are saved to be under no greater obligation to God than those that are lost? O that you would not touch on this subject till God enlightens you! My dear brother, as you are a public person, you grieve by your opposition what God's people feel—viz., his electing love. And you make many poor souls believe simply because you hold it. And all arises from the prejudices of education, books, companions, and the relict of the old darkness, and the remains of your carnal reason. Pray for me, that my confidence may grow strong. Salute the brethren and sisters in my name.

Have you read this now as I wrote it? The more I write, the more I love you. Indeed, sir, I am sure you are one of God's elect, and that you act honestly according to the light you have. I love you, dear brother, indeed, in Christ, with all the love I have.

Yours,

Howell Harris

Source: Harris's manuscript transcription for his records; National Library of Wales, Trevecka Letters, #260.³

²Isaac Watts, 'Description of Christ the Beloved', st. 10, *Hymns and Spiritual Songs* (London: John Lawrence, 1709), 60.

³A full transcription was published at the time in *The Weekly History*, No. 13, pp. 2–3 (the main difference from Harris's manuscript copy is the addition of emphases in several places). An abridged version was included in *Works*, 26:19–20.

From Anne (Williams) Dutton¹

[Great Gransden, Huntingdonshire]
c. July 17, 1740

[p. 3]

Reverend Sir,

Yours I received, and can't but apprehend that absolute perfection is asserted therein as attainable, and attained by some in this life.² If you sir, or any other, have attained such Christian liberty as to be 'free, not only from fears and doubts, but from deadness, dulness and heaviness, wanderings in prayer, and from every motion and affection which is contrary to the law of love',³ you must needs be perfect, absolutely so. For if you are free from every motion that is contrary to God's law (which requires us to love the Lord our God with all our heart, soul, and strength, and our neighbour as ourselves), you must needs have a full and absolute conformity thereto; in as [p. 4] much as any want of conformity to the law is a contrariety thereto, and so the transgression of it. And that such a perfection is *attainable*, or *attained* by any in this life, is what I can in no wise agree to.

It is certainly *contrary* to the experience of all the saints that I have been acquainted with, or heard of; yea, I think *contrary* to what is recorded of any saint in the book of God. Indeed I think it *strange* if you yourself can say or think that you are *free* from every motion which is *contrary* to the law of God. 'Tis *very* strange that where the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ shines into any heart, that soul should not discover its own darkness. That there *is* the darkness of sin, weakness of faith, coldness of love, etc.—and from thence deadness, wanderings, etc.—in every saint, while in this mortal state, is what I make no doubt of, and can't but think it an amazing thing that they should not be *discerned* by them.

As to myself, sir, I readily grant that I am the chief of sinners, the least of saints, and but a *babe* in the knowledge of Christ. And I verily believe that there is an higher, holier, happier state attainable in this life than what I, a vile worm, have yet experienced. And my longing soul thirsteth for, and presseth after, greater and still greater measures of conformity to Christ daily; 'Reaching forth toward the [p. 5] mark, for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus';⁴ to wit, a full conformity to him, both in holiness and glory. Which I shall never attain until 'mortality is swallowed up of life';⁵ until I bear the 'image' of the heavenly as fully as I have born the 'image' of the earthy. This mark of the prize for which I run is too high and great to be attained in this low and little state. But keeping it in my eye, 'I follow after, if that I may apprehend that for which I am apprehended of Christ Jesus.'⁶

Dear sir, you tell me (from the account I gave of myself) 'that I am not one of those who have "crucified the flesh, with its affections and lusts".' And if so, God's Word declares that I am none of Christ's: for all *his* have done so. But oh! for ever adored be free grace, the boundless grace and faithfulness of my God, my *interest in Christ* is not so soon destroyed in *itself* as it is by your affection.

¹Anne Williams was born in Northampton, a center of dissenting churches, and early affiliated with a Calvinist church. Her second husband, Benjamin Dutton (1691–1747), was pastor of a Congregational church in Great Gransden, Huntingdonshire. Anne corresponded with several leaders of the emerging evangelical revival, including George Whitefield and JW. She also wrote some 25 tracts, many devotional in nature but some focused on Calvinist themes. See *DEB*, 335; and *ODNB*.

²JW records in his diary writing Dutton on June 25, 1740. The letter does not survive, but excerpts in this reply and Dutton's letter of c. Aug. 30 give some sense of its contents.

³This is a summary of §7 in JW's preface to *HSP* (1739).

⁴Phil. 3:14.

⁵2 Cor. 5:4.

⁶Phil. 3:12.

No, blessed be God, *that* stands firmer than heaven and earth, upon the solid basis of the eternal will, immutable covenant, word, and oath of a God that cannot lie! And as I have an *eternal* interest in Jesus, by virtue of the Father's gift, and Son's purchase, and the Spirit's work of faith in my heart; so have I a *strong* consolation. The Holy Spirit of God has witnessed to my soul my eternal *safety* in fleeing for refuge, as a miserable undone sinner, unto Christ the great saviour. He has [p. 6] borne his testimony, and enabled me to receive it, that my beloved is *mine*, and I am *his*. That though the mountains shall *depart*, and the hills be removed, yet *his* kindness shall not depart from *me*, nor the covenant of his peace be removed. And having 'received the record, that God hath given to me eternal life in his dear Son',⁷ and 'set to my seal that he is true',⁸ I go on rejoicing, 'in hope of eternal life, which God that cannot lie hath promised'.⁹ And, to the praise of rich, free, sovereign grace, am firmly persuaded that 'neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature shall be able to separate me from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus my Lord'.¹⁰ And *this*, notwithstanding all that I see and feel of the workings of *sin* and *the powers of darkness*, both *within* and *without* me. And oh the glory of that holiness, the fulness of that salvation, I now have *in* Christ, and shall ere long have *through* him.

For I must tell you, my dear brother, that though I see myself *in* myself, in this *mixed* state, to be vastly *imperfect*; yet I see myself *in* Christ to be absolutely perfect. I am, even *now*, in all respects, 'complete in him, who of God is made unto me wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption'.¹¹ I am, even *now*, a spotless *beauty*, as I stand before God in the [p. 7] shining glories of *Christ*, my great head and representative! *His* wisdom swallows up all *my* folly! *His* holiness, all *my* impurity! *His* righteousness, all *my* disobedience! And *his* redemption, all *my* captivity! And as I am *now*, in the body of Christ's flesh through death, presented holy, unblameable, and unreprouvable in the Father's sight; as I stand *mystically* complete in Christ, my 'New Adam' head; so shall I, ere long, by a communication out of *his* fulness, be *personally* complete, and as such presented faultless before the presence of his glory, with exceeding joy! And meanwhile I rejoice that he (the Holy Ghost, who is God equal with the Father and the Son, and so one with both in his love, power, and faithfulness; that he I say) which hath *begun* this good work in me will *perform it* until the day of Jesus Christ. And till *then* I never expect *personal perfection*. Nor can I see any *ground* to expect it from any of the *promises*, nor any *example* of such a thing in the Scriptures of truth.

But, leaving my little *self*, let us see what the great *apostles of the Lamb* will say unto us: who were set *first* in the church, as to office, grace, and holiness. St. Paul, who is thought by some to have had the holiest heart of any mere man on earth, complains most bitterly of his own wretchedness, by reason of the being [p. 8] and working of a body of sin and death in him (Rom. 7:24). To this you'll reply: 'The apostle there personates *another*, and speaks not his *own* experience.'¹²

But indeed, sir, I verily believe that he speaks his *own* experience, after he was a *converted man*, 'a new creature in Christ Jesus',¹³ from verse 14, to the end. Nor can I see any reason to think otherwise. For when, in the views of the being and working of sin in his corrupt nature, he had uttered that lamentable cry, 'O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death?' (ver. 24), he presently answers, 'I thank God through Jesus Christ our Lord.' His faith presently spied that absolute freedom, that complete victory over all sin and death, that *he* and all the *saints* had, and should have, by

⁷Cf. 1 John 5:11.

⁸John 3:33.

⁹Titus 1:2.

¹⁰Rom. 8:38–39.

¹¹1 Cor. 1:30.

¹²In this and following instances Dutton is anticipating JW's reply; not quoting his letter.

¹³2 Cor. 5:17.

the free grace of God, in and through the person and mediation of Jesus Christ. And taking in, with *one view*, his absolute perfection in *Christ* and his present imperfection in *himself*, he concludes, ‘so then with the mind I myself serve the law of God, but with the flesh the law of sin’ (ver. 25). Which is as if he should say, ‘I have a *complete* deliverance from all sin and death *in Christ*, although at present it is but *partial* in *myself*. His victory is *my* conquest; he having overcome for me, and I being enabled to believe in him for righteousness and life.’ And so he proceeds to show what an absolute freedom from [p. 9] sin and death all the saints *now* have in Christ: ‘There is therefore now no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus, who walk not after the flesh, but after the spirit’ (Chap. 8, ver. 1).

In this verse, here is first, the absolute freedom from *condemnation*, or the complete *justification* of all that are *in Christ*, asserted. And secondly, a *description* given of the persons interested in it, by their *walk*, as being, ‘not after the flesh, but after the Spirit’.

There is ‘therefore ...’ *Wherefore?* Why, because of the free grace of God, through the person and mediation of Jesus Christ, there is no condemnation to those that are in him. For this ‘therefore’ refers to the last verse of the former chapter. There is much *sin in them*, they with the flesh serve the law of sin; but there’s no *condemnation to them*, because they are *in Christ*, who has fully satisfied for their sin, and made an end of it in himself. There’s no condemnation to them, even *now*—notwithstanding their being at present so *imperfect* in *themselves*—because they are so complete in *Christ*, who has perfected them forever in himself, by his own great obedience. And those that are *in Christ*, that are *interested* in this great privilege, are such who ‘walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit’. That is, they do not seek *righteousness* by their own *obedience* to the *law*, but *believe* in *Christ*, who hath perfectly *fulfilled it*, for all [p. 10] salvation, life, and glory. And God having imputed the *righteousness* of his *Son* to them, for their complete *justification*; and upon this bottom given them his *Holy Spirit*, to begin their *conformity* to Christ in the mortification of sin and quickening of their souls unto the heavenly life. They are such whose *walk*, or general course, is not after the *flesh* or corrupt *nature*, but after the *Spirit* or the *new nature*, received from Christ, the *new Adam*, which always imitates him, its great pattern. And this their walk after the Spirit in both these respects, or their walk by faith in Christ according to the gospel, for justification and sanctification; is *evidential* that there is no condemnation to them, but on the contrary that they have complete justification and life and glory in the right, and begun enjoyment of it now, and that they shall have the full enjoyment of it hereafter.

And this he further proves, and gives *himself* as an instance thereof [in] ver. 2, ‘For the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus hath made me free from the law of sin and death.’ By ‘the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus’ I apprehend the spotless *purity* of Christ’s holy nature, or the perfect holiness of the Son of God, as immeasurably filled with the Spirit of grace; who being made under the ‘law for us’, hath *obeyed* it perfectly in heart, lip, and life. And thereby made us [p. 11] *free*, completely free, in point of *righteousness* before God, from the law of sin and death. Yea, by the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus, or the inherent *holiness* of his nature considered as a *principle*, we are made *free*, perfectly free in him, representatively, from all the filth and defilement of ours. And upon the bottom of that *complete freedom* we have in Christ in both respects representatively, we are made free in our own persons now, *influentially* and partially. And shall be so *totally* erelong.

And this the apostle further proves in the following verses (3–4). ‘For what the law could not do, in that it was weak through the flesh, God sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and for sin condemned sin in the flesh, that the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled in us, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit.’ What was it that the law could not do? Why, it could not justify a sinner. It was *weak* in this respect, through the flesh, or corrupt nature, which rendered us incapable of fulfilling it. Nor could it sanctify an unholy person. It requires duty, but gives no strength. But God sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and for sin condemned sin in the flesh (the flesh of his own Son, who satisfied for it, and made an end of it perfectly in himself, and thereby condemned it to die the death in us) that the righteousness of the law might be [p. 12] fulfilled in us, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit. And how is the righteousness of the law fulfilled in us, who believe in Jesus? It is fulfilled in us, first, unto justification, in as much as we by faith look to Christ’s obedience alone for all our acceptance with God; and he imputes the law-fulfilling righteousness of his dear Son unto us and completely justifies

us therein. And secondly, the righteousness of the law is fulfilled in us by Christ's being made under it for us, unto sanctification, 1) complete and total in him; and 2) partial and total in *ourselves*—*partial* in us here, and *total* hereafter.

Thus I have endeavoured to prove that the apostle Paul speaks his *own* experience, and that of all the saints, with respect to the *imperfection* of this present state, in the latter part of the 7th chapter of his epistle to the Romans—by showing the *connexion* there is between the first verse of the 8th chapter with the last of the 7th, where he plainly asserts that the persons spoken of in the former chapter are men that are *in Christ*, and shows their privilege, as such, that there is no *condemnation* to them. Which he further exemplifies in the following verses.

And I am the more confirmed in it, that he *there* spoke his *own* experience, since [in] Philippians 3:12ff he likewise asserts his *own* imperfection. 'Not as though I had already attained', says he, 'or [p. 13] were already perfect; but I follow after, if that I may apprehend that for which also I am apprehended of Christ Jesus. Brethren, I count not myself to have apprehended. But this one thing I do, forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching forth unto those things which are before, I press toward the mark, for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus.' And in the next verse, 'Let us therefore', says he, 'as many as be perfect, be thus minded.' How's *that*? What, perfect and *imperfect* at the same *time*? Aye. But not in the same sense. A perfection of *parts*, both as to graces and duties, the apostle and the saints he wrote to had. But a perfection of degree, with respect to both, was wanting. And therefore he exhorts those who *were* perfect in the *first* sense, to *seek* most *eagerly* perfection in the last. And it is as if he should say, 'ever let us think that we have attained, however great our attainments are, or may be in this life; but forgetting the things which are behind, and reaching forth unto those before, let us press toward the mark, for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus—to wit, that full conformity to Christ which we shall attain when raised from the dead.' 'And if in anything' (says he) 'ye be otherwise minded, God shall reveal even this unto you.' q. d. 'If in anything ye be careless and negligent about a growing perfection, and greater, and [p. 14] still greater measures of sanctification, God shall reveal the *necessity* hereof to you.' And oh that he would reveal it even to *you* also, my dear brother!

But further, the apostle not only groans under his *own* wretchedness, and asserts his *own* imperfection, in the above-mentioned places; but he likewise declares that this is the common condition of all the saints, while in the body (2 Cor. 5:4). 'For we that are in this tabernacle do groan, being burdened. Not for that we would be unclothed but clothed upon, that mortality might be swallowed up of life.' We that are in this tabernacle (says he) do groan, being burdened with the weight of sin. Not that we would be unclothed, not merely that we would be out of the body, but clothed upon with the *glory* prepared for our *souls* in a *separate* state. That *mortality* might be swallowed up of life, i.e., that all the *mortality and death* which now attends our souls, while dwelling in tents of clay, might be swallowed up of that fulness of holiness and glory prepared for us when present with the Lord. Not but that the mortality of the body, being swallowed up of the life and glory of the first resurrection, may be likewise comprised herein. But it is the mortality of the soul, being swallowed up of that *life* reserved for it in a *separate* state, that was, and is, the *immediate* object of the saints' desires to be dissolved. As is evident [p. 15] from ver. 8. We are confident, I say, and willing rather to be *absent* from the body, and to be *present* with the Lord. When we are present with the Lord, after the resurrection, we shan't be absent from the body. And therefore, that life the apostle had spoken of (ver. 4) must needs, in the primary intendment of it, be *the glory of a separate state*.

Now then, if the *souls* of the saints while in the body are attended with mortality, they cannot, during that season, be *perfect in holiness*. For mortality, as it respects the soul, consists in the *want* of conformity to and enjoyment of God, which is its proper life. And so far, and so *long* as there is any *want* of conformity to God (as there must needs be where sin abides) there must be mortality and imperfection. There can be no perfect *freedom* from deadness, etc.

And this may be further corroborated by Hebrews 12:23, where the apostle gives this epithet of perfect to separate souls: 'The spirits of just men, made perfect'. The *souls* of *just* men, while *in* the body, are imperfect; but when *out* of the body, and naked spirits, they are *then*, and not *till* then, made perfect in holiness, and so in life and glory.

And therefore the apostle John says, 'If we say that we have no sin' (i.e., while in this mortal state) 'we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us' (1 John 1: 8). To this you'll reply, [p. 16] 'We do not say that we have no sin in us, but that we do not commit sin. And so the apostle himself says [in] chap. 3:9. Yea, he says "That he that is born of God cannot sin".'

I answer, if you have sin *abiding* in you, you are so far *imperfect*, you are so far attended with deadness, dulness, etc. And consider, my dear brother, the *extensiveness* of sin's being, as it hath spread itself through and still abides in every part and power of the soul. For though by the Holy Ghost's work in regeneration he has given us a new and holy nature, and wrought a universal *change* in the soul, yet is not the soul *wholly* new, *entirely* holy, and *universally* changed. An infant, you know, when born into the world hath a perfection of parts, but not of *degrees*. It hath all the *parts* of a man complete. But it is long ere it arrives to the full *proportion* of the man in any of them. And so it is with the *soul* when Christ's image is first formed in it, and it is born from above. It is truly born again, hath a new, a *perfect* heart, and a universal *change* wrought in it (inasmuch as the Holy Spirit produceth every grace in it, and his work extends to every power of the soul); so that it hath a perfection of parts, but not of degrees. And is long ere it attains that *fulness* of stature which is designed for every grace, and that *completeness* of change designed for the whole soul—even as *long* as it is in the body. And so long [p. 17] as the soul is imperfect, so long *sin* doth and will abide in all the *powers* and *faculties* thereof; even *all* sin, the seeds or habits of all sin; a whole *body* of sin, not this or that *member* only, but a body, for completeness of parts. And as sin, all sin, is a direct contrariety to and the *transgression* of the law of God, how *guilty* and *filthy*, as in *ourselves* considered, must the *sin* of our nature make us in the eye of the holy, righteous law! And how should we humble ourselves before the Lord on this account!

But further my brother, whenever sin abides, it works. It is an active principle of darkness, that always works *really* in us, whether *perceptible* by us or not. And therefore we had need to pray always with the Psalmist, 'Cleanse thou me from secret faults.'¹⁴ And though they which are Christ's have *crucified* the flesh with its affections and lusts, yet is not the flesh, its affections and lusts *dead* presently. The death of the cross, you know, was a *lingering* death. And it was a long time ere the *crucified* malefactor was dead. And so long as there was life, there would be motion, and perhaps violent *struggles* too. And thus it is with sin. It is *crucified* in us, but not *dead* in us. And so long as it hath *life* it will have motion, and at times violent *struggles* too. How then, can we, so long as sin abides in us (and that it will while we're in the body), be *free* from deadness, dulness, heaviness, and wanderings in prayer; and from every motion and [p. 18] affection which is contrary to the law of love? Surely the Scriptures of truth teach no such *freedom* attainable in this life. Oh, my brother, I doubt not there are *swarms* of foolish, vain, impertinent, wandering, yea, wicked thoughts that arise even in your mind in one day, if not in one hour. And if you *discern* them not, tis strange. Oh, pray for the Spirit to *convince* you of *sin* more *fully*. And in his light and strength, *watch* them more *narrowly* than ever yet you have done. When you engage in solemn *converse* with God, doth your heart never start *aside* from that glorious object? Should you say it doth not, it would even make me *tremble* to think what a *deceit* you are under.

Indeed I acknowledge, and through grace have experienced, that there are some moments when God draws very near our spirits, that he doth as it were attract our *whole souls* after him. He so *fills* our thoughts that he leaves as it were no *room* for anything else. But such seasons are extraordinary, and not the *constant* experience of the saints in this low land. And even at *such* times, I doubt not, there are the *secret* workings of sin, in a lesser degree, whether we discern or *reflect* upon them, or not. So that, as I take it, we can never say 'we have no sin', unless we 'deceive ourselves'.¹⁵

For this phrase of the apostle, as I apprehend it, respects *actual* sin—of thoughts, words and deeds. For even thoughts are to be referred to the head of actual sin. 'The thought of [p. 19] wickedness is

¹⁴Ps. 19:12.

¹⁵Cf. 1 John 1:8.

sin.’¹⁶ And a *thought* is an *act* of the mind, and naked and open to the eyes of him with whom we have to do. And it must be *actual* sin that is here intended, if we understand it in a *consistent* light with the context. [In] ver. 7 he says, ‘But if we walk in the light, as he is in the light, we have fellowship one with another’ (i.e., God with us, and we with him) ‘and the blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth us from all sin.’ Doubtless tis the sin of our walk that is chiefly intended here, or that *actual* sin which attends us in our closest walk with God. And then, to anticipate an objection that might be made against our being guilty of *actual* sin while we walk with God, he says (ver. 8), ‘If we say that we have no sin’ (i.e., such *kind* of sin, sin attending our walk) ‘we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us.’ And then he adds (ver. 9), ‘If we confess our sins’ (here it is sins in the plural, the sins of our thoughts, words, and deeds, which attend us, even in our walk with God) ‘he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness.’ And ver. 10, ‘If we say that we have not sinned’ (here again, tis *actual* sin), ‘we make him a liar, and his word is not in us.’ And then, in the beginning of the next chapter, he says, ‘My little children, these things write I unto you, that ye sin not’ (which evidently intends *actual* sin, for the sin of our nature falls not under this dissuasion). And it is as if he [p. 20] should say, ‘Watch, and oppose all the motions of sin. Nourish them not in your hearts, nor fulfil them in your lives.’ And then to encourage them to go on in their walk with God, notwithstanding there was and would be so much sin attend them therein, he adds, ‘And if any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous.’ Here again it is evident, from the very *office* of an advocate, that ’tis *actual* sin that is intended. An advocate, you know, pleads the cause of his client, answers all accusations brought against him, and clears him and his cause in the open court. And as we are daily *guilty of actual* sin, so Satan, the accuser of the brethren, *accuseth* us before God day and night. But, oh blessed be God, we have an advocate. An advocate of his *own* providing, Jesus Christ the righteous. Such an advocate that is of God’s *anointing* to the office; such an advocate that is *righteous*, absolutely, ineffably, yea, infinitely so; and that *pleads* his *own* righteousness for *us* sinners, and so righteously casts *out* all accusations that can be brought against us, brings us off clear, with honour in open court, and saves us to the uttermost. And with this the apostle comforts the saints, under all their *actual* and *daily* sins. So that from the whole context it is evident that he intends *actual* sin, where he says, ‘If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves.’ But you’ll say, [p. 21] ‘If it is *actual* sin that is there intended, how can this be reconciled with his other assertion that he that is born of God, doth not commit sin, yea, *cannot sin*?’

To this I answered in my last, by giving you some account of my *own* experience with regard to both. And indeed, my brother, I think it is the experience of *most* of the saints. But however it be as to that, there can be no *contradiction* in these texts, and the one must be opened consistently with the other. And I know of no other *way* of opening this latter, in a *consistent* light with the former, than to understand it *thus*—that he that is born of God doth not, cannot sin as such, as he is born of God; or that according to the new nature he doth not, cannot sin. Nor can he that is born of God *sin* in a general course, or go on in a course of ungodliness, as an unregenerate person doth. And that he thus doth not, cannot, commit sin may be asserted very consistently with his actual daily sinning. For though the *man* that is born of God cannot sin, *as* he is born of God, or according to the new nature; yet every *sin* is the *action* of the man. And take the man in a *complex* consideration, or as having both the new and old nature in him, he sinneth daily, the *holiest* of his *actions* being *mixed* with sin. And he often falls into *acts* of sin, either more inward or outward, in heart or life. And if we deny it, the apostle says we *deceive* [p. 22] ourselves, make God a liar, and the truth of his Word is not in us.

And therefore, upon the whole my dear brother, I beseech you to beware that you be not deceived. And that thereby the glory of God’s free, rich grace be not eclipsed. And the infinite merit of Christ’s blood, and the glory of his advocacy *lessened* in your sight. And your constant life of faith, and increase in holiness *interrupted*.

If you do not commit sin daily, you cannot pray for the daily forgiveness of your trespasses. Nor can you duly apprehend the exceeding riches of divine grace extended to you, and expended upon you, in

¹⁶Prov. 24:9.

the daily *pardon* of your manifold sins. Nor give unto God the *glory* due unto his name, for his superabounding grace, his overflowing *mercy*.

If you do not commit sin daily—if you are not *convinced* that you do—you can't have so full a sight of the infinite *merit* of Christ's *blood*, which *takes away* your numberless transgressions; nor, of the *glory* of his love and work as your *advocate* with the Father; nor can you give him the *glory* due to *both* the branches of his priesthood—viz., his great sacrifice, and glorious *advocacy*.

If you do not commit sin daily, how can you exercise *faith* in the blood of Christ for *daily cleansing*? If your hands and feet, your work and walk, are not defiled, of what present use can the fountain set open for sin and for [p. 23] uncleanness be to *you*? If there is no *iniquity* cleaves to your holy things, how can you exercise *faith* on Christ, as bearing it away, by presenting all your imperfect *services* in his own *perfections* before the face of his Father, HOLINESS TO JEHOVAH? How can you come daily unto God by Christ as your living high priest above, who always appears in the presence of God for you in this respect, if you do not see a daily *need* of this *part* of his priesthood? And if you do not commit sin daily, how can you pray, hope, and strive for *higher* measures of holiness? For what a man seeth, why doth he yet *hope* for? And what he hath already attained, why doth he or how can he yet *seek* for? Beware therefore that you be not deceived, in thinking yourself free from actual sin daily. And so the *glory* of God, and of the Lord Jesus Christ (and of the Spirit too, in his office as a sanctifier) be *lessened*, and your own *faith* and *holiness* hindered.

Indeed, my brother, our life here is to be a life of faith, or a constant living by faith, out of our imperfect selves, in and on the *perfections* of the Son of God, as in office to save us. And this is the *excellency* of it in the present state. And as for perfect holiness, it is a *glory* reserved for, and peculiar *to*, the life of vision—which we ought daily to long for, and hasten to.

And now, that the God of our Lord Jesus [p. 24] Christ, the Father of Glory, may give unto you a greater measure of the Spirit of wisdom and revelation in the knowledge of HIM; and lead you more fully, under his efficacious teachings, into all truth; is the earnest desire of, dear sir,

Yours affectionately in Christ, etc.

Source: published transcription: Dutton, *Letters*, 3–24.

From the Rev. Charles Wesley¹

[Bristol]
[July 19, 1740]

[[Dear Brother,]]

You will weary out my constancy in writing by your not being as constant as I. What need of that idle question, 'How many hymns shall be sent down?'² As many as you will or as few, rather than none at all. You seem to ask merely to excuse your delay. Three hundred, I suppose, may be sent at a venture; and by the very first carrier, directed to Mr. [Ebenezer] Wigginton with a letter of notice.

Brother Davis does not go to Georgia.

Tell me that you give no countenance to [John] Simpson. Be not so much as seen with him. They complained of me too soon at London. I was only not so tardy in prevention as you.

Is the weekly sacrament for my mother settled? And *my* band? And those at the Foundry? Pray let no more be admitted into the society till I come. We shall be overlaid. Why don't you send Jacky's age?³ You take no notice of the orders for our society. I forgot to pay Mr. Humphreys⁴ the half-crown I borrowed. Will you remember it? N. B., we give away NO hymn-books till our debts are paid.

My love to all the brethren. Make mention of me and Mr. Robson⁵ in all your prayers. My mother may be dead for any notice you take of her. Give my duty.

Address: 'To / The Revd Mr John Wesley / at the Foundry in / Upper Moor Fields / London / Single Sheet'.

Postmarks: '21/IV' and 'B/ris/tol'.

Endorsement: by JW, 'C[harles] July 21, 1740 / a[nswere]d 24'.

Source: holograph; MARC, MA 1977/503, Box 5, file 4.

¹This personal note is written in CW's hand at the beginning of a journal letter in the hand of Thomas Richards.

²*HSP* (1740) had just been printed.

³John Lambert's birthday was apparently needed for finalizing apprenticeship papers.

⁴Joseph Humphreys (c. 1720–85), son of a zealous dissenting minister, was converted by Whitefield in 1738 and became friends with JW and CW in 1740, serving for a short time as JW's pastoral assistant in London.

⁵John Robson (b. 1714) matriculated at Lincoln College, Oxford on May 17, 1732, where JW became his tutor. Over the next eight years Robson appears in letters between JW and CW, who lament his vacillating relationship to first the Oxford Methodists and then the emerging Methodist revival. Robson received the BA in 1735, and the MA from New Inn Hall in 1742; but there is no record of him taking a parish, and he disappears from the Wesley brothers' correspondence after 1740.

From Susannah Designe¹

Bristol
July 21, 1740

Reverend Sir, and My Faithful Pastor,

Under whose care my blessed Lord hath committed the charge of my soul. I have with plainness and singleness of heart here described the true state of my soul, as far as the Lord hath been pleased to show it to me. And as my loving Saviour shall instruct me, I will let you know my grief and fear, hope and desires. I grieve that I so long have grieved my Lord and resisted his blessed Spirit that strove with me so long. For now I know he longeth to be gracious to all obstinate sinners. O that I so late did turn. But blessed be his holy name for giving me now power to obey the heavenly calling. I grieve that I cannot love my dear Saviour with my whole heart, although I daily find and experience more and more of his unspeakable love to me.

Dear sir, you well know I am not able to declare it when I would encourage any of my dear brothers and sisters by telling them what my dear Redeemer hath done for me. I know not whence to begin. O what a faint shadow is my stammering tongue able to represent. I am overcome with his love, lost in wonder and amazement, and can only end in an adoring silence and pray to my Lord to reveal this mystery of his love to them by a glorious experience in their own souls.

Another grief I have, which my blessed Lord partakes of, even for poor sleeping sinners which oppose their own souls. My fear is that I should offend so loving a Saviour, so merciful a God, and no wonder I should have this fear at the sight of my deceitful heart and finding how apt I am to yield to the corruptions of my cursed nature. The chief I find to be unbelief, pride, and self-will. O what should humble the hellish pride of a sinful heart? Surely nothing but a dying Saviour's humility. It is only this planted in the soul can keep us from climbing the rocks of presumption. O Lord, pull down every high hill and proud thought and make the crooked ways straight, and guide my feet in thy righteous path.

And now what is my hope? Blessed [be] the Lord Jesus Christ, who hath begotten me to a lively hope and real belief. He that is greater than my heart and can do all things hath begun a good work and will perfect it. I have a steadfast hope and sure confidence the same power that raised my dead soul from the sleep of death will and doth quicken me to newness of life. O Lord, grant I may fully experience the power of Christ's resurrection. This hope is the anchor of my soul and stays me upon the Rock of Ages.

I can say I am coming from the wilderness, leaning upon my beloved, and though some places of this wilderness are dark and gloomy, yet he is a guide to my feet and a lantern to my paths. Although the beasts of prey roar terribly, and sometimes encounter me, my Lord fights the battle for me and covers me with the shield of faith. If storm or tempest arise, he spreads his overshadowing wings around me and in the midst I am in safety, so long as I keep my hold and look up to him. But if through stress of temptation I yield to doubt or reasoning, my enemy gets the better and thrusts sore at me, that I might fall. Then I cry to the God of my life. And before I call, he heareth; and before I speak, he answereth. His merciful hand alone delivereth me. His own arm gets me victory for ever. Blessed and praised be his holy name, who bringeth me into his banqueting chamber and his banner over me is love.

O blessed Saviour, whom have I in heaven but thee, and whom do I desire on earth in comparison to thee? O that there were such an heart in me as might please the Lord, and that I might never more offend him, and that I might see and taste Christ in everything and do all to his glory. O blessed Lord, when I shall dwell in Christ and Christ in me, when I shall be one with thee, even as thou and thy Father are one. I know my gracious Saviour is preparing his temple. He burneth up the dross with the fire of his love. O the goodness of my dear Redeemer. Why doth he not purify me in the furnace of affliction, when I deserve nothing but his eternal wrath and the fire of ten thousand hells. What reason can I give that the

¹Susannah Designe (maiden name unknown) was born of French parents near the Isle of Ely in 1712. When she and her husband had their property ruined by flood they moved to Bristol, where Susannah began to teach private students and was an early member of the Methodist society.

Lord dealeth thus tenderly with me and so many are in everlasting torment; they hath not sinned so much or I not. But God is love, all compassion, long-suffering, and of great mercy to all that come to him by faith.

Whenever I lift up my heart to the Lord I find such a power drawing my soul into holy breathings to love the Lord with my whole heart as I cannot express. Such longing desires to be set free from myself and that my Saviour would set up his kingdom in my heart and establish his throne forever there and reign and rule alone. When my soul is thus drawn out with these desires I find my bodily strength fails me and I am weak as an infant. I feel such flurries of love to my dear Saviour and all mankind as I cannot express. Then I do in some measure experience that love to others wherewith Christ has loved me. Surely this is an earnest of the rest that remaineth for the children of God. O Lord give me to prove faithful to the grace given to me, and then shall I see greater things than these. For my soul cannot feed upon past graces, no more than my body can be nourished by the food I ate yesterday. But as the body daily craves natural sustenance, so doth my hungry soul after the bread of heaven. I hope I do not deceive myself in taking this as a certain mark of true spiritual life to look daily for fresh supplies of grace. I know I am led by the Spirit of God, which I find teaches me and guides me in the ways of the Lord. The same Spirit doth awe and check me if [I] do or speak anything which is not [in] accord to his blessed will. O that I had no will of my own, but mine was lost in his, and my life was his, hid with Christ in God. O my dear Saviour, give me patience and long suffering to wait till my change come. Only keep me from offending thee or resting short of this glorious privilege which thou has given me to believe is to be attained. O Lord, strengthen my faith also to believe he that shall come will come, and will not tarry. Even so, come Lord Jesus, come quickly.

My dear shepherd, I earnestly desire an interest in your prayers, as I hope I shall not forget you in mine. Now the Lord bless you and keep you, give you a double portion of his Spirit, strengthen you for the work of the ministry, and in his good time bring you to us again in safety in the fulness of the gospel of peace.

Your unworthy servant in Christ,

Susannah Designe

My love to brother [Edward] Nowers.

Address: 'To / the Rev. Mr. John / Wesley at the Foundery in / More Fields, London'.

Postmark: '23/IY'.

Endorsement: by JW, 'Sus. Designe / S. Somerell / July 23. 1740 / a[nswere]d 28 in C[harles]'s'.

Source: holograph; MARC, MA 1977/503, Box 4, file 13.

From Margaret Summerell¹

Bristol
July 21, 1740

Reverend Sir, and Faithful Minister of Jesus Christ,

I have here given an account how my heart stands with God. I find my whole soul's desire is to the Lord and the remembrance of his great name. I desire the Lord, which hath all power in [heaven] and in earth will make me perfect as my Father which is in heaven is perfect. I have no doubt nor fears, but a filial fear of offending my good and gracious God that hath done so much for my soul. I [have] a solid peace and a desire to be kept meek and lowly as a little child. I find no room [for] a Christian disciple[?] to slow and wreck his pace the farther he goeth on his journey, or to be negligent in his duties and means of grace. But rather to press forward and be double diligent. And as we cannot live without fresh supplies of grace, where are we more likely to meet the Lord than in his own appointed way? I have experienced the necessity of using the means not for the sake of finding comfort there but because my Lord hath commanded me so to do and my blessed Saviour doth make himself known to me in the partaking[?] of bread and in prayer. All praise and glory be to God, who hath begotten me again by the word of his power to a lively hope, to believe in all the promises with a full appearance of faith, to believe if the Lord should call me away in a moment, he will perfect the work in my soul. I find my heart changed from a heart of stone to a heart of flesh, and in the midst a new white stone, and on it a new name written, 'I am thy salvation.'² And wheresoever I want, I look there and find supply for all my wants. 'I am thy salvation, thy confidence, thy strength and righteousness, and all in all.' Blessed and praised by God, who hath taken the cup of trembling from me and said I shall drink no more of that bitter cup. But I must earnestly contend for the faith of Abraham, that worketh by love. And what reward shall I give to the Lord for his benefits that I have not received at his hands? I will take the cup of salvation and call upon the name of the Lord so long as I live.

And now my dear pastor, I desire your continual prayers for me that I may continue steadfast, unmoveable, always abounding in the work of the Lord, for as much as I know that my labour is not in vain in the Lord. Dear brother, I hope I shall not forget to pray for you, for if I should I must forget what God hath done for me, you being the chiefest instrument the Lord hath made use of to bring me to himself, and then how should I but love and esteem, and pray for you as my own soul? But all the glory and honour is due to God alone, to whom be praise forever and ever. The Lord be with your spirit. Amen.

Your unworthy sister in Christ,

Margaret Summerell

We find great power from the Lord in our own private band. The love of God shed abroad in our hearts, our souls knit one to another. We drink out of one Spirit and the Lord doth meet us. And then it is no wonder we are loathe to part, for we think four hours too little time for so heavenly a communion.

Remember my love to Brother [Edward] Nowers.

Source: holograph; MARC, MA 1977/503, Box 4, file 13 (on same sheet with prior letter by Designe).

¹Margaret Summerell [JW spells her name 'Somerel'] was an early leader and member of the Methodist society in Bristol. Her name appears on class-tickets as late as 1774. JW visited her home at least three times Aug. 20 and 22, 1739, and May 19, 1740.

²Ps. 35:3.

From John Ewer

[London]
July 24, 1740

John Westly,

For I cannot use any apology, neither rough nor smooth, saving that for severe reasons I choose to deliver my florid sentiments to you in writing. It is about nine or ten weeks ago since I received justification or pardon applied to my heart—the Lord being the agent, your brother Charles the minister. At which time I was full of love to God and man, full of light in the Holy Scriptures, full of joy in the Holy Ghost, full of faith, full of expectation of fresh light, receiving many gracious promises as ‘God careth for thee’, whereby I was delivered from all my worldly cares and walked on as though I had been walking in the air. Insomuch that I thought the work was done. I said indeed I shall never be moved. Thou, Lord, hast made me feel so strong. I told your brother God had got full possession of my heart. Tis true he gave me a caution not to be too sure. And now I have cause enough to remember, for now the scene is quite altered. Things have now another face. Now all new things are waste[d] away whole. All things are become old. But indeed not properly, for I never before felt such a hell as I now feel. I now am as very a devil as ever was or will be confined in the everlasting chains of darkness. I now hate God, hate my brother, hate my children, hate all that is good. And what adds much to my sorrow in it, I know God the Father and our Lord Jesus Christ loves me. I am as proud as Lucifer, as covetous as mammon, as hateful as Beelzebul, as lustful as a horse. There are three women in the house—one I hate; the other I commit adultery with hourly in my heart; as for my wife, I take no more notice of her

Than I do of the spider's web,
Swept from the wall by the giddy maid.

O dear sir, what should I do in this condition? I am just upon the point of breaking off from God, of declaring for the devil. Therefore, if you can help me by writing to me or talking with me, you will ever be remembered by

Your poor and miserable and blind and naked fellow creature,

John Ewer

Address: ‘The Revd. John Westly / Windmill Hill near / Moor-fields’.

Endorsement: by JW, ‘in orco [in hell]! Jo Ewer / July 24. 1740 / a[nswere]d by speaking’.

Source: holograph; MARC, MA 1977/503, Box 4, file 13.

From the Rev. Henry Piers¹

Bexley
July 28, 1740

My Dear Brother,

If you can spare so many, send me a dozen of your printed proposals for the publishing Martin Luther upon the Epistle to the Galatians.² I have no great hopes of getting subscriptions to it, but I think the thing so good that the scattering a few of them among my people will edify. Mr. Coast will pay you for them, and I will endeavour to sell the sermons, etc., that you were so kind as to send me by my wife, at proper opportunities.

I should be much obliged if when my dear friend Charles comes to town you would contrive to let me have you at Bexley for a day or two before you set out for Bristol;³ for I am preparing a sermon for the press, to bear my testimony for my dearest Lord against an unbelieving, wicked world through the sides of as unbelieving and wicked a parish; which I cannot do without yours or his approbation.⁴

If you have any leisure, employ some of it in building up my dear friend the bearer, of whom I conceive great hopes, and do think he is gone a good way through the pangs of it to the new birth. I have the greater opinion of him because he has seen a great deal of the vanity and wickedness of life, and I hope his smart is (at present) in some measure in proportion.

I thank you and your dear mother for your Christian love to my wife, who joins in the same. We send you a few apricots, as many as were tolerably ripe, and some jennetins.⁵ Accept of the cup of cold water from, dear brother,

Your (I hope sensibly) unworthy, poor brother, but truly affectionate in our dearest Lord,
Hen. Piers

Here is an empty house or two at Bexley, I wish you could send us a Christian family to inhabit. I hope I have a share in your intercessions. We beg our Christian affection to Mrs. Wesley.⁶

Address: 'To / the Reverend Mr. John Wesley / at the foundry / with a basket'.

Endorsement: by JW, 'Mr Piers / July 27, 1740 / a[nswere]d 28'.

Source: holograph; MARC, MA 1977/610/108.⁷

¹Rev. Henry Piers (1695–1770), grandson of an Irish baron, was educated at Trinity College, Dublin. After a curacy in Winwick, Lancashire, in 1737 he became vicar of Bexley, Kent, the parish of the Delamotte family. While visiting the Delamottes in 1738, CW befriended Piers and helped him towards a conversion experience, awakening his support of the evangelical movement. Through the 1740s Piers was particularly supportive of the Wesley brothers, then his concentration narrowed to his own parish. See *DEB*, 888–89; and Vickers, *Dictionary*, 272.

²Nothing else is known of this venture of JW, and it seems unlikely that he did in fact publish it.

³I.e., when CW returns to London from Bristol, freeing JW to return to Bristol.

⁴Piers notes in his next letter (Sept. 2) that the sermon is on Ephesians; he does not appear to have published it.

⁵Jenneting, or 'St. John's apple', an early apple or pear.

⁶Susanna (Annesley) Wesley.

⁷Transcription published in *Works*, 26:21–22.

From the Rev. Charles Wesley¹

[Bristol]
[July 30, 1740]

The people who have brother Cook's child desire me not take her away till they had wrote once more to him. I consented the rather because you have sent me no directions where to place her. He must send a second order. They required it £1.5.0 for keeping her. Brother [Thomas] Richards has borrowed £5-15-0, not of Mrs. G.² (how *could* you ask it?) but of Mrs. Hooper³ and paid Cotton in full; the rest being abated on account of the outside quires. Tis time to [ap]prentice Jacky Lambert. Ask yourself where is the money.⁴

A third or fourth time I ask whether you think of the orders, that there should be any addition or alteration. I suppose you have laid aside my letters mentioning such a thing, and so clean forgot it. Peter Brown is the bookseller [Felix] Farley has employed to sell your Journals.⁵

Address: 'To / The Revd Mr Wesley / at the Foundry / London'.

Postmarks: '1/AV' and 'B/ris/tol'.

Endorsement: by JW, 'C[harles] July 30 1740 /a[nswere]d 2 Journal'.

Source: holograph; MARC, MA 1977/503, Box 5, file 4.

¹While in the hand of Thomas Richards, these two personal notes added to a journal letter are clearly from CW to JW.

²Almost certainly Elizabeth (Whitefield) Grevil.

³Elizabeth Hooper was drawn to the Methodist movement in Bristol in 1739. In Aug. 1740 she took an ill CW into her home, to nurse him back to health. When she died in 1741, CW wrote a funeral hymn for the occasion. See CW, MS Journal, May 8, 1741; and *HSP* (1742), 124–25.

⁴This note is written horizontally in the left margin of page 2.

⁵This note is written horizontally in the left margin of page 3.

From Emilia (Wesley) Harper

[Gainsborough, Lincolnshire]

August 4, 1740

Dear Brother,

I should sooner have writ[ten] to you had I known where to find you, your last being dated from Oxford,¹ and you then was going to leave that place. But my mother telling me that you are with her, I resolved speedily to write, that I may get information from your own self of some things of which I know not what to think till more light be granted me.

The Methodists make a mighty noise in the nation. Most people condemn their doctrines, yet whether out of curiosity or goodness I can't tell. Never were any preachers more followed. Mr. [Jacob] Rogers and Mr. [Benjamin] Ingham at Nottingham preached lately to upward of ten thousand souls. Now as you are the head of those people, prithee solve me a few scruples concerning them, and assure yourself I am as unprejudiced as your heart can wish. And first I begin with your doctrines, as far as I know them, and then shall secondly consider your practice.

First I am informed you hold the absolute necessity of faith before we can be justified or in any state of regeneration. Now if actual faith be necessary to our being in a state of salvation, to what purpose is infant baptism? Or what becomes of those who died before they come to an age capable of believing?—as thousands do every year. Secondly, if none are in a state of salvation who are not sure that their sins are all pardoned, since here we are in a state of continual conflict, often falling and repenting, how few are in a safe condition, since as the Scripture and our own experience too teaches us, there is none that sinneth not. There is none who in this mortal state of infirmity has arrived at absolute perfection, though all ought to labour to come as near it as they can. Certainly such a belief must be erroneous, and as Mr. [William] Law says, must proceed from constitution only.

Now for your practice. All you Methodist preachers are regular clergymen (I think), and therefore authorized by Christ to preach the gospel. But why do you take so extraordinary a way? Why do you leave our churches to preach in fields and markets? And what is become of our excellent liturgy, which cannot be used in such places? Then, why do you condemn all means of grace except those used by yourselves? For our news say one of you, lately preaching at Mary[le]bone, declared Dr. Tillotson's works,² and those of the author of *The Whole Duty of Man*, deserved to be burnt,³ which I should take for falsehood, only I remember Mr. Ridgeley at my house, seeing [Edmund] Spenser and the Bishop of Sodor and Man on the sacrament⁴ lying on the table, declared they both deserved burning. Now the poor *Fairie Queen* might be condemned, as the occasion of loss of time, but what in the name of wonder had the other done, that excellent help at the time of receiving? Sure nothing but gross ignorance could or can be the cause of condemning such books. Some smaller matters, such as levelling all habits, diet, expenses, I think wrong, but would first be satisfied in the above mentioned. To conclude, dear brother, don't take me to be of Dr. Trapp's way of thinking—the world is in no danger of being over righteous.⁵ Our clergy,

¹JW was in Oxford June 3–4, 1740; no letter to Emilia at that time survives.

²John Tillotson (1630–94), Archbishop of Canterbury.

³George Whitefield published public letters in the London *Daily Advertiser* on July 2, 1740 and July 3, 1740 criticizing in order *The Whole Duty of Man* (published anonymously by Richard Allestree in 1657) and the writings of John Tillotson (1630–94), Archbishop of Canterbury. He did not specifically call for burning these works.

⁴Thomas Wilson, *A Short and Plain Instruction for the Better Understanding of the Lord's Supper* (London: Charles Rivington, 1733).

⁵An allusion to Joseph Trapp, *The Nature, Folly, Sin, and Danger of Being Righteous Overmuch* (London: S. Austen, L. Gilliver, et al., 1739).

generally speaking, are unworthy of the sacred office they hold, and if God have raised you up to reform the nation, I heartily wish you prosperity. I believe all the Methodists to be good Christians, though not infallible. May the Spirit of truth (who alone is so) guide us into all truth. I am, dear brother,

Your most affectionate sister,

Emilia Harper

Pray give my duty to my dear mother, and love to Charles. O that God would permit me to see you again.

Mr. Hutton is dead.⁶ My mother named some school at Bristol founded by you, etc., where she had rather have me go than to York.⁷ Depend on it I never there or elsewhere should take part with the wicked against you, for fear of fighting against God, though I may not entirely agree (yet) with all your opinions. I must take some care for moving before winter. If you can help me I don't doubt your will. Pray write soon.

Address: 'To / the Revd. Mr John Wesley/ at the Foundry in upper / Morefields near Windmill hill / London'.

Postmark: '9/AV'. *Charge:* '4'.

Endorsement: by JW, 'S[ister] Em. / Aug. 4, 1740 / a[nswere]d 9'.

Source: holograph; MARC, DDWF 6/10.⁸

⁶Thomas Hutton (c. 1688–1740), of Gainsborough, died on Aug. 1. It is unclear how he might be related to either William Hutton of Epworth (whose father was Robert), or Rev. John Hutton, the father of James Hutton.

⁷Robert Harper, Emilia's husband does not appear to have died at this point, but they are living apart and she is in need of employment. The 'school' in question is likely that connected to the New Room.

⁸Transcription published in *Works*, 26:23–24.

From John Cennick

Bristol
Saturday, August 16, 1740

Dear Brother,

I write now to ask your mind about letting William Spencer¹ be a sort of usher to the school at Kingswood under me. So might 15 or 20 boys more be brought up, to the good of them, and to the satisfying an inquisitive people, who are always asking after more masters. You are persuaded I cannot always be there. Yet so often as I could, an hour or two of a day perhaps, I might, and in that I might show him what to do. He can write and cast account well, and would be content with food and raiment. This I believe we (that is our society) could afford. Yet dear sir, if it be not according to your will, speak and I have done. He is teased at home, and to get from them looks to Jamaica. I think it is better to abide here.

Brother Charles [Wesley] is still very ill. Pray for him that his sickness be to the glory of God! Pray for me that I may be humble, willing to be led by the Lord's hand whithersoever he pleaseth! There is now no collections made, what must we do? Yesterday Mr. [William] Morgan and wife (as he said,) moved by the Almighty, went into the Quakers' meeting dressed as of that Society, and preached twice. The bishop would have him return. He still persists and has made no small stir in this place. Mrs. [Elizabeth (Whitefield)] Grevil, Jenny Smith, Thomas Oldfield, William Wynne seem² now to have bid adieu to the word as among us preached. Tell me if you can talk with Mr. [William] Seward, if he preaches, if many follow him? My love to dear brother [Edward] Nowers, [John] Purdy, and all—as many as bear the name of Christ, and ask after me. I think we go forward, and are vigilant here.

Adieu!

Address: 'To / The Revd. Mr. Wesley / at ye Foundry: Upper / Morefields / London'.

Postmarks: '20/AV' and 'B'.

Endorsement: by JW, 'a[nswere]d 21'.

Source: holograph; MARC, WCB, D6/1/206.³

¹William Spencer (d. 1779) did join Cennick at Kingswood, and stayed on when Cennick was dismissed by JW a few months later (in debates over Calvinism). Indeed, Spencer continued at Kingswood through its reconstruction in 1748, and up to 1764, when he left under a cloud and strained relationships with Methodism. He became rich and died intestate. See Ives, *Kingswood*, 26–27, 227–33; and *WHS* 28 (1952): 149–50.

²Orig., 'seems'.

³Transcription published in *Wesley Banner* 2 (1850): 42; and *WHS* 28 (1952): 150.

From the Rev. George Whitefield

Charleston¹ [South Carolina]
August 25, 1740

Dear and Honoured Sir,

Last night I had the pleasure of receiving an extract of your *Journal*.² This morning I took a walk and read it. I pray God to give it his blessing. Many things I trust will prove beneficial, especially the account of yourself.

Only, give me leave with all humility to exhort you not to be strenuous in opposing the doctrines of *election* and *final perseverance*, when, by your own confession, ‘you have not the witness of the Spirit within yourself’,³ and consequently are not a proper judge. I remember dear brother E— told me one day that ‘he was convinced of the perseverance of the saints’. I told him you was not. He replied, ‘But he will be convinced when he hath got the Spirit himself.’ I am assured God has now for some years given me this living witness in my soul. I cannot say I have since indulged any doubts (at least for no considerable time) about the forgiveness of my sins. Nay, I can scarce say that I ever doubted at all. When I have been nearest death, my evidences have been the clearest. I can say I have been on the borders of Canaan, and do every day—nay, almost every moment—long for the appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ; not to evade sufferings, but with a single desire to see his blessed face. I feel his blessed Spirit daily filling my soul and body, as plain as I feel the air which I breathe, or the food I eat.

Perhaps the doctrines of election and final perseverance have been abused (and what doctrine has not), but notwithstanding, it is children’s bread and ought not, in my opinion, to be withheld from them, supposing it is always mentioned with proper cautions against the abuse. *Dear and honoured sir*, I write not this to enter into disputation. I hope at this time I feel something of the meekness and gentleness of Christ. I cannot bear the thoughts of opposing you. But how can I avoid it if you go about (as your brother Charles once said) to drive John Calvin out of Bristol? Alas, I never read anything that Calvin wrote. My doctrine I had from Christ and his apostles. I was taught them of God. And as God was pleased to send me out first, and to enlighten me first, so I think he still continues to do it. My business seems to be chiefly in planting. If God send you to water, I praise his name. I wish you a thousandfold increase.

I find, by young W—’s letter, there is disputing among you about *election* and *perfection*. I pray God to put a stop to it, for what good end will it answer? I wish I knew your principles fully. Did you write oftener, and more frankly, it might have a better effect than silence and reserve. I have lately had many domestic trials, and that about points of doctrine, not by myself but from others in my absence. I daily wait upon God, depending on his promise that all things, even this, shall work together for my good. Many in Charleston, I believe, are called of God. You may now find a Christian without searching the town as with a candle. Mr. [Alexander] G[arden] is less furious, at least in public. He hath expended all his strength, and finds he cannot prevail.

Adieu, *honoured sir*, Adieu! My health is better since I last left Charleston, and am now freed from domestic cares. With almost tears of love to you, and the brethren, do I subscribe myself, honoured sir,

Your most affectionate brother and servant in Christ,

G. W.

Source: published transcription; Whitefield, *Letters*, 1:204–05.

¹Whitefield consistently spells ‘Charles-town’.

²The first extract of JW’s published *Journal* (*Works*, 18:120–216), released in June 1740.

³Whitefield’s summary of *Journal*, Feb. 1, 1738, *Works*, 18, 215–16.

From Anne (Williams) Dutton

[Great Gransden, Huntingdonshire]
c. August 30, 1740

[p. 24]

Reverend and Dear Brother,

Yours I received,¹ and give you hearty thanks for that and all other testimonies of your respect to unworthy me. Indeed sir, I am grieved to hear you still maintain what, in my thoughts, is contrary to the truth of God's Word, and to say you know more instances of it daily.

Dear sir, you may remember that, according to your former,² the account you gave me of Christian liberty was this: 'That when we had attained it, we are then free not only from fears and doubts, but also from all faintness, coldness, and unevenness of love, both towards God and our neighbour. And hence, from wanderings of heart in duty, and from every motion and affection that is contrary to the law of love, and especially from the first stirrings of anger, [p. 25] etc.' And you say, 'I could bring many arguments to prove this also, but I dare not; neither is it needful.'

Indeed sir I have no mind to maintain a dispute. It is as disagreeable to me as it can be to you. Especially as in my last I freely and fully told you my mind, which I was obliged to, in love and faithfulness; and now am quite easy as to that, and shall leave you with the Lord, praying that you may be taught of him. So that in the main we are both agreed *not* to argue. But I think it a little strange that you should say, 'I dare not.' If what you assert is the truth of God, and part of that faith once delivered to the saints, why should you be afraid to argue—yea, to contend earnestly for it?

Perhaps you'll answer, 'I need not argue it with the saints.' Because you add, 'There is a Spirit that will lead us into all truth.' This, sir, I verily believe and rejoice in as *my* privilege, among the rest of the saints, although I am less than the least of them all. But yet, by the Holy Spirit's being promised to lead us into all truth, I don't think we are to understand that he shall lead *all* the saints into every individual truth in the book of God; nor indeed *any* of them into any *one* particular truth, in its *own* comprehensive fulness, while in *this life*. In the life to *come*, indeed, we [p. 26] shall know all truth, perfectly and totally. But in this we only know initially and partially. And therefore have need of all the *means* of teaching. And why may not solid arguments, founded on the Word of God (that standard of truth to try doctrine by) be a proper *means* of the saints' instruction? Surely if the apostles had thought it not so, they would not have *argued* for the truth with them, in so many instances wherein they were liable to mistake. But I write not thus, that it should be so done unto me, but only speak of the thing as it *is*.

Indeed my brother, it is my desire for myself, for you, and for all the saints, that we may daily give up ourselves to the guidance of the Holy Spirit. But then let us remember that the *Spirit* of Christ doth always lead us according to the *Word* of Christ. He is styled the Spirit of truth, as I conceive, not only because he is *the* God of truth, or the *true* God, and cannot lie; but also because he reveals and applies the Truth of God in his Word unto us. 'He', saith our Lord, 'shall bring all things to your remembrance, whatsoever I have said unto you',³ whether personally or ministerially, by his prophets and apostles. Therefore let us bring all our notions of things to the written Word, and see whether they be consonant therewith or dissonant thereto. The apostle John bids us try the spirits, [p. 27] whether they be of God.⁴ And how shall we 'try them' but by the *written Word*? 'That sure word of prophecy, unto which'

¹JW records in his diary writing Dutton on Aug. 22, 1740. The letter does not survive, but some hints of its contents are available in this reply.

²JW's letter of June 25, 1740; which is also known only by excerpts in Dutton's reply of c. July 17, and in the present letter.

³John 14:26.

⁴See 1 John 4:1.

we do 'well to take heed'.⁵ If any speak not according to this *word* it is because there is no light in them. I pray you take this caution kindly. I know not whether it is needful, but in love I give it.

My dear brother, I readily own that I am but a little child, and that I know nothing (especially if my knowledge be reduced to that which is soul-transforming and practical). And I think you allow the same for yourself, and all the saints. And if our knowledge is imperfect while here (for even an inspired apostle saith, 'now I know in part'⁶), why not our holiness? Doth not our *holiness* flow from our *knowledge*? And bear a strict *proportion* therewith? Surely *while* we know, and so *far* as we know, or 'behold with open face the glory of the Lord, we are changed into the same image from glory to glory, as by the Spirit of the Lord.'⁷ Who, from Christ, becomes the transforming shine that both enlightens and transforms us at once, just according to the degree of his shining, or casting the rays of divine glory upon us.

And indeed the apostle saith, 'If any man think that he knoweth anything' (i.e., perfectly), 'he knoweth *nothing* yet as he ought to know.'⁸ How is that sir? How is it that we [p. 28] 'know nothing'? Surely it must be taken comparatively and not positively. For positively, they that are *spiritual*, under the teachings of the Holy Spirit, do *know* God in Christ, and the *things* which of him are freely given them. They *know* that they are of God, and that the whole world lieth in wickedness. They *know* that if the earthly house of their tabernacle were dissolved, they have a building of God, an house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens, etc.⁹ But the *knowledge* they have of these things, though it be *certain* and sure, yet is it not *full* and clear. And no more, if compared with the transcendent glory and excellency of the *things* known as in themselves considered, and with the *knowledge* they shall one day have of them in all their refulgent brightness, than NOTHING! Oh, when that which is *perfect* is come, then that which is in *part* shall be done away! Then we shall see no more through a glass darkly, but face to face; and all the saints be of *one mind*! Lord hasten that blessed day! For my own part, though I know *nothing* comparatively, yet the little knowledge I have positively of the excellency and glory of God, as the God of all grace in Christ, of his being my time-lot and my eternal all; of my Beloved's being mine, and I his; and of the office and operations of the Spirit, as a sanctifier and comforter, etc.; [p. 29] is so much that I would not take a *world* for it—no, nor *millions* of them, were there so many. God is mine, and I have *enough*! Adored for ever be that grace that made HIMSELF *my* part, and *my* lot! And who can tell the bliss, the joy, the *soul-rest* which I have in this *knowledge*! Surely a stranger doth not intermeddle with it! And is it not thus with you, my brother? Then let us be thankful for that *knowledge* of the truth which is given us, hold fast what we know, and hope and wait for that *perfect* knowledge, which our gracious God will give us in his good time.

Dear sir, after I had finished my last¹⁰ there was a thought came into my mind, which I was very desirous to acquaint you with, and thought to do it by postscript but had not room. Give me leave therefore, now to insert it.

The thought which came into my mind was this: That one great means of misleading you, and some of your friends, with respect to perfection in this life might be your apprehending the new-birth to be so styled with respect to that perfect rectitude of nature which we had in the first Adam. As if *that* was the *first* birth, and the good *work* wrought in us now, the second. From whence you thus argue: The first Adam, in his pure state, was perfectly holy; and therefore the soul of man since the fall must attain a [p. 30] perfection of holiness answerable there unto, before it can be truly said to be *born again*.

⁵2 Pet. 1:19.

⁶1 Cor. 13:12.

⁷2 Cor. 3:18.

⁸1 Cor. 8:2.

⁹See 2 Cor. 5:1.

¹⁰Her letter c. July 17.

And indeed I grant that it may be strongly argued from hence that, as the first man was made perfectly holy, and so perfectly happy in the enjoyment of God, so there can be no true *happiness* for the soul of man without holiness. And as he, since the fall, is altogether depraved, so there is an absolute necessity that his soul be renewed, and have the *image* of God *formed* in it; or he can have no *communion* with him, either here or hereafter. For 'What fellowship hath light with darkness?'¹¹

But then, that this *renewing* of the whole soul, in all its powers and faculties, must be a *total* renewing of any of them, or *such* a renewing that excludes all imperfection, doth not follow from hence. Because the state of man before the fall, and since, is vastly different. The *communion* that *Adam* had with God was perfect, uninterrupted, and constant; and therefore of necessity his holiness, while he enjoyed it, was so. But the *communion* which renewed souls enjoy with God in this world, being imperfect, interrupted, and inconstant; there is not the same necessity of perfect holiness as there was in *Adam*, in order to the enjoyment of it.

There is indeed an absolute necessity that there be *holiness* of truth, or the *truth* of [p. 31] holiness wrought in the soul, or it can have no communion with God. And the more holiness any soul attains, the more it is fitted for and favoured with *communion* with God in this life. And therefore we ought to labour after the highest holiness, and make it our business while in the body to perfect the same daily. A perfection of holiness with respect to parts is absolutely necessary to fit the soul for *partial* communion with God here. And a perfection of holiness with respect to degree, to fit it for that *perfect* communion it shall have with him hereafter. And when, at death, the soul is made perfect in holiness, it immediately enters into that perfect, uninterrupted, and eternal *communion* with God which was *prepared* for it, and for which *it* is now prepared. And till then, holiness of truth is never at its full growth. Which I think may be fitly gathered from this good work upon our souls being styled a birth, the new-birth, or a being *born again*.

For as I take it, the work of grace on the soul is styled the new, or *second* birth, by way of allusion to the *first* birth, or our birth in nature. And if you looked upon it to be so, two things would necessarily follow: As,

1. That as a child of nature, when born into this world, is *fitted* for converse with the various objects thereof, so the soul, when born [p. 32] into the world of grace, is *fitted* for converse with those glorious objects which are there to be enjoyed. It has a spiritual *faculty* of seeing, hearing, smelling, tasting, and feeling those spiritual *powers* and glories which are peculiar to the heavenly state, the kingdom or world of grace. As the babe in nature has natural faculties to converse with the things of nature or the various things of this present world, and as the babe in nature can have no enjoyment of the good things of this world until it is born into it; so neither can the soul *enjoy* any of those glorious things which God has prepared for them that love him until it is *born* into the kingdom of grace, or brought out of darkness into God's marvellous light. And

2. That as a child in nature, when born into this world, having a perfection of parts, still wants a perfection of degrees, and is long ere it arrives to the perfect *use* of those faculties concreated with it, and that *fulness* of stature for which it is designed; so the soul, when born into the world of grace, though it has spiritual senses and a perfection of *parts* with respect to grace and holiness, yet is long ere it arrives to the perfect *use* and *exercise* of its spiritual senses and that full *measure* of stature which is appointed for it as a member in the mystical body of Christ, which is his fulness. As a child in nature [p. 33] advanceth by slow degrees to the perfection of manhood; so a child in grace grows up from one degree of grace unto another, until grace is perfected in glory. Thus you would very naturally and truly argue, if you looked upon our new-birth, or birth in grace, to be an allusion to our *first* birth, or birth in nature. Whereas your looking upon it to be an allusion to that perfect holiness which was concreated with the first man naturally misleads you.

And indeed, I don't remember that *Adam's* production is anywhere styled a birth. Had it been so in a proper sense, it would have noted imperfection. Whereas the first man was created perfect, absolutely

¹¹2 Cor. 6:14.

so, a perfect man at once—both with respect to the members of his body and the holiness of his soul. But with respect to our production, both in nature and grace, it's just the *reverse*.

Thus sir, you have my thoughts. Judge as you can. Only take it not amiss that I have so freely imparted them. In love I offer them to your consideration, with a desire after your edification, if the Lord please.

Unto the tender love and care of Christ, our great prophet, I commit you, praying that you may always abide under the glorious teachings of his Word and Spirit; and be greatly used by him, the chief shepherd, to feed his sheep and lambs, that so when he appears [p. 34] you may receive a crown of glory that fadeth not away. Pray for, dear sir,

Yours in the Lord, etc.

Source: published transcription; Dutton, *Letters*, 24–34.

From the Rev. Henry Piers

Bexley
September 2, 1740

My Dear Brother,

The discourse which I wrote to you about is rather an exposition than a sermon, on the first ten verses of the second chapter of the epistle to the Ephesians. It is very long, having already preached six times upon it. I *hope* to finish it, God willing, the next Lord's day. I have now offended my whole parish with it, excepting some few. *For the Blendon family*,¹ who I am told have spoke in its praise till yesterday, are more offended than any; having taken occasion as it came in my way to touch a little upon the Moravian stillness and their growing objection[?] to the worship of our Church, which I defended and added some censuring of their falling away.

My dear brother, I hope we shall never preach against the doctrine of our Church, though great room there be to open against the duties[?]. I find by Lewis's last paper that it is what the Pharisees want. But I pray that they may be disappointed. I cannot sufficiently thank God that he has raised up two such persons as dear Charles [Wesley] and yourself to show the world that a man may be a true Christian and a staid member of the Church of England. This is what I have often mentioned to Will[iam] Delamotte, but to no purpose. I have heard him say he could not join in a single sentence of our service—from beginning to end. If I was really of his opinion, I would never enter a church door, lest God should be provoked to strike me dead for my hypocrisy.

Elizabeth Rowe has been with me nine or so days. God, I find, has been particularly good to her, and blessed her disappointments from the world. She seems to be much employed. I join in her request to you, that you would enlist her business as a quilter among your own people, for she is tired of working among her ungodly acquaintances. She came here to beg a little retirement in my barn. She spent her first two or three days in what she proposed, which I have since found was making a collection of texts on the promises to the faithful, of the blessings and benefits of faith, and on some other head which I now forget. The latter part of her time was employed in quilting for my wife.

If neither you nor Charles can come hither, I propose, God willing, to go to town² the beginning of next week, before which time, I'm told, he is expected. If he is already come, my best affections to him, for I owe more to him than any man alive.

My dear brother, I depend much on your prayers. Let me never be forgot. May your dear Master establish, strengthen, settle you, in the earnest prayer of

Your affectionate unworthy brother,

Hen. Piers

Address: 'To / The Rev. Mr. John Wesley / at the New School / Bristol'.

Postmark: '2/SE'.

Endorsement: by JW, 'Mr. Piers. Sept. 2. 1740'.

Source: holograph; MARC, MA 1977/610/109.

¹I.e., the Delamotte family, who lived in Blendon Hall.

²I.e., London.

From Elizabeth Spring¹

Bristol
September 13, 1740

Reverend and Dear Sir,

I having this opportunity, I was willing to trouble you dear sir within this day or two.

I find myself in a great delusion to think that it is impossible to have a new heart, for I find the work of God has stopped and do[es] not go on in my soul. And as I do not find the fruits of any such a thing in my soul, I think there is no such a thing as having the white stone removed in our hearts.² O let me not go on any further in this, for fear I anger my God. Though I am in a cloud of darkness, I hope the great God that hears the cries of all his people will hear mine. O let all people be mindful of living in pride, for pride makes us relapse into all manner of sins, and by pride I have lost my faith. I go mourning all the day and afraid to speak, for fear I should offend my God.

Dear sir, I go mourning seemingly for something that I cannot find. But I hope Christ will apply his merit to me in his good time. Then shall I know that the Lord will convince me of all this that I am faithless of. Dear sir, I find that I have the spirit of a fiend. But I trust the Saviour that hath redeemed me with his blood will purge me from all these evil things. I hope I shall not lay anything to the charge of God, for I know my fault is the occasion of myself, for I was not faithful to the grace that God gave me.

Dear sir, Mary Taylor³ gives her duty to you, and she was in a cloud of darkness but she gives God the glory that she is delivered out of it. O my heart is happy to think I see all my fellow travellers get before me. Sure there is a rejoicing time a coming to my soul, that I go mourning. O think I may [know] nothing by Christ and him crucified. Dear sir, [I pray] that Christ would take me to himself and suffer me not to give love and glory to man that belongs to Christ.

Dear sir, I know the Lord, my God, hast begun to show me, his servant, his greatness and his mighty hand. O what God is there in heaven or in earth that can do according to thy works or according to thy might! Dear sir, I hope God will bring me out from all these fiery trials. Dear sir, I would have written more but my soul is grieved and my spirit is vexed, for I am banished from the presence of the Lord. Not but I know the Lord my God will deliver me, in whose hand is the soul of every living thing and the breath of all mankind.

Now may the Lord Jesus be with you and make you go forth in the power of his strength; and the Lord may use you for an instrument of turning thousands to righteousness; and that you may fight manfully for our dear Lord and Saviour—which then you will receive the crown of rejoicing.

Mrs. England gives her duty to you.⁴ Molly England joins with [us] in sending our duty to you. And love to Mr. [Edward] Nowers and Mr. [John] Purdy.

Now I wait for the salvation of our Lord.

Eliz. Spring

Address: 'To the Rev / Mr Wesly at / the foundery in upper / Morefields / London'.

Endorsement: by JW, 'El Spring Sept 29. 1740 / a[nswere]d Oct 20'.

Source: holograph; MARC, MA 1977/503, Box 4, file 13.

¹This may be the Elizabeth Spring whom JW visited in her home in London, June 17, 1740 (see his dairy, *Works*, 19:423) and appears starting in 1742 in the Foundery Band Lists. If so, she is currently in Bristol helping with the Methodist work there.

²See this imagery also in the letter of Margaret Summerell to JW, July 21, 1740.

³Orig., 'Taller'; CW, MS Journal, mentions a Mary Taylor in the Bristol society.

⁴Rachel England (d. 1755) was one of the initial women members of a band in Bristol; cf. JW to James Hutton, Apr. 16, 1739, *Works*, 25:631.

From the Rev. Benjamin Ingham

Osset
September 20, 1740

My Dear Brother,

I have not heard any thing of you, this long time. As to myself, I am exceeding happy. The Lord Jesus, my dear Redeemer, is abundantly gracious and bountiful towards me. I have, and do daily taste of his goodness. I am ashamed before him; I am so very unworthy, and he is so very kind and merciful. My heart melts within me, at the thoughts of him. He is all love. I am a sinful, helpless worm.

In Yorkshire, the Lord still keeps carrying on his own work. Many souls are truly awakened, some have obtained mercy. The enemies are engaged against us, but the Lord is our helper. We have great peace, and love, and unity, amongst ourselves. We have no differences, no divisions, no disputings. May he, who is the giver of every good and perfect gift, grant us always to be like minded; and may we, and all our friends, grow in grace, and increase in love towards one another, that by this mark all men may know, that we belong to Christ. I remain

Your affectionate, though unworthy, brother,

B. Ingham

Source: published transcription; *Arminian Magazine* 1 (1778): 182–83.

From the Rev. George Whitefield

Boston [Massachusetts]
September 25, 1740

Honoured Sir,

This is sent in answer to yours dated March 25.¹ I think I have for sometime known what it is to have righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost. These, I believe, are the liberties of the children of God. But I can't say I am free from indwelling sin. No, I find the law in my members, warring against the law of my mind, that makes me cry out, 'Who shall deliver me from the body of this death? I thank God, through Jesus Christ our Lord.'² I can't see wherein the heterodoxy of the Article of our Church consists which says that corruption remains even in the regenerate. And if after conversion we can neither sin in thought, word, or deed, I do not know why our Lord taught us to pray to our heavenly Father, 'Forgive us our trespasses, etc.'³

I am sorry, honoured sir, to hear by many letters that you seem to own a sinless perfection in this life attainable. I think I can't answer you better than a venerable old minister did a Quaker: 'Bring me a man that has really arrived to that, and I will pay his expenses, come from whence he will.' I know not what *you* may think, but I do not expect to see indwelling sin finished and destroyed till I bow down my head and give up the ghost. There must be Amalekites left in the Israelite's land to keep his soul in action, to make him humble, and drive him constantly to Jesus for pardon and forgiveness. I know many abuse this doctrine, and perhaps wilfully indulge sin, or do not aspire after holiness, because no man is perfect in this life. But what of that? Must I, therefore, assert doctrines contrary to the gospel? God forbid! And whether the seventh of the Romans be applicable to a converted person (as many great and eminent saints have thought) is not at all to the purpose; there being many other passages of Scripture which show that a sinless perfection is not attainable here below, such as these: 'There is no man that liveth and sinneth not';⁴ 'In many things we offend all',⁵ etc. Yea, I know no sin (except that against the Holy Ghost) that a child of God (if God should withhold his grace) may not be guilty of.

Whatever *you* may think of David, the Scripture says he was a man after God's own heart. And yet how did he fall! And if you will not admit Peter to be a converted person when he denied his Master, what will you say to Paul? Did not he sin, think you (at least, were not his passions irregular, and what is that but sin?) when he speaks to the high priest and calls him 'whited wall', etc.?⁶ Besides, dear sir, what a fond conceit is it to cry up perfection and yet cry down the doctrine of final perseverance! But these, and many other absurdities, you will fall into because you will not own *election*; and you will not own election because you cannot believe the doctrine of reprobation. What is there in reprobation (I can see nothing) that makes it so horrid? I see no blasphemy in holding the doctrine, if rightly explained. If God might pass by *all*, he might pass by *some*. Judge you if it is not a greater blasphemy to say that Christ died for souls now in hell. Surely, dear sir, you don't believe there will be a gaol-delivery of damned souls hereafter? O that you would study the covenant of grace! O that you were rightly convinced of sin! Elisha

¹This letter is not known to survive.

²Rom. 7:24–25.

³Matt. 6:12 and parallels.

⁴Eccles. 7:20.

⁵James 3:2.

⁶See Acts 23:3.

Cole on God's sovereignty,⁷ and *Veritas Redux*, written by Dr. Edwards,⁸ are worth your reading. But I have done. If you think so meanly of [John] Bunyan, and other Puritan writers, I don't wonder you think me wrong. I find the sermon [*Free Grace*] hath had expected success; it hath set the nation a-disputing. You will have enough to do to answer pamphlets: two I have seen already.⁹ O that you would be more cautious in *casting lots*! O that you would not be so rash and precipitant. If you go on thus, dear sir, how can I concur with you? It is impossible. I must speak what I know. This I write out of the fullness of my heart: I feel myself an accursed sinner. I look to Christ, and mourn because I have pierced him. Honoured sir, pray for me. The Lord be with your dear soul. About spring you may expect to see,

Ever, ever yours in Christ,

George Whitefield

Source: published transcription; William Fleetwood, *The Perfectionists Examined* (London, Roberts, 1741), 96–99.¹⁰

⁷Elisha Coles, *A Practical Discourse on God's Sovereignty* (London: for the author, 1673).

⁸John Edwards, *Veritas Redux. Evangelical truths restored* (London: Robinson, Lawrence, and Wyat, 1707). While he is responding to a different book, see JW's negative evaluation of Edwards in *Journal*, Dec. 26, 1760, *Works*, 19:175–76.

⁹See above, Anonymous, May 1740 (pp. 184–97) and 'Christianus', May 8, 1740 (pp. 200–04).

¹⁰Collating Fleetwood with Whitefield, *Letters*, 1:210–12, demonstrates how heavily John Gillies edited Whitefield's letters, making dozens of alterations in substance as well as in style. The Fleetwood transcription was published in *Works*, 26:31–33.

From the Rev. Charles Wesley¹

[Bristol]
[September 27, 1740]

[[Dear Brother,]]

I [[must write a]] second [[letter to excuse the hardness of the first. My manner in blaming is not always the most engaging. But as to the matter, I think, my present advice is good, and according to the best light God has given me.]]

[text of journal letter]

I have had a glorious day of it. God has comforted me on every side. Let prayers and thanksgivings be offered him on my behalf.

Ἐρωσο.²

Saturday night [September 27]

Mr. [William] Seward lifts up his voice concerning the building.³ Don't you be surprised by an arrest. Ungodly men are now rulers over him, and Satan stands at his right hand. You collect with all diligence both in public and private. Try everyone who is likely to contribute. The £100 must be made up forthwith. We grasped at too great matters here and should have taught fewer boys and paid fewer masters, till the debt was cleared. How shall we retrench expenses? It must be done some way or other. I don't expect £100 bill by next post but pray don't let it be long first.

Send me your *Journal*. Hide our dear brother Seward's infirmity all you can by not showing this, etc., unless to particular friends. His friends, such as Mr. Mason,⁴ etc., should see by all means. May the Spirit of God direct you in all things.

Address: 'To / The Revd Mr Wesley / at the Foundry / London'.

Postmarks: '29/SE' and 'B/ris/tol'.

Endorsement: by JW, 'C[harles] Sept. 27, 1740 / of W. S's part. for us / C[harles] a[nswere]d Sept. 29, 1740'.

Source: holograph; MARC, MA 1977/503, Box 5, file 4.

¹These personal notes appear at the beginning and end of a journal letter.

²'Farewell' (lit., 'be healthy').

³Seward was considering claiming ownership of the New Room, in the Horsefair; cf. CW, MS Journal, Sept. 23, 1740.

⁴Samuel Mason, a London publisher particularly connected to George Whitefield and William Seward.

From the Rev. Benjamin Ingham

Ossett
October 3, 1740

My Dear Brother,

I have received yours,¹ and I intend to deal plainly with you, and to tell you what I think sincerely.

You say the Moravians (you think) have done much hurt among us; there is guile and dissimulation from end to end. As they are men, no doubt they are liable to mistake, as well as others. It may be that hurt incidentally may have arisen from what they have done, but I cannot think they intended to do any. And I do believe they are men of great sincerity and truth. You say either I do not see through them, or I dissemble it. Indeed, my brother, I do not dissemble. I do not pretend to know what is in anybody's heart, but to the best of my judgment they are true children of God, a pure church of Christ, worthy to be loved and highly honoured and esteemed of all that know the truth. I believe they are sound at the heart, and are what they pretend to be. I am not of the same opinion with them in everything, as I have told you before. But I agree with them in the main substance of things, and our differences are so small and trivial that they ought to make no separation, and I trust they never will.

I once had several jealousies and suspicions in my heart about them, but the cause was more in my own wicked heart than in what they did. When our own hearts are not right, we are very apt to find faults with other people; and if we can but find the least flaw, we make a great deal of it. And if we once begin to harbour evil surmisings, jealousies, and fears about good people, the devil pushes us forward, gets great advantage over us, and brings us into darkness, confusion, and perplexity. We should therefore always be watchful over our own hearts, and search diligently whether all be right there.

My dear brother, I fear all is not right in your own breast, otherwise you would not think so hardly of them. Is there not envy, self-love, emulation, jealousy? Are you not afraid lest they should eclipse your own glory, or lessen your own praise? Do you not give too much credit to all that you only hear of them? I am sure they are a true people of God. There is life and power amongst them.

How things may be at Oxford I do not know. This I know, the brethren have the greatest respect for the ordinances of the Lord. Four times I received the Lord's Supper with them, and I never see that sacred mystery so solemnly celebrated anywhere else; neither did I ever feel so great power and grace. If they are at variance at Oxford, it may not come from Mr. [Richard] Viney's pre^{ac}hing, but from the people's unmortified passions & tempers. There were great envyings, jealousies, etc., at Corinth among the believers there; yet no one will say that St. Paul's doctrine was the cause of it. Wherever several ministers come, the people will be divided about them; one will be for this, another for that.

I wish all that labour in Christ's vineyard were entirely of one heart, and one mind, and one judgment. I wish we may all love one another; so shall we be disciples of Jesus. I remain,

Yours affectionately,

B. Ingham

My love to your brother, mother, etc.

Address: 'To / The Revd. Mr John Wesley / at the Foundry near Upper Moor Fields / London'.

Postmark: '20/OC'. *Charge:* '4'.

Endorsement: by JW, 'b Ingham, Oct. 3, 1740 / a[nswe]rd Dec. 23'.

Source: holograph; MARC, MA 1977/610/88.³

¹JW's letter, written in late September, does not appear to survive.

²A small portion of the manuscript is missing.

³Abridged transcription published in *Works*, 26:33–34.

Howell Harris to John Lewis¹

Trevecca
October 4, 1740

Self is the idol that would keep us in opposition to Christ. When Christ offers us his righteousness, self cries, 'I am not naked and destitute.' When he offers us his power, we cry, 'What! Can I *do nothing*? Have I not power of myself? Am I a stock, or a stone?' We are indeed as hard, dead, and senseless to his calling and love as a stone. But we are worse than this. The stone abides where you leave it, but we run from God. When he would be our light, we say, 'What! Am I blind? Have I not light already? Where is my *reason*?' Thus are we rich in our own esteem; and who can take the veil from our understandings, and the rebellion from our wills, but he who spoke light from darkness, order from confusion, and life to dead Lazarus? And what can move him to this, but his own free, sovereign will and good pleasure? And what can his end be, but his own glory?

For this let us contend, with all meekness, gentleness, and love towards those who have the will to give him all the glory, though they are not yet taught of him to do it. They think they glorify him most by contending that he loves all his creatures with an equal love; but I am taught otherwise, not of men, but of God. O my dear brother, the sight of God's distinguishing love to me quite overcomes me. When I might have been an Indian, I am a Christian! When I might have been lifting up mine eyes in torments, I am favoured with the tender mercies of the Lord! Why am I not a blasphemer, a persecutor, a total backslider? Is it because I was more careful and watchful, and made better use of the grace given me than others did? No! No one has been more trifling and unfruitful. Is it not then because he who loved me changes not? O my dear brother, this is food to those who have the law of God written in their hearts, that they are safe not because they are faithful, but because God is unchangeable; and while he remains faithful to his word, no one shall pluck them out of his hands. O glorious covenant, well ordered in all things and sure! This covenant, I think, is too little studied and known. O that I knew how to set forth the glory of God's distinguishing and unchangeable love.

I received a letter from brother Charles Wesley, and one from brother [William] Seward, from which I find that some misunderstandings have arisen between them, so as to cause them to separate. I fear that our dear Master is not pleased with this, and that his kingdom will not be thus established. Labour for peace, my dear brother; for though our brother John Wesley is not yet enlightened to see God's electing love, yet, as I firmly believe that he is one of the elect, God will, in his own time, show that to him which is now, for some wise end, hid from him. In the meantime, let him not oppose it, and we will agree in other things, until he sees with us.

Last Thursday I had the honour of being apprehended by two justices, and next Tuesday I am going to take my trial, and expect to be imprisoned. My Lord not only bids, but enables me to "rejoice and be glad." O that the children of God did taste what sweetness there is in the cross! If they did, they would never be terrified at the thought of it, but would be almost tempted to long for it. When my trial is over, I shall send you a particular account of the whole. And from my new lodging I hope to write to brother Seward and the Wesleys. I shall labour to unite them in affection, till the Lord more fully unites them in judgment. Shall the servants of Jesus contend for anything but love? May the same mind that he has given you, be more abundantly bestowed upon

Your friend and brother in the Lord,

Howell Harris

Source: holograph; National Library of Wales, Trevecka Letters, #272.²

¹While this letter is not to JW, it provides helpful context for letters between Harris and JW. John Lewis, a participant in Whitefield's Tabernacle community in London, was a printer who published books for Whitefield and edited *The Weekly History*.

²Transcription published in *Evangelical Magazine*, ns. 25 (1847): 242.

From the Moravian Church at Marienborn¹

[October 5, 1740]

The Moravian Church which is at Marienborn² to the reverend Mr. John Westley, a presbyter of the Church of England.

It doth not at all seem strange to us when people tell us what they think; and thus we are very well satisfied with Mr. Westley's writing to us. We do not find it necessary to consider who they are that write or speak to us, but we mind the thing itself, and so we will do even now. We cannot answer for what our people that know you more particularly take you to be; we ourselves have not observed any such thing in you as you tell us you are charged with. However, we could wish you had mentioned those by name who have formed such a judgment of you, in order to know how they come to do so; but this is no material part either of the letter or of the one answer thereto.

1. We believe that sin is remaining in our members, but that it has no dominion over us. For thus we read in the Scripture, Romans 6:12, 'Let not sin reign in your mortal bodies, that you should obey it in the lusts thereof.'

2. We believe that we carry about infirmities, a liableness to assaults, faint-heartedness, and suchlike (which are plain proofs that we are sinners), though our heart be never so closely united to the Saviour.

3. That grace relates only to the present life, and not to that which is to come, no one of us can possibly have said unless at that time he were in a fit of a burning fever. But this is true, that our holiness from day to day, even to the end of our lives, depends on the protection and preservation of the Saviour, whom we must daily and humbly ask for it, and that the greatest of all saints may fall tomorrow into all manner of enormities, if he think himself something upon the account of his holiness.

4. When the apostle says that the law is not made for a righteous man,³ the meaning is that all things that are a law, constraint, or commandment to the natural man are a pleasure, promise, and grace to all souls that have been justified in the blood of the Lamb. Now if a believer by the power of Christ do all things required by the law of the Spirit, he hardly is conscious of having done anything, for he doth nothing but what he is led and moved to by his own heart, in which the Lord Jesus lives, which he actuates, and impels, and in which is the same mind which was in our Saviour; therefore the thing itself is not lost hereby (for grace sanctifieth), but only the notion which people are wont to have of commandments, duties, etc. A man who is under the law is commanded to be holy, and he almost killeth himself by his endeavours so to be; but a child of God has got permission and power to be holy, Luke 1, and for this reason they rejoice throughout all ages.

5. We believe that it is much better to discourse out of the newspapers than to chatter and gabble about spiritual and holy things to no purpose; or to use a long and un-anointed prayer; or to speak upon this or that place of Scripture by way of conversation. The former is a common and human action as opportunity serves, but the latter is a taking of the name of God in vain.

[6.] We wear neither gold nor silver, nor any costly apparel, but we judge nobody that does it, and because those professions that minister thereto relate to trade, and trade is a thing relating to the magistrate, and the disciples of Christ have not the least power to set themselves up as judges in things of this kind, unless they have a particular call for it, we therefore let all these things alone, entirely suspending our judgment concerning them. And if in this or that particular case there is anything to be reprov'd, from thence we must not draw any general consequences.

That we have learned the art of avoiding persecution, as you charge us with, is a new accusation,

¹This is in reply to JW's letter to them, Aug. 5–8, 1740, *Works*, 26:24–31.

²Marienborn, near Büdingen, Wetteraukreis, Hesse, Germany. Orig., 'Maryborn'.

³See 1 Tim. 1:9.

and seems to be contradicted by daily experience. However, this we gladly own, that we never bring on any, if we see beforehand that according to the maxims of our Saviour it is to be avoided. But this we must confess, that we actually do not reprove all men that do wrong, even in our sight. The power of reproof either relates to outward things, or to the heart. Nobody has any right to the former but the magistrate. To the latter the servants of Christ have a right in a private capacity, yet not absolutely, but *ex pacto*;⁴ if in such instances one will speak to the heart he must be first sure that the Saviour has already got hold of it; for if we attack a dead and rebellious heart, and set ourselves up as judges of it, we provoke it to sin, knowingly and designedly, and this is an unseasonable, out-of-the-way zeal not enjoined to us. But when people ask about this or that thing, then it is time to tell them our mind concerning it, but with great moderation, and avoiding the judging of strangers that are without. There is one instance more wherein the Moravian brethren are very cautious in speaking, disputing, reproofing (viz., in the matter of knowledge and opinions), because there are numberless strifes about words, because there is almost all the world over a general perplexity in notions, insomuch that there may be sometimes twenty-four people of the same religion or persuasion in the same room together contradicting one another in the same matter, and every one in a different manner; and if one was to take four or five hours' time to hear out what they say, or how they explain themselves, one might perhaps find that they either do not differ from one another at all, or that this or that man really did not know what they spoke about. Therefore we think it very proper that our brethren preserve themselves in the pure knowledge of Jesus Christ, learn to speak as they find in their hearts, but at the same time keep themselves with all possible care from disputes, imputations, and attacks of other people in their thoughts and opinions. For the disputes with other people are many times quite idle and useless, especially if they be contradicted in anything which they have already advanced, when on the other hand they might have been brought to wholesome conviction sooner or later if the brother had only just happened to speak first.

We never should have taken so much freedom as to explode the wisdom of serpents, since our blessed Lord has recommended it. But as to this particular, we do not know how far we may have advanced therein, for it is no work of our own, but a gift which is to be expected and received from the Saviour, and for this very reason some have more, others less of it. The harmlessness of doves, because it cometh out of the heart, is more universal; and this is true, that it is the whole study of our hearts to be harmless towards all men. As for the rest, we do not pretend to be preachers of repentance to the world, reprovers of the magistrate, declarers of the Lord's judgments, fault-finders with constitutions, reformers of liturgies, inventors of all sorts of methods to promote Christianity; but our chief business, wherein the Saviour seems to make use of us and to bless us, is to invite people that do not know what to do, to the grace and merits of Jesus Christ, and to his wounds, and there to procure a mansion for them, and in this sense one may say of us, *sinunt mundum vadere sicut vadit*.⁵

7. The sufferings of Jesus are properly our justifying faith; his truth, his intercession, his purchased right to us have justified us through the election before the foundation of the world. And in this sense all the children of God are justified before they know it. From that very moment they believe it they know it. But this faith is no work, no merit, by which we can (as it were) force the Lord to give us his grace, as some divines have incautiously asserted, and here and there confounded the miraculous faith with the faith on Jesus and his merits. Nothing is required to faith but the heart; the understanding doth but render the enjoyment of it more clear, more sensible, and more lasting. But the miraculous faith is lodged in the understanding; one may have it and yet be lost, 1 Corinthians 13.

The miraculous faith requireth an absolute plerophory⁶ without the least doubt. The faith unto salvation remaineth always the same in the heart, and sticks close to the wounds of Jesus, but in the understanding (especially according to the modern methods of conversion, or rather according to the great

⁴'By agreement'.

⁵'They let the world go just as it goes.'

⁶Fullness, or complete assurance.

multiplicity of methods which have took place in our time) it is liable to various stumblings, from whence may come afterwards ὀλιγοπιστία⁷ for many hours and days together; and in our congregation we esteem it as a most precious grace that our Saviour hath showed us the old, plain way, in which we keep close to our hearts, laying hold of the grace which we have received on the forgiveness of our sins; which we have experienced on the death of Jesus, which has been made present to us, not reckoning it worthwhile to reflect one minute's time upon anything that our understanding, temper, constitution of body, or the objections of other people may at any time have put in the way. But on such occasions we instantly groan and pray again to the Lamb which was slain for us, whom we love though we have not seen. This is called among us the abiding witness of the Spirit, who no more ceaseth from making intercession for us than the Saviour from praying for us.

8. Whatever is not of faith is sin, and it may suffice to tell Mr. Wesley that if a person's going to the Lord's Supper be not of faith it is sin, without desiring him to consider 1 Corinthians 11.

In the Lutheran Church, in that of England, and in our Church, they teach that we must come to the Lord's Supper with a lively faith. Upon this account our brethren could not give any other advice to those of the Church of England than that they should examine themselves very well, lest this blessed sacrament become a hindrance to them, and a groundless persuasion of their salvation. But if the Methodists hold that this sacrament is a means of getting faith, we must leave them to act according to their present persuasion, and experience will at length decide the matter.

The answer, 'It is our duty to use the ordinances of God', is true *in abstractor*,⁸ but not always *in concreto*,⁹ for we must observe the ordinances of God according to the circumstances and the connection wherewith they are laid down in the Scripture. Now if the Lord's Supper be made an ordinance for all ungodly and unconverted men, there must be found a place in the Scriptures where unbelievers and unconverted people, or such as gratify their lusts, are bid to come to the Lord's Supper. We pay such an obedience to the Saviour and his words that if we should find therein any such thing (and not just the contrary, 1 Cor. 10, 11), we should be very well pleased with it. For poor, natural, unconverted men as such we don't at all despise, and we should make much less difficulty in going with a number of such people to the Lord's Supper than with a hypocritical, self-righteous, and puffed-up saint. And this may be enough in answer to this point.

As for the rest, we do not take upon us to defend all words with the connections uttered by any friends as may have heard us, and approve of our way. And upon your mentioning their names, in case this or that thing you truly lay to their charge be really wrong, if we then protest that it is wrong, and by no means agree to it, we shall have done all that we can do.

Most of your accusations are too general, as when you say, 'your brethren', 'some of you', etc., and for this reason we can't do more in regard to them than tell you our thoughts concerning them.

9. A religion and [a] church are not all one. A religion is an assembly wherein the Holy Scriptures are taught and expounded after a prescribed rule or form, which more or fewer profess. And all sincere divines acknowledge with one accord that there are several, nay, a great many, amongst them, which neither do believe that form of doctrine nor live up to it; and such societies, according to the difference of circumstances, are more or less publicly authorized. And though without controversy one of them may come nearer to the truth than the other (nay, this or that may be entirely in the dark), yet the Lord has such a peculiar hand in those several constitutions of religion that one ought to respect every one of them, and not cause any disturbance therein without an apostolical call. Whoever fancies he has got such an apostolical call, and cannot duly evidence it, such an one is a fanatic, and our congregation detests such a thing, and doth not like to join with the person.

⁷'Smallness of faith'; cf. Matt. 17:20.

⁸'In general'.

⁹'In a particular instance'.

A church (I will not examine whether there are any in this present age, much less whether we are one; *item*, whether there is no other besides ours, for the discussion of such a thing is not proper for such a letter as this is) we think is a congregation of sinners who have obtained grace and forgiveness of sins in the blood of Jesus, who have among themselves apostolical orders and regulations, with an apostolical authority and power. A church must have such a foundation as the gates of hell cannot prevail against. She must approve herself as such everywhere by such a demonstration as is required in the Scriptures. She must have the unction from the Holy One, and being built upon the foundation of the prophets and apostles, she must adorn the Saviour's doctrine in all things. She must have her Head always present with her, in great and small things, even to the end of the world; and yet it might happen that such a congregation should be in an error, because it consisteth of men that carry about their treasure in earthen vessels, *et nihil humani a se alienum putant*.¹⁰ But we are satisfied that this cannot easily happen, from the consideration of the truth and faithfulness of its Head, and the supposed obedience which the members pay to him. Concerning the mutual obedience of the members, we hold that it has the nature of the obedience of each member to the whole body, and that the disobedience of one member to the other is an infallible sign of its being sick. Or we need not fetch the thing so far. The necessity of obedience in a society proves itself in each kitchen, in each stable, in each barn. For if it were permitted that each might do as he pleases in such like society, if it were deemed a tyranny, a constraint, an imposition, to require obediences on such occasions, then the whole world would certainly be soon thrown into universal confusion.

We think Mr. Westley's imputations concerning our new ecclesiastical discipline do not deserve any answer from us. But one thing we cannot entirely let pass without an answer. Whosoever has told Mr. Westley that our elder ordains has sadly imposed upon him. This has not happened within three hundred years. A bishop is ordained by some other bishops, and each minister (in a strict sense) is ordained by the bishop alone, without taking any elder thereto. We are surprised that things of this nature are spoken to our face, and laid to our charge, without the least foundation. Ecclesiastically the elders are under the bishops in all canonical actions, properly so called. But why our congregation has a particular esteem for the one general elder, why he is revered by our bishop as a father, why the ministration of the Spirit in the congregation that lies on him is owned by them—this is a particularity which soon may be explained and made clear to all modest people, that are concerned to know things from the bottom, but not proper matter for such a letter as this is. Notwithstanding this, the elder never meddleth with any ordination, because this is a thing relating to religion, according to the present state of Christendom. But now affairs of religion relates to the rights of the magistrate, and in the occurrences here the knowledge of the world, learning, and a certain call are required, such as the world itself may allow, according to their principles and notions. To the word ordination Mr. Wesley has annexed the following parenthesis: '(or whatever you call it)'. It is not quite indifferent to us how a thing is called. We like to call everything by its proper name, and then ordination is an action whereby a person fit and lawfully called is enabled and consecrated, publicly to minister in holy things, by such superiors (bishops with us) as are lawfully appointed and confirmed to do it, in the presence of the congregation, and with the usual ceremonies. This, and no other action we style ordination.

The power of the Count has been fourfold within four years. In Herrnhut he was civil magistrate at the same time. After he had entirely renounced this office he was made forestander of the congregation there, by a lawful and ordinary vocation. But he was under the elders, because the function of a forestander is no more than that of the first of the deacons, or what we call 'Deiners'. When [in] 1737 he was made a bishop of the Moravian Church he ceased to be a forestander of Herrnhut, in fact, because (though the awakening of Herrnhut was made by the Moravian Church, and upon this account several wholesome orders of that church tending to the edification of souls have been introduced there, yet) the congregation of Herrnhut itself does not belong to the diocese of the Moravians, but to the Lutheran liturgy at Berthelsdorf. Furthermore, he is paterfamilias of a large household, and thus it may be that he

¹⁰'And they believe that nothing human is foreign to them' (cf. Terence, *The Self-Tormentor*, 77).

was obliged sometimes to some acts which cannot be derived either from his bishopric or from his being forestander. But in case he had caused the lot to be cast over again in the election of an elder at Herrnhut, it ought to have been supposed that he did it neither as bishop, nor as count, nor king or pope (all which terms Mr. Westley is pleased to make use of in his letter), but rather upon the account of circumstances which rendered the first lot of no effect. But since there is nothing at all in the whole thing (for in our congregation the lot has never been cast over again or twice in Mr. Westley's sense in the election of an elder), there is no occasion to give any reason for it.

If Mr. Westley, speaking of the lot's being cast over again, has perhaps a view to our settling the offices of the congregation, upon which occasions those that are to be taken into the principal lot are first lotted out of all the candidates, in that case we cast the lot twice, not only in the election of an elder, but also on every other occasion of this kind. But this is somewhat ordinary, and proves no particular power of this or that member of the congregation.

As for the rest, the Count and the congregation which he liveth with (for there is no such thing to be hoped for from others) are not of the same way of thinking in regard to his authority and power. He thinks that they make too much of him, look too much towards him, lay too much business upon him, and such like; this he chargeth the congregation with, and repeateth almost every day, but they believe the contrary of all this, and give very little heed to what he says on this subject.

10. We concern not ourselves either with the ancient or modern mystics. That people may mix nature with grace, that one may exceed in spiritual joy, that nature may attempt to mimic grace in a thousand ways, which mimickings in a delusion may be accounted divine operations, that one may think himself an apostle, and yet be a deluded fanatic—all this we do not learn from the mystics, but sound reason and daily experience can teach us, and if there was no other place in the Scriptures but that ____¹¹ we should be warned enough.

11. It is impossible to hinder babes in Christ (especially if one is sure they are not converted to this or that man, but really to the Saviour, which latter is many times dubious in a certain sort of women) from rejoicing, and from declaring their joy in an ordinary way, but they must keep themselves from being carried out too far, or else there will come out of it a miserable gibble-gabble, idle talk, a scattering of all blessings, such as will render the party just fit to be compared to an uncorked bottle of spirits of wine. 'And Mary kept all these sayings, and pondered them in her heart.'¹²

We must also allow to the witnesses of Jesus a declaration of their joy: she calls her friends and neighbours, saying, Rejoice with me, for I have found the piece which was lost (which words are properly to be understood of our Saviour). But even this must not exceed the true limits, otherwise one may please oneself, gain the affection of women, fall into a thousand fancies, which at last put the Saviour and his doctrine to an open shame.

12. Concerning good works, there is a principle in our congregation, 'Could I do good, I gladly would', and those that give no alms amongst us certainly have no money. Whosoever giveth not to him that needeth is surely in want himself. Whosoever on any given occasion does not exhort or reprove either believes himself not able to do it, or without any right to do it.

In short, in many things we offend all, but we take as right an aim as we can, and if we should not chance to hit the mark, yet our heart does not condemn us. Blessed be the Lord!

As we are far from meddling with other people's affairs, from judging, censuring, and exhorting another man's servant, where we are not called to it, so on the contrary the Saviour has made us altogether willing to hear and to ponder all remonstrances against us made by others, and therefore we are obliged to Mr. Westley also for the trouble he took in writing to us. Though we do not exactly know whom his letter belongs to, because the direction of it was to Marienborn, and yet he speaks in the letter itself to the congregation at Herrnhut. Now Herrnhut (as has been said) is neither the Moravian Church itself, much less the episcopal seat, or such a congregation which can answer for the orders and

¹¹A blank space is left (in both copies) for the insertion of the text.

¹²Luke 2:19.

constitutions of the Moravian Church, though indeed some of the Moravians have settled there. We therefore beseech our dear friend Mr. Westley that if he will do us the favour of writing oftener to us, he may let us know more clearly: first, whom he would treat with; second, whom of us he objects against; third, the things objected.

We recommend him to the grace of our Saviour, and to the life which is in his blood.

Source: Herrnhut, Moravian Archives, a draft in English and a version in German. Some clues point to the German as being the original draft, then translated into English, but a number of idiomatic phrases in the English point to a native Englishman who had become a Moravian, and who may well have drawn up the original reply, which was then translated into German for general approval. The same man would presumably have been responsible for interpreting Wesley's letter. The English version has been fully reproduced, with some necessary insertions in square brackets, represented in the German version.¹³

¹³Transcription published in *Works*, 26:34–41.

From Howell Harris

[Wales]

October 10, 1740

My Dear Brother,

Tell the believer what made him to differ, what moved Christ to make him a vessel of honour, to give him an ear to hear, a will to submit, and a heart to obey. Preaching distinguishing love¹ brings glory to God, benefit and consolation to the soul, and can be no more a stumbling-block. It is so to none but such as (I fear) never experienced any experimental distinguishing work, and cannot feel that they were effectually called. To such as are so called it is food, but will feed neither despair nor presumption. It humbleth the soul before God. Its language is, 'Why me, Lord?' If electing love is not preached to the soul, it is robbed of its food. The Spirit enlightens the soul to know the Father, and shows him how he has loved him before the foundation of the world, choosing him for no other reason but because it so pleased him. At this view he does not cavil and dispute, as he did before when he looked at it by the light of carnal reason. But he is humbled to nothing in his own mind, being swallowed up and lost in admiring the freeness and sovereignty of his love, saying 'If it were not so, I should never have been chosen, for God saw nothing in me but rebellion, lust, pride, anger, unbelief, and enmity against himself.' He stands amazed at the unchangeableness of purpose that ordered it, though he changes every moment, and forgets God, and is, alas, unfaithful. Yet still he finds, to his astonishment, that this forgiving love follows him. The soul having this view is exceedingly moved. O how active he is for God, exclaiming, 'What! Has the eternal Jehovah merciful thoughts of me—such a vile rebel? And am I to be with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, to all eternity before the throne, to admire the glorious perfections of the Three in One? What! Am I, a fire-brand from hell, thus brought to this glorious hope? What shall I render to the Lord? O that I had wings to fly, sounding the praises of my God! O sovereign grace! O electing love! O the freeness and richness of it! O that I had ten thousand lives to be spent in admiring this amazing, infinite, incomprehensible love! Self is destroyed—the soul has indeed fellowship with the Father and the Son, and participates of the glory above. It is transformed from glory to glory, hates the very garments spotted by the flesh, dreads even the least sin, is humbled so as to be willing to be despised by all and trampled upon for the sake of Christ.

My dear brother, a soul that has tasted *that*, cannot help being grieved to hear this gospel represented as having an ill tendency;² while it makes him more and more like God, and is his rock on which he stands firm against all the onsets of Satan and the fears of death.

Source: published transcription; Morgan, *Howell Harris*, 84–85.³

¹Harris's favored term for unconditional election.

²As JW asserts in his sermon *Free Grace*.

³From cases where we have the original letter and Morgan's published version, it is clear Morgan both abridged and freely rewrote portions of the text. Compare, for example, the transcription of his long letter of Oct. 24, 1741 in this collection with Morgan's published form on pp. 89–91.

From the Rev. Charles Wesley⁴

[Bristol]
Friday [October 24, 1740]

Poor wretched L[ucy]!⁵ I fear she is given up to a reprobate mind. She knows in her heart that she basely abuses your credulity. I therefore receive Mr. D's testimony because he mentioned such other circumstances as *could* not be known but by Lucy's telling him although she ought not in any wise to have mentioned you. Besides her whole behaviour agrees to his account. To pass by her honourable mention of me, she was caught in several lies by sisters Highnam and Reynolds⁶ which she (and not her mother whom they never saw) herself told you with her own mouth. Their handkerchief she was also pleased to make free with when she left you. Whether the shoes and clogs which they missed from her going are to be charged to her account is best known to God and her own conscience. I myself am an eye- and ear-witness of her violent behaviour which confirms my opinion that the spirit of her father the devil speaks and works in her. I shall say no more of her, only when you give her the hearing, let it be *sub dio* or *coram testibus*.⁷

Remember Frederica!⁸

Saturday morning

I am forced to add a P. S. concerning her. Mrs. Norman⁹ has just now informed me that she told her a flat lie. Green the clerk had charged Lucy with selling some cloths to give us. To Mrs. Norman she affirmed that she had neither sold nor pawned them. When brought face to face with Green, she fell from her assertion into endless evasions and equivocations, but would give no direct answer. To Sister Highnam, she told immediately after that she had expressly denied the fact before Mrs. Norman and Green. One, *the most abominable*, untruth she has been pleased to say of me; and *will* of you if you lend her your ears. Perhaps she may make *affidavit* of it too. *Dixi!*¹⁰

Come to particular instances and we shall soon agree.¹¹ A soul that answers *your* description I would deal with in *your* manner. But suppose a justified person settled again upon his lees,¹² and by his *past* graces strengthening himself in his *present* wickedness (whether of heart or life). I would not tell such an one he never was justified, but that he is now in a far worse state than if he never had tasted the

⁴Probably answering John's of Oct. 21, of which one phrase is quoted, and the theme of pastoral counseling is developed.

⁵In his journal letter covering July 19–30, 1740, CW comments on a troubled woman named Lucy Shute.

⁶Esther Highnam (CW spells 'Hinam') and Mary Reynolds, two members of the earliest women's bands in Bristol; cf. JW to James Hutton, Apr. 16, 1739, *Works*, 25:631.

⁷'In the open air' or 'in the presence of witnesses'.

⁸Alluding to the way two women tried to foment discord between CW and James Oglethorpe; cf. CW, MS Journal, Mar. 18–31, 1736.

⁹Mary (Oxford) Norman (1695–1779), wife of John Norman (d. 1744); they lived on St. Philip's Plain, where he owned a brickyard and apparently the land on which JW preached his first sermon in the open air on Apr. 2. See *AM* 12 (1789): 240–45 (a letter of James Ireland to JW, Feb. 10, 1779; also in this collection).

¹⁰'I have warned you'; or 'Beware!'

¹¹CW is beginning a new topic here, on the back side of the letter.

¹²See Zeph. 1:12.

grace of God from which he is fallen. That he NEVER CAN recover, till he comes to Christ as he did at first, a poor, damned, unjustified sinner—*stripped of all*. But while he rests in his former comforts he is worse than a publican, worse than even a *gross* Pharisee, inasmuch as he is now a subtle, inward, spiritual Pharisee, and trusts in the abuse of mercy. Out of this hold I would drive and thrust him down into the deep of his sin and misery. Neither, till he humbles himself under the mighty hand of God, can he ever be exalted or restored.

E.g., Anne Holton (once justified) is now in the false assurance of faith; lives in all worldly-mindedness, passion, and reviling. But for all that she says no man shall rob her of her confidence. She *will not*, no she *will not* receive the sentence of death in herself, and must therefore sink with her broken reeds into hell. N. Bath is not *so* proud as she *was*.

[[Mrs. [Sarah] Labee]] too stops short on this side [of] Jordan, and no one shall persuade her. Her heart is not changed—in *part*.

Eleanor Kitchinor is a third whom the devil has cheated with *his* assurance. Her mouth is filled with curses at her pain, while her soul is on the brink of eternity.

Brother [Thomas] Sayse is one of a better spirit; yet him also would I bring into the deep of humility. He began to be lifted up, thought something of himself, despised and told his wife he was *more spiritual* than her. My weapons were mighty through God to the pulling down his strongholds, yet would I not tell him that I now think him humble, or (rather less proud) for *my* heart sheweth me the wickedness of his, that was I to observe it to him, he would be proud of his humility.

I cannot 'prepare souls for love'.¹³ The preparation of the heart is of God, and all our trials and temptations in the wilderness are to prepare us for love. What else does God mean by '*Prep(are ye) the way of the Lord!* Make straight in the desert an highway for our God. Every valley shall be exalted and every mountain and hill shall be made low.'¹⁴ Why was John our Lord's forerunner but to prepare and turn the hearts of the disobedient? What is meant by breaking up the fallow ground, or (to decide the point in one word) by repent—and believe the gospel.

When a sinner has had the (justifying) work of faith, I believe he is *prepared* by the patience of hope, for the labour of perfect love.

I cannot but think we agree in the general that everyone who is settled but not on Christ should be unsettled again. When God *has* given faith, I am firmly persuaded, he gives *some measure* of true humility *before* he gives me a rooted love; that is, *before* I am in Christ a new creature I shall feel myself in Adam a fallen spirit.

Take it in other words; although I never shall have a *habit* of humility till I love Jesus Christ, yet *must* I be so far humbled *first* as to *see* myself low, as to give up all confidence in the flesh, as to lie like clay in the hand of the potter.¹⁵ This is the way of God's dealing with me, and oh that I may not resist, but patiently wait till he has stripped me of all, removed my every false rest, and made me poor in spirit!

I know nothing yet as I ought to know, but teach others as I am taught of God. I am far from being a little child and so are you, but I am in the hands of a Good Physician, who will put me to no more pain than is necessary. By three inseparable things is he *preparing* me for love—by sobriety, watchfulness, and prayer. Yet in the moment he comes I shall be utterly, and altogether unworthy that he should come under my roof. Yet, I trust in the living God and Saviour whose 'work is *before* him, and his reward *with* him'.¹⁶

¹³CW is apparently quoting an exhortation in JW's prior letter.

¹⁴Isa. 40:3–4.

¹⁵See Jer. 18:6; Isa. 64:8.

¹⁶Isa. 40:10, 62:11.

I am glad you do not depend on J. C.¹⁷ *Si sic omnes!*¹⁸ who have not new hearts.

Margaret Thomas and sister Purnell are dead in the Lord.¹⁹ We had a glorious funeral, and heartily thank God who gave them the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ. Mrs. Purnell said when dying 'Many of the society will soon follow me!'²⁰

Address: 'For / The Revd Mr Wesley / at the Foundry / London'.

Postmarks: '27/OC' and 'B/ris/tol'.

Endorsement: by JW, 'C[harles] Oct. 24, 1740 / a[nswere]d 28.'

Source: holograph; Pitts Library (Emory), John Wesley Collection (MSS 153), 2/3.²¹

¹⁷Likely John Cennick.

¹⁸'May it be thus with all!'

¹⁹Margaret Thomas died on Oct. 9, 1740; Elizabeth Purnell on Oct. 22, 1740 (CW, MS Journal). CW spells the last name 'Purnel'.

²⁰The final two paragraphs are written in the side margin of the last page.

²¹Abridged transcription published in *Works*, 26:41–42.

From Howell Harris

[Trevecka, Wales]

[October 27, 1740]

My Dear Brother,

What made God at first to snatch you as a fire-brand out of hell, and use one means after another to bring you home to himself, but because he willed it, and would show his distinguishing love? If he had given so much of his Spirit and used so many means to save others as he has done for you, then they would follow him with all that faithfulness, diligence, boldness, and care that you do. And could you, my dear brother, believe if faith was not given to you? And can you now, having faith, exercise it but as another acts in you? Do not you feel yourself sometimes strong as a mountain and unmoveable; and at other times weak and timid? And do you not see, even in preaching, that one is taken and another left? Do you not see that God acts as a Sovereign?

My dear brother, I blush in writing to *you*, being a babe, and cannot speak plainly—*you* that have the eyes of all the nation upon you. But indeed I was constrained and could not help it. I hope I feel my soul under the influence of a spirit of love. I know you will not misconstrue what I state, even if you do not agree with me. But indeed when you look within, you cannot help seeing God's particular election plainly. It appears to me a subject of the greatest moment, connected with God's glory, and to be set before those that are born again. It is of no further use to others than to humble the proud pharisee, who thinks he can move the great God to save him, and that because he does so and so. I write not in a wrangling spirit; it appears to me a most plain truth, which brings to God all the honour of our salvation. I was disposed, after some sweetness in private prayer, to write to you. Do not show it, lest perhaps all will not look at it as kindly and with the same spirit that I know you will.

I know that the mentioning of this is of no use to any but those that are called, and so far to them only as it brings them to see further into God's love in particularly calling them, whilst others are passed by; there being nothing in them to move him but his own good pleasure. Then seeing his love to them, it will naturally increase their love to him, his image, and holiness, and will endear all duties to them.

O pray come and help us in Wales, for we are much under the spirit of bondage, and want the power. But I hope God is amongst us, though he is longer in leading some to the freedom of the gospel than others. O pray, dear brother, let me have a line from you to inform me of your coming, and we will meet you, for I hope you have a call from above, and that you are sent to all nations. Pray for me. I beg my love to the brethren. When did you hear from Mr. [George] Whitefield?

The Lord prepare us for suffering. Persecution is increasing. I have been in North Wales, and was near being killed by the mob; and was taken in another place by two magistrates, a gentleman and a parson; and today a warrant was issued against me in consequence of a false accusation: that I spoke against the prayers of our Church! and particularly against the Lord's prayer!

Source: published transcription; Morgan, *Howell Harris*, 85–87; date from M. H. Jones, *The Trevecka Letters* (Caernarvon, C. M. Book Room, 1932), 91.¹

¹Abridgement included in *Works*, 26:42.

From Elizabeth Spring

Bristol
[October 27¹], 1740

Honoured Reverend Father in God,

I, your unworthy servant, have made bold to write to you.

Dear sir, now do I begin to see myself a lost sinner, without Christ. Never did I see myself so unclean as I do. Never did [I] think I was so bad as I see myself at present. Dear sir, my continued prayers are that God would show me the ground of my heart. O that I never may leave off crying unto God to humble me to the dust. Now I see the want of a saviour.

Dear sir, the Lord has² sent your dear brother out again to preach the gospel to all those that will receive it. O how he preached with the Spirit and with power. O his words came as sharp as any sword, even to the dividing asunder our very joints and marrow. O that he may cry aloud and spare not. O how powerful[ly] God has sent him out! Now we shall see who stands or falls. I hope our Lord Jesus will lift up his voice like [a] trumpet, even to be heard in all the corners of the earth.

Dear sir, about three weeks ago I was in a very light way and I had a desire for to go to Mr. [Charles] Wesley and I did accordingly. Dear sir, I began to tell him the state I was in and he talk[ed] to me very sharp, for he told me he did not know what to say to me, for I had resisted the Spirit of God so often that it did not signify his talking to me. And he said the ax was laid to the root, and that I must bring forth fruits meet for repentance or I must perish. Dear sir, I found such a rising against him that for the present, if it had been in my power, I could have killed him. But a little while after I found he spoke by the Spirit of God. For I am assured that God did use him as an instrument to snatch me as a fire-brand out of the fire. For I was running headlong to the devil. O that God would give me a thankful heart for all these things. O that I may praise his name for all his goodness to me. O that the Lord would set a watch over the door of my lips, that I may speak of nothing but to the honour and glory of his great name.

Dear sir, the state that I am in at present is I seem to be in great peace and comfort. Dear sir, I seem to think it is a false love, but that thought does not continue with me. If any sin arise in me, I directly have this applied to me, that I have an advocate with the Father. But I hope the Lord will show me whether it is of him or not. Dear sir, I desire neither comforts nor joy if the Lord will be pleased to humble me. O that the Lord Jesus will carry on his work in my soul and make me for him. O that my Saviour would make me willing to serve him, that my whole heart and mind could be set upon the God of Israel. O that my mouth was filled with the praises of the Lord.

Dear sir, I find myself sleepy under the word, and shall drop fast asleep sometimes. But I can't seem concerned at it. But I hope the Lord of glory will deliver me from all these things.

Dear sir, I received your letter as [of] last Sunday and joyfully I received it!³ Dear sir, it is out of my power to return the thanks to you again for all the trouble that you have had with me and my sister. Dear sir, I am in great trouble about her, for fear she trifles with her salvation, and in fear she is negligent of hearing the word. O that I could resign her to the hands of the most high God.

Dear sir, I desire to know nothing but Christ and him crucified. Dear sir, I find pride arises in my weary prayers and sin in every word that I speak. I find pride and self and sin in everything that I do. And I seem to be proud because I have pride. But I have a great hope that God will deliver me out of all these fiery trials, and make me perfect as he is perfect. For I know that my God is true to all that he has spoken. O that God would burst these bonds of my soul. O how I long to be in Christ, a new creature. My soul pants after the living water as a thirsty land after the water brooks. Now can I feel the love of Christ

¹Spring dated her letter 'Aug. 27', but it was posted on October 31, and JW annotates it as 'Oct. 26'.

²Orig., 'have'.

³JW's endorsement on Spring's letter of Sept. 13 states that he replied to her on Oct. 20.

kindle within my soul. O that my Lord would not delay his coming. Now do I long to be in the liberty that is for all the children of God. O dear sir, pray to God on my behalf that I am out of hell. O how doth God love me, that he found me when I was in my sins and in my blood.

Dear sir, I have reason to give God glory for ever that he used your dear brother as an instrument to snatch me as a brand out of the fire. O that God would never suffer me to turn back to perdition. O how heavy will the judgment of God be upon me [if I do]. Dear sir, I seemingly have such a desire for all the world to be saved. O that God would humble me to the dust and root all pride out of me, for I know that I have no good thing dwelling in me at present. But I trust in the living God, in whose hands is all the corners of the earth, that I shall be brought out of bondage. Dear sir, excuse me for being so bold in troubling you so often.

Dear sir, Betty Baddiley gives her duty to you,⁴ and I believe that God is showing her her heart sins[?]. I hope God will humble her even to the dust. And Ann Smith gives her duty to you, and she is still mourning under her hard heart. But she has a hope at present that God would make us long suffering towards one another and teachable as children. Dear sir, Mrs. [Rachel] England and Molly England join in sending their duty to you, and Molly is sincerely seeking after Christ. Sir, Molly begs you would trouble yourself in sending her a letter.

Dear sir, [I ask] that our Lord Jesus may grant that I may see myself daily a lost sinner without Christ. Dear sir, [I ask] that you would bear me in your mind to pray for me at the throne of grace.

Now may the Son of righteousness arise and shine upon you. O that he may shine and let his gospel be spread from the utmost parts of the earth to the other. O that God may send forth more labourers into his vineyard. O let the company of preachers be great. O that God would let his gospel shine as lights set upon a hill.

Now may the God of glory prosper your handworks upon you and give you a double portion of his Spirit, that you may cry aloud and spare not, and that you may turn thousands to righteousness, and fight the good fight of faith, and gain the crown of life which Christ the righteous joyously has prepared for you at the last day. Dear sir, I won't impose upon you to write to me, for I know you will when the Spirit of God directs you. Dear sir, if you please to accept my duty and love to Mr. [Edward] Nowers and Mr. [John] Purdy.

Now I make bold to subscribe myself

Your honorary daughter and servant,

Eliz. Spring

Address: 'To the Rev / Mr Wesley / at the Foundry / Wennhill uper / Morefields / London'.

Postmark: '31/OC'.

Endorsement: by JW, 'El. Spring. Oct. 26. 1740'.

Source: holograph; MARC, MA 1977/503, Box 4, file 13.

⁴This Elizabeth Baddiley may be the daughter of George and Elizabeth (Collins) Baddiley of London, who accompanied Elizabeth Spring from London to help at the colliers' school in Kingswood.

From Sarah Mason

[London]

Saturday, November 8, [1740]

Reverend Sir and Dear Brother,

Whom I sincerely love in our dearest Lord, and for his sake whose image you in so good a measure bear and may you be blessed with growing love and likeness to him day by day. One great reason of my writing now is to remind you of an intimation you were so kind to give of your repeating your visit to the dear orphan at present under my care, but I suspect will soon be taken under that of her pious uncle Benjamin [Seward], who intends, God willing, to be in town the entering week. I hope, sir, your other visit was not a lost one; though Miss [Grace Seward¹] once seemed not much to desire to see Mr. Wesley when I should have been glad of a second visit, and her reason was because 'He talked too much of her pappa', whom I believe you will now waive speaking much of. One it seems asked her if she was not sorry her pappa was dead. She answered, 'No, because it was the will of God, and now she should not be in expectation of seeing him.' I cannot forebear intimating the concern it has been to my spirit that the enemy should have been so forward to step in and sow the seeds of discord between those dear brethren Mr. [John and Charles] Wesleys and Mr. [William] Seward. (The latter²) is now got entirely free from the snare of the fowler, which by death is effectually broken,³ and his (now through grace) perfect spirit is admired amongst those whom we are sure that character indispensably belongs.

But dear sir, does not that passage Hebrews 12:23, 'and to the spirits of just men made perfect', seem to intimate that how much so ever we men may desire and press after perfection whilst here, yet that it is not fully attained in this embodied place. The great Restorer of all things is not yet come in that way we are waiting for. And it is with pleasure I think of those words, 'He restoreth my soul'⁴ (and those, 'I am the Lord that healeth thee'⁵). I believe it is through grace under his healing hand, and that it is not in the power of me or devils to pluck it thence. And I dare not deny somewhat of the witness of the Spirit. And methinks to this sorry, sinful soul of mine these words are sweetly encouraging and may I (unworthy as I am) take them as from the blessed Spirit with respect to it: 'Lo this is my rest, here will I dwell, for I have desired it.'⁶ O I long, I long to have this blessed Spirit of my God not only with me but in me, as a constant indwelling sanctifier, guide, and comforter. O precious promise: the Lord shall guide thee continually. Methinks my soul embraces the promise (happy her to whom it was once said 'Blessed is she that believed, for there shall be a performance'⁷). But what words are these which oft are present to my mind—viz., 'To you it is given on the behalf of Christ not only to believe but also to suffer for his sake.'⁸ But then these also sometimes follow: 'Fear none of those things which thou shalt suffer, for I am with thee to deliver thee.'⁹

Dear, dear sir, pray for me that personal and family afflictions may be sanctified and that I may be fitted for whatever services or sufferings our heavenly Father may see fit to allot.

¹The only daughter of William Seward, as specified in his will, proved Nov. 24, 1740.

²A small part of the manuscript is torn away.

³Seward died Oct. 22, 1740, as a result of a blow received from detractors while touring South Wales to raise support for Whitefield.

⁴Ps. 23:3.

⁵Exod. 15:26.

⁶Ps. 132:14.

⁷Luke 1:45.

⁸Phil. 1:29.

⁹Cf. Rev. 2:10ff.

Your unworthy sister, etc.

Sarah Mason

P. S. Dear sir, I could heartily wish not to be present when that awful word 'reprobation' is adverted upon. I believe many pious persons of different sentiments will be found darkening counsel by word, without knowledge. And this I am sure, the Judge of all the earth does right, and that those who perish will be self-condemned and know that what they suffer is but what they have deserved of the hand of justice. Yet that there is a number whose names are written in the Lamb's book of life, me thinks is plain. And that it is by an act of sovereign grace that to them is given to believe on the Son and God and receive the remission of sin through his precious blood, and life through his name. That others do not believe it is because of the hardness of their heart and obstinacy of will. A willful conceit I believe (or am persuaded) it is that keeps multitudes from obtaining salvation by Jesus Christ. Yet are not the people of God said to be a willing people in the day of his power.¹⁰ Does not the same grace that overcomes the sin of man overcome his will also?

I believe [there is] a divine agency in common actions, and that it is by a divine power that the ill-disposed person has ability to go forth to rob his fellow creature. But that he has the inclination so to do is from a wicked principle of sin which the holy God wholly abhors.

But I see tis time to stop my scribbling pen. What I know not, the Lord by his blessed Spirit reveal to me, your unworthy friend, who earnestly desires to share in your fervent prayers. 'For the divisions of Reuben there are great searchings of heart.'¹¹ I long to be clothed with humility. I know it is the humble [that] God will teach. It is [a] matter of thankfulness (methinks) that I can hold communion with the children of God of different sentiments. O that we might all keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace till we, through grace, arrive where the accuser of the brethren shall never show his face more, and the dear Redeemer never hide his.

There all are one, in one they all agree; one is their all, which makes all one, to be as one expects when speaking of the heavenly state.

Farewell, reverend sir.

Address: 'To/ The Revd Mr / Wesley' (apparently hand delivered).

Endorsement: by JW, 'Sarah Mason / Nov. 8. 1740 / needs not'.

Source: holograph; MARC, MA 1977/503, Box 4, file 13.

¹⁰See Ps. 110:3.

¹¹Judg. 5:16.

From the Rev. George Whitefield

Philadelphia [Pennsylvania]
November 9, 1740

Dear and Honoured Sir,

I received yours, dated March 11, this afternoon.¹

O that we were of one mind; for I am yet persuaded you greatly err. You have set a mark you will never arrive at, till you come to glory. I think few enjoy such continued manifestations of God's presence as I do, and have done for some years; but I dare not pretend to say I shall be absolutely perfect. O dear sir, many of God's children are grieved at your principles. O that God may give you a sight of his free, sovereign, and electing love! But no more of this. Why will you compel me to write thus? Why will you dispute? I am willing to go with you to prison, and to death; but I am not willing to oppose you. My heart is now much affected; indeed I love and honour you. Dear, dear sir, study the covenant of grace, that you may be consistent with yourself. Hasten, O Lord, the blessed time!

I fancy I shall embark for England about spring, but am not yet determined. God shows me his goodness plenteously every day. I dwell in Christ, and Christ in me; glory be to sovereign grace. I seem to have a new body, and the Lord Jesus greatly enriches my soul. Oh, I am a poor sinner! But our Lord frequently manifests himself in such a manner that it throws me into an agony which my body is almost too weak to bear.

Honoured sir, adieu. O build up, but do not lead into error, the souls once committed to the charge of

Your affectionate, unworthy brother and servant, in the loving Jesus,

G. W.

Source: published transcription; Whitefield, *Letters*, 1:219.²

¹This letter has not survived.

²Reproduced in *Works*, 26:43.

From the Rev. George Whitefield

Bohemia [Maryland]
November 24, 1740

Dear and Honoured Sir,

Last night brother G—¹ brought me your two kind letters. O that there may be harmony, and very intimate union between us! Yet it cannot be, since you hold *universal redemption*. But no more of this. Perhaps in spring we may see each other face to face.

This evening, God willing, I propose to embark for Georgia. Wonderful things our Lord brings to pass in these parts every day. Here is a close opposition from some of the Presbyterian *clergy*. The seed of the serpent is the same in all, of whatever communion. I expect much more opposition every hour.

The devil rages in London. He begins now to triumph indeed. The children of God are disunited among themselves. The king of the church shall yet overrule all things for good. My dear brother, do not oblige me to preach against you; I had rather die. Be gentle towards the ____.² They will get great advantage over you if they discover any irregular warmth in your temper. I cannot for my soul unite with the Moravian Brethren.

Honoured sir, adieu!

Yours eternally in Christ Jesus,

G. W.

Source: published transcription; Whitefield, *Letters*, 1:225.

¹Captain Thomas Gladman, who was converted by Whitefield during his voyage from Charleston back to England in fall 1738.

²Gillies substituted a line for the party identified.

From the Rev. Charles Wesley

[Bristol]
December 3, [1740]

Things are come to a crisis at Kingswood. 'As for my people, [...] women rule over them.'¹ They tell me plainly they will separate from me if I speak one word against final perseverance, or hint at the possibility of a justified person's falling from grace. Nay, Mrs. Ann Ayling and Anne Davis told me to my face that they will give me the lie before all the congregation. All the bands, they say, are of their opinion; and no one who is not can love Christ. They hold John Cennick's leading-strings, who preaches *against us pro virile*.² I condescended to say I would not speak *against* final perseverance, if he would not speak for it. But he would not agree even to this. Unless they are suddenly rescued out of these hands, not a man will stay with us by your coming again. Our select band judges it expedient for you to come and help us as soon as this reaches you. If the report of George Whitefield's arrival be false, and you have freedom in your spirit, set out the day after you have my letter. Bring brother [Edward] Nowers, to leave (if need be) for a time at Kingswood. Brother [Thomas] Richards is disabled by sickness. The Lord Jesus be your guide and director. Pray for me, overborne by the Philistines, that I may have no strength, help, or wisdom of my own. God (I know) will take the weaker side.

Ἔρρωσο.³

My duty and love to my mother, if she remembers she has a son Charles alive.

Address: 'To / The Revd. Mr Wesley / at the Foundry / London / with speed'.

Postmarks: '5/DE' and 'B/ris/tol'.

Endorsement: by JW, 'C[harles] Dec. 4, 1740 / I go'.

Source: MARC, DDCW 1/10.⁴

¹Isa. 3:12.

²I.e., *pro virile parte*, 'to the utmost of his power'.

³'Farewell' (lit., 'be healthy').

⁴Transcription published in *Works*, 26:43–44.

From the Rev. Charles Wesley

[Bristol]
December 6, 1740

Wrote my brother a full account of the predestination party, their practices and designs, particularly 'to have a church within themselves, and to give themselves the Sacrament in bread and water'.

Source: ms summary; CW, MS Journal.

From Susanna (Annesley) Wesley

[Foundery, London]
Saturday, December 13, 1740

Dear Son,

I hope this will find you safe at Bristol, and if you would be so kind as to write as soon as conveniently may be, I should rejoice.

The reason of my writing so soon is I'm somewhat troubled at the case of poor Mr. [Daniel] MacCune. I think his wife was ill-advised to send for that wretched fellow Monro,¹ for by what I hear, the man is not lunatic, but rather under strong convictions of sin; and hath much more need of a spiritual, than bodily physician. However be it as it will, Monro last night sent him to a mad-house at Chelsea, where he is to undergo their usual methods of cure in case of real madness; notwithstanding in their treatment of him he behaved with great calmness and meekness, nor ever but once swore at them, for which he presently condemned himself and said, 'Lord, what a sin have I been guilty of', and cried to God for mercy and pardon. This probably may confirm the doctor in the opinion of his madness, but to me tis a proof of his being in a right mind.

I am sure that our blessed Lord is superior to all the powers of evil angels and men and that, if he hath begun to awaken and call this poor sinner to himself, neither men nor devils can be able to stand before him!

Dear son, I desire you and your brother would pray for this poor afflicted man.

My love and blessing to ye both.

[signature missing]

Address: (torn) 'To / The Rev. Mr <...> / at the school <...> / Horse-fair Br<istol>'.²

Endorsement: by JW, 'm[y] m[othe]r Dec. 13. 1740 / a[nswere]d to b[rother] Humph! / & Mrs Maccune'.

Source: holograph; MARC, DDWF 2/15.³

¹Dr. John Monro (1715–91), who had studied insanity at Edinburgh and who now had several person deeply affected by evangelical preaching referred to him; cf. JW, *Journal*, Sept. 21, 1739 (*Works*, 19:98–99), and Sept. 17, 1740 (*Works*, 19:168–69).

²Clearly referring to the school connected to the New Room.

³Transcription published in Wallace, *Susanna Wesley*, 186–87.

From the Rev. George Whitefield¹

Bethesda in Georgia
December 24, 1740

[p. 5]

Reverend and Very Dear Brother,

God only knows what unspeakable sorrow of heart I have felt on your account since I left England last. Whether it be my infirmity or not, I frankly confess that Jonah could not go with more reluctance against Nineveh than I now take pen in hand to write against you. Was nature to speak, I had rather die than do it. And yet, if I am faithful to God, and to my own and others' souls, I must not stand neutral any longer. I am very apprehensive that our common adversaries will rejoice to see us differing among ourselves. But what can I say? The children of God are in danger of falling into error. Nay, numbers have been misled, whom God has [p. 6] been pleased to work upon by my ministry, and a greater number are still calling aloud upon me also to show my opinion. I must then show that I know no man after the flesh, and that I have no respect to persons, any further than is consistent with my duty to my Lord and Master, Jesus Christ.

This letter, no doubt, will lose me many friends. And for this cause perhaps God has laid this difficult task upon me, even to see whether I am willing to forsake all for him or not. From such considerations as these, I think it my duty to bear an humble testimony, and earnestly to plead for the truths which, I am convinced, are clearly revealed in the Word of God. In the defence whereof I must use great plainness of speech, and treat my dearest friends upon earth with the greatest simplicity, faithfulness, and freedom, leaving the consequences of all to God.

For some time before, and especially since my last departure from England, both in public and private, by preaching and printing, you have been propagating the doctrine of 'universal redemption'. And when I remember how Paul reproved Peter for his dissimulation,² I fear I have been sinfully silent too long. O then be not angry with me, dear and honoured sir, if now I deliver my soul by telling you that I think in this you greatly err.

¹ Whitefield's preface to the letter:

[p. iii] I am very well aware what different effects the publishing this letter against the dear Mr. Wesley's sermon will produce. Many of my friends that are strenuous advocates for 'universal redemption' will immediately be offended. Many that are zealous on the other side will be much rejoiced. They that are lukewarm on both sides and are carried away with carnal reasoning will wish this matter had never been brought under debate.

The reasons I have given at the beginning of the letter, I think, are sufficient to satisfy all of my conduct herein. I desire therefore that they who hold election would not triumph or make a party on one hand (for I detest any such thing), and that they who are prejudiced against that doctrine be not too much concerned or offended on the other.

'Known unto God are all his ways from the beginning of the world' [Acts 15:18]. The great day will discover why the Lord permits dear Mr. Wesley and me to be of a different way of thinking. At present, I shall make no enquiry into that matter, beyond the account which he has given of it himself in the following letter, which I lately received from his own dear hands [reprints JW's letter of Aug. 9, 1740 (*Works*, 26:31)].

[p. iv] Thus my honoured friend, I heartily pray God to hasten the time for his being clearly enlightened into all the doctrines of divine revelation, that we may thus be closely united in principle and judgment as well as heart and affection. And then if the Lord should call us to it, I care not if I go with him to prison, or to death. For like Paul and Silas, I hope we shall sing praises to God, and count it our highest honour to suffer for Christ's sake, and to lay down our lives for the brethren.

²See Gal. 2:11–13.

'Tis not my design to enter into a long debate on God's decrees. I refer you to Dr. Edwards, his *Veritas Redux*,³ which I think is unanswerable—except in a *certain point*, concerning a middle sort between elect and reprobate, which he himself in effect afterwards condemns.

I shall only make a few remarks upon your sermon entitled *Free Grace*.⁴ And before I enter upon the discourse itself, give me leave to take a little notice of what in your Preface you term an indispensable obligation to make it public to all the world. I must own that I always thought you were quite mistaken upon that head.

The case (you know) stands thus: [p. 7] When you were at Bristol, I think, you received a letter from a private hand charging you with not preaching the gospel, because you did not preach up election. Upon this you drew a lot. The answer was 'preach' and 'print'.⁵

I have often questioned, as I do now, whether in so doing you did not tempt the Lord. A due exercise of religious prudence, without [the drawing of] a lot, would have directed you in that matter. Besides, I never heard that you enquired of God whether or not election was a gospel doctrine. But, I fear, taking it for granted it was not, you only enquired whether you should be silent or preach and print against it.

However this be, the lot came out 'preach' and 'print'; accordingly you *preached* and *printed* against election. At my desire, you suppressed the publishing of the sermon whilst I was in England. But you soon sent it into the world after my departure. O that you had kept it in! However, if that sermon was printed in answer to a lot, I am apt to think one reason why God should so suffer you to be deceived was that hereby a special obligation might be laid upon me faithfully to declare the Scripture doctrine of election, that thus the Lord might give me a fresh opportunity of seeing what was in my heart and whether I would be true to his cause or not—as you could not but grant he did once before, by giving you such another lot at Deal.

The morning I sailed from Deal for Gibraltar, you arrived from Georgia. Instead of giving me an opportunity to converse with you, though the ship was not far off the shore, you drew a lot, and immediately set forward to London.⁶ You left a letter behind you, in which were words to this effect: 'When I saw God, by the wind which was carrying you out, brought me in, I asked counsel of God. His answer you have enclosed.' This was a piece of paper, in which were written these words, 'Let him return to London'.

When I received this, I was somewhat surprised. Here was a good man telling me he had cast a [p. 8] lot, and that God would have me return to London. On the other hand, I knew my call was to Georgia, and that I had taken leave of London, and could not justly go from the soldiers who were committed to my charge. I betook myself with a friend to prayer. That passage in the first book of Kings, chap. 13, where we are told that the prophet was slain by a lion when he was tempted to go back, contrary to God's express order, upon another prophet's telling him God would have him do so; this passage, I say, was powerfully impressed upon my soul. I wrote you word that I could not return to London. We sailed immediately.

Some months after, I received a letter from you at Georgia, wherein you wrote words to this effect: 'Though God never before gave me a wrong lot, yet perhaps he suffered me to have such a lot at

³John Edwards, *Veritas Redux. Evangelical truths restored* (London: Robinson, Lawrence, and Wyat, 1707).

⁴JW, *Free Grace* (Bristol: Farley, 1739); cf. *Works*, 3:544–61. Whitefield's citations reflect using this first edition.

⁵See JW's letter to James Hutton, Apr. 30, 1739, *Works*, 25:639–40.

⁶JW's record in his published *Journal* omits this, suggesting that Whitefield left Deal before Wesley arrived; cf. *Journal*, Jan. 31, 1738, *Works*, 18:213.

that time, to try what was in your heart.⁷ I should never have published this private transaction to the world, did not the glory of God call me to it. It is plain you had a wrong lot given you here—and justly, because you tempted God in drawing one. And thus I believe it is in the present case. And if so, let not the children of God who are mine and your intimate friends, and also advocates for ‘universal redemption’, think that doctrine true because you preached it up in compliance with a lot given out from God.

This, I think, may serve as an answer to that part of the Preface to your printed sermon wherein you say: ‘Nothing but the strongest conviction, not only that what is here advanced is the truth as it is in Jesus, but also that I am *indispensably obliged* to declare this truth to all the world.’⁸ That you believe what you have written to be truth, and that you honestly aim at God’s glory in writing, I do not in the least doubt. But then, honoured sir, I cannot but think you have been much mistaken in imagining that your tempting God, by casting a lot in the manner you did, could lay you under an *indispensable obligation* [p. 9] to any action, much less to publish your sermon against the doctrine of predestination to life.

I must next observe that, as you have been unhappy in printing at all upon such an *imaginary warrant*, so you have been as unhappy in the choice of your text. Honoured sir, how could it enter into your heart to choose a text to disprove the doctrine of *election* out of the eighth of Romans, where this doctrine is so plainly asserted that once, talking with a Quaker upon this subject, he had no other way of evading the force of the apostle’s assertion than by saying, ‘I believe Paul was in the wrong’? And another friend lately, who was once highly prejudiced against election, ingenuously confessed that he used to think St. Paul himself was mistaken, or that he was not truly translated.

Indeed, honoured sir, it is plain beyond all contradiction that St. Paul, through the whole of the eighth of Romans, is speaking of the privileges of those only who are really in Christ. And let any unprejudiced person read what goes before and what follows your text, and he must confess the word ‘all’ only signifies those that are in Christ. And the latter part of the text plainly proves what, I find, dear Mr. Wesley will by no means grant. I mean the final perseverance of the children of God: ‘He that spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all, i.e., all saints, how shall he not with him also freely give us all things?’⁹ *Grace*, in particular, to enable us to persevere, and every thing else necessary to carry us home to our Father’s heavenly kingdom.

Had any one a mind to prove the doctrine of *election*, as well as of *final perseverance*, he could hardly wish for a text more fit for his purpose than that which you have chosen to *disprove* it! One that does know you would suspect you yourself was sensible of this, for after the first paragraph, I scarce know whether you have mentioned it [i.e., the text] so much as once through your whole sermon.

But your discourse, in my opinion, is as little to [p. 10] the purpose as your text, and instead of warping, does but more and more confirm me in the belief of the doctrine of God’s eternal election.

I shall not mention how illogically you have proceeded. Had you written clearly, you should first, honoured sir, have proved your proposition: ‘that God’s grace is free to all’. And then by way of inference exclaimed against what you call the ‘horrible decree’. But you knew that people (because Arminianism, of late, has so much abounded among us) were generally prejudiced against the doctrine of reprobation, and therefore thought if you kept up their dislike of that, you could overthrow the doctrine of election entirely. For, without doubt, the doctrine of election and reprobation must stand or fall together.

But passing by this, as also your equivocal definition of the word ‘grace’, and your false definition of the word ‘free’, and that I may be as short as possible, I frankly acknowledge: I believe the doctrine of reprobation, that God intends to give saving grace, through Jesus Christ, only to a certain number, and that the rest of mankind, after the fall of Adam, being justly left of God to continue in sin, will at last suffer that eternal death which is its proper wages.

⁷This letter does not survive.

⁸JW, *Works*, 3:544.

⁹Rom. 8:32.

This is the established doctrine of Scripture, and acknowledged as such in the 17th article of the Church of England, as Bishop Burnet himself confesses.¹⁰ Yet dear Mr. Wesley absolutely denies it.

But the most important objections which you have urged against this doctrine as reasons why you reject it, being seriously considered, and faithfully tried by the Word of God, will appear to be of no force at all. Let the matter be humbly and calmly reviewed, as to the following heads.

First, you say,

if this be so (i.e., if there be an election) then is all preaching vain. It is needless to them that are elected, for they, whether with preaching or without, will infallibly be saved. Therefore, the end of preaching to save souls is void with [p. 11] regard to them. And it is useless to them that are not elected, for they cannot possibly be saved. They, whether with preaching or without, will infallibly be damned. The end of preaching is therefore void with regard to them likewise. So that in either case our preaching is vain, and your hearing also vain (Page 10, paragraph [10¹¹]).

O dear sir, what kind of reasoning—or rather sophistry—is this! Hath not God, who hath appointed salvation for a certain number, appointed also the preaching of the Word as a means to bring them to it? Does anyone hold election in any other sense? And if so, how is preaching needless to them that are elected, when the gospel is designated by God himself to be the power of God unto their eternal salvation? And since we know not who are elect and who reprobate, we are to preach promiscuously to all. For the Word may be useful even to the non-elect, in restraining them from much wickedness and sin. However, it is enough to excite to the utmost diligence in preaching and hearing when we consider that by these means some, even as many as the Lord hath ordained to eternal life, shall certainly be quickened and enabled to believe. And who that attends, especially with reverence and care, can tell but he may be found of that happy number?

Secondly, you say,

that it (viz., the doctrine of election and reprobation) directly tends to destroy holiness, which is the end of all the ordinances of God. For (says the dear mistaken Mr. Wesley), it wholly takes away those first motives to follow after it so frequently proposed in Scripture. The hope of future reward and fear of punishment, the hope of heaven and the fear of hell, ... (Page 11).¹²

I thought one that carries perfection to such an exalted pitch as dear Mr. Wesley does, would know that a true lover of the Lord Jesus Christ would strive to be holy for the sake of being holy, and work for [p. 12] Christ out of love and gratitude, without any regard to the rewards of heaven, or fear of hell. You remember, dear sir, what Scougal says: 'Love's a more powerful motive that does them move.'¹³ But passing by this, and granting that rewards and punishments (as they certainly are) may be motives from which a Christian may be honestly stirred up to act for God, how does the doctrine of

¹⁰Gilbert Burnet, *An Exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England* (London: Richard Chiswell, 1699).

¹¹The first edition numbered two successive paragraphs '5', throwing off all later paragraph numbers; Whitefield is actually referring to *Free Grace*, §10 (*Works*, 3:547–48). Subsequent paragraph references will be corrected.

¹²*Ibid.*, §11 (548).

¹³Henry Scougal, *The Life of God in the Soul of Man* (London: Downing and Strahan, 1726), 8.

election destroy these motives? Do not the elect know that the more good works they do, the greater will be their reward? And is not that encouragement enough to set them upon, and cause them to persevere in, working for Jesus Christ? And how does the doctrine of election destroy holiness? Who ever preached any other election than what the apostle preached, when he said, 'Chosen ... through sanctification of the Spirit'?¹⁴ Nay, is not holiness made a mark of our election by all that preach it? And how then can the doctrine of election destroy holiness?

The instance which you bring to illustrate your assertion, indeed, dear sir, is quite impertinent. For you say, 'If a sick man knows that he must unavoidably die or unavoidably recover, though he knows not which, it is not reasonable to take any physic at all' (p. 11). Dear sir, what absurd reasoning is here? Were you ever sick in your life? If so, did not the bare probability or possibility of your recovering, though you knew it was unalterably fixed that you must live or die, encourage you to take physic? For how did you know but that very physic might be the means God intended to recover you by? Just thus it is as to the doctrine of *election*. I know that it is unalterably fixed (may one say) that I must be damned or saved; but since I know not which for a certainty, why should I not strive, though at present in a state of nature, since I know not but this striving may be the means God has intended to bless, in order to bring me into a state of grace?

Dear sir, consider these things. Make an impartial application, [p. 13] and then judge what little reason you had to conclude the [11]th paragraph, page 12, with these words: 'So directly does this doctrine tend to shut the very gate of holiness in general, to hinder unholy men from ever approaching thereto, or striving to enter in thereat.'

'As directly', say you, 'does the doctrine tend to destroy several particular branches of holiness, such as meekness, love, ...' (par. [12]).¹⁵ I shall say little, dear sir, in answer to this paragraph. Dear Mr. Wesley perhaps has been disputing with some warm narrow-spirited men that held election, and then infers that their warmth and narrowness of spirit was owing to their principles? But does not dear Mr. Wesley know many dear children of God who are predestinarians and yet are meek, lowly, pitiful, courteous, tender-hearted, of a catholic spirit, and kind, and hope to see the most vile and profligate of men converted? And why? because they know God saved them by an act of his electing love, and they know not but he may have elected those who now seem to be the most abandoned.

But, dear sir, we must not judge of the truth of principles in general, nor of this of election in particular, entirely from the practice of some that profess to hold them. If so, I am sure much might be said against your own. For I appeal to your own heart, whether or not you have not felt in yourself, or observed in others, a narrow-spiritedness and some disunion of soul respecting those that hold particular redemption. If so, then according to your own rule 'universal redemption' is wrong, because it destroys several branches of holiness, such as meekness, love, etc. But not to insist upon this, I beg you would observe that your inference is entirely set aside by the force of the apostle's argument, and the language which he expressly uses. For, in Colossians 3:12–13, he says: 'Put on therefore (as the elect of God, holy and beloved) bowels of mercies, kindness, humbleness of mind, meekness, long-suffering; forbearing one [p. 14] another, and forgiving one another. If any man have a quarrel against any, even as Christ forgave you, so also do ye.' Here we see that the apostle exhorts them to put on bowels of mercy, kindness, humbleness of mind, meekness, long-suffering, etc., upon this consideration—namely, because they were elect of God. And all who have experientially felt this doctrine in their hearts feel that these graces are the genuine effects of their being elected of God.

But perhaps dear Mr. Wesley may be mistaken in this point, and call that 'passion' which is only zeal for God's truths. You know, dear sir, the apostle exhorts us to 'contend earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints'.¹⁶ And therefore you must not condemn all that appear zealous for the doctrine of

¹⁴2 Thess. 2:13.

¹⁵*Works*, 3:548–49.

¹⁶Jude 3.

election as narrow-spirited, or persecutors, because they think it their duty to oppose you. I am sure I love you in the bowels of Jesus Christ, and think I could lay down my life for your sake, but yet, dear sir, I cannot help strenuously opposing your errors upon this important subject because I think you warmly, though not designedly, oppose the truth as it is in Jesus. May the Lord remove the scales of prejudice from off the eyes of your mind and give you a zeal according to true Christian knowledge!

Third, says your sermon, 'This doctrine tends to destroy the comforts of religion, the happiness of Christianity, ...' (page 13, par. [13]).¹⁷

But how does Mr. Wesley know this, who never believed election? I believe they who have experienced it will agree with our 17th article that,

the godly consideration of predestination, and election in Christ, is full of sweet, pleasant, unspeakable comfort to godly persons, and such as feel in themselves the working of the Spirit of Christ, mortifying the works of the flesh, and their earthly members, and drawing their minds to high and heavenly things, as well because it does greatly establish and confirm their faith of eternal salvation, to be enjoyed through [p. 15] Christ, as because it doth fervently kindle their love towards God,

This plainly shows that our godly reformers did not think election destroyed holiness or the comforts of religion. As for my own part, this doctrine is my daily support. I should utterly sink under a dread of my impending trials, were I not firmly persuaded that God has chosen me in Christ from before the foundation of the world, and that, now being effectually called, he will allow no one to pluck me out of his almighty hand.

You proceed thus: 'This is evident as to all those who believe themselves to be reprobate, or only suspect or fear it; all the great and precious promises are lost to them; they afford them no ray of comfort.'¹⁸

In answer to this, let me observe that none living, especially none who are desirous of salvation, can know that they are not of the number of God's elect. None but the unconverted can have any just reason so much as to fear it. And would dear Mr. Wesley give comfort, or dare you apply the precious promises of the gospel, being children's bread, to men in a natural state while they continue so? God forbid! What if the doctrine of election and reprobation does put some upon doubting? So does that of regeneration. But, is not this doubting a good means to put them upon searching and striving, and that striving a good means to make their calling and their election sure? This is one reason among many others why I admire the doctrine of election and am convinced that it should have a place in gospel ministrations and should be insisted on with faithfulness and care. It has a natural tendency to rouse the soul out of its carnal security. And therefore many carnal men cry out against it. Whereas 'universal redemption' is a notion sadly adapted to keep the soul in its lethargic sleepy condition, and therefore so many natural men admire and applaud it.

Your [14]th, [15]th and [16]th paragraphs come next [p. 16] to be considered. 'The witness of the Spirit', you say, 'experience shows to be much obstructed by this doctrine' (Par. [15], Page 14).¹⁹

But, dear sir, whose experience? Not your own, for in your *Journal* (from your embarking for Georgia to your return to London, page the last²⁰) you seem to acknowledge that you have it not, and therefore you are no competent judge in this matter. You must mean then the experience of others. For you say in the same paragraph, 'Even in those who have tasted of that good gift, who yet have soon lost it

¹⁷*Works*, 3:549.

¹⁸*Ibid.* (§13).

¹⁹*Works*, 3:549–50.

²⁰See JW, *Journal*, Feb. 1, 1738, *Works*, 18, 215–16.

again' (I suppose you mean lost the *sense* of it again) 'and fallen back into doubts and fears and darkness, even horrible darkness that might be felt' Now, as to the darkness of desertion, was not this the case of Jesus Christ himself, after he had received an unmeasurable unction of the Holy Ghost? Was not his soul exceeding sorrowful, even unto death, in the garden? And was he not surrounded with an horrible darkness, even a darkness that might be felt, when on the cross he cried out, 'My God! My God! why hast thou forsaken me?'²¹

And that all his followers are liable to the same, is it not evident from Scripture? For, says the apostle, 'He was tempted in all things like unto his brethren',²² that he might be able to succour those that are tempted.²³ And is not their liableness thereunto well consistent with that conformity to him in suffering which his members are to bear?²⁴ Why then should persons falling into darkness, after they have received the witness of the Spirit, be any argument against the doctrine of election?

'Yet'²⁵, you say, 'many, very many of those that hold it not, in all parts of the earth, have enjoyed the uninterrupted witness of the Spirit, the continual light of God's countenance, from the moment wherein they first believed, for many months or years, to this very day.' But how does dear Mr. Wesley know this? Has he consulted the experience of many, very many in all parts of the earth? Or could he be sure of what [p. 17] he hath advanced without sufficient grounds, would it follow that their being kept in this light is owing to their not believing the doctrine of election? No, this, according to the sentiments of our church, 'greatly confirms and establishes a true Christian's faith of eternal salvation through Christ',²⁶ and is an anchor of hope, both sure and steadfast, when he walks in darkness and sees no light—as certainly he may, even after he hath received the witness of the Spirit, whatever you or others may unadvisedly assert to the contrary. Then, to have respect to God's everlasting covenant, and to throw himself upon the free distinguishing love of that God who changeth not, will make him lift up the hands that hang down, and strengthen the feeble knees.

But without the belief of the doctrine of election, and the immutability of the free love of God, I cannot see how 'tis possible that any should have a comfortable assurance of eternal salvation. What could it signify to a man whose conscience is thoroughly awakened, and who is warned in good earnest to seek deliverance from the wrath to come, though he should be assured that all his past sins be forgiven and that he is now a child of God, if notwithstanding this he may hereafter become a child of the devil and be cast into hell at last? Could such an assurance yield any solid, lasting comfort to a person convinced of the corruption and treachery of his own heart, and of the malice, subtlety, and power of Satan? No! That which alone deserves the name of a 'full assurance of faith' is such an assurance as emboldens the believer, under the sense of his interest in distinguishing love, to give the challenge to all his adversaries, whether men or devils, and that with regard to all their future, as well as present, attempts to destroy—saying with the apostle,

Who shall lay any thing to the charge of God's elect? It is God that justifies me. Who is he that condemns me? It is Christ that died, yea rather, that is risen again, who is even at the right hand of God, who [p. 18] also makes intercession for me. Who shall separate me from the love of Christ? shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword? ... Nay, in all these things I am more than conqueror through him that loved me. For I am persuaded that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor

²¹Matt. 27:46 and parallels.

²²Heb. 4:15.

²³See Heb. 2:18.

²⁴Phil. 3:10.

²⁵Orig., in Whitefield 'Yes'; likely a misprint, as JW said 'But' (*Free Grace*, §15, *Works*, 3:550).

²⁶Whitefield is again citing Article 17 of the Articles of Religion of the Church of England.

principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate me from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus my Lord.²⁷

This, dear sir, is the triumphant language of every soul that has attained a full assurance of faith. And this assurance can only arise from a belief of God's electing everlasting love. That many have an assurance they are in Christ today, but take no thought for, or are not assured they shall be in him tomorrow—nay to all eternity—is rather their imperfection and unhappiness than their privilege. I pray God to bring all such to a sense of his eternal love, that they may no longer build upon their own faithfulness but on the unchangeableness of that God whose gifts and callings are without repentance. For those whom God has once justified, he also will glorify.

I observed before, dear sir, it is not always a safe rule to judge of the truth of principles from people's practice. And therefore, supposing that all who hold 'universal redemption' in your way of explaining it, after they received faith, 'enjoyed the continual uninterrupted sight of God's countenance', it does not follow that this is a fruit of their principle. For that I am sure has a natural tendency to keep the soul in darkness for ever, because the creature thereby is taught that his being kept in a state of salvation is owing to his own free will. And what a sandy foundation is that for a poor creature to build his hopes of perseverance upon? Every relapse into sin, every surprise by temptation, must throw him 'into doubts and fears, into horrible darkness, even darkness that may be [p. 19] felt'.

Hence it is that the letters which have been lately sent me by those who hold 'universal redemption' are dead and lifeless, dry and inconsistent, in comparison of those I receive from persons on the contrary side. Those who settle in the universal scheme, though they might begin in the Spirit (whatever they may say to the contrary), are ending in the flesh, and building up a righteousness founded on their own free will; whilst the others triumph in hope of the glory of God, and build upon God's never-failing promise and unchangeable love, even when his sensible presence is withdrawn from them.

But I would not judge of the truth of election by the experience of any particular persons. If I did (O bear with me in this foolishness of boasting), I think I myself might glory in election. For these five or six years I have received the witness of God's Spirit. Since that, blessed be God, I have not doubted a quarter of an hour of having a saving interest in Jesus Christ. But with grief and humble shame I do acknowledge I have fallen into sin often since that. Though I do not—dare not—allow of any one transgression, yet hitherto I have not been (nor do I expect that while I am in this present world I ever shall be) able to live one day perfectly free from all defects and sin. And since the Scriptures declare that there is not a just man upon earth, no, not among those of the highest attainments in grace, that doeth good and sinneth not,²⁸ we are sure that this will be the case of all the children of God.

The universal experience and acknowledgement of this among the godly in every age is abundantly sufficient to confute the error of those who hold in an absolute sense 'that after a man is born again he cannot commit sin. Especially since the Holy Spirit condemns the persons who say they have no sin as deceiving themselves, as being destitute of the truth, and making God a liar' (1 John 1:8, 10). I have been also in heaviness through manifold temptations, and expect to be often so before I die. Thus [p. 20] were the apostles and primitive Christians themselves. Thus was Luther, that man of God who, as far as I can find, did not peremptorily, at least, hold election. And the great John Arndt was in the utmost perplexity but a quarter of an hour before he died, and yet he was no predestinarian.

And if I must speak freely, I believe your fighting so strenuously against the doctrine of election and pleading so vehemently for a sinless perfection are among the reasons, or culpable causes, why you are kept out of the liberties of the gospel and from that full assurance of faith which they enjoy who have experimentally tasted, and daily feed upon, God's electing, everlasting love.

²⁷Rom. 8:33–39; rendered by Whitefield as first person singular.

²⁸See Eccles. 7:20.

But perhaps you may say that Luther and Arndt were no Christians, at least very weak ones. I know you think meanly of Abraham, though he was eminently called the friend of God; and, I believe, also of David, the man after God's own heart. No wonder, therefore, that in a letter you sent me not long since, you should tell me, 'that no Baptist or Presbyterian writer whom you have read knew anything of the liberties of Christ'.²⁹ What? Neither [John] Bunyan, [Matthew] Henry, [John] Flavel, [Thomas] Halyburton,³⁰ nor any of the New England and Scots divines? See, dear sir, what narrow-spiritedness and want of charity arise from your principles, and then do not cry out against election any more on account of its being 'destructive of meekness and love'.

Fourth, I shall now proceed to another head. Again says the dear Mr. Wesley: 'How uncomfortable a thought is this, that thousands and millions of men, without any preceding offence or fault of theirs, were unchangeably doomed to everlasting burnings?' (page 15, par. [17]).³¹

But who ever asserted that thousands and millions of men, without any preceding offence or fault of theirs, were unchangeably doomed to everlasting burnings? Do not they who believe God's dooming men to everlasting burnings, also believe that God looked [p. 21] upon them as men fallen in Adam? And that the decree which ordained the punishment first regarded the crime by which it was deserved? How then are they doomed without any preceding fault? Surely Mr. Wesley will own God's justice in imputing Adam's sin to his posterity. And also, after Adam fell, and his posterity in him, God might justly have passed them *all* by, without sending his own Son to be a saviour for *any one*. Unless you heartily agree to both these points, you do not believe original sin aright. If you do own them, then you must acknowledge the doctrine of election and reprobation to be highly just and reasonable. For if God might justly impute Adam's sin to *all*, and afterwards have passed by *all*, then he might justly pass by *some*. Turn on the right hand, or on the left, you are reduced to an inextricable dilemma. And if you would be consistent, you must either give up the doctrine of the imputation of Adam's sin, or receive the amiable doctrine of election, with a holy and righteous reprobation as its consequent. For whether you can believe it or not, the Word of God abides faithful: 'The election has obtained it, and the rest were blinded.'³²

Your [18]th paragraph, page 16, I pass over. What has been said on the [10]th and [11]th paragraphs, with little alteration, will answer it. I shall only say 'tis the doctrine of election that most presses me to abound in good works. I am willing to suffer all things for the elect's sake. This makes me to preach with comfort, because I know salvation does not depend on man's free will, but the Lord makes willing in the day of his power, and can make use of me to bring some of his elect home when and where he pleases.

But, fifthly, you say, 'This doctrine has a direct manifest tendency to overthrow the whole Christian religion. For,' say you, 'supposing that eternal, unchangeable decree, one part [p. 22] of mankind must be saved, though the Christian revelation were not in being' (Page 17, par. [19]).³³

But, dear sir, how does that follow? Since it is only by the Christian revelation that we are acquainted with God's design of saving his church by the death of his Son. Yea, 'tis settled in the everlasting covenant that this salvation shall be applied to the elect through the knowledge and faith of him. As the prophet says (Isaiah 53:11), 'By his knowledge shall my righteous servant justify many'. How then has the doctrine of election a direct tendency to overthrow the whole Christian revelation? Who ever thought that God's declaration to Noah that seed-time and harvest should never cease could afford an

²⁹This letter does not survive.

³⁰Whitefield has chosen four writers whom he knows JW read and valued.

³¹*Works*, 3:550.

³²Rom. 11:7.

³³*Works*, 3:551.

argument for the neglect of plowing or sowing? Or that the unchangeable purpose of God that harvest should not fail rendered the heat of the sun, or the influence of the heavenly bodies, unnecessary to produce it? No more does God's absolute purpose of saving his chosen preclude the necessity of the gospel revelation, or the use of any of the means through which he has determined the decree shall take effect. Nor will the right understanding, or the reverent belief of God's decree ever allow or suffer a Christian in any case to separate the means from the end, or the end from the means.

And since we are taught by the revelation itself that this was intended and given by God as a means of bringing home his elect, we therefore receive it with joy, prize it highly, using it in faith, and endeavour to spread it through all the world, in the full assurance that wherever God sends it, sooner or later, it shall be savingly useful to all the elect within its call.

How then, in holding this doctrine, do we join with modern unbelievers in making the Christian revelation unnecessary? No, dear sir, you mistake. Infidels of all kinds are on your side of the question. Deists, Arians, [and] Socinians arraign God's sovereignty and stand up for 'universal redemption'. I pray God [that] dear Mr. Wesley's sermon, as it has grieved [p. 23] the hearts of many of God's children, may not also strengthen the hands of many of his most avowed enemies!

Here I could almost lie down and weep. 'O tell it not in Gath, publish it not in the streets of Askelon; lest the daughters of the uncircumcised rejoice, lest the sons of unbelief triumph.'³⁴

Further, you say, 'This doctrine makes revelation contradict itself' (Page 18, par. [20]).³⁵ For instance, say you, 'The assertors of this doctrine interpret that text of Scripture, "Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I hated",³⁶ as implying that God, in a literal sense, hated Esau and all the reprobates from eternity!' And, when considered as *fallen in Adam*, were they not objects of his hatred? And might not God, of his own good pleasure, love or show mercy to Jacob and the elect, and yet at the same time do the reprobate no wrong? But you say, 'God is love'. And cannot God be love, unless he shows the same mercy to all?

Again, says dear Mr. Wesley, 'They infer from that text, "I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy",³⁷ that God is merciful only to some men (viz., the elect), and that he has mercy for those only, flatly contrary to which is the whole tenor of the Scripture, as is that express declaration in particular, "The Lord is loving to every man, and his mercy is over all his works."³⁸

And so it is, but not his *saving* mercy. God is loving to every man: he sends his rain upon the evil and upon the good. But you say, 'God is no respecter of persons.'³⁹ No! For everyone, whether Jew or Gentile, that believeth on Jesus, and worketh righteousness, is accepted of him. 'But he that believeth not shall be damned.'⁴⁰ For 'God is no respecter of persons', i.e., upon the account of any outward condition or circumstance in life whatever. Nor does the doctrine of election in the least suppose him to be so. But as the sovereign Lord of all, who is debtor to none, he has a right to do what he will with his own, and to dispense his favours to what [p. 24] objects he sees fit, merely at his pleasure. And his supreme right herein is clearly and strongly asserted in those passages of Scripture where he says, 'I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy, and have compassion on whom I will have compassion' (Rom. 9:15, Exod. 33:19).

³⁴JW had ended §19 with this slight revision of 2 Sam. 1:20 aimed at unconditional reprobation; Whitefield is quoting it back in the face of the perceived dangerous allies of universal redemption.

³⁵*Works*, 3:552.

³⁶Rom. 9:13.

³⁷Rom. 9:15.

³⁸Ps. 145:9; the whole quote in *Free Grace*, §20, *Works*, 3:552.

³⁹Acts 10:34.

⁴⁰Mark 16:16.

Further, in page 19 you represent us as inferring from the text, ‘the children not being yet born, neither having done any good or evil, that the purpose of God according to election might stand, not of works, but of him that calleth; it was said unto her (unto Rebekah), “The elder shall serve the younger”⁴¹ that our predestination to life no way depends on the foreknowledge of God.’⁴² But who infers this, dear sir? For if foreknowledge signifies approbation, as it does in several parts of Scripture, then we confess that predestination and election do depend on God’s foreknowledge. But if by God’s foreknowledge you understand God’s fore-seeing some good works done by his creatures as the foundation or reason of choosing them and *therefore* electing them, then we say that in this sense predestination does not any way depend on God’s foreknowledge.

But I referred you, at the beginning of this letter, to Dr. Edwards, his *Veritas Redux*, which I recommended to you also in a late letter, with Elisha Coles on *God’s Sovereignty*.⁴³ Be pleased to read those, and also the excellent sermons of Mr. Cooper of Boston in New England,⁴⁴ which I also sent you, and I doubt not but you will see all your objections answered. Though I would observe that, after all our reading on both sides the question, we shall never in this life be able to search out God’s decrees to perfection. No, we must humbly adore what we cannot comprehend, and with the great apostle at the end of our enquiries cry out ‘O the depth ...’;⁴⁵ or with our Lord, when he was admiring God’s sovereignty, ‘Even so Father, for so it seemeth good in thy sight.’⁴⁶

However, it may not be amiss to take notice that [p. 25] if those texts ‘God willeth that no one should perish’,⁴⁷ ‘I have no pleasure in him that dieth’,⁴⁸ and such like be taken in their strictest sense, then no one will be damned.

But here’s the distinction. God taketh no pleasure in the death of sinners, so as to delight simply in their death; but he delights to magnify his justice, by inflicting the punishment which their iniquities have deserved. As a righteous judge, who takes no pleasure in condemning a criminal, may yet justly command him to be executed that law and justice may be satisfied, even though it be in his power to procure him a reprieve.

I would hint further, that you unjustly charge the doctrine of *reprobation* with blasphemy, whereas the doctrine of ‘universal redemption’, as you set it forth, is really the highest reproach upon the dignity of the Son of God and the merit of his blood. Consider whether it be not rather blasphemy to say as you do, ‘Christ not only died for those that are saved, but also for those that perish’ (page 20).

The text you have misapplied to gloss over this, see explained by [Thomas] Ridgley, [John] Edwards, [Matthew] Henry. And I purposely omit answering your texts myself so that you may be brought to read such treatises, which, under God, would show you your error. You cannot make good this assertion ‘that Christ died for them that perish’ without holding (as Peter Böhler, one of the Moravian brethren, in order to make out ‘universal redemption’, lately frankly confessed in a letter) ‘that all the damned souls would hereafter be brought out of hell’. I cannot think Mr. Wesley is thus minded. And yet without [i.e., unless] this can be proved, ‘universal redemption’, taken in a literal sense, falls entirely to

⁴¹Rom. 9:11–12.

⁴²*Free Grace*, §20, *Works*, 3:552–53.

⁴³Elisha Coles, *A Practical Discourse on God’s Sovereignty* (London: for the author, 1673). Whitefield recommended Edwards and Coles in his letter of Sept. 25, 1740.

⁴⁴William Cooper, *The Doctrine of Predestination unto Life; explained and vindicated in four sermons* (Boston: J. Draper, 1740).

⁴⁵Rom. 11:33–34.

⁴⁶Matt. 11:26.

⁴⁷Cf. 2 Pet. 3:9.

⁴⁸Cf. Ezek. 33:11.

the ground. For how can *all* be universally redeemed, if *all* are not finally saved?

Dear sir, for Jesus Christ's sake, consider how you dishonour God by denying election. You plainly make salvation depend not on God's *free grace*, but [p.26] on man's *free-will*. And, 'tis more than probable, Jesus Christ would not have had the satisfaction of seeing the fruit of his death in the eternal salvation of one soul. Our preaching would then be vain, and all invitations for people to believe in him would also be in vain.

But, blessed be God, our Lord knew for whom he died. There was an eternal compact between the Father and the Son. A certain number was then given him as the purchase and reward of his obedience and death. For these he prayed (John 17[:9]), and not for the world. For these, and these only, he is now interceding, and with their salvation he will be fully satisfied.

I purposely omit making any further particular remarks on the several last pages of your sermon. Indeed had not your name, dear sir, been prefixed to the sermon, I could not have been so uncharitable as to think you were the author of such sophistry. You beg the question in saying that God has declared (notwithstanding you own, I suppose, some will be damned) that he will save all—i.e., every *individual* person. You take it for granted (for solid proof you have none) that God is unjust if he passes by any, and then you exclaim against the 'horrible decree'. And yet, as I before hinted, in holding the doctrine of original sin, you profess to believe that he might justly have passed by all.

Dear, dear sir, O be not offended! For Christ's sake be not rash! Give yourself to reading. Study the covenant of grace. Down with your carnal reasoning. Be a little child. And then, instead of pawning your salvation, as you have done in a late hymn book, if the doctrine of 'universal redemption' be not true; instead of talking of sinless perfection, as you have done in the preface to that hymn book, and making man's salvation to depend on his own free will, as you have in this sermon; you will compose a hymn in praise of sovereign distinguishing love. [p. 27] You will caution believers against striving to work a perfection out of their own hearts, and print another sermon the reverse of this, and entitle it *Free Grace* indeed. *Free*, because not *free to all*; but *free*, because God may withhold or give it to whom and when he pleases.

Till you do this, I must doubt whether or not you know yourself. In the meanwhile, I cannot but blame you for censuring the clergy of our church for not keeping to their articles, when you yourself by your principles, positively deny the 9th, 10th and 17th.⁴⁹

Dear sir, these things ought not so to be. God knows my heart, as I told you before, so I declare again, nothing but a single regard to the honour of Christ has forced this letter from me. I love and honour you for his sake; and when I come to judgment, will thank you before men and angels, for what you have, under God, done for my soul.

There, I am persuaded, I shall see dear Mr. Wesley convinced of *election* and everlasting love. And it often fills me with pleasure to think how I shall behold you casting your crown down at the feet of the Lamb, and as it were, filled with a holy blushing for opposing the divine sovereignty in the manner you have done.

But I hope the Lord will show you this before you go hence. O how do I long for that day! If the Lord should be pleased to make use of this letter for that purpose, it would abundantly rejoice the heart of, dear and honoured sir,

Your affectionate, though unworthy brother and servant in Christ,

George Whitefield

Source: published version; George Whitefield, *A Letter to the Reverend Mr. John Wesley* (Boston: G. Rogers, 1740; 2nd edn., London: W. Strahan, 1741) [pagination above follows 1741 printing].⁵⁰

⁴⁹'Of Original or Birth Sin'; 'Of Free Will' and 'Of Predestination'.

⁵⁰Whitefield included on pp. 28–29 a hymn by Isaac Watts on Rom. 9:21–24; and on pp. 30–31 a reprint of the Anglican Articles on Original Sin, Free-Will, and Predestination and Election].

From John Brownfield¹

Savannah [Georgia]
December 25, 1740

My Dear Mr. Wesl[e]y,

About a fortnight since I received, in a letter from our friend [George] Whitefield, part of one that you had wrote to him concerning Capt. Williams's affidavit.² Therein you say that either I or Mr. Bradley³ can set the matter in a true light. I am heartily desirous of doing whatever lies in my power for the service of your character.

All that I am able to do is only to inform you that last week I inquired of Mr. [Thomas] Causton, 'Whether Mr. Wesley' (meaning yourself) 'had ever given any bail to answer to the bills brought against him by the grand jury?' Mr. Causton replied, 'No; there never was any such thing.'

Then it is evident from the answer that the four last assertions in Capt. Williams's affidavit are false—viz.:

That the magistrates admitted you to bail.

That you was accordingly bailed by two freeholders of Savannah.

That you deserted your bail.

That thereupon the magistrates threatened to prosecute and imprison your bail.

As to the two first assertions—viz.:

That two several bills of indictment were proved against you at Savannah by at least ten creditable witnesses; and

That all the grand jury then empanelled did unanimously agree to them;

I dare not give any answer at all. No, though even your life and the life of my dearest relations were together in danger. Because the oath of a grand juror obligeth him to keep secret all matters transacted by way of consultation amongst those with whom he is sworn to serve. The words which every grand juror swears to observe are these: 'The King's counsel, your own, and your fellows you shall well and truly keep.' Consider a little, dear sir, the nature of a grand jury, and I hope you will be convinced of the justice of obliging each juror to keep all things secret, as I have hinted just above.

In order that every person (even the greatest) may be fairly accused—I don't mean Peers but only such as come under the power of a grand jury's inquiry—it is highly necessary that their debates and other proceedings of the like nature should be kept secret. Suppose a man in power should be brought under the consideration of a grand jury. Was this person to know who spoke most freely against him (I mean his crime) during an inquiry, any such man in power (being acquitted) might so terrify the person who spoke most freely as to prevent his doing justice upon a future grand jury. And so one of the chief privileges of our country might be soon broken through and finally destroyed. Indeed I must declare it as my opinion that the minority of the grand jury were foresworn when they had signed the paper mentioned in your *Journal*. But as they did it through inadvertence, they deserve pity more than blame.

¹John Brownfield (1714–52) was brought up as a servant in James Oglethorpe's household in London, and sailed to Georgia with JW in 1735, both as a factor for Pytt and Tuckwell, the London ironmongers who were supplying the needs of the new colony, and as the registrar appointed to oversee the Georgia land-grants. He was the sympathetic foreman of the grand jury which tried JW, and became even more friendly to Methodism later, through the influence of Whitefield. In 1745 he joined the Moravians in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, becoming their bookkeeper and head steward, and was ordained a Moravian deacon in 1749. He died and was buried in Bethlehem.

²See Robert Williams's affidavit, dated Mar. 14, 1740, above (pp. 173–74).

³William Bradley, who arrived in Georgia in Feb. 1736, sent by the Georgia Trustees to help teach agriculture to the colonists.

It may be necessary for me to acquaint you that a grand jury is only empowered (as I understand) to make inquiry and to accuse, as they think proper, the persons whom such a grand jury, or the majority of them (not being less than 12) shall believe to be guilty of any misdemeanour or crime brought to the knowledge of or laid before the said grand jury. They can only examine the accusing side, and therefore it often happens that a person indicted for some crime or misdemeanour is, when he hath been lawfully tried, set at liberty—by reason the evidence on such a person's side hath proved stronger than the contrary evidence. Sometimes (I am informed) an indictment found against a person for some crime or other is thrown out upon the trial and a fresh indictment found of a less strong nature. And sometimes it happens that a bill found by a grand jury against some person for a misdemeanour only is first proved and then (upon stronger evidence coming in) a new bill found against the same person, and for the same matter, of a criminal nature. Dear sir, as I am but little acquainted with things of this nature, be so kind as to accept the will for the deed. I serve you not as I ought, but as I am able.

What is it, dear Mr. Wesley, you have lately published that I hear a strange report of in this place? Something of a preface to a collection of hymns, and sad imprecations in one of the hymns too.⁴ My friend Woodruff told me of this matter a day or two past and brother [James] Burnside this evening. The apostle's words come just now upon my heart: 'Judge nothing before the time'.⁵ And I desire to follow his good counsel.

I am daily brought to see the evil of unbelief, the dishonour it casts upon my loving Redeemer, and how greatly it shuts up the bowels of love one to another. I long to feel a more ardent longing after Jesus, my spouse. I blush to love him and my brethren so little. Fain would I be always learning from my Lord and sitting indeed at his feet. He is so exceeding lovely that I sometimes melt under his cross and would ask to be continually washed in his blood. I fear nothing half so much as unbelief, and I have a comfortable hope of being freed from this fear, as I trust I am shortly from the power of it.

When you bow your heart at the throne of grace, pray think of, dear sir,
Your weak, unworthy friend in the Lord Jesus,

J. Brownfield

My love to your brother [CW], Mr. [Benjamin] Ingham, Mr. [Charles] Delamotte, and Mr. [James] Hutton. Enclosed to them I write you a copy letter dated Dec. 16th.

Address: 'To / the Revd Mr. John Wesly / per The Revd. Mr. Whitefield'.

Endorsement: by JW, 'Jo Brownfield / Dec. 25, 1740'.

Source: holograph; MARC, MA 1977/610/22.⁶

⁴Brownfield is likely referring to JW's preface to *HSP* (1740), which was published in early July 1740, and strongly defended the possibility of Christian perfection.

⁵1 Cor. 4:5.

⁶Transcription published in *Works*, 26:44–45.