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1755

A N

# EXTRACT

O F T H E

Rev. Mr. JOHN WESLEY'S

# Journal,

From his Embarking for GEORGIA,  
To his Return to LONDON.

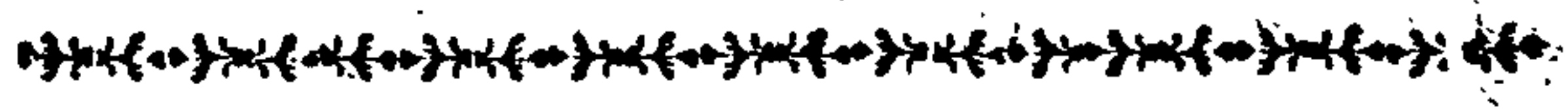
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THE FIFTH EDITION.

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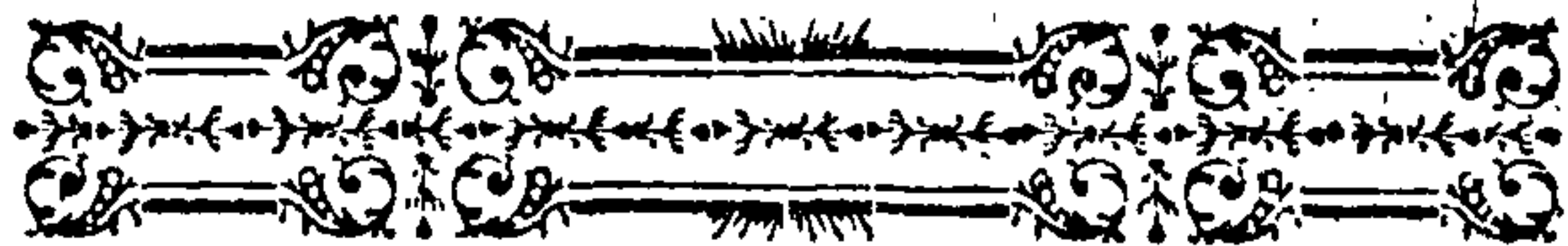
What shall we say then?-----That ISRAEL which follow'd after  
the Law of Righteousness, hath not attained to the Law of  
Righteousness.----Wherefore? Because they sought it not by  
FAITH, but as it were by the Works of the Law.

ROMANS, II. 30, 31.



L O N D O N:

Printed by R. HAWES, (No. 34.) in *Lamb-Street*,  
*Near Spital-Square*, 1755.



# T H E

# P R E F A C E.

1. **I**T was in Pursuance of an Advice given by Bp. Taylor, in his *Rules for Holy Living and Dying*, that about fifteen Years ago, I began to make a more exact Account than I had done before, of the Manner wherein I spent my Time, writing down how I had employ'd every Hour. This I continued to do, wherever I was, 'till the Time of my leaving *England*. The Variety of Scenes which I then past thro', induced me to transcribe from Time to Time, the more material parts of my Diary, adding here and there such little Reflections as occur'd to my Mind. Of this Journal thus occasionally compiled, the following is a short Extract: It not being my Design to relate all those Particulars, which I wrote for my own Use only; and which would answer no valuable End to others, however important they were to me.

2. Indeed I had no Design or Desire to trouble the World with any of my little Affairs: As can't but appear to every impartial Mind, from my having been so long *as one that heareth not*, notwithstanding the loud and frequent Calls I have had, to answer for myself. Neither should I have done it now, had not Captain Williams's Affidavit, publish'd *as soon as he had left England*, laid an Obligation upon me, to do what in me lies, in Obedience to that command of God, *Let not the Good which is in you be evil-spoken of*. With this View I do at length give an Answer to every Man that asketh me a Reason of the Hope which is in me, that in all these Things

## The P R E F A C E.

Things I have a Conscience void of Offence, towards  
GOD and towards Man.

3. I have prefix'd hereto a Letter wrote several years  
since, containing a plain Account, of the Rise of that  
little Society in *Oxford*, which has been so variously  
represented. Part of this was publish'd in 1733; but  
without my Consent or Knowledge. It now stands as  
it was wrote; without any Addition, Diminution, or  
Amendment: It being my only Concern herein, na-  
kedly to *declare the Thing as it is*.

4. Perhaps my Employments of another Kind may  
not allow me, to give any further Answer, to them  
who *say all Manner of Evil of me falsely*, and seem to  
*think that they do GOD Service*. Suffice it, that both  
they and I shall shortly *give an Account, to Him that is  
ready to judge the Quick and the Dead*.



OXON,

O X O N, O<sup>R</sup>. 18. 1730.

S I R,

THE Occasion of my giving you this Trouble is of a very extraordinary Nature. On *Sunday* last I was informed (as no doubt you will be e'er long)-that my Brother and I had kill'd your Son: That the rigorous Fasting which he had imposed upon himself, by our Advice, had increased his Illness, and hastened his Death. Now tho', considering it in myself, *it is every small Thing with me to be judg'd by Man's Judgment;* yet as the being thought guilty of so mischievous an Imprudence might make me less able to do the Work I came into the World for, I am obliged to clear myself of it, by observing to you, as I have done to others, that your Son left off Fasting about a Year and a Half since, and that it is not yet Half a Year since I began to practice it.

I must not let this Opportunity slip of doing my Part towards giving you a juster Notion of some other Particulars relating both to him and myself, which have been industriously misrepresented to you.

In *March* last he receiv'd a Letter from you, which being not able to read, he desir'd me to read to him; several of the Expressions whereof I perfectly remember, and shall do, 'till I too am call'd hence. I then determin'd, that if GOD was pleased to take away your Son before me, I would justify him and myself, which I now do with all Plainness and Simplicity, as both my Character and Case requires.

In one Practice for which you blam'd your Son, I am only concern'd as a Friend, not as a Partner. That therefore I shall consider first: Your own Account of it was in Effect this, "He frequently went into, " poor People's Houses in the Villages about *Holt* " call'd their Children together, and instructed them " in their Duty to God, their Neighbour, and them- " selves. He likewise explain'd to them the Necessity



“ of private as well as publick Prayer, and provided  
 “ them with such forms as were best suited to their  
 “ several Capacities: And being well appriz’d how  
 “ much the Success of his Endeavours depended on  
 “ their Good-will towards him, to win upon their  
 “ Affections, he sometimes distributed among them a  
 “ little of that Money, which he had saved from  
 “ Gaming, and the other fashionable Expences of the  
 “ Place.” This is the first Charge against him ; upon  
 which all that I shall observe is, That I will refer it to  
 your own Judgment, whether it be fitter to have a  
 Place in the Catalogue of his Faults, or of those Vir-  
 tues, for which he is *now number’d among the Sons of*  
**GOD.**

If all the Persons concern’d in “ that ridiculous So-  
 ciety, whose Follies you have so often heard repeated,”  
 could but give such a Proof of their deserving the glo-  
 rious Title \* which was once bestow’d upon them,  
 they would be contented that their *Lives* too should be  
 counted *Madness*, and their *End* thought to be without Ho-  
 nour. But the Truth is, their Title to Holiness stands  
 upon much less stable Foundations ; as you will easily  
 perceive when you know the Ground of this wonder-  
 ful Outcry, which it seems, *England* is not wide enough  
 to contain.

In *November, 1729*, at which Time I came to reside  
 in *Oxford*, your Son, my Brother, myself, and one  
 more, agreed to spend three or four Evenings in a  
 Week together. Our Design was to read over the  
 Classics, which we had before read in private, on com-  
 mon Nights and on *Sunday* some Book in Divinity.  
 In the Summer following Mr. M. told me he had call’d  
 at the Goal, to see a Man who was condemn’d for kil-  
 ling his Wife ; and that, from the Talk he had with  
 one of the Debtors, he verily believ’d it would do  
 much good, if any one would be at the Pains, of now  
 and then speaking with them. This he so frequently  
 repeated, that on the 24th of *Aug. 1730*, my Brother  
 and I walked with him to the Castle. We were so well  
 satisfied with our Conversation there, that we agreed to  
 go thither once or twice a week ; which we had not

\* *The Holy Club.*

done long, before he desired me, to go with him to see a poor Woman in the Town who was sick. In this Employment too when we came to reflect upon it, we believed it would be worth while to spend an Hour or two in a Week, provided the Minister of the Parish, in which any such Person was, were not against it. But that we might not depend wholly on our own Judgments, I wrote an Account to my Father of our whole Design; withal begging that He, who had lived seventy Years in the World, and seen as much of it as most private Men have ever done, would advise us whether we had yet gone too far, and whether we should now stand still, or go forward?

Part of his Answer, dated *Sept. 21, 1730*, was this:

“And now as to your Designs and Employments, what can I say less of them than *Valde probo*:\* And that I have the highest Reason to bless God, that he has given me two Sons together at *Oxford*, to whom he has given Grace and Courage to turn the War against the World and the Devil, which is the best way to conquer them. They have but one more enemy to combat with, the Flesh; which if they take care to subdue by Fasting and Prayer, there will be no more for them to do, but to proceed steadily in the same Course, and expect the Crown which fadeth not away. You have reason to bless God as I do, that you have so fast a Friend as Mr. M. who I see in the most difficult service is ready to break the Ice for you. You do not know of how much Good that poor wretch who kill'd his Wife has been the Providential Occasion. I think I must adopt Mr. M.—to be my Son, together with you and your brother *Charles*: and when I have such a Ternion to prosecute that War, wherein I am now *Miles Emeritus*, I should not be ashamed, when they speak with their Enemies in the Gate.”

“I am afraid lest the main Objection you make against your going on in the Business with the Prisoners may secretly proceed from Flesh and Blood. For *who can harm you if you are Followers of that which is so good?* and which will be one of the Marks by which the Shep-

\* *I greatly approve.*

herd

herd of *Israel* will know his sheep at the last day?— Tho' if it were possible for you to suffer a little in the Cause, you would have a Confessor's Reward. You own none but such as are out of their Senses would be prejudic'd against your acting in this Manner; but say, "These are they that need a Physician." But what if they will not accept of one, who will be welcome to the poor Prisoners? Go on then in God's Name in the Path to which your Saviour has directed you, and that Track wherein your Father has gone before you! For when I was an Under-Graduate at *Oxford*, I visited those in the Castle there, and reflect on it with great Satisfaction to this Day. Walk as prudently as you can, tho' not fearfully, and my Heart and Prayers are with you.

"Your first regular step is to consult with him (if any such there be) who has a Jurisdiction over the Prisoners, and the next is, to obtain the Direction and Approbation of your Bishop. This is *Monday* Morning, at which Time I shall never forget you. If it be possible I should be glad to see you all Three here in the fine End of the Summer. But if I cannot have that Satisfaction, I am sure I can reach you every Day, tho' you were beyond the *Indies*. Accordingly, to Him, who is every where, I now heartily commit you, as being

*Your most affectionate and joyful Father.*

In Pursuance of these Directions, I immediately went to Mr. *Gerard*, the Bishop of *Oxford's* Chaplain, who was likewise the Person that took Care of the Prisoners when any were condemn'd to die, (at other times they were left to their own care) I propos'd to him our design of serving them as far as we could, and my own Intention to preach there once a Month, if the Bishop approv'd of it. He much commended our design, and said he would answer for the Bishop's Approbation, to whom he would take the first Opportunity of mentioning it. It was not long before he inform'd me he had done so, and that his Lordship not only gave his Permission, but was greatly pleas'd with the Undertaking, and hoped it would have the desir'd Success.



Soon after a Gentleman of *Merton College*, who was one of our little Company, which now consisted of five Persons, acquainted us, that he had been much rallied the Day before for being a Member of *the Holy Club*; and that it was become a common Topic of Mirth at his College, where they had found out several of our Customs, to which we were ourselves utter Strangers. Upon this I consulted my Father again, in whose Answer were these Words:

Dec. 1.

“ This Day I receiv’d both yours, and this Evening in our course of reading, I thought I found an Answer that would be more proper than any I myself could dictate; tho’ since it will not be easily translated, I send it in the Original: *2 Cor. vii. 4. Πολλη μοι Καυχησις υπερ υμων\* πεπληρωμαι τη παρακλησει υπερ περισσευομαι τη χαρα.* \* What would you be? Would you be Angels? I question whether a mortal can arrive to a greater Degree of Perfection, than steadily to do Good, and for that very Reason patiently and meekly to suffer Evil: For my Part, on the present View of your Actions and Designs, my daily Prayers are, that God would keep you humble; and then I am sure that if you continue *to suffer for Righteousness Sake*, tho’ it be but in a lower Degree, *the Spirit of GOD and of Glory* shall in some good Measure rest upon you. Be never weary of Well-doing: Never look back, for you know the Prize and the Crown are before you. Tho’ I can scarce think so meanly of you, as that you would be discourag’d with *the crackling of Thorns under a Pot*. Be not high-minded, but fear; preserve an equal Temper of mind under whatever treatment you meet with from a not very just or well-natur’d World. Bear no more Sail than is necessary, but steer steady. The less you value yourselves for these unfashionable duties, (as there is no such thing as works of Supererogation) the more all good and wise Men will value you, if they see your Actions are of a Piece; or, which is infinitely more, He by whom Actions and Intentions are weigh’d, will both accept, esteem and reward you.” Upon

\* *Great is my glorying of you. I am filled with Comfort. I am exceeding joyful.*

Upon this Encouragement we still continued to sit together as usual; and to confirm one another as well as we could in our resolutions, to communicate as often as we had Opportunity (which is here once a Week;) and do what service we could to our Acquaintance, the Prisoners, and two or three poor Families in the Town. But the Outcry daily increasing, that we might shew what Ground there was for it, we propos'd to our Friends, or Opponents, as we had Opportunity, these, or the like Questions:

I. Whether it does not concern all Men of all Conditions, to imitate Him as much as they can, *who went about doing Good?*

Whether all Christians are not concern'd in that command; *“ While we have Time let us do Good to all Men.”*

Whether we shall not be more happy hereafter; the more Good we do now?

Whether we can be happy at all hereafter unless we have, according to our power, *Fed the Hungry, Cloath'd the naked, Visited those that are Sick, and in Prison,* and made all these Actions subservient to a higher purpose, even the saving of Souls from Death?

Whether it be not our bounden Duty always to remember, that He did more for us, than we can do for him, who assures us, *In as much as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my Brethren, ye have done it unto me?*

II. Whether upon these Considerations we may not try to do Good to our Acquaintance? Particularly, whether we may not try to convince them of the Necessity of being Christians?

Whether of the consequent necessity of being Scholars?

Whether of the Necessity of Method and Industry in order to either Learning or Virtue?

Whether we may not try to persuade them to confirm and increase their Industry, by communicating as often as they can?

Whether we may not mention to them the Authors whom we conceive to have wrote best on those subjects?

Whether

Whether we may not assist them as we are able from Time to Time, to form Resolutions upon what they read in those Authors, and to execute them with Steadiness and Perseverance.

III. Whether upon the Considerations above-mentioned, we may not try to do Good to those that are hungry, naked, or sick? In particular, whether if we know any necessitous Family, we may not give them a little Food, Cloaths, or Physick, as they want?

Whether we may not give them, if they can read, a Bible, Common-prayer Book, or Whole Duty of Man?

Whether we may not now and then enquire how they have used them; explain what they don't understand, and enforce what they do?

Whether we may not enforce upon them more especially the Necessity of Private Prayer, and of frequenting the Church and Sacrament?

Whether we may not contribute what little we are able toward having their Children cloathed and taught to read?

Whether we may not take Care that they be taught their Catechism, and short Prayers for Morning and Evening?

IV. *Lastly*, Whether upon the Considerations above-mention'd we may not try to do Good to those that are in Prison? In particular, Whether we may not release such well-dispos'd Persons as remain in Prison for small Sums?

Whether we may not lend smaller Sums to those that are of any Trade, that they may procure themselves Tools and Materials to work with?

Whether we may not give to them who appear to want it most, a little Money, or Cloaths, or Physick?

Whether we may not supply as many as are serious enough to read, with a Bible, and Whole Duty of Man?

Whether we may not, as we have Opportunity, explain and enforce these upon them, especially with Respect to publick and private Prayer, and the blessed Sacrament?



I do not remember that we met with any person who answer'd any of these Questions in the Negative, or who even doubted, whether it were not lawful to apply to this use that time and money, which we should else have spent in other diversions: but several we met with who increas'd our little Stock of Money for the Prisoners and the Poor, by subscribing something quarterly to it; so that the more Persons we propos'd our Designs to, the more were we confirm'd in the Belief of their Innocency, and the more determin'd to pursue them in spite of the ridicule, which increas'd fast upon us during the Winter. However, in Spring I thought it could not be improper to desire farther Instructions from those, who were wiser and better than ourselves; and according (on *May* 18, 1731) I wrote a particular Account of all our proceedings to a Clergyman of known Wisdom and Integrity. After having inform'd him of all the Branches of our Design as clearly and simply as I could, I next acquainted him with the Success it had met with in the following words:—“Almost as soon as we had made our first Attempts this Way, some of the men of Wit in *Christ-Church* enter'd the List against us, and between Mirth and Anger made a pretty many reflections upon *the Sacramentarians*, as they were pleas'd to call us. Soon after their Allies at *Merton* chang'd our Title, and did us the Honour of stiling us *The Holy Club*. But most of them being Persons of well-known Characters, they had not the good Fortune to gain any Profelites from the *Sacrament*, 'till a Gentleman, eminent for Learning, and well esteem'd for Piety, joining them, told his Nephew, That if he dar'd to go to the Weekly Communion any longer, he would immediately turn him out of Doors. The Argument indeed had no Success; the young Gentleman communicated next Week; upon which his Uncle having again tried to convince him that he was in the wrong way, by shaking him by the Throat to no purpose, chang'd his method, and by Mildness prevail'd upon him to absent from it the Sunday following, as he has done five Sundays in six ever since.” This much delighted our “Gay Opponents, who increas'd their Number apace, especially when



when shortly after one of the Seniors of the College having been with the Doctor, upon his Return from him, sent for two young Gentlemen severally, who had communicated Weekly for some time; and was so successful in his Exhortations, that for the future they promis'd to do it, only three Times a Year. About this Time there was a meeting (as one who was present at it inform'd your Son) of several of the Officers and Seniors of the College, wherein it was consulted what would be the speediest Way to stop the progress of Enthusiasm in it. The Result we know not, only it was soon publickly reported, that Dr.——and the Censors were going to blow up *the Godly Club*. This was now our common Title, though we were sometimes dignified with that of *the Enthusiasts*, or *the Reforming Club*."

Part of the Answer I receiv'd was as follows :

" Good Sir,

A pretty while after the Date yours came to my Hand. I wav'd my answer 'till I had an opportunity of consulting your Father, who upon all Accounts is a more proper Judge of the Affair than I am. But I could never find a fit Occasion for it. As to my own Sense of the Matter, I confess, I cannot but heartily approve that serious and religious Turn of Mind that prompts you and your associates to those pious and charitable Offices; and can have no Notion of that Man's Religion or Concern for the Honour of the University, that opposes you as far as your Design respects the Colleges. I should be loth to send a Son of mine to any Seminary, where his conversing with virtuous young Men, whose profest design of meeting together at proper Times, was to assist each other in forming good Resolutions, and encouraging one another to execute them with Constancy and Steadiness, was inconsistent with any receiv'd Maxims or Rules of Life among the Members. As to the other Branch of your design, as the Town is divided into Parishes, each of which has its proper Incumbent, and as there is probably an Ecclesiastic, who has the spiritual Charge of the prisoners, prudence may direct you to consult them: For tho'

I dare not say you would be too officious, should you of your own meer Motion seek out the persons that want your Instructions and charitable Contributions, yet should you have the Concurrence of their proper Pastor, your good Offices would be more regular, and less liable to Censure."

Your Son was now at *Holt*; however, we continued to meet at our usual times, tho' our little affairs went on but heavily without him. But at our Return from *Lincolnshire*, in *September* last, we had the pleasure of seeing him again: when, tho' he could not be so active with us as formerly, yet we were exceeding glad to spend what time we could in talking and reading with him. It was a little before this time my Brother and I were at *London*, when going into a Bookseller's Shop (Mr. *Rivington's* in *St. Paul's Church-yard*) after some other Conversation he ask'd us whether we liv'd in Town; and upon our answering, "No, at *Oxford*:" Then Gentlemen, said he, let me earnestly recommend to your Acquaintance a Friend I have there, Mr. *Clayton* of *Brazen-Nose*. Of this, having small Leisure for contracting new Acquaintance, we took no Notice for the present. But in the Spring following (*April 20*) Mr. *Clayton* met me in the street, and giving Mr. *Rivington's* Service, I desired his Company to my Room; and then commenc'd our Acquaintance. At the first opportunity I acquainted him with our whole design, which he immediately and heartily clos'd with; and not long after, Mr. *M*— having then left *Oxford*, we fix'd two Evenings in a Week to meet on, partly to talk upon that subject, and partly to read something in Practical Divinity.

The two points, whereunto by the Blessing of God, and your Son's Help, we had before attain'd, we endeavour'd to hold fast: I mean, the doing what Good we can, and in order thereto communicating as often as we have Opportunity. To these, by the Advice of Mr. *Clayton*, we have added a third, the observing the Fasts of the Church; the general Neglect of which we can by no means apprehend to be a lawful Excuse for neglecting them. And in the Resolution to adhere to these, and all things else which we are convinc'd God requires

requires at our Hands, we trust we shall persevere, 'till He calls us to give an Account of our Stewardship. As for the Names of *Methodists, Supererogation-Men*, and so on, with which some of our neighbours are pleased to compliment us, we do not conceive ourselves to be under any Obligation to regard them; much less to take them for Arguments. To the Law and to the Testimony we appeal, whereby we ought to be judged. If by these it can be prov'd we are in an Error, we will immediately and gladly retract it: If not, we *have not so learned* Christ, as to renounce any part of his service, tho' Men should *say all manner of Evil against us*, with more Judgment, and as little Truth as hitherto. We do indeed use all the lawful Means we know, to prevent *the Good which is in us* from being *evil spoken of*; but if the Neglect of known Duties be the one Condition of securing our Reputation, why fare it well.— We know whom we have believed, and what we thus lay out He will pay us again. Your Son already stands before the Judgment-Seat of Him who judges Righteous Judgment; at the Brightness of whose Presence the Clouds remove; his Eyes are open, and he sees clearly whether it was “Blind Zeal and a thorough Mistake of true Religion, that hurried him on in the Error of his way,” or whether he acted like a faithful and wise Servant, who from a just sense that his time was short, made Haste to finish his Work before his Lord's Coming, that when *laid in the Balance* he might not *be found wanting*.

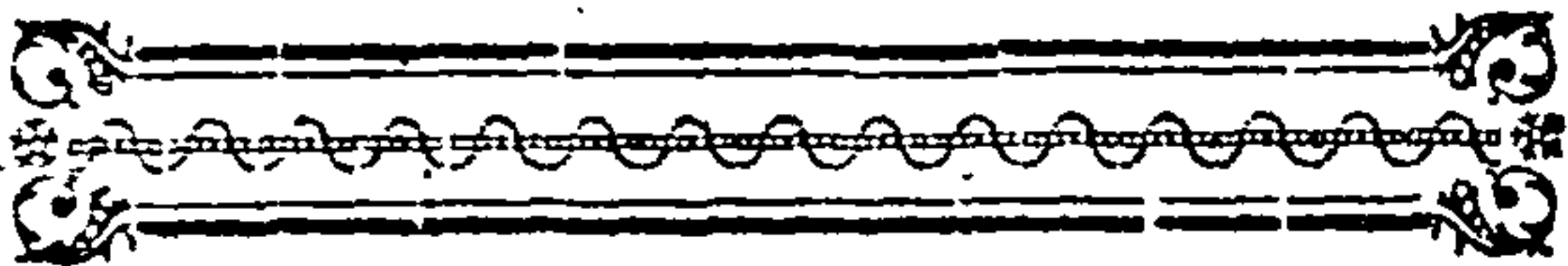
I have now largely and plainly laid before you the real Ground of all the strange Outcry you have heard; and am not without Hope that by this fairer Representation of it than you probably ever receiv'd before, both you and the Clergyman you formerly mentioned may have a more favourable opinion of a good Cause, tho' under an ill Name. Whether you have or no, I shall ever acknowledge my best services to be due to yourself and your Family, both for the generous Assistance you have given my Father, and for the invaluable Advantages your Son has (under God) bestow'd on,

S I R,

Your ever oblig'd

And most obedient Servant.





On the DEATH of

Mr. MORGAN of *Christ-Church*.

By the Rev. Mr. SAMUEL WESLEY.

---

*We Fools counted his Life Madness.*

---

**I** F ought beneath them Happy Souls attend,  
Let MORGAN hear the Triumph of a Friend,  
And hear well-pleas'd. Let *Libertines* so gay  
With careless Indolence despise the Lay;  
Let Critick Wits, and Fools for Laughter born  
Their Verdict pass with supercilious Scorn;  
Let jovial Crowds by Wine their Senses drown'd,  
Stammer out censure in their Frantick Round;  
Let yawning Sluggards faint dislike display,  
Who, while they trust To-morrow, lose To-day;  
Let such as these the Sacred Strains condemn;  
For 'tis true Glory to be hiss'd by them.

Wise in his Prime, he waited not for Noon,  
Convinc'd, that Mortal never liv'd too soon.  
As if foreboding then his little stay,  
He made his morning bear the Heat of Day.  
Fix'd, while unfading Glory he pursues,  
No Ill to hazard, and no Good to lose.  
No fair Occasion glides unheeded by;  
Snatching the Golden Moments as they fly,  
He by few fleeting Hours ensues Eternity.

}  
Friend



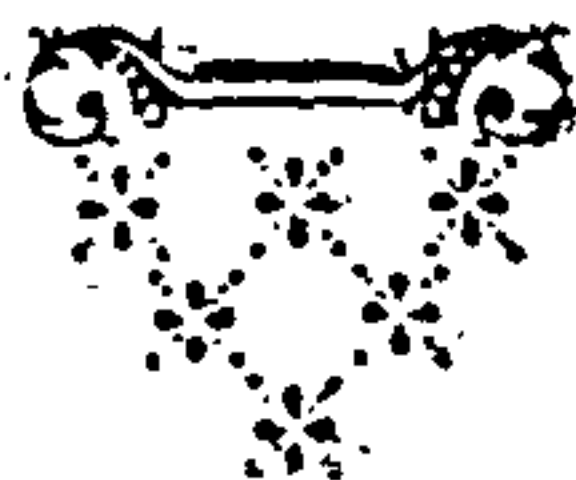
Friendship's warm Beams his artless Breast inspire,  
 And tend'rest Rev'ence for a much lov'd Sire.  
 He dar'd for Heav'n this flatt'ring World forego,  
 Ardent to teach, as diligent to know:  
 Unwarp'd by sensual Views, or vulgar Aims,  
 By idle riches, or by idler Names.  
 Fearful of Sin in every close Disguise,  
 Unmov'd by Threat'ning or by glozing Lies:  
 Seldom indeed the Wicked came so far,  
 Forc'd by his Piety to defensive War;  
 Whose zeal for other Men's Salvation shown,  
 Beyond the reach of Hell secur'd his own.  
 Glad'ning the Poor, where'er his Steps he turn'd,  
 Where pin'd the Orphan, or the Widow mourn'd;  
 Where Prisoners sigh'd beneath Guilt's horrid Stain,  
 The worst confinement and the heaviest chain.  
 Where Death's sad shade th' uninstructed Sight  
 Veil'd with thick Darknes in the land of Light.  
 Our Saviour thus fulfill'd his great design,  
 (If human we may liken to divine)  
 Heal'd each Disease that bodies frail endure,  
 And preach'd th' unhop'd for Gospel to the Poor.

To means of Grace the last Respect he shew'd,  
 Nor sought new Paths, as wiser than his God:  
 Their sacred strength preserv'd him from extremes  
 Of empty outside or enthusiast Dreams;  
 Whims of *Molinos*, lost in Rapture's Mist,  
 Or, Quaker, late-reforming Quietist.

He knew that Works our Faith must here employ,  
 And that 'tis Heaven's great business to enjoy.  
 Fix'd on that Heav'n he death's approaches saw,  
 Nor vainly murmur'd at our Nature's Law:  
 Repin'd not that his Youth so soon should go,  
 Nor griev'd for fleeting Pleasures here below.  
 Of sharpest anguish scorning to complain,  
 He fills with mirth the intervals of Pain.  
 Not only unappall'd but joyful sees  
 The dark, cold passage that must lead to Peace;

Strong with immortal bloom secure to rise,  
The tears for ever banish'd from his Eyes.

Who now regrets his early Youth would spend  
The Life so nobly that so soon should end ?  
Who blames the Stripling for performing more  
Than Doctors grave, and Prelates of threescore ?  
Who now esteems his fervour indiscreet,  
His prayers too frequent, or his alms too great ?  
Who thinks, where blest he reigns beyond the sky,  
His Crown too radiant, or his Throne too high ?  
Who but the Fiend, who once his Course withstood  
And whisper'd——“ Stay 'till Fifty to be good ?”  
Sure, if believ'd, t' obtain his hellish Aim,  
Adjourning to the time that never came.





# JOURNAL

From Oct. 14, 1735, to Feb. 1, 173 $\frac{7}{8}$ .

TUESDAY, Oct. 14, 1735, Mr. Benjamin Ingham, of Queen's-College, Oxford, Mr. Charles Delamotte, Son of a Merchant in London, who had offer'd himself some Days before, my Brother Charles Wesley, and myself, took Boat for Gravesend, in order to embark for Georgia. Our End in leaving our Native Country, was not to avoid Want (God having given us Plenty of Temporal Blessings) nor to gain the Dung or Dross of Riches or Honour: But singly this, To save our Souls, To live wholly to the Glory of God. In the Afternoon we found the *Simmonds* off Gravesend, and immediately went on board.

*Wednesday* and *Thursday* we spent with one or two of our Friends; partly on board and partly on shore in exhorting one another to shake off every weight, and to run with patience the race set before us.

*Friday* 17. I began to learn German, in order to converse with the *Moravians*, Six and Twenty of whom we had on board. On *Sunday*, the weather being fair and calm, we had the Morning-service on Quarter Deck. I now first preach'd *ex tempore*, and then administer'd the Lord's Supper to six or seven Communicants. A little Flock. May God increase it!

*Monday*

*Monday* 20. Believing the denying ourselves even in the smallest Instances, might, by the blessing of God, be helpful to us, we wholly left off the use of Flesh and Wine, and confined ourselves to Vegetable food, chiefly Rice and Bisket. In the Afternoon *David Nitchman*, Bishop of the *Moravians*, and two others began to learn *English*. O may we be, not only of one Tongue, but of one mind and of one Heart!

*Tuesd.* 21. We sail'd from *Gravesend*. When we were past about half the *Goodwin Sands*, the wind suddenly fail'd. Had the Calm continued 'till Ebb, the Ship had probably been lost. But the Gale sprung up again in an Hour, and carried us into the *Downs*.

We now began to be a little regular. Our common way of living was this. From Four in the Morning till Five each of us used private prayer. From Five to Seven we read the Bible together, carefully comparing it (that we might not lean to our own understandings) with the Writings of the earliest Ages. At Seven we breakfasted. At Eight were the publick Prayers. From Nine to Twelve I usually learn'd *German*, and Mr. *Delamotte*, *Greek*. My Brother writ Sermons, and Mr. *Ingham* instructed the Children. At Twelve we met to give an account to one another what we had done since our last Meeting, and what we design'd to do before our next. About One we dined. The time from dinner to Four, we spent in reading to those of whom each of us had taken charge, or in speaking to them severally, as Need required. At Four were the Evening Prayers; when either the Second Lesson was explain'd. (as it always was in the Morning) or the Children were catechised, and instructed before the Congregation. From Five to Six we again used private prayer. From Six to Seven I read in our Cabbin to two or three of the Passengers (of whom there were about Eighty *English* on board) and each of my Brethren to a few more in theirs. At Seven I joined with the *Germans* in their publick Service; while Mr. *Ingham* was reading between the Decks, to as many as desired to hear. At Eight we met again, to exhort and instruct one another. Between Nine and Ten we went to Bed, where neither the roaring of the Sea,  
nor



nor the motion of the Ship, could take away the refreshing sleep which God gave us.

*Friday 24.* Having a rolling sea, most of the Passengers found the effects of it. Mr. *Delamotte* was exceeding sick, for several days: Mr. *Ingham* for about half an hour. My Brother's Head ached much. Hitherto it has pleased God, the sea has not disorder'd me at all; nor have I been hinder'd one quarter of an hour from reading, writing, composing, or doing any business I cou'd have done on shore.

During our stay in the *Downs*, some or other of us went, as often as we had opportunity, on board the Ship that sail'd in company with us, where also many were glad to join in prayer and hearing the word.

*Frid. 31.* We sail'd out of the *Downs*. At Eleven at night I was waked by a great noise. I soon found there was no Danger. But the bare apprehension of it, gave me a lively conviction, what manner of Men those ought to be, who are every moment on the brink of Eternity:

*Sat. Nov. 1.* We came to *St. Helen's Harbour*, and the next day into *Cow's Road*. The wind was fair, but we waited for the Man of War, which was to sail with us. This was a happy opportunity of instructing our fellow-travellers. May he whose Seed we sow, give it the increase!

*Sund. 16.* *Thomas Hird*, and *Grace* his wife, with their children, *Mark*, aged 21, and *Phebe*, about 17, late Quakers, were, at their often-repeated desire, and after careful instruction, admitted to baptism.

*Thur. 20.* We fell down into *Yarmouth Road*; but the next day were forced back to *Cows*. During our stay here, there were several storms: In one of which two ships in *Yarmouth Road* were lost.

The continuance of the contrary winds gave my brother an opportunity of complying with the desire of the Minister of *Cows*, and preaching there three or four times. The poor people flock'd together in great numbers. We distributed a few little Books among the more serious of them, which they receiv'd with all possible expressions of thankfulness. *Frid.*

*Frid.* 21. One recovering from a dangerous illness, desir'd to be instructed in the nature of the Lord's Supper. I thought it concern'd her to be first instructed, in the nature of Christianity; And accordingly fixt an hour a-day to read with her in Mr. *Law's* Treatise on Christian Perfection.

*Sund.* 23. At night I was waked by the tossing of the ship and roaring of the wind, and plainly shew'd, I was unfit, for I was unwilling to die.

*Tuesd.* Dec. 2. I had much satisfaction in conversing with one that was very ill and very serious. But in a few days she recover'd from her sickness and from her seriousness together.

*Sund.* 7. Finding nature did not require so frequent supplies as we had been accustomed to, we agreed to leave off suppers; from doing which we have hitherto found no Inconvenience.

*Wednes.* 10. We sail'd from *Cows*, and in the Afternoon pass the *Needles*. Here the ragged Rocks, with the waves dashing and foaming at the foot of them, and the white side of the Island rising to such a height, perpendicular from the Beach, gave a strong Idea of *Him that spanneth the Heavens, and holdeth the Waters in the hollow of his hand!*

To day I spoke closely on the Head of Religion, to one I had talked with once or twice before. Afterwards she said, with many tears, "My Mother died when I was but ten years old. Some of her last words, were, "Child, fear God; and tho' you lose me, you shall never want a Friend." "I have now found a Friend, when I most wanted, and least expected one."

From this day to the 14th. being in the Bay of *Biscay*, the sea was very rough. Mr. *Delamotte* and many others were more sick than ever: Mr. *Ingham* a little; I not at all. But the 14th being a calm day, most of the sick were cured at once.

*Thursd.* 18. One who was big with Child, in a high fever, and almost wasted away with a violent Cough, desir'd to receive the Holy Communion before she died. At the hour of her receiving, she began to recover, and in a few days was entirely out of danger. *Sund.*

*Sund. 21.* We had Fifteen Communicants, which was our usual number on *Sundays*: On *Christmas-Day* we had nineteen; but on *Newyear's-Day*, fifteen only.

*Thursd. Jan. 15, 1736.* Complaint being made to Mr. Oglethorpe, of the unequal distribution of the water among the Passengers, he appointed new Officers to take charge of it. At this the old ones and their Friends were highly exasperated against us, to whom they imputed the change. But *the fierceness of man shall be turned to thy praise.*

*Sat. 17.* Many People were very impatient at the contrary wind. At seven in the Evening they were quieted by a storm. It rose higher and higher 'till nine. About nine the sea broke over us from stem to stern; burst thro' the windows of the state Cabin, where three or four of us were, and cover'd us all over, tho' a bureau shelter'd me from the main shock. About Eleven I lay down in the great cabin, and in a short time fell asleep, tho' very uncertain whether I should wake alive, and much ashamed of my unwillingness to die. O how pure in heart must he be, who would rejoice to appear before God at a moment's warning! toward Morning. *He rebuked the winds and the sea, and there was a great calm.*

*Sund. 18.* We return'd God thanks for our deliverance, of which a few appear'd duly sensible. But the rest (among whom were most of the Sailors) denied we had been in any danger. I could not have believed that so little good would have been done by the terror they were in before. But it cannot be that they should obey God from fear, who are deaf to the Motives of Love.

*Frid. 23.* In the Evening, another storm began. In the morning it increased, so that they were forc'd to let the ship drive. I could not but say to myself, *How is it that thou hast no faith?* Being still unwilling to die. About One in the Afternoon, almost as soon as I had stept out of the great cabin door, the Sea did not break as usual, but came with a full, smooth Tide over the side of the Ship. I was vaulted over with Water in a Moment, and so stunn'd, that I scarce expected to lift up my Head again, till the Sea should give up her dead.

But



But, Thanks be to God, I receiv'd no Hurt at all. About Midnight the Storm ceased.

*Sund. 25.* At Noon our third Storm began. At Four it was more violent than any before. Now indeed we could say, *The waves of the sea were mighty and rag'd horribly.* They rose up to the Heavens above, and clave down to hell beneath. The Winds roar'd round about us, and (what I never heard before) whistled as distinctly as if it had been a human voice. The ship not only rock'd to and fro with the utmost violence, but shook and jarr'd with so unequal, grating a motion, that one could not but with great difficulty keep hold on any thing, nor stand a moment without it. Every ten Minutes came a shock against the stern or side of the ship, which one would think should dash the planks in pieces. At this time, a Child, privately baptiz'd before was brought to be receiv'd into the Church. It put me in mind of *Jeremiab's* buying the Field, when the *Chaldeans* were on the point of destroying *Jerusalem*, and seem'd a Pledge of the Mercy God design'd to shew us, even in the land of the Living.

We spent two or three Hours after Prayers, in conversing suitably to the occasion, confirming one another in a calm submission to the wise, holy, gracious Will of God. And now a Storm did not appear so terrible as before. Blessed be the God of all Consolation!

At Seven I went to the *Germans*. I had long before observed, The great Seriousness of their Behaviour. Of their Humility they had given a continual proof, by performing those servile Offices for the other Passengers, which none of the *English* would undertake; for which they desired, and would receive no Pay, saying, "It was good for their proud Hearts," and "Their loving Saviour had done more for them." And every Day had given them occasion of shewing a Meekness which no injury could move. If they were pushed, struck, or thrown down, they rose again and went away; but no complaint was found in their Mouth. There was now an opportunity of trying, Whether they were delivered from the Spirit of Fear, as well as from that of Pride, Anger and Revenge.

In



In the midst of the Psalm wherewith their Service began, the Sea broke over, split the Main Sail in pieces, cover'd the Ship, and poured in between the Decks, as if the great Deep had already swallow'd us up. A terrible Screaming began among the *English*. The *Germans* calmly sung on. I asked one of them afterwards, "Was you not afraid?" He answer'd, "I thank God, No." I asked, "But were not your Women and Children afraid?" He replied mildly, "No; our Women and Children are not afraid to die."

From them I went to their crying, trembling Neighbours, and pointed out to them the Difference, in the Hour of Trial, between him that feareth God, and him that feareth him not. At Twelve the Wind fell. This was the most glorious Day which I have hitherto seen.

*Mond. 26.* We enjoy'd the Calm. I can conceive no Difference, comparable to that between a smooth and a rough Sea, except that which is between a Mind calmed by the Love of God, and one torn up by the Storms of earthly passions.

*Thursd. Jan. 29.* About Seven in the Evening, we fell in with the Skirts of a Hurricane. The Rain as well as the Wind, was extremely violent. The Sky was so dark in a Moment, that the Sailors could not so much as see the Ropes, or set about furling the Sails. The Ship must in all probability have overset, had not the Wind fell as suddenly as it rose. Toward the End of it, we had that Appearance on each of the Masts, which (it is thought) the Antients call'd *Castor* and *Pollux*. It was a small Ball of White Fire, like a Star. The Mariners say, it appears either in a Storm (and then commonly upon the Deck) or just at the End of it: And then 'tis usually on the Masts or Sails.

*Frid. 30* We had another Storm, which did us no other Harm, than splitting the Fore-Sail. Our Bed being wet, I laid me down on the Floor and slept sound till Morning, And I believe, I shall not find it needful to go to Bed (as it is called) any more.

*Sund. Feb. 1.* We spoke with a ship of *Carolina*: and *Wcdn. 4.* came within Soundings. About Noon the Trees were visible from the Mast, and in the Afternoon from the Main Deck. In the Evening Lesson were these Words, *A great Door and Effectual is opened. O let no one shut it!*

*Tursd. Feb. 5.* Between Two and Three in the Afternoon, God brought us all safe into the *Savannah* River. We cast anchor near *Tybee-Island*, where the Groves of Pines, running along the Shore, made an agreeable Prospect, shewing, as it were the Bloom of Spring in the Depth of Winter.

*Frid. 6.* About eight in the Morning, we first set foot on *American* Ground. It was a small, uninhabited Island, over against *Tybee*, Mr. *Ogletborpe* led us to a rising Ground, where we all kneel'd down to give Thanks. He then took boat for *Savannah*. When the rest of the People were come on shore, we called our little Flock together to Prayers. Several Parts of the Second Lesson, *Mark vi.* were wonderfully suited to the Occasion; in particular, the account of the courage and sufferings of *John* the Baptist, our Lord's Directions to the first preachers of his Gospel; and their toiling at Sea, and Deliverance with those comfortable words, *It is I, be not afraid.*

*Sat. Feb. 7.* Mr. *Ogletborpe* returned from *Savannah*, with Mr. *Spaugenberg*, one of the Pastors of the *Moravians*. I soon found what Spirit he was of; and asked his advice with regard to my own Conduct. He said, "My Brother, I must first ask you one or two Questions. "Have you the Witness within yourself? Does the Spirit of God bear witness with your Spirit that you are a Child of God?" I was surprized, and knew not what to answer. He observ'd it, and asked, "Do you know Jesus Christ?" I paused and said, "I know he is the Saviour of the World." "True; reply'd he; "but do you know he has saved You?" I answer'd, "I hope, He has died to save me." He only added, "Do you know Yourself?" I said, "I do." But I fear, they were vain Words.

*Mon.*

*Monday, 9.* I asked him many Questions, both concerning Himself, and the small Remains of the *Moravian Church*. The Substance of his Answers was this.

“At Eighteen Years old I was sent to the University of *Jena*, where I spent some Years in learning Languages, and the vain philosophy, which I have now long been labouring to forget. Here it pleased God by some that preached his Word with power, to overturn my heart. I immediately threw aside all my learning, but what tended to save my Soul. I shunn'd all Company, and retired into a solitary place, resolving to spend my Life there. For three Days I had much Comfort here; but on the fourth it was all gone. I was amazed, and went for Advice to an experienced Christian. When I came to him I could not speak. But he saw my Heart, and advised me to go back to my House, and follow the Business Providence called me to. I went back, but was fit for nothing. I could neither do Business, nor join in any Conversation. All I could say to any one, was Yes, or No. Many times I could not say That, nor understand the plainest Thing that was said to me. My Friends and Acquaintance looked upon me as dead, came no more to me, nor spoke about me.

“When I grew better, I began teaching some poor Children. Others joining with me, we taught more and more, till there were above Thirty Teachers and above Two Hundred Scholars. I had now Invitations to other Universities. But I could not accept of any; Desiring only, if it were the Will of GOD, to be little and unknown. I had spent some years thus, when Professor *Breithaupt* of *Halle* died: Being then prest to remove thither, I believed it was the call of GOD, and went, I had not been long there, before many faults were found, both with my Behaviour and Preaching: And Offences increased more and more till after half a year, a Petition against me was sent to the King of *Prussia*, who sent an Order to the Commander at *Halle*, in Pursuance whereof, I was warn'd to leave the City in forty-eight Hours. I did so, and retired to *Hernbuth*, to Count *Zinzendorf*.



“ The Village of *Hernbuth* contain about a Thousand Souls, gather'd out of many nations. They hold fast the Discipline, as well as the Faith and Practice of the Apostolical Church. I was desir'd by the brethren there last Year, to conduct sixteen of them to *Georgia*, where two lots of Ground are assign'd us, and with them I have staid ever since.”

I asked, “ Whither he was to go next ? ” He said, “ I have thoughts of going to *Pennsylvania*. But what GOD will do with me, I know not. I am blind. I am a child. My Father knows, and I am ready to go, where ever he calls.”

*Frid. 13.* Some of the *Indians* sent us word of their Intention to come down to us. In our course of reading to Day, were these words: *Thus saith the Lord of Hosts, it shall yet come to pass that there shall come people, and the Inhabitants of many Cities. And the Inhabitants of one City shall go to another, saying, Let us go speedily to pray before the Lord, and to seek the Lord of Hosts: I will go also. Yea many People and strong Nations, shall come to seek the Lord of Hosts and to pray before him. Zech. viii. 20. &c.*

*Sat. Feb. 14.* About One, *Tomo-Chachi, Tblecanculee, Sivanuky*, with two more women and two or three *Indian* children, came on board. As soon as we came in, they all rose, and shook us by the hand, and *Tomo-Chochi* (one *Mrs. Musgrove* interpreted) spoke as follows.

“ I am glad you are come. When I was in *England* I desir'd that some would speak *the great Word* to me. And my nation then desired to hear it. But now we are all in confusion. Yet I am glad you are come. I will go up and speak to the Wise Men of our Nation. And I hope they will hear. But we would not be made *Christians*, as the *Spaniards* make *Christians*. We would be taught, before we are baptized.”

I answer'd, “ There is but One, He that sitteth in Heaven, who is able to teach Man Wisdom. Tho' we are come so far, we know not whether he will please to teach you by us or no. If he teaches you, you will learn wisdom; but we can do nothing.” We then withdrew.

*Sund.*



*Sund.* 15. Another party of *Indians* came. They were all tall, well-proportioned Men, and had a remarkable Softness in their speech, and gentleness in their whole behaviour. In the afternoon they all returned home, but three, who stayed to go with Mr. *Ogletborpe*.

*Mond. Feb.* 16. Mr. *Ogletborpe* set out for the New Settlement on the *Alatamahaw* River. He took with him 50 Men; besides Mr. *Ingham*, Mr. *Hermbsdorf* and the three *Indians*.

*Thursd.* 19. My Brother and I took Boat, and passing by *Savannah*, went to pay our first Visit in *America* to the poor *Heathens*. But neither *Tomo Chachi* nor *Sinanky* were at home. Coming back, we waited upon Mr. *Caufon*, the Chief Magistrate of *Savannah*. From him we went with Mr. *Spadgenberg* to the *Moravian Brethren*. About Eleven we returned to the Boat, and came to our Ship about Four in the Morning.

*Sat.* 21. *Mary Welch*, aged Eleven Days, was baptized according to the Custom of the First Church, and the Rule of the Church of *England*, by Immersion. The Child was ill then, but recover'd from that Hour.

*Tu.* 24. Mr. *Ogletborpe* return'd. The Day following I took my Leave of most of the passengers of the Ship; who all appear'd serious. It may be, all the Seed is not fallen upon Stony Ground.

In the Evening I went to *Savannah* again, whence Mr. *Spangenberg*, Bishop *Nitschman* and *Andrew Dober*, went up with us to Mrs. *Musgrove's*, to chuse a Spot for the little House, which Mr. *Ogletborpe* had promis'd to build us. Being afterward disappointed of our Boat, we were obliged to pass the night there. But wherever we are, it is the same thing, it be the will of our Father which is in Heaven.

At our return the next day, (Mr. *Quincy* being then in the House wherein we afterwards were) Mr. *Delamotte* and I took up our Lodging with the  *Germans*. We had now an Opportunity Day by Day, of observing their whole behaviour. For we were in one Room with them from Morning to Night, unless for the little Time I spent in walking. They were al-

ways employ'd, always chearful themselves, and in good Humour with one another. They had put away all Anger and Strife and Wrath and Bitterness and Clamour and Evil-speaking. They walk'd worthy of the Vocation wherewith they were call'd, and adorn'd the Gospel of our Lord in all Things.

*Sat. Feb. 28.* They met to consult concerning the Affairs of their Church : Mr. *Spangenberg* being shortly to go to *Pennsylvania*, and Bishop *Nitschman* to return to *Germany*. After several Hours spent in Conference and prayer, they proceeded to the Election and Ordination of a Bishop. The great Simplicity as well as Solemnity of the whole, almost made me forget the Seventeen Hundred Years between, and imagine myself in one of those Assemblies, where Form and State were not; but *Pau!* the Tent-Maker or *Peter* the Fisherman presided; yet with the Demonstration of the Spirit and of Power.

*Sund. 29.* Hearing Mr. *Oglethorpe* did not come any more to *Savannah*, before he went to *Frederica*, I was obliged to go down to the Ship again, (Mr. *Spangenberg* following me thither) and receive his Orders and Instructions on several Heads. From him we went to Publick Prayers; after which we were refreshed by several Letters from *England*. Upon which I could not but observe How careful our Lord is, to repay whatever we give up on his Account. When I left *England*, I was chiefly afraid of two things; One, that I should never again have so many faithful Friends as I left there: The other, that the spark of Love which began to kindle in their Hearts, would cool and die away. But who knoweth the mercy and power of GOD? From ten Friends I am a while secluded; and he hath opened me a door into the whole *Moravian* Church. And as to the very persons I left behind, his Spirit is gone forth so much the more, teaching them not to trust in Man, but *in him that raiseth the Dead, and calleth the Things that are not, as tho' they were.*

About Four, having took leave of Mr. *Spangenberg*, who was the next Morning to set out for *Pennsylvania*,

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I returned to *Savannah*. Sat. *March* 6. I had a long Conversation with *John Reinier*, the son of a Gentleman, who being driven out of *France*, on Account of his Religion, settled at *Vivay* in *Switzerland*, and practised *Physick* there. His Father died while he was a Child. Some Years after he told his Mother, he was desirous to leave *Switzerland*, and to retire into some other country, where he might be free from the temptations which he could not avoid there. When her consent was at length obtain'd, he agreed with a Master of a Vessel, with whom he went to *Holland* by land; thence to *England*, and from *England* to *Pennsylvania*. He was provided with Money, Books and Drugs, intending to follow his Father's Profession. But no sooner was he come to *Philadelphia*, than the Captain who had borrow'd his money before, instead of repaying it, demanded the full pay for his passage, and under that pretence seiz'd on all his Effects. He then left him in a strange country, where he could not speak to be understood, without necessaries, money or friends. In this condition he thought it best to sell himself for a Servant, which he accordingly did, for seven Years. When about five were expir'd, he fell sick of a lingering illness, which made him useless to his Master; who after it had continu'd half a year, would not keep him any longer, but turn'd him out to shift for himself. He first tried to mend Shoes, but soon after joined himself to some *French* Protestants, and learned to make buttons. He then went and lived with an *Anabaptist*; but soon after hearing an Account of the *Moravians* in *Georgia*, walk'd from *Pennsylvania* thither, where he found the rest, which he had so long sought in vain.

*Sund. March* 7. I entered upon my Ministry at *Savannah*, by preaching on the Epistle for the day, being the 13th of the First of *Corinthians*. In the Second Lesson, *Luke* xviii. was our Lord's Prediction of the treatment which He himself (and consequently his followers) was to meet with from the world; and his gracious promise to those who are content *Nudi Nudum Christum sequi*: *Verily I say unto You, there is no Man*



that hath left House or Friends or Brethren or Wife, or Children for the Kingdom of GOD's Sake, which shall not receive manifold more in this present Time, and in the world to come Everlasting Life.

Yet notwithstanding these plain Declarations of our Lord, notwithstanding my own repeated Experience, notwithstanding the Experience of all the sincere followers of Christ, whom I have ever talked with, read or heard of; nay and the reason of the Thing, evincing to a Demonstration, That all who loved not the Light must hate him, who is continually labouring, to pour it in upon them: I do here bear witness against myself, that when I saw the number of People crowding into the Church, the deep Attention with which they receiv'd the Word, and the seriousness that afterwards sat on all their faces; I could scarce refrain from giving the lie, to experience and reason, and Scripture all together. I could hardly believe that the greater, the far greater part of this attentive, serious People, would hereafter trample under foot that Word, and say all manner of evil falsely of him that spake it. O who can believe, what their heart abhors? JESUS, Master, have mercy on us! Let us love thy Cross! Then shall we believe, *If we suffer with Thee, we shall also reign with Thee!*

This Evening one of the *Moravians*, who had been long ill of a Consumption, found himself much worse, On my mentioning it to Bp. *Nischman*, he smiled and said, "He will soon be well; he is ready for the Bridegroom."

*Sund. Mar. 14* (Having before given notice of my Design to do so, every *Sunday* and Holiday, according to the rules of our Church) I administered the Holy Communion to eighteen persons. Which of these will endure to the End?

*Mond. Mar. 15.* Mr. *Quincy* going for *Carolina*, I removed into the Minister's House. It is large enough for a larger family than ours, and has many conveniences, besides a good garden. I could not but reflect on the well-known Epigram,

*'Aye's*



Ἄγεις Ἀχαίμενος γενομένην πόλιν σου δε Μενίππυ.

*How short a Time will it be before its present Possessor is removed! Perhaps to be no more seen!*

*Sund. 28.* A Servant of Mr. Bradley's sent to desire to speak with me. Going to him, I found a young man ill, but perfectly sensible. He desired the Rest to go out, and then said, 'On Thursday Night, about Eleven, being in bed, but broad awake, I heard one calling aloud "Peter! Peter Wright!" And looking up, the Room was as light as day, and I saw a man in very bright cloaths stand by the bed, who said, "Prepare yourself; for your End is nigh;" and then immediately ail was dark as before.' I told him, "The Advice was good whence-soever it came." In a few days he recovered from his illness: His whole temper was changed as well as his life; and so continued to be, till after three or four weeks he relapsed and died in peace.

*Tuesd. Mar. 30.* Mr. Ingham coming from *Frederica*, brought me Letters, pressing me to go thither. The next day Mr. *Delamotte* and I began to try, Whether life might not be as well sustained, by one sort as by variety of Food. We chose to make the experiment with Bread; and were never more vigorous and healthy than while we tasted nothing else. *Blessed are the pure in heart!* who whether they eat or drink, or whatever they do, have no end therein but to please God! To them all things are pure. Every creature is good to them, and nothing to be rejected. But let them who know and feel, that they are not thus pure, use ev'ry help and remove every hindrance; always remembering, *He that despiseth little things, shall fall by little and little.*

*Sund. Apr. 4.* About Four in the afternoon, I set out for *Frederica*, in a *Pettianga* (a sort of flat-bottom'd Barge.) The next Evening we anchor'd near *Skidoway* Island, where the water at Flood was twelve or fourteen Foot deep. I wrapt myself up from head to foot, in a large cloak, to keep off the Sand-Flies, and lay down on the Quarter Deck. Between One and Two I waked under water, being so fast asleep that I did not find where I was till my mouth was full of it. Having  
left

left my cloak, I know not how upon Deck, I swam round to the other side of the Pettiawga, where a boat was ty'd, and climed up by the rope, without any hurt, more than wetting my cloaths. Thou art the God of whom cometh Salvation: Thou art the Lord by whom we escape death.

The winds were so contrary, that on *Sat. 10*, we could but just get over-against *Deloy* Island, twenty Miles from *Frederica*, but could not possibly make the Creek, having a strong tide also against us. Here we lay beating off till past One; when the Lightning and Rain which we had long seen at a distance, drove down full upon us; till after a quarter of an Hour, the clouds parted, some passing on the right, and some on the left, leaving us a clear sky, and so strong a wind right after us, as in Two Hours brought us to *Frederica*.

A little before we landed, I open'd my Testament on these words, *If GOD be for us, who can be against us?* Coming on shore, I found my Brother exceeding weak, having been some time ill of a Flux. But he mended from the hour he saw me. *This also hath God wrought!*

*Sund. April 11.* I preached at the new Storehouse on the Verse of the Gospei for the Day, *Which of you convinceth me of Sin? And if I say the Truth, why do you not believe me?* There was a large Congregation, whom I endeavour'd to convince of Unbelief, by simply proposing the conditions of Salvation, as they are laid down in Scripture, and appealing to their own Hearts, whether they believed they could be saved on no other Terms.

In every one of the six following days, I had some fresh Proofs of the absolute Necessity of following that wise Advice of the Apostle, *Judge nothing before the Time; until the Lord come, who both will bring to Light the hidden things of darkness, and will make manifest the Counsels of the Hearts.*

*Sat. April 17.* We set out for *Savannah*, and reach'd it on *Tuesday* Evening. O blessed Place, where having but one end in view, Dissembling and Fraud are not; but each of us can pour out his heart without fear into his brother's Bosom.

Not

Not finding as yet any door open, for the pursuing our main Design, we considered, In what manner we might be most useful to the little Flock at *Savannah*. And we agreed, 1st. To advise the more serious among them, to form themselves into a sort of little Society, and to meet once or twice a week, in order to improve, instruct and exhort one another. 2. To select out of these a smaller number for a more intimate Union with each other, which might be forwarded, partly by our conversing singly with each, and partly by inviting them all together to our House; and this accordingly we determined to do every *Sunday* in the Afternoon.

*Wed. May 5.* I was asked to baptize a Child of Mr. *Parker's*, Second Bailiff of *Savannah*. But Mrs. *Parker* told me, "Neither Mr. *P.* nor I will consent to its being dipp'd." I answer'd. "If you certify that your child is weak, it will suffice (the Rubrick says) to pour water upon it." She reply'd, "Nay the Child is not weak; but I am resolv'd it shall not be dipp'd." This Argument I could not confute. So I went home; and the Child was baptized by another Person.

*Sund. 9.* I began dividing the publick Prayers, according to the original appointment of the church (still observ'd in a few places in *England*.) The Morning Service began at Five. The Communion Office (with the Sermon) at Eleven. The Evening Service about Three. And this day I began reading prayers in the Court-house; a large and convenient place.

*Mond. 10.* I began visiting my Parishioners in order, from house to house; for which I set apart the Time (when they cant work, because of the heat, viz.) from Twelve till Three in the Afternoon.

*Sund. May 16.* We were surpriz'd in the Evening by my Brother just come from *Frederica*. After some conversation, we consulted how the poor people there might be taken care of, during his absence. And it was at last agreed, that Mr. *Ingham* and I should take our turns in assisting them; and the first was allotted me. Accordingly on *Tuesd. 18.* I walked to *Thunderbolt*; whence the next Afternoon we set out in a small boat. In the Evening we touched at *Skidoway*, and had a small, but attentive



attentive Congregation, to join with us in Evening-Prayer.

*Sat. May 22.* About Four in the Afternoon we enter'd upon *Doboy* Sound. The Wind, which was right a-Head, was so high, when we were in the middle of it, and the sea so rough, being driven in at the Inlet, that the Boat was on the point of sinking every moment. But it pleas'd God to bring us safe to the other side in half an Hour, and to *Frederica* the next morning. We had publick prayers at Nine, at which nineteen persons were present; and (I think) nine communicants.

*Frid. 28.* I read the Commendatory Prayer, by Mr. *Germain*, who lay at the Point of death. He had lost his Speech and his Senses. His Eyes were set, neither had he any discernible motion, but the heaving of his Breast. While we stood round him, he stretch'd out his Arms, rubb'd his Head, recover'd his Sight, Speech and Understanding; and immediately sending for the Bailiffs, settled the Affairs of his Family; and then lay down and died.

At the first Service on *Sund. May 30.* were only Five, at the Second twenty-five. The next day, I made Mr. *Lassil's* Will; who notwithstanding his great weakness, was quite revived, when any mention was made of death, or of eternity.

*Tuesd. June 1,* After praying with him, I was surprized, to find one of the most controverted Questions in Divinity, disinterested Love, dccided at once by a poor old Man, without Education or Learning or any Instructor, but the Spirit of God. I asked him, what he thought of Paradise (to which he had said he was going?) He said, "To be sure it was a fine Place. But I don't mind that. I don't care what place I am in. Let God put me where he will, or do with me what he will, so I may but set forth his honour and glory."

*Thursd. June 3.* Being Ascension-Day, we had the Holy Communion; but only Mr. *Hird's* Family join'd with us in it. One Reason why there were no more, was because a few words which a woman had inadvertently spoken, had set almost all the town in a flame.  
Alas!



Alas! how shall a City stand that is thus divided against itself? Where there is no brotherly love, no meekness, no forbearing or forgiving one another: But envy, malice, revenge, suspicion, anger, clamour, bitterness, evil-speaking, without end! Abundant proof, that there can be no true love of man, unless it be built on the love of God.

*Sund. 6.* Calling on Mr. *Laffels*, and asking how he did, "My departure (said he) I hope is at hand." I asked, "Are you troubled at that?" He reply'd, "O no; to depart and to be with Christ; is far better. I desire no more of this bad world. My hope and my joy and my love is there." The next time I saw him he said, "I desire nothing more, than for God to forgive my many and great sins. I would be humble. I would be the humblest creature living. My heart is humble and broken for my Sins. Tell me, teach me, what shall I do to please God. I would fain do whatever is his Will." I said, "It is his Will, you should suffer." He answer'd, "Then I will suffer. I will gladly suffer whatever pleases him."

*Mon. 7.* Finding him weaker, I asked, "Do you still desire to die?" He said, "Yes; but I dare not pray for it, for fear I should displease my heavenly Father. His Will be done. Let him work his Will, in my Life, or in my Death."

*Thurs. 10.* We began to execute at *Frederica*, what we had before agreed to do at *Savannah*. Our Design was on *Sundays* in the Afternoon, and every Evening after Publick Service, to spend some time with the most Serious of the Communicants, in singing, reading and Conversation. This Evening we had only *Mark Hird*. But on *Sunday* Mr. *Hird*, and two more desired to be admitted. After a psalm and a little conversation, I read Mr. *Law's Christian Perfection*, and concluded with another psalm.

*Sat. June 12.* Being with one who was very desirous to converse with me, "but not upon Religion," I spoke to this Effect. "Suppose you was going to a Country, where every one spoke *Latin* and understood no other

Language, neither would converse with any that did not understand it: Suppose one was sent to stay here a short time, on purpose to teach it you: Suppose that Person pleased with your company, should spend his time in trifling with you, and teach you, nothing of what he came for: Would that be well done? Yet this is our case. You are going to a Country, where every one speaks the Love of God. The Citizens of Heaven understand no other language. They converse with none who do not understand it. Indeed none such are admitted there. I am sent from God to teach you this. A few days are allotted us for that purpose. Would it then be well done in me, because I was pleased with your Company, to spend this short Time in trifling, and teach you nothing of what I came for? God forbid! I will rather, not converse with you at all. Of the two Extremes, this is the best."

*Wed. June 16.* Another little company of us met, Mr. Reed, Davidjon, Walker, Delamotte, and myself. We sung, read a little of Mr. Law, and then convers'd. *Wednesdays* and *Fridays* were the days we fixt for constant Meeting.

*Thurs. 17.* An Officer of a Man of War, walking just behind with two or three of his acquaintance, cursed and swore exceedingly; but upon my reproving him, seemed much moved, and gave me many thanks.

*Sat. 19.* Mr. Oglethorpe returned from the South, and gave Orders on *Sunday* the 20th, that none should profane the Day (as was usual before) by fishing or fowling upon it. In the Afternoon I summ'd up what I had seen or heard at *Frederica*, inconsistent with Christianity, and consequently with the prosperity of the Place. The event was as it ought: Some of the hearers were profited, and the rest deeply offended.

This day, at half an hour past Ten, God heard the prayer of his Servant, and Mr. Lassels, according to his desire, was dissolved that he might be with CHRIST.

*Tuesd. 22.* Observing such Coldness in Mr. ——'s behaviour, I asked him the reason of it. He answer'd, "I like nothing you do; all your Sermons are Satires upon  
upon

upon particular persons. Therefore I will never hear you more. And all the people are of my mind. For we won't hear ourselves abused.

“Beside, they say, they are Protestants. But as for You, they can't tell what Religion you are of. They never heard of such a religion before. They do not know what to make of it. And then, your private behaviour—All the Quarrels that have been here since you came, have been long of you. Indeed there is neither man nor woman in the Town, who minds a word you say. And so you may preach long enough; but no body will come to hear you.”

He was too warm for hearing an answer. So I had nothing to do, but to thank him for his openness, and walk away.

*Wednesf. 23.* I had a long conversation with Mr.— upon the nature of true Religion. I then asked him, “Why he did not endeavour to recommend it, to all with whom he convers'd?” He said, “I did so once; and for some time, I thought I had done much good by it. But I afterwards found they were never the better, and I myself was the worse. Therefore now, tho' I always strive to be inoffensive in my conversation, I don't strive to make people religious, unless those that have a desire to be so, and are consequently, willing to hear me. But I have not yet (I speak not of you or your brother) found one such person in *America*.”

*He that hath Ears to hear, let him hear!* Mark the tendency of this accursed principle! If you will speak only to those who are *willing to hear*, see how many you will turn from the Error of their ways! If therefore, striving to do good, you have done hurt, what then? So did *St. Paul*. So did the Lord of Life even His Word was *the Saviour of Death, as well as the Saviour of Life*. But shall you therefore strive no more? God forbid! strive more humbly, more calmly, more cautiously. Do not strive *as you did before*,—but strive, while the breath of God is in your nostrils!

Being to leave *Frederica* in the Evening, I took the more notice of these words in the Lesson for the day. *Wherunto shall I liken the Men of this generation? they*



are like unto children sitting in the Market-place, and saying, we have piped unto you, and ye have not danced; we have mourned to you, and ye have not wept. For John the Baptist came neither eating bread, nor drinking wine, and ye say, he hath a devil. The son of Man is come eating and drinking; and ye say, behold a gluttonous man and a wine-bibber, a friend of publicans and sinners. Luke vii.

About Eleven at night we took boat. And on Sat. 26, about One in the Afternoon came to *Savannah*. O what do we want here, either for Life or Godliness! If Suffering, God will send it in *His* time.

*Sund. June 27.* About twenty join'd with us in morning prayer. An hour or two after, a large party of *Creek Indians* came, the expectation of whom depriv'd us of our place of public worship, in which they were to have their audience.

*Wed. 30.* I hoped a door was open'd, for going up immediately to the *Choctaws*, the least polish'd, *i. e.* the least corrupted of all the *Indian* nations. But upon my informing Mr. *Oglethorpe* of our design, he objected, not only the danger of being intercepted, or kill'd by the *French* there; but much more, the Inexpediency of leaving *Savannah*, destitute of a Minister. These objections I related to our brethren in the evening, who were all of Opinion, "We ought not to go yet."

*Thurs. July 1.* The *Indians* had an Audience, and another on *Saturday*, when *Chicali*, their Head Man, dined with Mr. *Oglethorpe*. After dinner, I asked the Grey-headed old Man, "What he thought he was made for?" He said, "He that is above, knows what he made us for. We know nothing. We are in the dark. But white men know much. And yet white men build great houses, as if they were to live for ever. But white men can't live for ever. In a little time White men will be dust as well as I." I told him, "If Red men will learn the good Book, they may know as much as white men. But neither We nor You can understand that book, unless we are taught by him that is above: And he will not teach, unless you avoid, what you already know is not Good." He answer'd, "I believe

believe that; He will not teach us, while our hearts are not white. And our men do what they know is not good. They kill their own Children. And our women do what they know is not good. They kill the child before it is born. Therefore, He that is above, does not send us the good Book."

Hearing the younger of the Miss *Bowcys* was not well, I called upon them this Evening. I found, she had only the prickly Heat, a sort of Rash, very common here in Summer. We soon fell into serious conversation, after I had asked, "If they did not think they were too young, to trouble themselves with Religion yet? And, whether they might not defer it Ten or a Dozen Years?" To which one of them reply'd, "If it will be reasonable Ten years hence, to be religious, it is so now: I am not for deferring one moment."

*Wed. July 7.* I called there again, being determined now to speak more closely. But meeting company there, *Prudence* induced me to put it off, till another Opportunity.

*Thurs. 8.* Mr. O. being there, and casually speaking of sudden Death, Miss *Becky* said, "It it was the will of God, I should chuse to die without a lingering Illness." Her Sister said, "Are you then always prepared to die?" She replied, "JESUS CHRIST is always prepared to help me. And little stress is to be laid on such a preparation for death, as is made in a Fit of Sickness."

*Saturd. July 10.* Just as they had done drinking Tea, Mrs. *Margaret* seeing her colour change, asked, If she was well? She did not return any answer; and Dr. *Talfer* soon after going by, she desired him to step in, and said, "Sir, my Sister, I fear is not well." He looked earnestly at her, felt her Pulse, and replied, "Well, Madam! Your Sister is dying." However he thought it not impossible, Bleeding might help. She bled about an Ounce, lean'd back and died.

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Swoon : Of which indeed there was some slight hope, she not only being as warm as ever, but having a fresh colour in her Cheeks, and a few drops of Blood starting out, upon bending her arm : But there was no pulse and no breath ; so that having waited some hours, we found her *Spirit was indeed return'd to God that gave it.*

I never saw so beautiful a Corps in my Life. Poor comfort to its late Inhabitant ! I was greatly surpriz'd at her Sister. There was in all her behaviour, such an inexpressible mixture of Tenderness and Resignation. The first time I spoke to her, she said, " All my Afflictions are nothing to this. I have lost not only a Sister, but a Friend. But 'tis the will of God. I rely on Him ; and doubt not but he will support me under it."

This Evening we had such a storm of Thunder and Lightning, as I never saw before even in *Georgia*. This voice of God too, told me I was not fit to die ; since I was afraid, rather than desirous of it ! O when shall I wish to be dissolved and to be with Christ ! When I love Him, with all my heart.

Almost the whole Town was the next Evening at the Funeral : Where many doubtless made a world of good resolutions. O how little Trace of most of these will be left in the morning ! 'Tis a true saying, " Hell is paved with good intentions."

*Tuesd. July 20.* Five of the *Chicasaw Indians* (twenty of whom had been in *Savannah* several days) came to see us, with Mr. *Andrews*, their Interpreter. They were all warriors ; Four of them Head Men. The two chief were *Paustoobee* and *Mingo Mattaw*. Our Conference was as follows :

Q. Do you believe, There is one above, who is over all Things ?

*Paustoobee* answered, We believe there are four beloved Things above, The Clouds, the Sun, the Clear Sky, and He that lives in the Clear Sky.

Q. Do you believe, there is but One that lives in the Clear Sky ?

A. We believe, there are Two with him, Three in all.

Q. Do

Q. Do you think, he made the Sun, and the other beloved Things ?

A. We cannot tell. Who hath seen ?

Q. Do you think, He made You ?

A. We think, He made all men at first.

Q. How did he make them at first ?

A. Out of the Ground.

Q. Do you believe, He loves you ?

A. I don't know, I cannot see him.

Q. But has He not often saved your Life ?

A. He has. Many Bullets have gone on this side, and many on that side, but he would never let them hurt me. And many Bullets have gone into these young men ; and yet they are alive ?

Q. Then, can't he save you from your enemies now ?

A. Yes, but we know not, if he will. We have now so many enemies round about us, that I think of nothing but Death. And if I am to die, I shall die, and I will die like a Man. But if he will have me to live, I shall live. Tho' I had ever so many Enemies, He can destroy them all.

Q. How do you know that ?

A. From what I have seen. When our enemies came against us before, then the beloved Clouds came for us. And often much Rain, and sometimes Hail has come upon them, and that in a very hot day. And I saw, when many *French* and *Choctaws* and other Nations came against one of our Towns. And the Ground made a noise under them, and the Beloved ones in the Air behind them. And they were afraid, and went away, and left their meat and drink and their Guns. I tell no Lie. All these saw it too.

Q. Have you heard such Noises at other Times ?

A. Yes, often : Before and after almost every Battle.

Q. What sort of Noises were they ?

A. Like the noise of Drums and Guns and Shouting.

Q. Have you heard any such lately ?

A. Yes : Four days after our last Battle with the *French*.

Q. Then you heard nothing before it ?

A. The



*A.* The night before I dream'd I heard many Drums up there, and many trumpets there, and much stamping of Feet and shouting. Till then I thought we should all die. But then I thought the Beloved Ones were come to help us. And the next day I heard above a hundred Guns go off, before the Fight begun. And I said, "when the Sun is there, the Beloved Ones will help us; and we shall conquer our enemies." And we did so.

*Q.* Do you often think and talk of the beloved Ones?

*A.* We think of them always, wherever we are. We talk of them and to them, at home and abroad; in Peace, in war, before and after we fight; and indeed whenever and wherever we meet together.

*Q.* Where do you think your Souls go after death?

*A.* We believe the Souls of Red Men walk up and down near the place where they died, or where their Bodies lie. For we have often heard Cries and Noises near the Place where any Prisoners had been burnt.

*Q.* Where do the Souls of white men go after Death?

*A.* We can't tell. We have not seen.

*Q.* Our Belief is, That the Souls of bad Men only walk up and down; but the Souls of good Men go up.

*A.* I believe so too. But I told you the talk of the Nation.

(*Mr. Andrews.* They said at the Burying, "They knew what you was doing. You was speaking to the Beloved Ones above to take up the Soul of the young woman.")

*Q.* We have a Book that tells us many things of the Beloved Ones above. Would you be glad to know them?

*A.* We have no time now, but to fight. If we should ever be at Peace, we should be glad to know.

*Q.* Do you expect ever to know what the White Men know?

(*Mr. Andrews.* They told Mr. Q. They believe the Time will come, when the Red and White Men will be One.)

*Q.* What do the *French* teach you?

*A.* The

*A.* The *French Black \* Kings* never go out. We see you go about. We like that. That is good.

*Q.* How came your Nation by the Knowledge they have?

*A.* As soon as ever the Ground was found, and fit to stand upon, it came to us, and has been with us ever since. But we are young men. Our Old Men know more. But all of them do not know. There are but a few; whom the Beloved One chuses from a Child, and is in them, and takes care of them, and teaches them. They know these Things: And our Old Men practise; therefore they know: But I don't practise. Therefore I know little."

*Mond. July 26.* My Brother and I set out for *Charles-Town*, in order to his embarking for *England*. But the wind being contrary, we did not reach *Port-Royal*, 40 Miles from *Savannah*, till *Wednesday Evening*. The next morning we left it. But the wind was so high in the Afternoon, as we were crossing the Neck of *St. Helena's Sound*, that our oldest Sailor cry'd out, "Now every one must take care for himself." I told him, "God would take care for us all." Almost as soon as the words were spoken, the Mast fell, I kept on the Edge of the Boat, to be clear of her when she sunk. (which we expected every moment) tho' with little prospect of swimming ashore, against such a wind and sea. But *how is it that thou hadst no Faith?* The Moment the Mast fell, two men caught it and pull'd it into the Boat; the other three rowed with all their Might, and God gave command to the *Winds and Seas*, so that in an Hour we were safe on Land.

*Saturd. July 31.* We came to *Charles-Town*. The Church is of Brick, but plaister'd over like Stone. I believe it would contain three or four Thousand Persons. About three Hundred were present at the Morning Service the next day, (when *Mr. Garden* desired me to preach) about fifty at the Holy Communion. I was glad to see several Negroes at Church; one of whom  
told

\* So they call the Priests.

told me, "she was there constantly; and that her old Mistress (now dead) had many times instructed her in the Christian Religion." I asked her, What Religion was? She said, "she could not tell." I asked, If she knew what a Soul was? She answer'd, "No." I said, "Don't you know there is something in you, different from your Body? Something you can't see or feel?" She reply'd, "I never heard so much before." I added, "Do you think then, a man dies all together as a Horse dies?" She said, "Yes, to be sure." O God, where are thy tender Mercies? Are they not over all thy works? When shall the Sun of righteousness arise on these Outcasts of men, with healing in his wings!

*Mond. August 2.* I set out for the Lieutenant Governor's Seat, about thirty Miles from *Charles Town*, to deliver Mr. *Oglethorpe's* Letters. It stands very pleasantly, on a little Hill, with a vale on either side, in one of which is a thick wood; the other is planted with Rice and *Indian Corn*. I design'd to have gone back by Mr. *Skeene's*, who has about fifty Christian Negroes. But my Horse tiring, I was obliged to return the streight way to *Charles Town*.

I had sent the Boat we came in, back to *Savannah*, expecting a Passage thither myself in Col. *Bull's*. His not going so soon, I went to *Ashley-Ferry* on *Thursday*, intending to walk to *Port-Royal*. But Mr. *Belinger* not only provided me a horse, but rode with me himself ten Miles, and sent his Son with me to *Cumbee-Ferry* twenty Miles farther; whence having hired Horses and a Guide, I came to *Beaufort* (or *Port-Royal*) the next Evening. We took Boat in the Morning; but the Wind being contrary, and very high, did not reach *Savannah* till *Sunday* in the Afternoon.

Finding Mr. *Oglethorpe* was gone, I stay'd only a day at *Savannah*: And leaving Mr. *Ingham* and *Delamotte* there, set out on *Tuesday* Morning for *Frederica*. In walking to *Thunderbolt*, I was in so heavy a shower, that all my Cloaths were as wet as if I had gone thro' the River. On which occasion I can't but observe that vulgar error, concerning the Hurtfulness of the Rains  
and



and Dews of *America*. I have been thoroughly wet with these Rains more than once; yet without any harm at all. And I have lain many nights in the open air, and received all the Dews that fell. And so I believe might any one, if his constitution was not impair'd by the Softness of a genteel education.

At *Thunderbolt* we took Boat, and on *Friday Aug. 13*, came to *Frederica*, where I deliver'd Mr. O. the Letters, I had brought from *Carolina*. The next Day he set out for *Fort St. George*. From that time I had less and less Prospect of doing good at *Frederica*; many there being extremely zealous, and indefatigably diligent to prevent it: And few of the rest daring to shew themselves of another mind, for fear of their displeasure.

*Sat. 28*. I set apart, (out of the Few we had) a few Books towards a Library at *Frederica*. In the Afternoon I walked to the Fort on the other side of the Island. About Five we set out homeward. - But my Guide not being perfect in the way, we were soon lost in the Woods. We walked on however as well as we could, till between Nine and Ten; when being heartily tired, and thoroughly wet with Dew, we lay down and slept till morning.

About Day-break, on *Sunday* the 29th, we set out again, endeavouring to walk streight forward, and soon after Sun-Rise found ourselves in the *Great Savannah* near *Frederica*. By this good Providence I was deliver'd from another Fear, That of lying in the Woods, which experience shew'd was to one in tolerable health a meer *Lion in the Way*.

*Thursd. Sept. 2*. I set out in a Sloop, and about Ten on *Sunday* Morning, came to *Skidaway*; which (after reading Prayers, and preaching to a small Congregation) I left, and came to *Savannah* in the evening.

*Mond. 13*. I began reading with Mr. *Delamotte*, Bp. *Beveridge's Pandectæ Canonum Conciliorum*. Nothing could so effectually have convinced us, That both Particular and General Councils may err, and have erred: And that things ordained by them as necessary to Salvation, have neither strength nor authority, unless they be taken out of Holy Scripture. *Mond.*

*Mon.* 20. We ended (of which also I must confess, I once thought more highly than I ought to think) the Apostolical Canons; so call'd, as Bishop *Beveridge* observes, *because partly grounded upon, partly agreeing with, the Traditions delivered down from the Apostles.* But he observes farther, (in the 159th Page of his *Codex Canonum Ecclesiae Primitivæ*: And why did he not observe it in the first Page of the Book?) *They contain the Discipline used in the Church at the time when they were collected: not when the Council of Nice met; for then many Parts of it were useless and obsolete.*

*Tuesd.* October 12. We consider'd if any thing could not be done, for the poor people of *Frederica*. And I submitted to the Judgment of my Friends, which was, that I should take another Journey thither: Mr. *Ingham* undertaking to supply my place at *Savannah*, for the time I should stay there. I came thither on *Sat.* the 16th and found few things better than I expected. The Morning and Evening Prayers, which were read for a while after my leaving the place, had long been discontinued, and from that time every thing grew worse and worse: Not many retaining any more of the form than the power of godliness.

I was at first a little discouraged, but soon remember'd the word which cannot fail, *Greater is he that is in you than he that is in the world.* I cried to God to arise and maintain his own cause: And after the Evening prayers where ended, invited a few to my house (as I did every night while I stay'd in *Frederica*.) I read to them one of the Exhortations of *Ephrem Syrus*, the most awakening Writer (I think) of all the Antients. We concluded our reading and conversation with a Psalm, and I trust, our God gave us his blessing.

*Mon.* 18. Finding there were several *Germans* at *Frederica*, who not understanding the *English* Tongue, could not join in our Publick Service, I desired them to meet at Noon, at my house; which they did every Day at Noon from thence forward. We first sung a *German* Hymn, then I read a Chapter in the new Testament, then explain'd it to them as well as I could, After another Hymn we concluded with prayer.

*Mon.* 25. I took Boat, and after a slow and dangerous Passage, came to *Savannah* on *Sunday* the 31st.

*Tuesd.* *Novem.* 23. Mr. *Oglethorpe* sailed for *England*, leaving Mr. *Ingham*, Mr. *Delamotte* and me at *Savannah*, but with less prospect of preaching to the *Indians* than we had the first day we set Foot in *America*. Whenever I mention'd it, it was immediately replied, "You can't leave *Savannah* without a Minister." To this indeed my plain answer was, "I know not that I was under any Obligation to the contrary. I never promised to stay here one Month. I openly declared both *before, at, and ever since* my coming hither, that I neither would nor could take charge of the *English* any longer than till I could go among the *Indians*." If it was said "But did not the Trustees of *Georgia* appoint you to be Minister of *Savannah*?" I replied "They did; but it was not done by my Solicitation: It was done without either my Desire or Knowledge. Therefore I cannot conceive that Appointment to lay me under any obligation of continuing there, any longer than 'till a Door is opened to the Heathens: And this I expressly declared, at the Time I consented to accept of that Appointment." But tho' I had no other Obligation not to leave *Savannah* now, yet that of Love I could not break thro': I could not resist the importunate Request of the more serious Parishioners, "To watch over their Souls yet a little longer, till some one came who might supply my Place." And this I the more willingly did, because the time was not come to preach the Gospel of Peace to the Heathens; all their Nations being in a Ferment; and *Paustoobee* and *Mingo Mattaw*, having told me in Terms, in my own House, "Now our Enemies are all about us, and we can do nothing but fight: But if the Beloved Ones should ever give us to be at Peace, then we would hear the Great Word."

*Thurs.* *Dec.* 9. Hearing of one dangerously ill; I went to her immediately: She told me, "that she had many things to say;" But her weakness prevented her saying them then; and the next day God required her Soul of her.



*Wed. 23.* Mr. *Delamotte* and I, with a Guide, set out to walk to the *Coarpen*; when we had walk'd two or three Hours, our Guide told us plainly, "He did not know where we were." However, believing it could not be far off, we thought it best to go on. In an Hour or two we came to *Cypress-Swamp*, which lay directly across our way: There was not Time to walk back to *Savannah* before Night; so we walk'd thro' it, the Water being about Breast-high. By that time we had gone a mile beyond it, we were out of all path; and it being now past Sun-set, we sat down, intending to make a fire, and to stay there 'till morning; but finding our Tinder wet, we were at a Stand; I advis'd to walk on still; but my Companions being faint and weary, were for lying down, which we accordingly did about Six o'Clock: The Ground was as wet as our Cloaths, which (it being a sharp Frost) were soon froze together; however, I slept till Six in the Morning. There fell a heavy Dew in the Night, which cover'd us over as white as Snow. Within an Hour after Sunrise, we came to a Plantation, and in the Evening, without any hurt, to *Savannah*.

*Tues. 28.* We set out by Land with a better Guide for *Frederica*. On *Wednesday* Evening we came to *Fort-Argyle*, on the Back of the *River Ogeechee*. The next Afternoon we cross *Coanoochy River* in a small Canoo, our Horses swimming by the side of it. We made a Fire on the Bank, and notwithstanding the Rain, slept quietly till the Morning.

*Sat. Jan. 1, 1737.* Our Provisions fell short, our Journey being longer than we expected; But having a little barbecued Bears-flesh (i. e. dried in the Sun) we boil'd it, and found it wholesome food. The next Day we reached *Darien*, the Settlement of the *Scotch Highlanders*, a sober, industrious, friendly, hospitable People; whose Minister, Mr. *Mac-leod*, is a serious, resolute, and (I hope) a pious Man.

On *Monday* Evening we left *Darien*, and on *Wed. 5,* came to *Frederica*. Most here were as we expected, cold and heartless: We found not one who retained his

his first Love. O send forth thy Light and thy Truth, that they may guide them ! Let them not yet follow their own imaginations !

After having *beaten the Air* in this unhappy place for twenty Days, on *January 26*. I took my final Leave of *Frederica*. It was not any Apprehension of my own danger (tho' my Life had been threaten'd many times) but an utter despair of doing Good there ; which made me content with the Thought of seeing it no more.

In my passage home, having procured a celebrated Book, the Works of *Nicholas Machiavel*, I set myself carefully to read and consider it. I began with a prejudice in his Favour ; having been informed, he had often been misunderstood, and greatly misrepresented. I weigh'd the Sentiments that were less common ; transcribed the passages wherein they were contained ; compared one Passage with another, and endeavour'd to form a cool, impartial Judgment ; And my cool Judgment is, That if all the other doctrines of Devils which have been committed to Writing, since Letters were in the world, were collected together in one Volume, it would fall short of this : And, that should a Prince form himself by this book, so calmly recommending Hypocrisy, Treachery, Lying, Robbery, Oppression, Adultery, Whoredom and Murder of all kinds ; *Domitian* or *Nero* would be an Angel of Light, compared to that Man.

*Mond. Jan. 31*. We came to *Savannah*. *Tuesd. Feb. 1*, being the Anniversary Feast, on Account of the first Convoy's landing in *Georgia*, we had a Sermon, and the Holy Communion. *Thurs. 24*. It was agreed, Mr. *Ingham* should go for *England*, and endeavour to bring over (if it should please God) some of our Friends to strengthen our hands in his work. *Sat. 26*. He left *Savannah*.

By Mr. *Ingham* I writ to Dr. *Bray's* Associates, who had sent a Parochial Library to *Savannah*. It is expected of the Ministers who receive these, to send an Account to their Benefactors of the Method they use in catechising the Children, and instructing the Youth of their respective Parishes. That Part of the Letter was as follows :

“ Our general Method is this: A young Gentleman  
 “ who came with me, teaches between Thirty and For-  
 “ ty Children to read, write, and cast accounts. Be-  
 “ fore School in the Morning, and after School in the  
 “ Afternoon, he catechises the lowest Class, and en-  
 “ deavours to fix something of what was said, in their  
 “ Understandings as well as their Memories. In the  
 “ Evening he instructs the larger Children. On *Sa-*  
 “ *turday* in the Afternoon I catechise them all. The  
 “ same I do on *Sunday* before the Evening Service.  
 “ And in the Church, immediately after the Second  
 “ Lesson, a select Number of them having repeated the  
 “ Catechism and been examined in some part of it, I  
 “ endeavour to explain at large, and to enforce that  
 “ Part, both on them and the Congregation.

“ Some time after the Evening Service, as many of  
 “ my Parishioners as desire it, meet at my house (as  
 “ they do also on *Wednesday* Evening) and spend about  
 “ an Hour in Prayer, Singing and mutual Exhortation.  
 “ A smaller Number (mostly those who design to com-  
 “ municate the next day) meet here on *Saturday* Even-  
 “ ing; And a few of these come to me on the other  
 “ Evenings, and pass Half an Hour in the same em-  
 “ ployment.”

*Frid. March 4.* I writ the Trustees for *Georgia* an  
 account of the last year's expence from *March 1, 1736,*  
 to *March 1, 1737.* Which, deducting extraordinary  
 expences (such as repairing the Parsonage House, and  
 Journeys to *Frederica*) amounted for Mr. *Delamotte* and  
 me to 4*l.* 4*s.* 4*d.*

From the Directions I received from God this Day,  
 touching an Affair of the greatest importance, I could  
 not but observe (as I had done many times before) the  
 entire mistake of those, who assert, “ God will not  
 answer your prayer, unless your Heart be wholly re-  
 sign'd to his will.” My Heart was not wholly resign'd  
 to his will. Therefore, not daring to depend on my  
 own Judgment, I cried the more earnestly to him, To  
 supply what was wanting in me. And I know and am  
 assured, He heard my Voice, and did send forth his  
 Light and his Truth. *Thurs.*



*Thurs.* 24. A Fire broke out in the House of *Robert Hows*, and in an Hour burnt it to the Ground. A Collection was made for him the next day ; and the Generality of the People shew'd a surprizing willingness, to give a little out of their little, for the Relief of a Necessity greater than their own.

About this time *Mr. Lacy* of *Thunderbolt* call'd upon me ; when observing him to be in a deep Sadness, I asked, What was the reason of it ? And a terrible one indeed he gave in the Relation following.

In 1733, *David Jones*, a Sadler, a middle aged man, who had for some time before lived at *Nottingham*, being at *Bristol*, met a Person there ; who after giving him some account of *Georgia*, asked, Whither he would go thither ? Adding, his Trade (that of a Sadler) was an exceeding good trade there, upon which he might live, creditably and comfortably. He objected his want of money to pay his passage, and buy some tools which he should have need of. The Gentleman told him, He would supply him with that, and hire him a Shop when he came to *Georgia*, wherein he might follow his business, and so repay him, as it suited his convenience. Accordingly to *Georgia* they went ; where soon after his Arrival, his Master (as he now stiled himself) told him to *Mr. Lacy*, who set him to work with the rest of his servants in clearing land. He commonly appear'd much more thoughtful than the rest, often stealing into the woods alone. He was now sent to do some work on an Island, three or four miles from *Mr. Lacy's* great Plantation. Thence he desired the other Servants to return without him, saying, *He would stay and kill a Deer.* This was on *Saturday*. On *Monday* they found him on the shore, with his Gun by him, and the fore-part of his Head shot to pieces. In his Pocket was a paper book, all the leaves thereof were fair, except one, on which ten or twelve verses were written ; two of which were these, (which I transcrib'd thence, from his own hand writing.

*Death could not a more sad Retinue find ;*

*Sickness and Pain before, and Darknes all behind ;*

*Sund. April 3.* And every day in this great and holy week, we had a Sermon and the Holy Communion.

*Mond. 4.* I began learning *Spanish*, in order to converse with my *Jewish* Parishioners: Some of whom seem nearer the mind that was in Christ, than many of those who call him Lord.

*Tuesd. 12.* Being determin'd, if possible, to put a stop to the proceedings of one in *Carolina*, who had married several of my Parishioners without either Banns or License, and declared, "He would do so still:" I set out in a sloop for *Charles-Town*. I landed there on *Thursday*, and related the case to Mr. *Garden*, the Bp. of *London's* Commissary, who assured me, "He would take care no such irregularity should be committed for the future."

*Sund. 17.* Mr. *Garden* (to whom I must ever acknowledge myself indebted for many kind and generous offices) desiring me to preach, I did so, on those words of the epistle for the day, *Whatever is born of God overcometh the world.* To that plain account of the Christian State which these words naturally led me to give, a man of Education and Character seriously objected (what is indeed a great truth) "*Why if this be Christianity, a Christian must have more Courage than Alexander the Great.*"

*Tuesd. 19.* We left *Charles-Town*; but meeting with stormy and contrary winds, after losing our Anchor, and beating out at Sea all night, on *Thursd. 21*, we with some difficulty got back into *Charles-Town* Harbour.

*Frid. 22.* It being the time of their Annual Visitation, I had the pleasure of meeting with the Clergy of *South-Carolina*: Among whom in the afternoon there was such a conversation for several hours, on "Christ our Righteousness," as I had not heard at any Visitation in *England*, or hardly on any other occasion.

*Sat. 23.* Mentioning to Mr. *Thompson*, Minister of *St. Bartholomew's*, near *Ponpon*, my being disappointed of a passage home by water, he offered me one of his Horses, if I would go by Land, which I gladly accepted

cepted of. He went with me twenty miles, and sent his servant to guide me the other twenty to his house. Finding a young Negroe there, who seem'd more sensible than the rest, I ask'd her how long she had been in *Carolina*? She said, two or three years; but that she was born in *Bardados*, and had lived there in a Minister's family from a Child. I ask'd, Whether she went to Church there? She said, Yes, every *Sunday*,—to carry my Mistress's Children. I asked what she had learn'd at Church? She said, *Nothing: I heard a deal; but did not understand it.* But what did your Master teach you at home? *Nothing.* Nor your Mistress? *No.*

I ask'd, “But don't you know, that your hands and feet, and this you call your body, will turn to dust in a little time? She answer'd, *Yes.* But there is something in you that will not turn to Dust, and this is what they call your Soul. Indeed, you can't see your Soul, tho' it is within you, as you can't see the wind, tho' it is all about you. But if you had not a Soul in you, you could no more see, or hear, or feel, than this table can. What do you think will become of your Soul, when your Body turns to dust? *I don't know.* Why, it will go out of your Body, and go up there, above the Sky, and live always. God lives there. Do you know who God is? *No.* You can't see him, any more than you can see your own Soul. It is He that made you and me, and all Men and Women, and all Beasts and Birds, and all the World. It is He that makes the Sun shine, and Rain fall, and Corn and Fruits to grow out of the Ground. He makes all these for us. But what do you think he made us, what did He make you and me for? *I can't tell.* He made you to live with Himself above the Sky. And so you will, in a little Time,——if you are good. If you are good, when your Body dies, your Soul will go up, and want nothing; and have whatever you can desire. No one will beat or hurt you there. You will never be sick. You will never be sorry any more, nor afraid of any thing. I can't tell you, I don't know how happy you will be; For you will be with God.

The



The Attention with which this poor creature listen'd to Instruction is inexpressible. The next day she remember'd all, readily answer'd every Question; and said, *She would ask him that made her, to shew her how to be Good.*

*Sund. 24.* I preach'd twice at *Ponpon Chapel*, on the 13th Chapter of the 1st Epistle to the *Corinthians*. O how will even these Men of *Carolina*, who come eight, ten, or twelve miles to hear the Gospel, rise in Judgment against those who hear it not, when it is preach'd at their own doors!

*Wed. 27.* I came to Mr. *Belinger's* Plantation at *Chulifany*, where the Rain kept me till *Friday*. Here I met with an half-*Indian*, (one that had an *Indian* Mother, and a *Spanish* Father) and several Negroes, who were very desirous of Instruction. One of them said, "when I was at *Ashley-Ferry*, I went to Church every *Sunday*. But here we are buried in the Woods. Tho' if there was any Church within five or six Miles, I am so lame, I can't walk, but I would crawl thither."

Mr. *Belinger* sent a Negroe-Lad with me to *Purysburg*, or rather to the poor Remains of it. O how hath God stretched over this place *the Lines of Confusion*, and *the Stones of Emptyness*! Alas for those whose lives were here vilely cast away, thro' Oppression, thro' divers Plagues and Troubles! O Earth! How long wilt thou hide their blood! How long wilt thou cover thy Slain?

This Lad too I found both very desirous and very capable of Instruction. And perhaps one of the easiest and shortest ways, to instruct the *American* Negroes in Christianity, would be first to enquire after and find out some of the most serious of the Planters. Then having inquired of them, which of their Slaves were best inclined and understood *English*, to go to them from Plantation to Plantation, staying as long as appeared necessary at each. Three or four Gentlemen in *Carolina* I have been with, that would be sincerely glad of such an Assistant; who might pursue his Work with no more Hindrances than must every where attend the Preaching of the Gospel.

*Satur.*

*Satur. 30.* I came to *Savannah*, and found my little Flock in a better state than I could have expected: God having been pleased greatly to bless the endeavours of my Fellow-Labourer, while I was absent from them.

*Wed. May 18.* I discover'd the first Convert to Deism that (I believe) has been made here. He was one that for some time had been zealously and exemplarily religious. But indulging himself in harmless Company, he first made shipwreck of his Zeal, and then of his Faith. I have since found several others that have been attack'd. They have as yet maintain'd their Ground. But I doubt the Devil's Apostles are too industrious to let them long halt between two Opinions.

*Wednesf. 25.* I was sent for by one who had been several years of the Church of *Rome*: But was now deeply convinced (as were several others) by what I had occasionally preach'd, of the grievous errors that church is in, and the great danger of continuing a member of it. Upon this occasion I could not but reflect on the many advices I had receiv'd, to beware of the increase of popery: but not one (that I remember) to beware of the increase of infidelity. This was quite surprizing when I consider'd, 1. That in every place where I have yet been, the number of Converts to popery bore no proportion to the number of the Converts to infidelity. 2. That as bad a religion as popery is, *no* religion is still worse; a baptiz'd infidel being always found upon the trial, two-fold worse than even a bigotted Papist. 3. That as dangerous a state as a papist is in, with regard to eternity, a Deist is in a yet more dangerous state, if he be not (without repentance) an assured heir of damnation. And lastly, That as hard as it is to recover a Papist, it is still harder to recover an Infidel: I myself have known many Papists, but never one Deist re-converted.

*May 29.* Being *Whitsunday*, four of our Scholars, after having been instructed daily for several weeks, were at their earnest and repeated desire, admitted to the LORD's table. I trust their zeal hath stirred up many,  
to

to remember their Creator in the days of their Youth, and to redeem the time, even in the midst of an evil and adulterous generation.

Indeed about this time, we observ'd the Spirit of God, to move upon the minds of many of the children. They began more carefully to attend to the things that were spoken both at home and at church, and a remarkable Seriousness appear'd in their whole behaviour and conversation. Who knows but some of them may grow up, to the measure of the stature of the fullness of CHRIST.

June 25. Mr. Causton (the Store-keeper and chief Magistrate of Savannah) was seized with a slow Fever. I attended him every day (as I did any of my Parishioners, who were in any painful or dangerous illness) and had a good hope from the thankfulness he shew'd; that my labour was not in vain.

Sund. July 3. Immediately after the Holy Communion, I mentioned to Mrs. Williamson (Mr. Causton's Niece) some things which I thought reproveable in her Behaviour. At this she appear'd extremely angry, said, *She did not expect such usage from me*; and at the turn of the street (thro' which we were walking home) went abruptly away. The next day Mrs. Causton endeavour'd to excuse her, told me, She was exceedingly grieved for what had past the day before, and desired me to tell her in writing what I disliked; which I accordingly did the day following.

But first, I sent Mr. Causton the following Note:

SIR,

“ To this hour you have shewn yourself my friend :  
 “ I ever have and ever shall acknowledge it. And it  
 “ is my earnest desire, that he who hath hitherto given  
 “ me this blessing would continue it still.

“ But this cannot be, unless you will allow me one  
 “ request, which is not so easy an one as it appears,  
 “ Don't condemn me for doing in the execution of my  
 “ offices, what I think it my duty to do.

“ If you can prevail upon yourself to allow me this,  
 “ even when I act without respect of Persons, I am  
 “ persuaded



“ persuaded there will never be, at least not long, any  
 “ misunderstanding between us. For even those who  
 “ seek it, shall I trust, find no occasion against me,  
 “ *except it be concerning the law of my God.*

July 5, 1737.

I am, &c.

Wednes. 6. Mr. *Causton* came to my house, with Mr. *Bailiff Parker*, and Mr. Recorder; and warmly ask'd,  
 “ How could you possibly think I should condemn you,  
 for executing any part of your office?” I said short,  
 “ Sir, what if I should think it the duty of my office,  
 to repel one of your Family from the Holy Commu-  
 nion?” He replied, “ If you repel me or my Wife,  
 I shall require a legal Reason. But I shall trouble my-  
 self about none else. Let them look to themselves.

Sat. 9. Meeting with a *Frenchman* of *New Orleans*  
 on the *Mississippi*, who had lived several months among  
 the *Chicasaws*, he gave us a full and particular account  
 of many things which had been variously related.  
 And hence we could not but remark, What is the  
 Religion of Nature, properly so call'd; or, That  
 Religion which flows from Natural Reason, unassisted  
 by Revelation. And that, even in those who have  
 the knowledge of many truths; and who converse  
 with their beloved ones day and night. But too plain-  
 ly does it appear by the fruits, *That the Gods of these*  
*Heathens too are but Devils.*

The substance of his account was this: Some years  
 past the *Chicasaws* and *French* were friends. The *French*  
 were then mingled with the *Nautchee Indians*, whom  
 they used as slaves; 'till the *Nautchees* made a general  
 rising, and took many of the *French* Prisoners. But  
 soon after, a *French* army set upon them, kill'd many  
 and carried away the rest. Among those that were  
 kill'd were some *Chicasaws*, whose Death the *Chicasaw*  
 nation resented: And soon after as a *French* boat was  
 going thro' their country, they fired into it, and kill'd  
 all the men but two. The *French* resolved on revenge,  
 and Orders were given for many *Indians* and several  
 parties of White Men, to rendezvous on the 26th of  
*March*, 1736, near one of the *Chicasaw* Towns. The  
 first

first party, consisting of fifty Men, came thither some days before the time. They staid there 'till the 24th, but none came to join them. On the 25th, they were attack'd by two hundred *Cbicasaws*. The *French* attempted to force their way thro' them. Five or six and twenty did so; the rest were taken Prisoners. The Prisoners were sent two or three to a Town to be burnt. Only the commanding officer and one or two more were put to Death on the place of the Engagement."

"I (said he) and one more, were saved by the warrior who took us. The manner of burning the rest was, holding lighted canes to their arms and legs and several parts of their bodies for some time, and then for a while taking them away. They likewise stuck burning Pieces of Wood into their Flesh all round, in which condition they kept them from Morning till Evening. But they commonly beat them before they burn them. I saw the Priest that was with us carried to be burnt; and from Head to Foot, he was as black as your Coat with the Blows which they had given him."

I asked him, "What was their Manner of Life?" He said, "They do nothing but eat and drink and smook from morning till night, and in a manner from night till morning. For they rise at any hour of the night when they wake; and after eating and drinking as much as they can, go to sleep again." See *The Religion of Nature truly Delineated!*

*Saturday 23.* Reflecting on the state I was now in, I could not but observe in a Letter to a Friend, "How to attain to the being crucified with CHRIST, I find not, being in a condition I neither desired, nor expected in *America*, in ease and honour and abundance. A strange school for him who has but one business, *Γυμνάζειν ἑαυτὸν πρὸς εὐσεβείαν.* \*

*Wednes. 27.* I rejoiced to meet once more with that good Soldier of Jesus Christ, *August Spangenberg*: With whom on *Monday August 1.* I began my long-intended Journey to *Ebenezer*. In the way I told him, "The calm we had so long enjoyed, was now drawing to an  
End;

\* *To exercise himself unto Godliness.*

End: That I hoped he would shortly see I was not (as some had told him) a respecter of persons; but was determin'd (God being my helper) to behave indifferently to all, rich or poor, friends or enemies." I then asked his advice as to the difficulty I foresaw, and resolved, by GOD's grace to follow it.

In the evening we came to *New Ebenezer*, where the poor *Saltzburghers* are settled. The industry of this people is quite surprizing. Their sixty huts are neatly and regularly built; and all the little spots of ground between them, improv'd to the best advantage. One side of the Town, is a Field of *Indian Corn*; on the other are the Plantations of several private persons: All which together one would scarce think it possible for a handful of people to have done in one year.

*Wednes.* 3. We return'd to *Savannah*. *Sund.* 7. I repelled Mrs. *Williamson* from the Holy Communion. And *Mond.* 8. Mr. Recorder of *Savannah*, issued out the Warrant following:

*Georgia. Savannah. ff.*

*To all Constables, Tythingmen and others whom These may concern:*

" You and each of you are hereby required, to  
" take the Body of *John Wesley*, Clerk:

" And bring him before one of the Bailiffs of the said  
" Town, to answer the Complaint of *William William-*  
" *son* and *Sophia* his Wife, for defaming the said *So-*  
" *phia*, and refusing to administer to her the Sacrament  
" of the LORD's Supper, in a Publick Congregation.  
" without Cause; by which the said *William William-*  
" *son* is damag'd One Thousand Pound Sterling. And  
" for so doing, this is your Warrant, certifying what  
" you are to do in the Premises. Given under my Hand  
" and Seal the 8th Day of *Aug. Anno Dom. 1737.*"

*Tho. Christie.*



*Tues. 9.* Mr. Jones the Constable served the Warrant, and carried me before Mr. Bailiff Parker and Mr. Recorder. My answer to them was, That “The giving or refusing the Lord’s Supper, being a matter purely Ecclesiastical, I could not acknowledge their power, to interrogate me upon it.” Mr. Parker told me, “However, you must appear at the next court holden for Savannah.” Mr. Williamson (who stood by) said, “Gentlemen, I desire Mr. Wesley may give bail for his appearance.” But Mr. Parker immediately reply’d, Sir, Mr. Wesley’s Word is sufficient.

*Wedn. 10.* Mr. Causton (from a just regard, as his Letter express’d it, to the friendship which had subsisted between us, til this affair) required me, to give the reasons in the Court-house, why I repell’d Mrs. Williamson from the Holy Communion? I answer’d, “I apprehend many ill consequences may arise from so doing. Let the cause be laid before the trustees.”

*Thurs. 11.* Mr. Causton came to my house, and among many other sharp words said, “Make an end of this matter, thou hadst best. My niece to be used thus! I have drawn the sword, and I will never sheath it, till I have satisfaction.”

Soon after he added, “Give the reasons of your repelling her, before the whole congregation.” I answer’d, “Sir, If you insist upon it, I will; and so you may be pleas’d to tell her.” He said, “Write to her, and tell her so yourself.” I said, *I will*; and after he went, I wrote as follows.

### To Mrs. Sophia Williamson.

“At Mr. Causton’s request, I write once more.  
“The Rules whereby I proceed are these:

“So many as intend to be partakers of the Holy Communion, shall signify their names to the curate, at least, some time the day before. This you did not do.

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

“ If you offer yourself at the Lord’s Table on *Sunday*,  
 “ I will advertise you (as I have done more than once)  
 “ wherein you *have done wrong*. And when you have  
 “ *openly declared yourself to have truly repented*, I will  
 “ administer to you the mysteries of God.”

*Aug. 11, 1757.*

*John Wesley.*

Mr. *Delamotte* carrying this, Mr. *Causton* said, among many other warm sayings, “ I am the person that am injured. The affront is offered to me; and I will espouse the cause of my niece. I am ill used; and I will have satisfaction, if it be to be had in the world.”

Which way this satisfaction was to be had, I did not yet conceive. But on *Friday* and *Saturday* it began to appear; Mr. *Causton* declaring to many persons, That Mr. *Wesley* had repelled *Sophy* from the holy communion, purely out of revenge; because he had made proposals of marriage to her, which she rejected, and married Mr. *Williamson*.

I was only afraid, lest those who were weak, should be turned out of the way; at least, so far as to forsake the publick assembling of themselves together. But I feared where no fear was. God took care of this also. So that on *Sunday* 14. more were present at the morning prayers, than had been for some months before. Many of them observed those words in the first lesson, *Set Naboth on high among the people; and set two men, sons of Belial, before him, to bear witness against him.*”

*Tuesd.* 16. Mrs. *Williamson* swore to and sign’d an affidavit, insinuating much more than it asserted: But asserting, “ That Mr. *Wesley* had many times propos’d marriage to her, all which proposals she had rejected.” Of this I desired a copy: Mr. *Causton* reply’d, “ Sir, You may have one from any of the News Papers in *America.*”

On *Thursday* or *Friday* was deliver’d out a list of twenty-six men, who were to meet as a grand jury, on *Monday* the 22d. But this list was called in the next day, and twenty-four names added to it. Of

this grand jury (forty-four of whom only met) One was a *Frenchman*, who did not understand *English*, one a *Papist*, one a *profess'd Infidel*, three *Baptists*, sixteen or seventeen others, *Dissenters*, and several others who had personal quarrels against me, and had openly vow'd revenge.

To *this* grand jury, on *Monday* the 22d, Mr. *Cawson* gave a long and earnest charge, to *beware of spiritual tyranny, and to oppose the new, illegal authority which was usurped over their consciences.* Then Mrs. *Williamson's* affidavit was read: After which Mr. *Cawson* delivered to the grand jury, a paper intitled

“ A List of Grievances, presented by the Grand  
“ Jury for *Savannah*, this                      day of *Aug* 1737.”

This the majority of the grand jury alter'd in some particulars, and on *Thurs. Sept. 1.* deliver'd it again to the court, under the form of two presentments, containing ten bills, which were then read to the people.

Herein they asserted, upon oath, “ That *John Wesley*, Clerk, had broken the *Laws of the Realm*,  
“ *contrary to the Peace of our Sovereign Lord the King*  
“ *his Crown and Dignity.*

“ 1. By speaking and writing to Mrs. *Williamson*,  
“ against her husband's consent:

“ 2. By repelling her from the Holy Communion:

“ 3. By not declaring his adherence to the Church  
“ of *England*:

“ 4. By dividing the morning service on *Sundays*:

“ 5. By refusing to baptize Mr. *Parker's* child other-  
“ wise than by dipping, except the parents would  
“ certify it was weak, and not able to bear it:

“ 6. By repelling *Wm. Gough* from the Holy Com-  
“ munion:

“ 7. By refusing to read the burial-service over the  
“ body of *Nathaniel Polhill*:

“ 8. By calling himself *Ordinary of Savannah*:

“ 9. By refusing to receive *Wm. Aglionby* as a god-  
“ father, only because he was not a communicant:

“ 10. By



“ 10. By refusing *Jacob Matthews* for the same  
 “ reason; and baptizing an *Indian* trader’s child with  
 “ only two sponsors.” (This, I own, was wrong; for I ought, at all hazards, to have refused baptizing it till he had procured a third.)

*Frid. 2.* Was the Third Court, at which I appear’d, since my being carried before Mr. P. and the Recorder.

I now moved for an immediate Hearing on the first-Bill, being the only one of a civil nature: But it was refused. I made the same motion in the afternoon; but was put off till the next court day.

On the next court day I appear’d again: as also at the two courts following: but could not be heard, *because* (the Judge said) *Mr. Williamson was gone out of Town.*

The sense of the minority of the grand Jurors themselves (for they were by no means unanimous) concerning these Presentments, may appear from the following paper, which they transmitted to the Trustees.

*To the Honourable the Trustees for Georgia.*

“ Whereas Two Presentments have been made, the  
 “ one of *August 23*, the other of *August 31*, by the  
 “ Grand Jury for the Town and County of *Savannah*  
 “ in *Georgia*, against *John Wesley*, Clerk.

“ We whose names are underwritten, being Members  
 “ of the said Grand Jury, do humbly beg leave to signify our dislike of the said Presentments; being by many and divers circumstances thro’ly persuaded in ourselves, that the whole charge against Mr. *Wesley*, is an artifice of Mr. *Causton’s*, design’d rather to blacken the character of Mr. *Wesley*, than to free the Colony from Religious Tyranny, as he was pleas’d in his Charge to us to term it. But as these circumstances will be too tedious to trouble your Honours with, we shall only beg leave to give the Reasons of our Dissent from the Particular Bills.

“ With regard to the first Bill, we do not apprehend,  
 “ That Mr. *Wesley* acted against any Law, by writing

“ or speaking to Mrs. *Williamson*, since it does not ap-  
 “ pear to us that the said Mr. *Wesley* has either spoke in  
 “ private, or wrote to, the said Mrs. *Williamson*, since  
 “ March 12, [the Day of her Marriage,] except one  
 “ Letter of July the 5th, which he wrote at the Request  
 “ of her Aunt, as a Pastor to exhort and reprove her.

“ The second we do not apprehend to be a true  
 “ Bill, because we humbly conceive Mr. *Wesley* did  
 “ not assume to himself any authority contrary to law:  
 “ For we understand, Every person intending to commu-  
 “ nicate, should “ signify his name to the Curate, at least  
 “ some time the day before,” which Mrs. *Williamson*  
 “ did not do; altho’ Mr. *Wesley* had often in full con-  
 “ gregation declared, he did insist on a compliance  
 “ with that Rubrick, and had before repell’d divers per-  
 “ sons, for noncompliance therewith.

“ The third we don’t think a true bill, because se-  
 “ veral of Us have been his hearers, when he has de-  
 “ clared his adherence to the *Church of England*, in a  
 “ stronger manner than by a formal declaration; by  
 “ explaining and defending the *Apostles*, the *Nicene* and  
 “ the *Athanasian Creeds*, the *Thirty-nine Articles*, the  
 “ whole book of *Common Prayer*, and the *Homilies* of the  
 “ said church: And because we think a formal decla-  
 “ ration is not required, but from those who have re-  
 “ ceiv’d institution and induction.

“ The fact alledged in the fourth bill we cannot ap-  
 “ prehend to be contrary to any law in being.

“ The fifth we do not think a true bill, because we  
 “ conceive Mr. *Wesley* is justified by the Rubrick, viz.  
 “ If they (the parents) certify that the child is weak, it  
 “ shall suffice to pour water upon it.” Intimating (as  
 “ we humbly suppose) it shall not suffice, if they do  
 “ not certify.

“ The Sixth cannot be a true Bill, because the said  
 “ *William Gough*, being one of our Members, was sur-  
 “ prized to hear himself named, without his know-  
 “ ledge or Privity; and did publickly declare, It was  
 “ no Grievance to him, because the said *John Wesley* had  
 “ given him Reasons with which he was satisfid.

“ The

“ The seventh we do not apprehend to be a true bill,  
 “ for *Nathaniel Polhill* was an *Anabaptist*, and desir’d  
 “ in his life-time, that he might not be interr’d with  
 “ the Office of the *Church of England*. And farther,  
 “ we have good reason to believe, that *Mr. Wesley*  
 “ was at *Frederica*, or on his return thence, when  
 “ *Polhill* was buried.

“ As to the eighth bill we are in doubt, as not well  
 “ knowing the meaning of the word *Ordinary*. But  
 “ for the ninth and tenth, we think *Mr. Wesley* is  
 “ sufficiently justified by the Canons of the Church;  
 “ which forbid *any person to be admitted Godfather or*  
 “ *Godmother to any child, before the said person has re-*  
 “ *ceived the holy communion*; whereas *William Aglionby*  
 “ and *Jacob Matthews*, had never certified *Mr. Wesley*,  
 “ that they had received it.”

This was sign’d by twelve of the grand Jurors, of whom three were Constables, and six more, Tythingmen: Who consequently would have made a majority, had the Jury consisted, as it regularly should have done, of only fifteen members, viz. the four Constables and eleven Tythingmen:

*Friday, Sept. 30.* Having ended the Homilies, I began reading *Dr. Rogers’s* eight Sermons to the Congregation: Hoping they might be a timely Antidote against the poison of infidelity, which was now with great industry propagated among us.

*October* the 7th I consulted my friends, whether God did not call me to return to *England*? The reason for which I left it had now no force: there being no possibility as yet of instructing the *Indians*: Neither had I as yet found or heard of any *Indians* on the continent of *America*, who had the least desire of being instructed. And as to *Savannah*, having never engag’d myself, either by word or letter, to stay there a day longer than I should judge convenient, nor even taken charge of the people any otherwise, than as in my passage to the heathens. I looked upon myself to be fully discharged therefrom, by the vacating of that design. Besides, there was a probability of doing more service to  
 that



that unhappy people, in *England* than I could do in *Georgia*, by representing without fear or favour to the Trustees, the real state the Colony was in. After deeply considering these things, they were unanimous, *That I ought to go. But not yet.* So I laid the thoughts of it aside for the present: Being persuaded, that when the time was come, God would *make the way plain before my face.*

*Sat. Oct. 15.* Being at *Highbate*, a Village five miles from *Savannah*, consisting of (all but one) *French* Families, who, I found, knew but little of the *English* tongue, I offer'd to read prayers there in *French*, every *Saturday* in the Afternoon. They embrac'd the offer gladly. On *Saturday* the 22d. I read Prayers in *German* likewise, to the *German* villagers of *Hampstead*: And so continued to do, once a week. We began the service (both at *Highbate* and *Hampstead*) with singing a psalm. Then I read and explained a chapter in the *French* or *German* Testament, and concluded with prayers and another psalm.

*Sat. Oct. 9.* Some of the *French* of *Savannah* were present at the prayers at *Highbate*. The next day I receiv'd a message from them all. "That as I read prayers to the *French* of *Highbate*, who were but few, they hop'd I would do the same to those of *Savannah*, where there was a large number who did not understand *English*." *Sunday*, 30, I began so to do: And now I had full employment for that Holy Day. The first *English* prayers lasted from Five 'till half an hour past Six. The *Italian* (which I read to a few *Vandois*) began at Nine. The second service for the *English* (including the sermon and the holy communion) continu'd from half an hour past Ten, till about half an hour past Twelve. The *French* service began at One. At Two I catechised the children. About Three began the *English* service. After this was ended, I had the happiness of joining with as many as my largest room would hold, in reading, prayer, and singing praise. And about Six the service of the *Moravians* began: at which I was glad to be present, not as a Teacher, but a Learner. *Thus.*

*Thurs. Nov. 3.* I appear'd again, at the Court holden on that day: And again, at the Court held, *Tuesday, Nov 22.* On which day Mr. *Causon* desired to speak with me. He then read me some affidavits which had been made, *September 15.* last past: In one of which it was affirm'd, "That I then abused Mr. *Causon* in his own house, calling him liar, villain, and so on." It was now likewise repeated before several persons, (which indeed I had forgot) "That I had been reprimanded at the last Court, for an enemy to, and hinderer of, the public peace."

I again consulted my friends, who agreed with me, that the time we look'd for was now come. And the next morning calling on Mr. *Causon*, I told him, "I designed to set out for *England* immediately," I set up an Advertisement in the Great Square to the same effect and quietly prepared for my journey.

*Friday, Dec. 2.* I proposed to set out for *Carolina* about Noon, the Tide then serving. But about Ten the Magistrates sent for me, and told me, "I must not go out of the Province; for I had not answer'd the Allegations laid against me." I replied, *I have appeared at six or seven Courts successively, in order to answer them. But I was not suffered so to do, when I desired it time after time.*" Then they said, "However, I must not go, unless I would give security to answer those Allegations at their Court." I ask'd, "What Security?" After consulting together about two hours; the Recorder shew'd me a kind of Bond, engaging me, under a Penalty of fifty Pounds, to appear at their Court when I should be required. He added, *But Mr. Williamson too has desired of us, that you should give Bail to answer his Action.* I then told him plainly, *Sir, You use me very ill, and so you do the Trustees. I will give neither any Bond, nor any Bail at all. You know your Business, and I know mine.*

In the Afternoon the Magistrates publish'd an Order requiring all the Officers and Centinels, to prevent my going out of the Province; and forbidding any person to assist me so to do. Being now only a Prisoner at large,

in a Place where I knew by experience, every Day would give fresh opportunity, to procure Evidence of words I never said, and actions I never did; I saw clearly the Hour was come for leaving this Place: And as soon as Evening Prayers were over, about Eight o'Clock, the Tide then serving, I shook off the dust of my Feet, and left *Georgia*, after having preach'd the Gospel there (not as I ought, but as I was able) one Year, and nearly Nine Months.

During this time I had frequent opportunities of making many Observations and Enquiries, concerning the real State of this Province, (which has been so variously represented) the *English* Settlements therein, and the *Indians* that have intercourse with them. These I minuted down from time to time; a small extract of which I have subjoined.

1. *Georgia* lies in the 30 and 31st degree of north Latitude. The Air is generally clear, the rains being much shorter, as well as heavier, than in *England*. The Dews are very great. Thunder and Lightning are expected almost every day, in *May, June, July, and August*. They are very terrible, especially to a stranger. During those months, from Ten in the morning to four in the afternoon, the sun is extremely scorching. But the sea-breeze generally blows, from ten till three or four. The Winter is nearly of the same length as in *England*. But the Mid-day sun is always warm, even when the mornings and evenings are very sharp, and the nights piercing cold.

9. The land is of four sorts, Pine-barren, Oakland, Swamp and Marsh. The Pine-land is of far the greatest extent, especially near the sea-coasts. The soil of this, is a dry whitish sand, producing shrubs of several sorts, and between them a spiry coarse grass, which cattle do not love to feed on. But here and there is a little of a better kind, especially in the *Savannas* (so they call the low, watry meadows, which are usually intermixt with Pine-lands.) It bears naturally two sorts of fruit, Hurtle-berries (much like those in *England*) and *chincopin-nuts*; a dry, harsh nut, about the size of a small acorn.



acorn. A laborious man may in one year clear and plant four or five acres of this land. It will produce the first year, from two to four bushels of *Indian* corn, and from four to eight of *Indian* Pease *per* Acre. The second year it usually bears half as much; the third, less; the fourth, nothing.

3. Vines, mulberries and peach-trees it bears well. The white mulberry is not good to eat. The black is about the size of a blackberry, and has much the same flavour. In fresh pine-land, *Indian* potatoes grow well (which are more delicious and larger than the *Irish*.) And so do water melons and *Sevce* beans, about the size of our scarlet, but to be shell'd and eaten like *Windjor* beans.

4. Oak-land commonly lies in narrow streaks between Pine-land and some Swamp, Creek or River. The soil is a blackish sand, producing several kinds of Oak (tho' none exactly like the *English*) Bay, Laurel, Ash, Walnut, Sumac-trees, Gum-trees (a sort of Sycamore), Dog-trees (cover'd in spring with large white flowers) and many Hickary-trees, which bear a bad kind of Walnut. In the moister Part of this Land some Persimmon-trees grow, (which bear a sort of yellow, clear, luscious plum) and a few mulberry and cherry-trees. The common wild-grapes are of two sorts, both red: The fox-grape grows two or three only on a stalk, is thick-skin'd, large-ston'd, of a harsh taste, and of the size of a small *Kentish* cherry. The cluster grape is of a harsh taste too, and about the size of a white currant.

5. This Land requires much labour to clear; but when it is clear'd, it will bear any grain, for three, four, or sometimes five years, without laying any manure upon it. An acre of it generally bears ten bushels of *Indian* corn, besides five of pease, in a year. So that this at present is justly esteem'd the most valuable land in the Province.

6. A Swamp is, one low, watry place, which is cover'd with trees or canes. They are here of three sorts, Cypress, River and Cane Swamps. Cypress-Swamps are

are, mostly, large ponds, in and round which cypresses grow. Most river-swamps are over-flown every tide by the river which runs thro' or near them. If they were drain'd, they would produce good rice; as would the cane-swamps also; which in the mean time are the best Feeding for all Sorts of Cattle.

7. The Marshes are of Two Sorts: Soft Marsh, which is all a Quagmire, and absolutely good for nothing: And Hard-Marsh, which is a firm, but barren Sand, bearing only sower Rushes. Marshes of both Sorts abound on the Sea-Islands, which are very numerous, and contain all Sorts of Land. And upon these chiefly, near Creeks and Runs of Water, Juniper-Trees and Cedars grow.

8. *Savannah* stands on a flat *Bluff* (so they term any high-land hanging over a creek or river) which rises 45 feet perpendicular from the river, and commands it several miles both upward and downward. The soil is a white Sand for above a mile in breadth, South-East, and North-West. Beyond this, Eastward, is a River-swamp; Westward a small wood, in which was the old *Indian* Town. On the other side of the river is a marshy Island, covered with large trees. South-west of the Town is a large Pine-barren, which extends backward to a branch of the *Alatamaha* River.

9. *St. Simon's* Island, having on the South-East the gulph of *Florida*; on the other sides, branches of the *Alatamaha*, is about 100 miles South of *Savannah*, and extends in length about 20, in breadth from two to five miles. On the West-side of it, on a low Bluff, stands *Frederica*, having woods to the North and South; to the East, partly woods, partly *Savannahs*, and partly marshes. The soil is mostly a blackish Sand. There is not much Pine-land on the Island; the greatest part being Oak-land, intermixt with many *Savannahs*, and old *Spanish* or *Indian* Fields.

10. On the Sea-Point, about five miles South-East of the town, is the fort where the soldiers are station'd. But the storehouse in *Frederica* better deserves that name; being incompast with regular ramparts of earth

earth, and a palisaded ditch, and mounted with cannon, which entirely commands the river.

11. About twenty miles North-West from St. Simon's is *Darien*, the settlement of the *Scotch Highlanders*, a mile from *Fort King George*, which was built about seventeen and abandoned about eleven years since. The town lies on the main-land, close to a branch of the *Alatamaha*, on a bluff thirty feet above the river, having woods on all sides. The soil is a blackish sand. They built at first many scatter'd huts; but last spring, (1736) expecting the *Spaniards*, they built themselves a large Fort, and all retired within the walls of it.

12. *Augusta*, distant from *Savannah* one hundred and fifty miles, and five from old *Savannah* town, is designed to stand in an old *Indian* field, on a Bluff, about thirty feet high. A small fort of wooden piles was built there in 1737; but no house was then built, nor any more ground clear'd; than Mr. *Lacy* and his men found so.

13. *Old Ebenezer*, where the *Saltzburghers* settled at first, lies twenty-five miles West of *Savannah*. A small creek runs by the town, down to the river, and many brooks run between the little hills: but the soil is a hungry, barren sand; and upon any sudden shower, the brooks rise several feet perpendicular, and overflow whatever is near them. Since the *Saltzburghers* remov'd two *English* families have been placed there: But these do say, *That the land is good for nothing; and that the Creek is of little use; it being by water twenty miles to the River; and the Water generally so low in Summer-time, that a Boat cannot come within six or seven Miles of the Town.*

14. *New Ebenezer*, to which the *Saltzburghers* remov'd, in *March* 1736, lies six Miles Eastward from the *Old*, on a high Bluff, near the *Savannah* River. Here are some tracts of fruitful land, tho' the greatest part of that adjoining to the town, is pine barren. The huts, 60 in number, are neatly and regularly built; the little piece of ground allotted to each for a garden,



is every where put to the best use, no spot being left unplanted. Nay, even one of the main streets, being one more then was as yet wanted, bore them this year a crop of *Indian corn*.

15. About ten miles East of this, on a Creek, three miles from the river, was the village of *Abercorn*. Ten families settled here in 1733; but it is now without inhabitant. Four miles below the mouth of *Abercorn-Creek* is *Joseph's-Town*, the settlement of two Scotch gentlemen. A mile below was Sir *Francis Bathurst's* plantation. And a quarter of a mile from this, *Walter Augustin's* settlement. But both these are left without inhabitant.

16. A mile below this is Capt. *William's* plantation: A mile from thence, Mrs. *Matthew's* (late *Musgrove*) commonly known by the name of the *Cowpen*: Adjoining to which is the land belonging to Capt. *Watson*; on which is an unfinish'd house, swiftly running to ruin. A mile from this is *Irene*, a house built for an *Indian* school, in the year 1736. It stands on a small, round hill, in a little piece of fruitful ground, given by the *Indians* to Mr. *Ingham*. The *Indian Town* is within a furlong of it.

17. Five miles South-West of *Savannah*, on a small rise, stands the village of *Highgate*. It has pine-land on three sides, and a swamp on the fourth. Twelve families were placed here in 1733; nine whereof remain there. A mile Eastward of this is *Hampstead*, settled with twelve families also, a little before *Highgate*; five of which are still remaining.

18. Six miles South-East of *Savannah* is *Thunderbolt*. Three families are settled here, near a small, ruinous, fort: Four miles South of this, is the Island of *Skidoway*: On the North-East point whereof ten families were placed in 1733-4; (a small Fort was built here likewise) but nine of them are either dead, or removed to other places. A small Creek divides *Skidoway* from *Tybee* Island, on the South-East part of which, fronting the Inlet, the Light-House is built. Ten families were settled here in 1734; but they are part dead, and part removed, so that the Island is now again without any fixt inhabitant. Twelve

19. Twelve miles Southward from *Savannah* (by land) is Mr. *Houftoun's* plantation : and forty or fifty miles from him, up *Ogeechee* River, that where Mr. *Sterling* for some time lived. *Fort Argyle* stands twenty miles from this, on a high Bluff, by the River *Ogeechee*. 'Tis a small, square, wooden fort, musket-proof. Ten freeholders were settled near it ; but eight of them are gone, and the land they had cleared lying waste, will in a few years be as it was before.

20. The Southermost settlement in *Georgia*, is *Fort St. Andrew*, it stands fifty miles South of *Frederica*, on the South West Side of *Cumberland* Island, upon a high neck of land, which commands the river both ways. The walls are of wood, fill'd up with earth, round which are a ditch and palisade.

21. 'Tis hard to pick out any consistent account of the *Georgian Indians*, from the contradictory relations of their traders. The following is extracted, partly from those wherein all or the generality of them agree ; partly from the relations of such as have been occasionally amongst them, and have no interest in making them better or worse than they are.

22. Of the *Georgian Indians* in general it may be observed, That they are not so properly nations, as tribes or clans, who have wandered thither at different times ; perhaps expell'd their native countries by stronger tribes ; but how or when they cannot tell, being none of them able to give any rational account of themselves. They are inured to hardship of all kinds, and surprisingly patient of pain. But as they have no letters, so they have no religion, no laws, no civil government. Nor have they any Kings or Princes, properly speaking ; their Meeko's or Head-men, having no power either to command or punish, no man obeying them any farther than he pleases. So that every one doth what is right in his own eyes ; and if it appears wrong to his neighbour, the person aggrieved usually steals on the other unawares, and shoots him, scalps him, or cuts off his ears : Having only two short rules of proceeding, to do what he will, and what he can.

23. They are likewise all, except (perhaps) the *Choctaws*, gluttons, drunkards, thieves, dissemblers, liars. They are implacable, unmerciful, murderers of fathers, murderers of mothers, murderers of their own children: It being a common thing for a son to shoot his father or mother, because they are old and past labour; and for a woman either to procure Abortion, or to throw her child into the next river, because she will go with her husband to the war. Indeed husbands, strictly speaking, they have none; for any man leaves his wife (so call'd) at pleasure, who frequently, in return, cuts the throats of all the children she has had by him. Whoredom they account no crime, and few instances appear of a young *Indian* woman's refusing any one. Nor have they any fixt punishment for adultery; only, if the husband take his wife with another man, he will do what he can to both, unless speedily pacified by the present of a gun or a blanket.

24. The *Choctaws* only have some appearance of an intire nation, possessing a large extent of land, eight or nine hundred miles West of *Savannah*, and many well inhabited towns. They are said to have six thousand fighting men, united under one head. At present they are in league with the *French*, who have sent some priests among them; by whom (if one may credit the *Choctaw* traders) ten or twelve have been baptized.

25. Next to these, to the North-East, are the *Chicasaws*. Their country is flat, full of meadows, springs and rivers. In their fields, tho' six or seven hundred miles from the Sea, are found Sea-shells in great numbers. They have about nine hundred fighting men, ten towns, and one *Mecko* (at least) in every one. They are eminently gluttons, eating, drinking, and smoaking all day, and almost all night. They are extreme indolent and lazy, except in war; then they are the most indefatigable, and the most valiant of all the *Indians*: But they are equally cruel with the rest, torturing and burning all their prisoners, whether *Indian* or *European*.



26. East of them, in the Latitude of 35 and 36, about three or four hundred miles from *Savannah*, lie the *Cherikees*. Their Country is very mountainous, fruitful, and pleasant. They have fifty-two Towns, and above three thousand fighting Men. In each Town are three or more Head-men, who keep up a sort of Shadow of Government, having Power to set the rest to work, and to punish such as will not join in the common Labour. They are civil to Strangers, and will do any thing for them, *for Pay*; being always willing, for a small Piece of Money, to carry a message for 50 or 60 Miles, and, if required, a heavy Burthen too: But they are equally cruel to Prisoners with the *Chicasaws*, tho' not equally valiant. They are seldom intemperate in Drinking, but when they can be so on Free-Cost. Otherwise, Love of Drink yields to Covetousness; a Vice scarcely to be found in any *Indian* but a *Cherikee*.

27. The *Uchces* have only one small Town left (near two hundred Miles from *Savannah*) and about forty fighting men. The *Creeks* have been many times on the point of cutting them off. They are indeed hated by most, and despis'd by all the other nations, as well for their cowardice, as their superlative diligence in thieving, and for out-lying all the *Indians* upon the continent.

28. The *Creek-Indians* are about 400 miles from *Savannah*. They are said to be bounded on the West by the *Choctaws*, to the North by the *Chicasaws*, to the East by the *Cherikees*, and to the South by the *Alatamaha* River. They have many towns, a plain, well-water'd country, and fifteen hundred fighting men. They have often three or four Meeko's in a town; but without so much as the shadow of authority, only to give advice, which every one is at liberty to take or leave. But age and reputation for valour and wisdom, have given *Chicali*, a Meeko of the *Coweta*-Town, a more than ordinary influence over the nation; tho' not even the show of regal power. Yet neither age, wisdom nor reputation can restrain him from drunkenness. Indeed all the *Creeks*, having been most

conversant with white men, are most infected with insatiate love of drink, as well as other *European* vices. They are more exquisite dissemblers than the rest of their countrymen. They know not what friendship or gratitude means. They shew no inclination to learn any thing ; but least of all, Christianity : being full as opiniated of their own parts and wisdom, as either modern *Chinese*, or antient *Roman*.

*Sat. Dec. 3.* We came to *Purrysburg* early in the morning, and endeavour'd to procure a guide for *Port-Royal*. But none being to be had, we set out without one, an hour before sun-rise. After walking two or three hours, we met with an old man, who led us into a small path, near which was a line of *blazed* trees, (i. e. mark'd by cutting off part of the bark) by following which, he said, we might easily come to *Port-Royal* in five or six hours.

We were four in all ; one of whom intended to go for *England* with me ; the other two to settle in *Carolina*. About eleven we came into a large swamp, where we wander'd about 'till near two. We then found another *blaze*, and pursued it, 'till it divided into two ; one of these we follow'd thro' an almost impassible thicket, a mile beyond which it ended. We made thro' the thicket again, and traced the other *blaze*, 'till that ended too. It now grew toward sun-set, so we sat down, faint and weary, having had no food all day, except a ginger-bread cake, which I had taken in my pocket. A third of this we had divided among us at noon ; another third we took now ; the rest we reserved for the morning ; but we had met with no water all the day. Thrusting a stick into the ground, and finding the end of it moist, two of our company fell a digging with their Hands, and at about three Feet depth, found Water. We thank'd God, drank, and were refreshed. The Night was sharp ; however there was no complaining among us ; but after having commended ourselves to God, we lay down close together, and (I at least) slept 'till near Six in the Morning.

*Sunday, Dec. 4.* God renewing our Strength, we arose neither faint nor weary, and resolv'd to make one tryal more, to find a Path to *Port-Royal*. We steer'd due East; but finding neither Path nor Blaze, and the Woods growing thicker and thicker, we judg'd it would be our best Course to return, if we could, by the Way we came. The Day before, in the thickest part of the Woods, I had broke many young Trees, I knew not why, as we walk'd along: These we found a great Help in several places, where no Path was to be seen; and between One and Two God brought us safe to *Benjamin Arieu's* House, the old Man we left the Day before.

In the Evening I read *French* Prayers to a numerous Family, a Mile from *Arien's*; one of whom undertook to guide us to *Port-Royal*. In the Morning we set out. About Sun-set, we ask'd our Guide, If he knew where he was? Who frankly answer'd, No. However, we push'd on 'till about Seven we came to a Plantation, and the next Evening (after many Difficulties and Delays) we landed on *Port-Royal* Island.

*Wednes. 7.* We walk'd to *Beaufort*; where *Mr. Jones* (the Minister of *Beaufort*) with whom I lodg'd during my short Stay here, gave me a lively Idea of the old *English* Hospitality. On *Thurs.* *Mr. Delamotte* came; with whom, on *Friday*, 9th, I took Boat for *Charles-Town*. After a slow passage by reason of contrary Winds, and some Conflict (our Provisions falling short) with Hunger as well as Cold, we came thither early in the Morning, on *Tuesday* the 13th. Here I expected Tryals of a different kind, and far more dangerous. For Contempt and Want are easy to be borne: But who can bear Respect and Abundance?

*Wednes. 14.* Being desir'd to read Publick Prayers, I was much refreshed with those glorious promises, contained both in the 72d *Psalms*, and in the first Lesson, the 40th Chapter of *Isaiab*. Yea, they that wait upon the Lord shall renew their Strength, and mount up with Wings as Eagles; they shall run and not be weary; they shall walk and not faint.



In the Afternoon visiting a dying man, we found him still full of the freshest Advices, and busy in settling the Affairs of the *Czarina*, Prince *Thomas*, and the *Ottoman Port*. How natural then is the Thought

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*Quæ cura nitentes  
Pascere equos, eadem sequitur tellure repostos ?*

For if a Soul quivering on the verge of Life, has still Leisure for these Impertinencies, one might almost believe the same Dreams would continue, even in the Sleep of Death !

*Frid.* 16. I parted from the last of those Friends, who came with me into *America*, Mr. *Charles Delamotte*, from whom I had been but a few days separate, since *Oct.* 14, 1755.

*Sund.* 18. I was seized with a violent Flux, which I felt came not before I wanted it. Yet I had strength enough given to preach once more to this careless People : And a few *believed our Report*.

*Tours.* 22. I took my leave of *America*, (tho', if it please God, not for ever) going on board the *Samuel*, Capt. *Percy*, with a young Gentleman who had been a few Months in *Carolina*, one of my parishioners of *Savannah*, and a *Frenchman*, late of *Purrysburg*, who was escaped thence with the Skin of his Teeth.

*Sat.* 24. We sail'd over *Charles-Town Bar*, and about Noon, lost Sight of Land.

The next day the Wind was fair, but high, as it was on *Sunday* 25, when the Sea affected me more than it had done in the sixteen Weeks of our passage to *America*. I was obliged to lie down the greatest part of the Day, being easy only in that posture.

*Mond.* 26. I began instructing a Negro-Lad in the Principles of Christianity. The next day I resolved to break off living delicately, and return to my old Simplicity of Diet ; and after I did so, neither my stomach nor my Head much complained of the Motion of the Ship.

*Wednesf.* 21. Finding the unaccountable Apprehensions of I know not what Danger, (the Wind being  
small

small, and the Sea smooth) which had been upon me several days, increase; I cried earnestly for help; and it pleased God as in a moment to restore Peace to my Soul.

Let me observe hereon, 1. That not one of these Hours ought to pass out of my Remembrance, 'till I attain another manner of Spirit, a Spirit equally willing to glorify God by Life or by Death. 2. That whoever is uneasy on any Account. (bodily pain alone excepted) carries in himself his own Conviction, That he is so far an Unbeliever. Is he uneasy at the apprehension of Death? Then he believeth not, That *to die is Gain*. At any of the Events of Life? Then he hath not a firm belief, That *all things work together for his Good*. And if he bring the Matter more close, he will always find, beside the general want of Faith, every particular Uneasiness is evidently owing to the Want of some particular Christian Temper.

*Sunday, Jan. 1, 1738.* All in the Ship (except the Captain and Steersman) were present both at the Morning and Evening Service, and appear'd as deeply attentive, as even the poor People of *Frederica* did, while the Word of God was new to their Ears. And it may be, One or Two among these likewise, may *bring forth Fruit with Patience*.

*Mond. 2.* Being sorrowful and very heavy, (though I could give no particular reason for it) and utterly unwilling to speak close to any of my little Flock (about 20 persons) I was in doubt, whether my neglect of them was not one cause of my own Heaviness. In the evening therefore, I began instructing the Cabin-Boy; after which I was much easier.

I went several times the following days, with a Design to speak to the Sailors, but could not. I mean, I was quite averse from speaking; I could not see how to make an Occasion, and it seem'd quite absurd to speak without. Is not this what men commonly mean by, "I could not speak?" and is this, a sufficient cause of Silence, or no? Is it a Prohibition from the Good Spirit? Or a Temptation from Nature or the  
Evil

Evil One? *Frid* 6, I ended the Abridgment of Mr. *de Renty's* Life. O that such a Life should be related by such a Historian! Who by inserting All, if not more than All the weak Things that Holy Man ever said or did, by his Commendation of almost every Action or Word which either deserved or needed it not; and by his injudicious manner of relating many others, which were indeed highly commendable; has cast the shade of Superstition and Folly over one of the brightest patterns of Heavenly Wisdom.

*Sat.* 7. I began to read and explain some Passages of the Bible to the young Negro. The next Morning, another Negro who was on board, desir'd to be a Hearer too. From them I went to the poor *Frenchman*, who understanding no *English*, had none else in the ship with whom he could converse. And from this Time, I read and explain'd to him a Chapter in the Testament every Morning.

*Sund.* 8. In the fulness of my Heart, I wrote the following Words:

By the most infallible of Proofs, Inward Feeling, I am convinced

1. "Of Unbelief, having no such Faith in Christ, as will prevent my heart from being troubled; which it could not be, if I believed in God, and rightly believ'd also in Him:

2. "Of Pride, thro'out my Life past, inasmuch as I thought I had, what I find I have not:

3. "Of gross Irrecollection, inasmuch as in a Storm I cry to God every moment; in a Calm, not.

4. "Of Levity and Luxuriancy of Spirit, recurring whenever the pressure is taken off, and appearing by my speaking words not tending to edify; but most, by my Manner of speaking of my Enemies."

"Lord save, or I perish! Save me

1. "By such a Faith as implies Peace in Life and in Death."

2. "By such Humility, as may fill my Heart from this hour for ever, with a piercing uninterrupted sense,

\* *Nihil*



\* *Nil est quod hætenus feci*, having evidently built without a foundation."

3. "By such a recollection as may cry to thee every moment, especially when all is calm, give me faith or I die; give me a lowly spirit; otherwise † *Mibi non sit suave vivere.*"

4. "By steadiness, seriousness, *Σεμνότης*, sobriety of spirit, avoiding as fire every word that tendeth not to edifying, and never speaking of any who oppose me, or sin against God, without all my own sins set in array before my face."

This morning, after explaining those words of St. Paul, *I beseech you, Brethren, by the mercies of GOD, that ye present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable to GOD*, I exhorted my fellow-travellers with all my might, to comply with the Apostle's direction. But leaving them afterwards to themselves, the seriousness they shew'd at first, soon vanish'd away.

On Mond. 9. and the following days, I reflected much on that vain desire which had pursued me for so many years, of being in solitude, in order to be a Christian. I have now, thought I, solitude enough. But am I therefore the nearer being a Christian? Not if JESUS CHRIST be the model of Christianity. I doubt indeed I am much nearer that mystery of Satan, which some writers affect to call by that name. So near, that I had probaly sunk wholly into it, had not the great mercy of God just now thrown me upon reading S. Cyprian's Works: *O my Soul, come not thou into their Secret! Stand thou in the good old Paths.*

Frid. 13. We had a thorough storm, which obliged us to shut all close, the Sea breaking over the ship continually. I was at first afraid; but cried to God and was strengthen'd. Before ten I lay down, I bless God, without fear. About midnight we were awak'd by a confus'd noise, of Seas and wind and men's voices, the like to which I had never heard before. The sound of the Sea breaking over, and against the sides  
of

\* *I have done nothing hitherto.*

† *Let Life be a Burden to me.*

of the ship, I could compare to nothing but large cannon, of *American* thunder. The rebounding, starting, quivering motion of the ship, much resembled what is said of earthquakes. The captain was upon deck in an instant. But his men could not hear what he said. It blew a proper hurricane; which beginning at South-West, then went West, North-West, North, and in a quarter of an hour, round by the East to the South-West point again. At the same time the Sea running (as they term it) mountain high, and that from many different points at once, the ship would not obey the helm; nor indeed could the steersman, thro' the violent rain, see the compass. So he was forc'd to let her run before the wind, and in half an hour the stress of the storm was over.

About noon the next day it ceased. But first I had resolved, God being my helper, not only to preach it to all, but to apply the word of God to every single soul in the ship; and if but one, yea if not one of them will hear, I know *my Labour is not in vain*.

I no sooner executed this resolution, than my spirit revived; so that from this day I had no more of that fearfulness and heaviness, which before almost continually weighed me down. I am sensible one who thinks the being *in Orca*, as they phrase it, an indispensable preparative for being a Christian, would say, I had better have continued in that state; and that this unseasonable relief was a curse, not a blessing. Nay, but who art thou, O Man, who in favour of a wretched hypothesis, thus blasphemest the good gift of God? Hath not he himself said, *This also is the gift of God, if a man have power to rejoice in his labour?* Yea, God setteth his own seal to his weak endeavours, while he thus *answereth him in the joy of his heart.*

*Tues. 24.* We spoke with two ships, outward bound, from whom we had the welcome news, of our wanting but 160 Leagues of the Land's End. My mind was now full of thought; part of which I writ down as follows:

“ I went to *America*, to convert the *Indians*: But oh! Who shall convert me? Who, what is he that will deliver

deliver me from this evil heart of unbelief? I have a fair summer-religion. I can talk well; nay, and believe myself, while no danger is near: But let death look me in the face, and my Spirit is troubled. Nor can I say, *To die is Gain!*

“ I have a fin of fear, that when I’ve spun  
 “ My last thread, I shall perish on the shore ! ”

“ I think verily if the Gospel be true, I am safe: for I not only have given, and do give all my goods to feed the poor; I not only give my body to be burn’d, drown’d, or whatever God shall appoint for me; but I follow after Charity (tho’ not as I ought, yet as I can) if haply I may attain it. I now believe the Gospel is true. *I shew my faith by my works*, by staking my all upon it. I would do so again and again a thousand times, if the choice were still to make. Whoever sees me, sees I would be a Christian. Therefore *are my ways not like other men’s ways*. Therefore I have been, I am; I am content to be, *a by-word, a proverb of reproach*. But in a storm I think, “ What if the gospel be not true? Then thou art of all men most foolish. For what hast thou given thy goods, thy ease, thy friends, thy reputation, thy country, thy life? For what art thou wandring over the face of the earth? A dream, *a cunningly devised fable?* O who will deliver me from this fear of death! What shall I do? Where shall I fly from it! Should I fight against it by thinking, or by not thinking of it? A wise man advised me some time since, “ Be still and go on.” Perhaps this is best. To look upon it as my cross: When it comes, to let it humble me, and quicken all my good-resolutions, especially that of praying without ceasing; and other times to take no thought about it, but quietly to go on *in the Work of the Lord.* ”

We went on with a small, fair wind, ’till *Thursday* in the afternoon. and then sounding, found a whitish sand at 75 fathom: But having had no observation for several days, the captain began to be uneasy, fear-



ing we might either get unawares into the *Bristol* channel, or strike in the night on the rocks of *Scilly*.

*Sat.* 28. Was another cloudy day : but about ten in the morning (the wind continued Southerly) the clouds began to fly just contrary to the wind, and to the surprize of us all sunk down under the sun, so that at noon we had an exact observation ; and by this we found we were as well as we could desire, about eleven leagues South of *Scilly*.

*Sund.* 29. We saw *English* land once more, which about noon appear'd to be the *Lizard Point*. We ran by it with a fair wind, and at noon the next day, made the West End of the *Isle of Wight*.

Here the wind turn'd against us, and in the evening blew fresh, so that we expected (the tide being likewise strong against us) to be driven some leagues backward in the night : but in the morning, to our great surprize, we saw *Beachy-Head* just before us, and found we had gone forwards near forty miles.

Toward evening was a calm ; but in the night a strong North-Wind brought us safe into the Downs. The day before, Mr. *Whitefield* had sail'd out, neither of us then knowing any thing of the other. At four in the morning we took boat, and in half an hour landed at *Deal* : It being *Wednesday, February 1.* the Anniversary Festival in *Georgia* for Mr. *Oglethorpe's* landing there.

It is now two years and almost four months, since I left my native country, in order to teach the *Georgian Indians*, the Nature of Christianity : But what have I learn'd myself in the mean time ? Why (what I the least of all suspected) that I who went to *America* to convert others, was never myself converted to God. *I am not mad*, tho' I thus speak ; but *I speak the words of truth and soberness* ; if haply some of those who still dream may awake, and see, that as I am, so are they.—

Are they read in *Philosophy* ? So was I. In Antient or Modern *Tongues* ? So was I also. Are they versed in the *Science of Divinity* ? I too have studied it many years. Can they talk fluently upon spiritual things ?

The

The very same could I do. Are they plenteous in *Alms*? Behold, I gave all my goods to feed the poor. Do they give of their Labour as well as their Substance? I have labour'd more abundantly than they all. Are they willing to *suffer* for their brethren? I have thrown up my Friends, Reputation, Ease, Country; I have put my life in my hand, wand'ring into strange Lands; I have given my body to be devoured by the deep, parch'd up with heat, consumed by toil and weariness, or whatsoever God shall please to bring upon me. But does all this (be it more or less, it matters not) make me acceptable to God? Does all I ever did or can, *know, say, give, do or suffer*, justify me in his Sight? Yea, or the constant Use of all the Means of Grace? (which nevertheiefs is meet, right and our bounden duty) Or, that *I know nothing of myself*, that I am as touching outward, moral righteousness blameless? Or, (to come closer yet) the having a *Rational Conviction* of all the truths of Christianity? Does all this give a claim to the Holy, Heavenly, Divine Character of a *Christian*? By no means. If the Oracles of God are true, if we are still to abide by the *Law and Testimony*; all these things, tho' when ennobled by Faith in Christ, they are Holy, and Just and Good, yet without it are *Dung and Dross*.

This then have I learn'd in the ends of the Earth, that I am *fallen short of the glory of God*; that my whole heart is *altogether corrupt and abominable*; and consequently my whole life, (seeing it cannot be, that an *evil Tree* should bring forth good Fruit :) That my own works, my own sufferings, my own righteousness, are so far from reconciling me to an-offended God, so far from making any atonement for the least of those Sins, which are more in number than the hairs of my head, that the most specious of them need an atonement themselves, or they cannot abide his righteous judgment: That *having the sentence of death* in my heart, and having nothing *in or of myself*, to plead, I have no hope, but that of being justified freely, thro' the redemption that is in *Jesus*: I have no hope, but that if I seek I shall find the Christ, and be found in him, not

*having my own righteousness, but that which is thro' the faith of Christ, the righteousness which is of God by faith.*

If it be said, that I have faith (for many such things have I heard, from many miserable comforters) I answer so have the Devils, — *a sort of Faith; but still they are strangers to the covenant of promise. So the Apostles had even at Cana in Galilee, when Jesus first manifested forth his glory; even then they, in a sort believed on him; but they had not then The faith that overcometh the world. The faith I want is, A sure trust and confidence in God, that thro' the merits of Christ, my Sins, are forgiven, and I reconciled to the favour of God. I want that faith which St. Paul recommends to all the world, especially in his Epistle to the Romans: that Faith which enables every one that hath it to cry out, I live not; but Christ liveth in me: And the Life which I now live, I live by faith in the Son of God, who loved me, and gave himself for me. I want that faith which none have without knowing that he hath it (tho' many imagine they have it, who have it not,) For who-soever hath it, is freed from Sin, the whole body of sin is destroyed in him: he is freed from fear, having Peace with God thro' Christ, and rejoicing in hope of the glory of God. And he is freed from doubt, having the Love of God shed abroad in his heart, thro' the Holy Ghost which is given unto him; which spirit itself beareth Witness with his spirit, that he is a child of God.*







## The P R E F A C E.

1. **T**HAT Men revile me and say all manner of Evil against me, *that* I am become as it were a Monster unto many, *that* the zealous of almost every denomination cry out, Away with such a fellow from the earth: This gives me with regard to myself, no degree of uneasiness. For I know the Scripture must be fulfilled. If they have called the Master of the House Beelzebub, how much more them of his Household? But it does give me a concern, with regard to those, who by this artifice of the Devil, are prevented from hearing that Word, which is able to save their souls.

2. For the sake of these, and indeed of all who desire to hear the Truth of those things which have been so variously related, I have been induced to publish this farther Account: And I doubt not but it will even hence appear, to all candid and impartial Judges, That I have hitherto lived in all good conscience toward God.

3. I shall be easily excus'd by those who either love or seek the LORD JESUS in Sincerity, for speaking so largely of the Moravian Church, a City which ought to be set upon an Hill. Their Light hath been too long hid under a Bushel: It is high time it should at length break forth, and so shine before Men, that others also may glorify their Father which is in Heaven.

4. If any should ask, "But do you think even this Church is perfect, without Spot or Wrinkle or any such Thing?" I answer plainly, "No; tho' I trust it will be, when Patience has had its perfect Work." But neither do I think it right, to entertain the world with the Spots of GOD's Children.

5. It has been farther asked, "Whether I imagine GOD is to be found, only among Them?" I reply, "By no means."

## P R E F A C E.

“ means. I know there is a God in England, and we need not go to seek Him in strange Lands.” “ I know that in our own He is very nigh unto all that call upon him: And therefore I think those unwise (to say no more) who run to inquire after Him in Holland or Germany.

6. When I went, the case was widely different. God had not then made bare his Arm before us as he hath now done: In a manner (I will be bold to say) which had not been known either in Holland or Germany, at that time when He who ordereth all things wisely, according to the counsels of His own Will, was pleased by me to open the intercourse between the English and the Moravian Church.

7. The particular reason which obliged me to relate so much of the conversation I had with those holy men is this. — In September, 1738, when I return'd from Germany, I exhorted all I could to follow after that great Salvation, which is thro' Faith in the Blood of CHRIST; waiting for it in all the ordinances of GOD, and in doing good, as they had opportunity, to all Men. And many found the Beginning of that Salvation, being justified freely, having Peace with GOD through CHRIST, rejoicing in Hope of the Glory of GOD, and having His Love shed abroad in their Hearts.

8. But about September 1739, while my Brother and I were absent, certain Men crept in among them unawares, greatly troubling and subverting their Souls: Telling them, “ They were in a delusion, that they had deceived themselves, and had no true Faith at all. For (said they) none has any justifying faith, who has ever any doubt or fear, (which you know you have) or who has not a clean heart, which you know you have not: Nor will you ever have it till you leave off using the Means of Grace (so called,) till you leave off running to church and sacrament, and praying and singing and reading either the Bible or any other book. For you can't use these things without trusting in them. Therefore, till you leave them off, you can never have true Faith; you can never till then trust in the Blood of CHRIST.”

9. And This doctrine from the Beginning to this day has been taught, as the doctrine of the Moravian Church. I think



## P R E F A C E.

think therefore it is my bounden duty, to clear the Moravians from this aspersion. And the more, because I am Perhaps the only Person now in England, that both can and will do it. And I believe it is the peculiar Providence of GOD that I can: That two Years since, the most eminent Members of that Church, should so fully declare both their experience and Judgment, touching the very Points now in question.

10, The Sum of what has been asserted, as from Them, is this,

1. "That a man can't have any degree of Justifying Faith, till he is wholly freed from all Doubt and Fear, and till he has (in the full, proper sense) a New, a Clean Heart."

2. "That a man may not use the Ordinances of GOD, the Lord's supper in particular, before he has such a faith as excludes all doubt and fear, and implies a new, a clean Heart."

In flat opposition to this I assert,

1. 'That a man may have a degree of justifying faith before he is wholly freed from all doubt and fear, and before he has, in the full, proper sense, a new, a clean heart.'

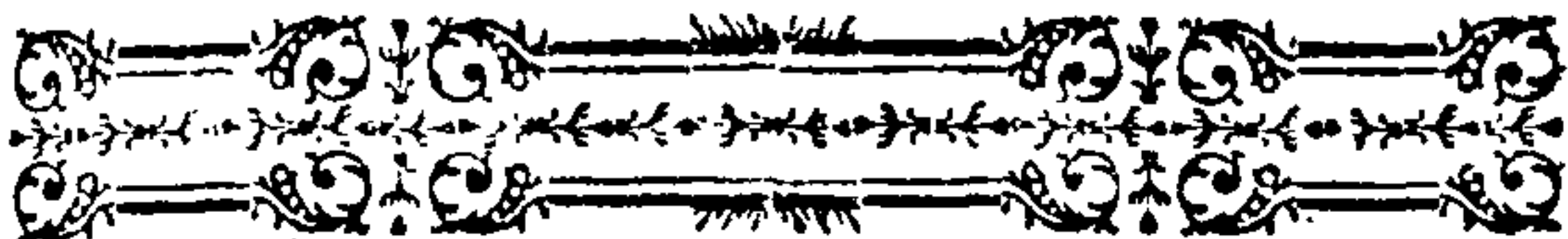
2. 'That a man may use the Ordinances of GOD, the Lord's Supper in particular, before he has such a Faith as excludes all doubt and fear, and implies a New, a Clean Heart.'

— I farther assert, 'This I learned (not only from the English, but also) from the Moravian Church.'

And I hereby openly and earnestly call upon that Church (and upon Count Zinzendorf in particular, who I trust is not ashamed or afraid to avow any Part of the Gospel of CHRIST: to correct me and explain themselves, if I have misunderstood or misrepresented them.

LONDON, Sep. 29.  
1740.

JOHN WESLEY.



# JOURNAL

From *Feb.* 1, 1737, to *Sept.* 16, 1738.

**W**EDNESDAY, *Feb.* 1. After reading Prayers and explaining a Portion of Scripture, to a large Company at the Inn, I left *Deal*, and came in the Evening to *Feversham*.

I here read prayers and explain'd the 2d Lesson, to a few of those who were call'd Christians, but were indeed more savage in their behaviour than the wildest *Indians* I have yet met with.

*Frid.* 3. I came to Mr. *Dilamotte's* at *Blendon*, where I expected a cold reception. But God had prepar'd the way before me: And I no sooner mention'd my name, than I was welcom'd in such a manner, as constrained me to say, *Surely GOD is in this Place, and I knew it not! Blessed be ye of the LORD! Ye have shewn more Kindness to the latter End than at the Beginning.*

In the evening I came once more to *London*, whence I had been absent two Years and near four Months.

Many reasons I have to bless God, tho' the design I went upon did not take effect, for my having been carried into that strange land, contrary to all my preceding resolutions. Hereby I trust he hath in some measure *humbled me and proved me, and shewn me what was in my Heart.* Hereby I have been taught, *To beware of Men.* Hereby I am come to know assuredly, *That if in all our Ways we acknowledge GOD, he will*  
where

where reason fails, *direct our Paths*, by Lot or by the other means which he knoweth. Hereby I am deliver'd from the fear of the Sea, which I had both dreaded and abhor'd from my youth.

Hereby God has given me to know many of his servants, particularly those of the Church of *Hernhuth*. Hereby my passage is open'd to the writings of holy men in the *German*, *Spanish* and *Italian* tongues. I hope too some good may come to others hereby. All in *Georgia* have heard the Word of God. Some have believ'd, and began to run well. A few steps have been taken towards publishing the glad tidings both to the *African* and *American* Heathens. Many children have learn'd *How they ought to serve God*, and to be useful to their neighbour. And those whom it most concerns have an opportunity of knowing the true state of their infant colony, and laying a firmer foundation of peace and happiness to many generations.

*Sat. 4.* I told my Friends some of the Reasons, which a little hasten'd my return to *England*. They all agreed, it wou'd be proper to relate them to the Trustees of *Georgia*.

Accordingly the next Morning I waited on Mr. *Oglethorpe*, but had not time to speak on that head. In the afternoon I was desir'd to preach at *St. John the Evangelist's*. I did so on those strong words, *If any Man be in Christ, he is a new Creature*. I was afterwards inform'd, *Many of the Best in the Parish were so offended, that I was not to preach there any more*.

*Monday. 6.* I visited many of my old friends, as well as most of my relations. I find the time is not yet come when I am to be *hated of all Men*. O may I be prepar'd for that Day!

*Tuesd. 7.* (A Day much to be remember'd) at the House of Mr. *Weinantz*, a *Dutch* Merchant, I met *Peter Bötler*, *Schulius*, *Richter* and *Wensel Neser*, just then land'd from *Germany*. Finding they had no acquaintance in *England*, I offer'd to procure them a Lodging, and did so near Mr. *Hutton's*, where I then was. And from this Time I did not willingly lose any opportunity of conversing with them, while I stay'd in *London*.

*Wednesd.*



*Wednesday 8.* I went to Mr. Oglethorpe again, but had no opportunity of speaking as I design'd. Afterwards I waited on the Board of Trustees, and gave them a short but plain account of the state of the Colony: An account, I fear not a little differing from those, which they had frequently receiv'd before: And for which I have reason to believe, some of them have not forgiven me to this day.

*Sund. 12.* I preached at St. Andrew's Holborn, on "Though I give all my goods to feed the Poor, and tho' I give my body to be burned, and have not Charity, it profiteth me nothing." O hard Sayings! Who can bear them? Here too (it seems) I am to preach no more.

*Wedn. 15.* I waited on the Trustees again, and gave them in writing the substance of what I had said at the last Board. Whatsoever farther Questions they asked concerning the state of the Province, I likewise answered to the best of my knowledge.

*Frid. 17.* I set out for Oxford with Peter Böbler, where we were kindly received by Mr. Sarney, the only one now remaining here, of many who at our embarking for America, were used to take sweet counsel together, and rejoice in bearing the Reproach of Christ.

*Sat. 18.* We went to Stanton Harcourt, to Mr. Gambold, and found my old Friend recover'd from his Mystic delusion, and convinced that St. Paul was a better Writer than either Tauler or Jacob Böhme.— The next day I preached once more at the Castle (in Oxford) to a numerous and serious congregation.

All this time I convers'd much with Peter Böbler, but I understood him not: And least of all when he said "Mi frater, mi frater, excoquenda est ista tua Philosophia." (My Brother. my Brother, that Philosophy of your's. must be purged away.)

*Mond. 20.* I return'd to London. On Tuesday I preached at Great St. Helen's, on, *If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his Cross daily and follow me.*

*Wedn 22.* I was with the Trustees again, to whom I then gave a short account (and afterwards, at eight

to them in writing) of the reasons why I left *Georgia*.

*Sunday 26.* I preached at Six at *St. Lawrence's*: at Ten, in *St. Katharine's-Creed Church*; and in the Afternoon at *St. Jobn's, Wapping*. I believe it pleased God to bless the first Sermon most, because it gave most offence; being indeed an open defiance of that mystery of iniquity which the world calls *Prudence*: Grounded on those words of *St. Paul* to the *Galatians*; *As many as desire to make a fair shew in the flesh, they constrain you to be circumcised, only lest they should suffer persecution for the Cross of Christ.*

*Monday 27.* I took coach for *Salisbury*, and had several opportunities of conversing seriously with my Fellow-Travellers. But endeavouring to mend the Wisdom of God by the worldly wisdom of prefacing serious with light conversation, and afterwards following that advice of the *Mystics, Leave them to themselves*, all I had said was written on the sand. *Lord, lay not this sin to my charge!*

*Tuesday 28.* I saw my Mother once more. The next day I prepared for my journey to my Brother at *Tipton*. But on *Thursday Morning March 2d*, a message That my Brother Charles was dying at Oxford, obliged me to set out for that Place immediately. Calling at an odd House in the Afternoon, I found several persons there who seemed Well-wishers to Religion, to whom I spake plainly; as I did in the evening both to the servants and strangers at my Inn.

With regard to my own behaviour, I now renewed and wrote down my former Resolutions.

1. To use absolute Openness and Unreserve, with all I should converse with.

2. To labour after continual Seriousness, not willingly indulging myself, in any the least Levity of Behaviour, or in Laughter, no not for a moment.

3. To speak no Word which does not tend to the Glory of God, in particular, not a tittle of worldly things. Others may, nay must. But what is that to thee? And

4. To take no Pleasure which does not tend to the Glory of God; thanking God every moment for all

I do take, and therefore rejecting every sort and degree of it which I feel I cannot so thank him *in* and *for*.

Sat. 4. I found my Brother at *Oxford*, recovering from his pleurisy; and with him *Peter Bobler*: By whom (in the Hand of the Great God) I was on *Sunday* the 5<sup>th</sup> clearly convinced of unbelief, of the want of *that faith whereby alone we are saved*.

Immediately it struck into my Mind "Leave off Preaching. How can you preach to others, who have not Faith yourself?" I ask'd *Bobler*, whether he thought I should leave it off, or not? He answer'd, "By no means." I ask'd, "But what can I preach?" He said, "Preach Faith, 'till you have it, and then, *because* you have it, you will preach Faith."

Accordingly, *Monday* 6, I began preaching this new Doctrine, tho' my Soul started back from the Work. The first person to whom I offer'd *Salvation by Faith alone*, was a Prisoner under Sentence of Death. His Name was *Clifford*. *Peter Bobler* had many Times desired me to speak to him before. But I could not prevail on myself so to do; being still (as I had been many Years) a zealous Asserter of *the impossibility of a Death-bed Repentance*.

Frid. 10. *Peter Bobler* return'd<sup>\*</sup> to *London*. Tues. 15. I set out for *Manchester*, with Mr. *Kinchin*, Fellow of *Corpus Christi*, and Mr. *Fox*, late a Prisoner in the City Prison. Between 5 and 6, we call'd at *Chapel on the Heath*, where liv'd a poor Man, sometime Prisoner in the Castle of *Oxford*. He was not at home; but his wife came to us, to whom Mr. *Kinchin* spoke a few words, which so melted her heart, that she burst out into tears, and we went on rejoicing and praising God.

About 8, it being rainy and very dark, we lost our Way; but before 9, came to *Shipston*, having rode over, I know not how, a narrow Foot-bridge, which lay across a deep Ditch near the town. After Supper I read Prayers to the People of the Inn, and explain'd the 2<sup>d</sup> Lesson; I hope not in vain.



The next Day we dined at *Birmingham*, and soon after we left it, were reprov'd for our negligence there (in letting those who attended us go, without either Exhortation or Instruction) by a severe shower of hail. At *Hedgeford*, about 5, we endeavoured to be more faithful; and all who heard seem'd serious and affected.

In the Evening we came to *Stafford*. The mistress of the house joined with us in Family-Prayer. The next Morning one of the Servants appeared deeply affected, as did the Ostler before we went. Soon after Breakfast, stepping into the Stable, I spake a few words to those who were there. A Stranger who heard me, said, *Sir, I wish I was to travel with you.* And when I went into the house followed me, and began abruptly, *Sir, I believe you are a good Man, and I come to tell you a little of my Life.* The Tears stood in his Eyes all the Time he spoke; and we hoped not a Word which was said to him was lost.

At *Newcastle*, whither we came about Ten, some to whom we spoke at our Inn, were very attentive; but a gay young Woman that waited on us, quite unconcerned: However we spoke on. When we went away, she fix'd her Eyes, and neither mov'd nor said one Word, but appear'd as much astonish'd as if she had seen one risen from the Dead.

Coming to *Holms-Chappel* about three, we were surprized at being shewn into a Room, where a Cloth and Plates were laid. Soon after, two Men came in to Dinner. Mr. *Kinchin* told them, "If they pleas'd, That Gentleman would ask a Blessing for them." They stared, and *as it were* consented; but sat still while I did it, one of them with his Hat on. We began to speak on turning to God, and went on, tho' they appeared utterly regardless. After a while their Countenances changed, and one of them stole off his Hat, and laying it down behind him said, "All we said was true; but he had been a grievous Sinner, and not consider'd it as he ought: But he was resolv'd, with God's Help, now to turn to him in earnest." We exhorted him and his Companion,

who

who now likewise drank in every Word, To cry mightily to GOD, that *he would send them help from his holy place.*

Being faint in the Evening, I call'd at *Aitringham*, and there light upon a *Quaker*, well skill'd in, and therefore (as I soon found) sufficiently fond of controversy. After an Hour spent therein (perhaps not in vain) I advised him, "To dispute as little as possible, but rather follow after Holiness, and walk humbly with his God."

Late at Night we reached *Manchester*. *Friday* the 17th, we spent entirely with Mr. Clayton, by whom, and the rest of our friends here, we were much refreshed and strengthen'd. Mr. Hoole, the Rector of *St. Ann's* Church being taken ill the next Day, on *Sunday* 19, Mr. Kinchin and I officiated at *Salford* Chapel in the Morning, by which means Mr. Clayton was at Liberty to perform the Service at *St. Ann's*: And in the Afternoon, I preached there on those Words of *St. Paul*, *If any Man be in Christ, he is a new Creature.*

Early in the morning we left *Manchester*, taking with us Mr. Kinchin's Brother, for whom we came; to be enter'd at *Oxford*. We were fully determin'd to lose no Opportunity of awakening, instructing, or exhorting, any whom we might meet with in our Journey. At *Knutsford*, where we first stop'd, all we spake to, thankfully receiv'd the Word of Exhortation. But at *Talk in-the Hill*, where we dined, she with whom we were, was so much of a gentlewoman, that for near an Hour our Labour seem'd to be in vain. However we spoke on. Upon a sudden, she look'd as one just awaked out of Sleep. Every Word sunk into her Heart. Nor have I seen so intire a Change both in the Eyes, Face and Manner of speaking, of any one in so short a Time.

About 5, Mr. Kinchin riding by a Man and Woman double-hors'd, the Man said, "Sir, you ought to thank God it is a fair Day; for if it rain'd, you would be sadly dirty, with your little Horie." Mr. Kinchin answer'd, "True: And we ought to thank God for our Life and Health, and Food and

“Raiment, and all Things.” He then rode on, Mr. Fox following, the man said, “Sir, my mistress would be glad to have some more Talk with that Gentleman.” We stay’d, and when they came up, began to search one another’s Hearts. They came to us again in the Evening, at our Inn at Stone. when I explain’d both to them and many of their Acquaintance who were come together, that great Truth, “*Godliness bath the Promise both of this Life, and of that which is to come.*”

*Tues. 21.* Between 9 and 10 we came to *Hedgeford*. Just then, one was giving an Account of a young Woman, who had dropt down dead there the Day before. This gave us a fair Occasion to exhort all that were present, *so to number their own days that they might apply their hearts unto wisdom.*

In the Afternoon one overtook us, whom we soon found more inclined to speak than to hear. However we spoke, and spared not. In the Evening we overtook a young Man, a Quaker, who afterwards came to us, to our Inn at *Henly*, whither he sent for the rest of his family, to join with us in prayer: To which I added, as usual, the Exposition of the 2d Lesson. Our other companion went with us a mile or two in the morning, and then not only spoke less than the day before; but took in good part a serious caution against talkativeness and vanity.

An hour after we were overtook by an elderly Gentleman, who said, “He was going to enter his Son at *Oxford*.” We ask’d, “At what College?” He said “He did not know: Having no acquaintance there on whose Recommendation he could depend.” After some Conversation, he express’d a deep sense of the good Providence of God, and told us, “He knew God had cast us in his Way, in Answer to his Prayer.” In the Evening we reach’d *Oxford*, rejoicing in our having receiv’d so many fresh instances of that great Truth, *In all thy ways acknowledge him, and he shall direct thy Paths.*

*Thurs. 23.* I met *Peter Böbler* again, who now amazed me more and more, by the account he gave of  
the



the fruits of Living Faith, the holiness and happiness which he affirm'd to attend it. The next Morning I began the *Greek Testament* again, resolving to abide by *the Law and the Testimony*, and being confident, that God would hereby shew me, *whether this Doctrine was of God?*

*Sund. 26.* I preach'd at *Whitiam* on the *New Creature*, and went in the Evening to a Society in *Oxford*, where (as my Manner then was at all Societies) after using a Collect or two and the Lord's prayer, I expounded a Chapter in the New Testament, and concluded with three or four more Collects and a Psalm.

*Mond. 27.* Mr. *Kinchin* went with me to the Castle, where, after reading Prayers and preaching, on *It is appointed for all men once to die*, we pray'd with the condemn'd Man, first in several Forms of Prayer, and then in such words as were given us in that Hour. He kneel'd down in much Heaviness and Confusion, having *no Rest in his Bones by Reason of his Sins*. After a Space he rose up, and eagerly said, *I am now ready to die. I know Christ has taken away my Sins, and there is no more condemnation for me*. The same composed Chearfulness he shewed, when he was carried to Execution: And in his last Moments he was the same, enjoying a perfect peace, in Confidence that he was *accepted in the Beloved*.

*Sat. April 1.* Being at Mr. *Fox's* Society, my heart was so full that I could not confine myself to the Forms of Prayer, which we were accustomed to use there. Neither do I propose to be confined to them any more; but to pray indifferently, with a Form or without, as I may find suitable to particular Occasions.

*Sund. 2.* Being *Easter-Day*, I preach'd in our College Chapel, on *The Hour cometh and now is, when the Dead shall hear the Voice of the SON of GOD, and they that hear shall live*. I preach'd in the Afternoon first at the Castle, and then at *Carfax* on the same Words. I see the Promise: But it is afar off.

Believing it would be better for me to wait for the Accomplishment of it in Silence and Retirement, on *Mond. 3.* I complied with Mr. *Kinchin's* desire, and  
went

went to him at *Dummer* in *Hampshire*. But I was not suffer'd to stay here long; being earnestly press'd to come up to *London*, if it were only for a few days. Thither therefore I return'd, on *Tuesd. 18th*.

*Sat. 21*. I met *Peter Böbler* once more, I had now no objection to what he said of the Nature of Faith, viz. That it is (to use the Words of our Church) *A sure Trust and Confidence which a Man hath in God, that thro' the Merits of CHRIST his Sins are forgiven, and he reconcil'd to the favour of God*. Neither could I deny either the Happiness or Holiness which he described, as fruits of this living Faith. *The Spirit itself beareth witness with our Spirit that we are the Children of God: And, He that believeth hath the Witness in himself*, fully convinced me of the former: As, *Whatsoever is born of God, doth not commit Sin; and Whosoever believeth, is born of God*, did of the latter. But I could not comprehend what he spoke of an *instantaneous Work*. I could not understand, how this Faith should be given in a Moment; How a Man could *at once* be thus turn'd from Darknets to Light, from Sin and Misery to Righteousness and Joy in the Holy Ghost. I searched the Scriptures again, touching this very thing, particularly the *Acts of the Apostles*: But, to my utter Astonishment, found scarce any instances there of other than *instantaneous Conversions*; scarce any other so slow as that of *St. Paul* who was three Days in the Pangs of the New Birth. I had but *One Retreat* left; viz. "Thus, I grant God wrought in the *first Ages* of Christianity: But the Times are changed. What Reason have I to believe, he works in the same manner now?"

But on *Sund. 22*. I was beat out of this Retreat too, by the concurring evidence of several living witnesses; who testified God *had thus wrought in themselves*; giving them in a moment, such a faith in the Blood of his Son, as translated them out of Darknets into Light, out of Sin and Fear, into Holiness and Happiness. Here ended my disputing. I could now only cry out, "Lord help thou my Unbelief!"

I ask'd *P. Böbler* again, "Whether I ought not to refrain from teaching others?" He said, "No; Do

"Do

“ Do not hide in the earth the Talent God hath given you.” Accordingly on *Tues. 25.* I spoke clearly and fully at *Blendon* to Mr. *Delamotte’s* Family, of the Nature and Fruits of Christian Faith. Mr. *Broughton* and my Brother were there. Mr. *Broughton’s* great Objection was, *He could never think that I had not Faith, who had done and suffer’d such things.\** My brother was very angry, and told me *I did not know what mischief I had done by talking thus.* And indeed it did please God then to kindle a fire, which I trust shall never be extinguished.

On *Wedn. 21.* The day fixt for my return to *Oxford*, I once more waited on the Trustees for *Georgia*: But being straiten’d for time, was obliged to leave the papers for them, which I had design’d to give into their own hands. One of these was the Instrument whereby they had appointed me Minister of *Savannah*; which, having no more place in those Parts, I thought it not right to keep any longer.

*P. Böhler* walk’d with me a few miles, and exhorted me, not to stop short of the grace of God. At *Gerrard’s Cross* I plainly declar’d to those whom God gave into my hands, *the faith as it is in Jesus*: As I did next day to a young Man I overtook on the Road, and in the Evening to our Friends at *Oxford*. A strange doctrine, which some, who did not care to contradict, yet knew not what to make of, but one or two, who were thro’ly bruis’d by Sin, willingly heard, and receiv’d it gladly.

In the day or two following, I was much confirm’d in *the truth that is after Godliness*, by hearing the Experiences of Mr. *Hutchins* (of *Pembroke College*) and Mrs. *Fox*: Two living Witnesses, that God can (at least, if he does not always) give that Faith whereof cometh Salvation in a moment, as Lightning falling from Heaven.

*Mond. May 1.* The Return of my Brother’s Illness, obliged me again to hasten to *London*. In the Evening I

\* He was in the right. I certainly then had the Faith of a *Servant*, tho’ not the Faith of a *Son*.



I found him at *James Hutton's*, better as to his health, than I expected; but strongly averſe from what he call'd the *New Faith*.

This Evening our little Society began, which afterwards met in *Fetter-lane*. Our fundamental Rules were as follows.

In obedience to the command of God by *St. James*, and by the advice of *Peter Böhler*, it is agreed by us.

1. That we will meet together once a week to *confess our Faults one to another, and pray one for another, that we may be healed*:

2. That the Persons so meeting be divided into ſeveral *Bands*, or little Companies, none of them conſiſting of fewer than five, or more than ten Persons.

3. That every one in order ſpeak as freely, plainly and concifely as he can, the real ſtate of his heart, with his ſeveral temptations and deliverances, ſince the laſt Time of meeting.

4. That all the Bands have a Conference at eight every *Wednesday* evening, begun and ended with Singing and Prayer.

5. That any who deſire to be admitted into this Society be aſk'd, What are your Reaſons for deſiring this? Will you be entirely open, uſing no kind of reſerve? Have you any objection to any of our Orders? (which may then be read.)

7. That when any new Member is propoſed, every one preſent ſpeak clearly and freely whatever objection he has to him.

8. That thoſe againſt whom no reaſonable objection appears, be in order for their Trial, form'd into one, or more diſtinct Bands, and ſome Perſon agreed on to aſſiſt them.

9. That after two Months Trial, if no Objection then appear, they be admitted into the Society.

10. That every fourth *Saturday* be obſerved, as a Day of general Interceſſion.

11. That on the *Sunday* ſeven-night following, be a general Love-feaſt, from 7 till 10 in the Evening.

12. That no particular Member be allow'd to act in any thing, contrary to any order of the Society: And that

that

that if any Persons, after being thrice admonish'd, do not conform thereto, they be not any longer esteem'd as Members.

*Wednes. 3.* My Brother had a long and particular Converiati<sup>o</sup>n with *Peter Böhler*. And it now pleased God to open his eyes; so that he also saw clearly, what was the Nature of that one, True Living Faith, whereby alone, *tho' Grace, we are saved.*

*Thursd. 4.* *Peter Böhler* left London in order to embark for *Carolina*. O what a Work hath God begun, since his coming into *England*! Such an one as shall never come to an end, till heaven and earth pass away.

*Friday and Saturday* I was at *Blendon*. They now believed our Report. O may the Arm of the Lord be speedily revealed unto them!

*Sunday 7.* I preached at *St. Lawrence's* in the Morning; and afterwards at *St. Katherine's-Creed Church*. I was enabled to speak strong words at both; and was therefore the less surpriz'd at being informed, I was not to preach any more in either of those churches.

*Tuesd. 9* I preached at *Great St. Helen's*, to a very numerous Congregation, on *He that spared not his own Son but delivered him up for us all, How shall he not with Him also freely give us all things?* My Heart was now so enlarged to declare the Love of God, to all that were opprest by the *Devil*, that I did not wonder in the least, when I was afterwards told, "Sir, you must preach here no more."

*Wedn. 10.* *Mr. Stonehouse*, Vicar of *Islington*, was convinced of the Truth as it is in *Jesus*. From this time, till *Saturday 13*, I was sorrowful and very heavy; being neither able to read, nor meditate, nor sing, nor pray, nor do any thing. Yet I was a little refresh'd by *Peter Böhler's* Letter, which I insert in his own words.

*Charissime & suavissime Frater,*

¶ Intentissimo amore te diligo, multum tui recordans  
 ¶ in itinere meo, optendo & precando ut quam primum viscera misericordiae crucifixi Jesu Christi, Tui gratia

gratia jam ante 6000 Annos commota, menti tuæ appareant: Ut gustare & tunc videre possis, quàm vehementer te Filius DEI amaverit & huc usque amet, & ut sic confidere possis in eo omni tempore, vitamque ejus in Te & in carne tua sentire. Cave Tibi a peccato Incredulitatis; etsi nondum vicisti illud, fac ut proximo die illud vincas, per Sanguinem Jesu Christi. Ne cesser, quæso credere Tuum in Jesum Christum; sed potius promissionum ejus quæ pertinent ad miserandos peccatores, coram facie ejus benigna sic mentionem fac, ut non aliter possit quam præstare tibi, quod multis aliis præstitit. O quam multus, quàm magnus, quam ineffabilis, quam inexhaustus, est illius Amor! Ille certe jam-jam paratus est ad auxilium, et nihil potest illum offendere nisi incredulitas nostra. Crede igitur, Fratrem tuum Carolum & Hall, nomine meo saluta multum; & admonete vos invicem ad credendum, & tunc ad ambulandum coram facie Domini ἀρχιζών & ad pugnandum contra Diabolum & Mundum ὑπομιμῆς, & ad crucifigendum & conculcandum peccatum omne sub pedibus nostris, quantum nobis datum est per gratiam secundi Adami, cujus vita excedit mortem prioris Adami, & cujus gratia antecellit Corruptionem & Damnationem prioris Adami.

Domiaus tibi benedicat. Permane in Fide, Amore, Doctrinâ, Communionem Sanctorum, & breviter, in omni quod habemus in novo Fœdere. Ego sum & maneo

Tuus indignus Frater,

*Petrus Böhler.*

*In Agris Southamptonianis,  
Die Secundo Maii, 1738.*

**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



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 conquer'd 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.—

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

Your unworthy Brother,  
*Peter Böhler.*

*Sund. 14.* I preached in the Morning at *St. Ann's Aldersgate*; and in the Afternoon at the *Savoy Chapel*, Free Salvation by Faith in the Blood of CHRIST. I was quickly apprized, That at *St. Ann's* likewise, I am to preach no more.

So true did I find the Words of a Friend, wrote to my Brother about this time,

“ I have seen upon this Occasion, more than ever I could have imagined, how intolerable the Doctrine of Faith is to the Mind of man; and how peculiarly intolerable to *Religious Men*. One may say the most Unchristian Things, even down to Deism; the most Enthusiastick Things, so they proceed but upon Mental Raptures, Lights and Unions; the most severe Things, even the whole Rigour of Ascetick Mortification: And all this will be forgiven. But if you speak of Faith in such a manner as makes Christ a Saviour to the utmost, a most universal Help and Refuge; in such a Manner as takes away glorying, but adds Happiness to wretched Man; as discovers a greater Pollution in the best of us, than we could before acknowledge, but brings a greater deliverance from it than we could before expect: If any one offers to talk at

this rate, he shall be heard with the same abhorrence, as if he was going to rob mankind of their Salvation, their Mediator, or their hopes of Forgiveness. I am persuaded that a *Montanist* or a *Novation*, who from the height of his purity should look down with contempt upon poor sinners, and exclude them from all Mercy, would not be thought such an Overthrower of the Gospel, as he who should learn from the Author of it, to be a Friend of Publicans and Sinners, and to sit down upon the level with them as soon as they begin to repent."

"But this is not to be wondered at. For all *Religious* People have such a quantity of Righteousness, acquir'd by much painful exercise, and form'd at last into current habits; which is their Wealth, both for this World and the next. Now all other Schemes of Religion are either to complain, as to tell them, they are very rich and have enough to triumph in: Or else to be a little rough, but friendly in the main, by telling them, their Riches are not yet sufficient, but by such arts of Self-denial, and mental Renouement, they may enlarge the Stock. But the Doctrine of Faith is a downright Robber. It takes away all this Wealth, and only tel's us, it is deposited for us with some Body else, upon whose bounty we must live like mere Beggars. Indeed they that are truly Beggars, vile and filthy sinners 'till very lately may stoop to live in this dependent condition: It suits them well enough. But they who have long distinguished themselves from the herd of vicious wretches, or have even gone beyond *Moral* Men; for them to be told, that they are either not so well, or but the same needy, impotent, insignificant Vessels of Mercy with the others: This is more shocking to Reason than Transubstantiation. For Reason had rather resign its pretensions to judge what is Bread or Flesh, than have this Honour wrested from it, to be the Architect of Virtue and Righteousness. But where am I running? My design was only to give you warning, that where ever you go, *this Foolishness of preaching* will alienate hearts from you, and open mouths against you."

Friday

Friday 19. My Brother had a second return of his Pleurisy. A few of us spent Saturday Night in Prayer. The next day, being *Whitsunday*, after hearing Dr. Heylin preach a truly christian sermon, (on, *They were all filled with the Holy Ghost* : And so, said he, may all you be, if it is not your own fault) and assisting him at the Holy Communion (his Curate being taken ill in the Church) I received the surprizing news, that my Brother had found Rest to his Soul. His bodily strength return'd also from that hour. *Who is so great a God as our God?*

I preach'd at St. John's *Wapping*, at Three; and at St. Bennet's, *Paul's Wharf*, in the Evening. At these Churches likewise I am to preach no more. At St. Antholin's I preached on the *Thursday* following.

*Monday Tuesday* and *Wednesday*, I had continual sorrow and heaviness in my heart, Something of which I described, in the broken manner I was able, in the following Letter to a Friend.

“ O why is it, that so great, so wise, so holy a God, will use such an Instrument as me! Lord, *let the Dead bury their Dead!* But wilt thou send the Dead to raise the Dead? Yea, thou sendest whom thou *wilt* send, and shewest mercy by whom thou *wilt* shew mercy! Amen! Be it then according to thy Will! If Thou speak the Word, *Judas* shall cast out Devils.”

“ I feel what you say (though not enough) for I am under the same condemnation. I see that the whole Law of God is Holy, Just and Good. I know every Thought, every Temper of my Soul ought to bear God's Image and Supercription. But how am I fallen from the glory of God! I feel, that I *am sold under Sin*. I know, that I too deserve nothing but Wrath, being full of all abominations: and having no good thing in me, to atone for them, or to remove the Wrath of God. All my Works, my Righteousness, my Prayers need an Atonement for themselves. So that my Mouth is stopped. I have nothing to plead. God is Holy, I am unholy. God is a consuming Fire. I am altogether a Sinner, meet to be consumed.



“ Yet I hear a Voice, (and is it not the Voice of God ?) saying, *Believe and thou shalt be saved. He that believeth, is passed from Death unto Life. God so loved the World that he gave his only begotten Son that whosoever believeth on him, should not perish, but have everlasting Life.*

“ O let no one deceive us by vain words, as if we had already attained this Faith ! By its Fruits we shall know. Do we already feel *Peace with God, and Joy in the Holy Ghost ?* Does his *Spirit bear witness with our Spirit, that we are the Children of God ?* Alas ! with mine he does not. Nor, I fear with your's. O thou Saviour of Men, save us from trusting in any thing but *Thee !* Draw us after *Thee !* Let us be emptied of ourselves, and then fill us with all Peace and Joy in believing, and let nothing separate us from thy love, in Time or in Eternity !”

What occurred on *Wednes. 24*, I think best to relate at large, after premising what may make it the better understood. Let him that cannot receive it, ask of the Father of Lights, that he would give more Light to him and me.

1. I believe, till I was about ten Years old, I had not sinned away that *Washing of the Holy Ghost* which was given me in Baptism, having been strictly educated and carefully taught, that I could only be saved by *universal Obedience, by keeping all the Commandments of God*; in the meaning of which I was diligently instructed. And those instructions so far as they respected outward duties and sins, I gladly received and often thought of. But all that was said to me of Inward obedience, or holiness, I neither understood nor remember'd. So that I was indeed as ignorant of the true meaning of the Law as I was of the Gospel of *Christ*.

2. The next six or seven years were spent at School: Where outward restraints being removed, I was much more negligent than before even of Outward Duties, and almost continually guilty of Outward Sins, which I knew to be such, tho' they were not scandalous in the eye of the World. However I still read the Scriptures, and said my Prayers, Morning and Evening.

And

And what I now hoped to be saved by, was, 1. *Not being so bad as other People.* 2. *Having still a Kindness for Religion.* And 3. *Reading the Bible, going to Church, and saying my Prayers.*

3. Being removed to the University, for five Years, I still said my Prayers both in Public and in Private, and read with the Scriptures several other Books of Religion, especially Comments on the New Testament. Yet I had not all this while so much as a Notion of Inward Holiness; nay, went on habitually and (for the most part) very contentedly, in some or other known Sin: Indeed with some Intermissions and short Struggles, especially before and after the Holy Communion, which I was obliged to receive thrice a Year. I cannot well tell, what I hoped to be saved by now, when I was continually sinning against that little Light I had: Unless by those transient Fits of what many Divines taught me to call *Repentance.*

4. When I was about 22, my Father prest me to enter into Holy Orders. At the same Time the Providence of God directing me to *Kempis's Christian Pattern*, I began to see, that true Religion was seated in the Heart, and that God's Law extended to all our Thoughts as well as Words and Actions. I was however very angry at *Kempis*, for being *too strict*, tho' I read him only in Dean *Stanhope's* Translation. Yet I had frequently much sensible Comfort in reading him, such as I was an utter stranger to before: And meeting likewise with a religious friend, which I had never had 'till now, I began to alter the whole Form of my Conversation, and to set in earnest upon *a New Life.* I set apart an Hour or two a Day for religious Retirement. I communicated every Week. I watch'd against all Sin, whether in Word or Deed. I began to aim at and pray for inward Holiness. So that now, *doing so much, and living so good a Life,* I doubted not but I was a good Christian.

5. Removing soon after to another College, I executed a Resolution, which I was before convinced was of the utmost importance, shaking off at once all my trifling acquaintance. I began to see more and more

the value of Time. I apply'd myself closer to study, I watch'd more carefully against actual sins: I advised others to be religious, according to that scheme of religion, by which I model'd my own life. But meeting now with Mr. *Law's Christian Perfection and Serious Call* (altho' I was much offended at many parts of both, yet) they convinced me more than ever, of the exceeding height and breadth and depth of the Law of God. The Light flow'd in so mightily upon my Soul, that every thing appear'd in a new View. I cried to God for help, and resolv'd not to prolong the time of obeying him as I had never done before. And by my continued *Endeavour to keep his whole Law*, Inward and outward, *to the utmost of my power*, I was persuaded, that I should be accepted of him, and that I was even then in a state of Salvation\*.

6. In 1730. I began visiting the Prisons, assisting the poor and sick in town, and doing what other good I could by my presence or my little fortune to the bodies and souls of all men. To this end I abridg'd myself of all superfluities, and many that are call'd necessaries of Life. I soon became *a by-word* for so doing, and I rejoiced that *my name was cast out as evil*. The next Spring I began observing the *Wednesday and Friday Fasts*, commonly observ'd in the antient Church; tasting no Food till Three in the Afternoon. And now I knew not how to go any further. I diligently strove against all sin. I omitted no sort of self-denial which I thought lawful: I carefully used, both in publick and in private, all the means of grace at all opportunities. I omitted no occasion of doing good. I for that reason suffer'd evil. And all this I knew to be nothing, unless as it was directed toward inward holiness. Accordingly this, the image of God, was what I aim'd at in all, by doing his will, not my own. Yet when after continuing some years in this course, I apprehended myself to be near death, I could not find that all this gave me any comfort, or any assurance of acceptance with God. At this I was then not a little surprized; not imagining I had been all this time building  
on

\* And I believe I was.



on the Sand†, nor considering that *other foundation can no man lay, than that which is laid by God, even Christ Jesus.*

7. Soon after a contemplative man convinced me still more than I was convinced before, that Outward Works are nothing, being alone: And in several conversations instructed me, how to pursue inward holiness, or a union of the Soul with God. But even of his Instructions (tho' I then receiv'd them as the words of God) I cannot but now observe, 1. That he spoke so incautiously against *trusting in outward works*, that he discouraged me from *doing* them at all. 2. That he recommended (as it were, to supply what was wanting in them) *mental prayer*, and the like exercises, as the most effectual means of purifying the soul, and uniting it with God. Now these were in Truth, as much *my own works* as visiting the sick or cloathing the naked, and the *union with God* thus pursued, was as really *my own righteousness*, as any I had before pursued, under another name.

8. In this *refined* way of trusting to my own works and my own righteousness (so zealously inculcated by the *Mystick* writers,) I drag'd on heavily, finding no comfort or help therein, till the time of my leaving *England*. On shipboard however I was again active in outward works: Where it pleased God of his free Mercy, to give me 26 of the *Moravian* Brethren for Companions, who endeavoured to shew me a more excellent way. But I understood it not at first. I was too learned and too wise. So that it seem'd foolishness unto me. And I continued preaching and following after and trusting in that righteousness, whereby no Flesh can be justified.

9. All the time I was at *Savannah* I was thus *beating the air*. Being ignorant of the righteousness of Christ, which by a living Faith in him bringeth Salvation to every one that believeth, I sought to establish my own righteousness, and so laboured in the Fire all my days: I was now, properly *under the Law*; I knew that *the Law of God was Spiritual*; I consented

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† Not so: I was right, as far as I went.

to it, that it was Good. Yea, I delighted in it, after the inner Man. Yet was I carnal, sold under sin. Every day was I constrained to cry out, *What I do, I allow not; for what I would I do not, but what I hate, that I do.* To will is indeed present with me; but how to perform that which is good, I find not. For the Good which I would, I do not; but the Evil which I would not, that I do. I find a Law, that when I would do Good, Evil is present with me: Even the Law in my Members warring against the Law of my Mind, and still bringing me into Captivity to the Law of Sin.

10. In this state, I was indeed fighting continually, but not conquering. Before, I had willingly served sin; now it was unwillingly, but still I served it. I fell and rose and fell again. Sometimes I was overcome, and in Heaviness: Sometimes I overcame, and was in Joy. For as in the former state, I had some foretastes of the terrors of the Law, so had I in this, of the comforts of the Gospel. During this whole struggle between nature and grace (which had now continued above ten years) I had many remarkable returns to prayer, especially when I was in trouble: I had many sensible comforts, which are indeed no other than short Anticipations of the life of Faith. But I was still *under the Law, not under Grace* (the state most who are called christians are content to live and die in) For I was only *striving with, not freed from sin*: Neither had I *the witness of the spirit with my spirit*. And indeed could not: for *I sought it not by faith, (but as it were) by the works of the Law.*

11. In my return to *England, January 1731*, being in imminent danger of death, and very uneasy on that account, I was strongly convinced, that the Cause of that uneasiness was unbelief, and that the gaining a true, living Faith, was the *one Thing needful for me*. But still I fixt not this faith on its right object: I meant only faith in God, not faith in or thro' Christ. Again, I knew not that I was *wholly void of this Faith*; but only thought, *I had not enough of it*. So that when *Peter Bobier*, whom God prepared for me as soon as I came to *London*, affirm'd of true faith in Christ (which

is

As but one) that it had those two fruits inseparably attending it, "Dominion over sin, and constant Peace from a sense of forgiveness," I was quite amazed, and looked upon it as a new Gospel. If this was so, it was clear, I had not faith. But I was not willing to be convinced of this. Therefore I disputed with all my Might, and laboured to prove, that faith might be where these were not; especially where the Sense of Forgiveness was not: For all the Scriptures relating to this, I had been long since taught to construe away, and to call all *Presbyterians* who spoke otherwise. Besides, I well saw, no one could (in the Nature of Things have such a Sense of Forgiveness, and not feel it. But I felt it not. If then there was no Faith without this\*, all my pretensions to Faith dropp'd at once.

12. When I met *Peter Böhler* again, he consented, to put the Dispute upon the Issue which I desired, *viz.* Scripture and Experience. I first consulted the Scripture. But when I set aside the Glosses of Men, and simply considered the Words of God, comparing them together, endeavouring to illustrate the obscure by the plainer passages, I found they all made against me, and was forced to retreat to my last hold, "That Experience would never agree with the *literal Interpretation* of those Scriptures. Nor could I therefore allow it to be the True, 'till I found some living witnesses of it." He replied, "He could shew me such at any Time; if I desired it, the next day." And accordingly the next day, he came again with three others, all of whom testified of their own personal Experience, that a true living Faith in CHRIST, is inseparable from a Sense of Pardon for all past, and Freedom from all present Sins. They added with one Mouth, that this Faith was the gift, the free gift of God, and that he would surely bestow it upon every Soul, who earnestly and perseveringly sought it. I was now thoroughly convinc'd; And, by the Grace of God, I resolved to seek it unto the End, 1. By absolutely renouncing all dependence, in whole or in part, upon *my own* works or righteousness, on which I had really grounded my hope of Salvation, tho' I knew it not, from my youth up.

2. By

\* There is no *Christian* Faith without it.



2. By adding to *the constant use of all the other means of grace*, continual Prayer for this very thing, justifying, saving Faith, a full reliance on the Blood of CHRIST shed for *me*; a trust in him, as *my* CHRIST, as *my* sole Justification, Sanctification and Redemption.

13. I continued thus to seek it (tho' with strange indifference, dulness and coldness, and unusually frequent Relapses into Sin) till *Wednesday May 24*. I think it was about five this Morning, that I opened my Testament on those Words, *Τὰ μέγιστα ἠὲ καὶ τίμια ἐπαγγελύματα δέδωκεν ἡμεῖς, ἵνα γένηθε θεοὶ κοινωνοὶ εὐσεως.* *There are given unto us exceeding great and precious Promises, even that ye should be Partakers of the Divine Nature.* 2 Pet. i. 4. Just as I went out, I opened it again on those Words, *Thou art not far from the Kingdom of God.* In the Afternoon I was asked to go to St. Paul's. The Anthem was, *Out of the Deep have I call'd unto Thee, O Lord: Lord bear my Voice. O let thine Ears consider well the Voice of my Complaint. If thou, Lord, wilt be extreme to mark what is done amiss, O Lord, who may abide it? But there is Mercy with Thee; therefore thou shalt be feared. O Israel, trust in the Lord: For with the Lord there is Mercy, and with Him is plentiful Redemption. And he shall redeem Israel from all his Sins.*

14. In the evening I went very unwillingly to a Society in *Aldersgate-street*, where one was reading *Luther's Preface to the Epistle to the Romans*. About a Quarter before nine, while he was describing the change which GOD works in the Heart thro' Faith in CHRIST, I felt my heart strangely warm'd. I felt I did trust in CHRIST, CHRIST alone for Salvation: And an Assurance was given me, That he had taken away *my* Sins, even *mine*, and saved *me* from the Law of Sin and Death.

15. I began to pray with all my might for those who had in a more especial manner despitefully used me and persecuted me. I then testified openly to all there, what I now first felt in my heart. But it was not long before the enemy suggested, "This cannot be Faith; for  
"where is thy Joy?" Then was I taught, that *Peace and Victory over Sin, are essential to Faith in the Captain*

of our Salvation: But, that as to the Transports of Joy that usually attend the Beginning of it, especially in those who have mourned deeply. God sometimes giveth sometimes withholdeth them, according to the Counsels of his own Will.

16. After my return home, I was much buffeted with Temptations: But cried out, and they fled away. They return'd again and again. I as often lifted up my eyes, and he sent me help from his holy Place. And herein I found the difference between this and my former state chiefly consisted. I was striving, yea fighting with all my Might under the Law, as well as under Grace. But then I was sometimes, if not often, conquer'd; now, I was always Conqueror.

17. *Thursd. May 25.* The moment I awaked, "Jesus Master," was in my heart and in my mouth: And I found all my strength lay in keeping my eye fixt upon him and my soul waiting on him continually. Being again at St. Paul's in the afternoon, I could taste the good word of God in the Anthem, which began, *My song shall be always of the Loving Kindness of the Lord: With my mouth will I ever be shewing forth thy Truth from one generation to another.*" Yet the Enemy injected a fear, "If thou dost believe, why is there not a more sensible change?" I answer'd, (yet not I) "that I know not. But this I know, I have now Peace with God: And I sin not to day, and Jesus my Master has forbid me to take thought for the Morrow."

18. "But is not any Sort of Fear (continued the Tempter) a Proof that thou dost not believe?" I desired my Master to answer for me; and opened his Book upon those Words of St. Paul. *Without were Fightings, within were Fears.* Then inferr'd I, well may Fears be within me; but I must go on, and tread them under my Feet.

*Friday, May 26.* My Soul continued in Peace, but yet in Heaviness, because of manifold Temptations. I ask'd Mr. Telchig the Moravian, what to do? He said you must not fight with them, as you did before, but flee from them, the Moment they appear, and take shelter

shelter in the Wounds of *Jesus*. The same I learned also from the Afternoon Anthem which was, *My Soul truly waiteth still upon GOD; for of him cometh my Salvation; he verily is my Strength and my Salvation, he is my Defence so that I shall not greatly fall. O put your Trust in him always, ye People; pour out your Hearts before him; for GOD is our Hope.*

Sat. 27. Believing one reason of my want of Joy, was want of Time for Prayer, I resolved to do no Business till I went to Church in the Morning, but to continue pouring out my heart before him. And this day my Spirit was enlarged; so that tho' I was now also assaulted by many Temptations, I was more than conqueror, gaining more Power thereby to trust and to rejoice in God my Saviour.

Sunday, 28. I waked in Peace, but not in Joy. In the same even quiet State I was 'till the Evening, when I was roughly attack'd in a large company as an Enthusiast, a Seducer, and a Setter forth of new Doctrines. By the blessing of God I was not moved to Anger, but after a calm and short Reply went away: Tho' not with so tender a concern as was due to those, who were seeking Death in the error of their Life.

This Day I preached in the Morning at St. George's Bloomsbury, on *This is the Victory that overcometh the World even our Faith*; and in the Afternoon at the Chapel in Long-Arce, on God's justifying the Ungodly; the last time (I understand) I am to preach at either. *Not as I will, but as thou wilt.*

Mond. 29. I set out for Dummer with Mr. Wolf, one of the first-fruits of Peter Böbler's Ministry in England. I was much strengthened by the Grace of God in Him: Yet was his state so far above mine, that I was often tempted to doubt whether we had one Faith? But, without much reasoning about it, I held here; Tho' his be *strong*, and mine *weak*, yet that God hath given *some degree* of Faith even to me, I know by its Fruits. For I have *constant Peace*; not one uneasy Thought. And I have *Freedom from Sin*: Not one unholy Desire.



Yet on *Wednesday* did I grieve the Spirit of God, not only by not *watching unto Prayer*, but likewise by speaking with sharpness instead of tender Love, of one that was not found in the Faith. Immediately God hid his Face and I was troubled; and in this Heaviness I continued till the next Morning, *June 1.* When it pleased God, while I was exhorting another, to give Comfort to *my* soul, and (after I had spent some time in prayer) to direct me to those gracious words, *Having therefore Boldness, to enter into the holiest by the blood of Jesus.—Let us draw near with a true Heart, in full Assurance of Faith. Let us hold fast the profession of our Faith without wavering; (for he is faithful that promised) and let us consider one another, to provoke unto Love and to Good Works.*

*Saturday, June 3.* I was so strongly assaulted by one of my old enemies, that I had scarce strength to open my lips, or even to look up for help. But after I had prayed, faintly, as I could, the Temptation vanished away.

*Sunday 4.* Was indeed a Feast day. For from the time of my rising till past One in the Afternoon, I was praying, reading the Scriptures, singing Praise, or calling Sinners to Repentance. All these days I scarce remember to have opened the Testament, but upon some great and precious Promise. And I saw more than ever, that the Gospel is in Truth, but one great Promise, from the Beginning of it to the end.

*Tuesday, 6.* I had still more comfort, and peace and joy: On which I fear I began to presume. 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 had any Faith, till the Law of the Spirit of Life has made him wholly free from the Law of Sin and Death.”

Begging of God to direct me, I open'd my Testament on *1 Cor. iii. 1.* &c. where *St. Paul* speaks of those whom he terms *Babes in Christ*, who were not

able to bear strong Meat, nay (in a sense) Carnal; to whom nevertheless he says, *Ye are God's Building, ye are the Temple of God.* Surely then these Men had some Degree of Faith: tho' it is plain, their Faith was but weak.

After some hours spent in the Scripture and Prayer, I was much comforted. Yet I felt a kind of forebodings in my heart, so that I found my wound was not fully healed. O God, save thou me, and all that are weak in the Faith, from doubtful disputations!

Wednesday, June 7. I determined, if God should permit, to retire for a short time into Germany. I had fully propos'd before I left Georgia to do, if it should please God to bring me back to Europe. And I now clearly saw the time was come. My weak Mind could not bear to be thus sawn asunder. And I hoped the conversing with those Holy Men, who were themselves living Witnesses of the full Power of Faith, and yet able to bear with those that are weak, would be a Means, under God, of so establishing my Soul, that I might go on from Faith to Faith, and from Strength to Strength.

Thursday 8. I went to Salisbury, to take leave of my Mother. The next day I left Sarum, and on Saturday came to Stanton-Harcourt. Having preached Faith in CHRIST there on Sunday 11, I went on to Oxford; and thence on Monday to London, where I found Mr. Ingham just setting out. We went on board the next Day, Tuesday 13, and fell down to Gravesend that Night. About Four in the Afternoon on Wednesday we lost sight of England. We reached the Maese at Eight on Thursday Morning, and in an hour and a half landed at Rotterdam.

We were eight in all, five English and three Germans, Dr. Koker, a Physician of Rotterdam, was so kind, when we set forward in the Afternoon, as to walk an hour with us on our way. I never before saw any such Road as this. For many miles together it is rais'd for some yards above the level, and paved with a small sort of Brick, as smooth and clean as the Mall at St. James's. The Walnut-trees stand in even rows

on either side: So that no Walk in a Gentleman's Garden is pleasanter. About Seven we came to *Goudart*, where we were a little surprized, at meeting with a Treatment which is not heard of in *England*. Several Inns utterly refused to entertain us; so that it was with difficulty we at last found one, where they did us the favour to take our money for some meat and drink, and the use of two or three bad beds. They prest us much in the Morning to see their Church, but were displeas'd at our pulling off our Hats when we went in; telling us, "We must not do so; It was not the custom there." It is a large old Building, of the *Gothic* kind, resembling much our *English* Cathedrals. There is much History-Painting in the windows, which they told us, is greatly admir'd. About Eight we left *Goudart*, and in a little more than six Hours reach'd *Yffelstein*.

Here we went to Baron *Wattevil's* as at Home. We found with him a few *German* Brethren and Sisters, and seven or eight of our *English* Acquaintance, who had settled here some Time before. They lodg'd just without the Town, in three or four little Houses, 'till one should be built that would contain them all. *Saturday* 17. was their Intercession-Day. In the Morning, some of our *English* Brethren desired me to administer the Lord's Supper: The rest of the Day we spent with all the Brethren and Sisters, in hearing the wonderful work which God is beginning to work over all the Earth, and in making our Requests known unto him, and giving him thanks for the mightiness of his Kingdom.

At Six in the Morning we took Boat. The beautiful Gardens lie on both sides the River, for great part of the Way to *Amsterdam*, whither we came about Five in the Evening. The exact neatness of all the Buildings here, the nice Cleanness of the Streets (which, we were inform'd, were all wash'd twice a Week) and the Canals which run thro' all the main Streets, with Rows of Trees on either side, makes this the pleasantest City which I have ever seen. Here we were entertain'd with truly Christian Hospitality, by Mr. *Decknatel*, a  
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Minister



Minister of the *Mennonists*, who suffered us to want nothing while we stay'd here, which was 'till the *Thursday* following. Dr. *Barkhausen* (a Physician, a *Muscovite* by Nation) who had been with Mr. *Decknatel*, for some time, shewed us likewise all possible Kindness. Remember them, O Lord, for Good!

*Monday* 19. I was at one of the Societies, which lasted an Hour and an half. About sixty persons were present. The Singing was in *Low-dutch*, (Mr. *Decknatel* having translated into *Low-dutch*, Part of the *Hernbut's* Hymn-book) but the Words were so very near the *German*, that any who understood the Original, might understand the Translation. The expounding was in *High-dutch*. I was at another of the Societies on *Tuesday*, where were present about the same Number. On *Wednesday*, one of our Company found a Sheep that had been lost: His Sister, who had lived here for some Time with one whom she loved too well, as he did her. But they were now both resolved, by the Grace of God (which they accordingly executed without Delay) To pluck out the right Eye, and cast it from them.

*Thursday* 22. We took Boat at eight in the Evening, and landing at Four in the Morning, walk'd on to *Uutsjass*, which we left about Two, having now another Boy added to our Number. A little before Eight we came to *Bears*, a small ill-built City, belonging to the Prince of *Orange*. Setting out early in the Morning, we came to *Ninwegen*, the last Town in *Holland*, about Two in the Afternoon: And leaving it at Four, came before Eight to an Inn, two Hours short of *Cleve*.

*Sunday* 25. After spending an Hour in Singing and Prayer, we walk'd till near Noon, before we could meet with any Refreshment. The Road would have appear'd exceeding pleasant, being broad and strait, with tall Trees on either Side, had not Weariness and Rain prevented. We hoped to reach *Reinberg* in the Evening, but could not; being obliged to stop two Hours short of it, at a little House, where many good *Lutherans* were concluding the Lord's Day (as is usual among them) with fiddling and dancing!

*Monday*

*Monday 26.* We breakfasted at *Reinberg*, left it at half an Hour past Ten, and at Four came to *Ürding*. Being much tired, we rested here, so that it was near Ten at Night before we came to *Neus*. Having but a few Hours walk from thence to *Cölen*, we went thither easily, and came at Five the next Evening, into the ugliest, dirtiest City, I ever yet saw with my Eyes.

*Wednesd. 28.* We went to the Cathedral, which is mere Heaps upon Heaps; a huge, mishapen Thing, which has no more of Symetry, than of Neatness belonging to it. I was a little surpriz'd to observe, that neither in this, nor in any other of the *Romish* Churches where I have been, is there, properly speaking, any such thing as joint Worship: But one prays at one Shrine or altar, and another at another, without any regard to, or Communication with one another. As we came out of the Church, a Procession began on the other Side of the Church-Yard. One of our Company scrupling to pull off his Hat, a zealous Catholick presently cried out, *knock down the Lutheran Dog*. But we prevented any Contest, by retiring into the Church.

Walking on the Side of the *Rhine* in the Afternoon, I saw to my great Surprise (for I have always thought before, no *Romanist* of any Fashion believ'd any thing of the Story) a fresh Painting, done last Year at the publick Expence, on the Outside of the City Wall, in Memory of the bringing in the Heads of the three Kings (says the *Latin* Inscription) thro' the Gate adjoining: Which indeed, in Reverence (it seems) to them, has been stop'd up ever since.

At Four we took Boat, when I could not but observe the Decency of the *Papists*, above us who are call'd *Reform'd*. As soon as ever we were seated, (and so every Morning after) they all pull'd off their Hats, and each used by himself, a short Prayer, for our prosperous Journey. And this justice I must do to the very Boatmen (who upon the *Rhine* are generally wicked even to a Proverb) I never heard one of them take the Name of God in vain, or saw any one laugh, when any thing of Religion was mention'd. So that I believe the Glory of Sporting with sacred things, is peculiar to the *English* Nation!

We were four Nights on the Water, by reason of the swiftness of the Stream, up which the Boat was drawn by Horses. The high Mountains on each side the River, rising almost perpendicular, and yet cover'd with Vines to the very Top, gave us many agreeable Prospects: A religious House, or old Castle, every now and then appearing on the Brow of one of them. On *Sunday* Evening, *July* 2, we came to *Mentz*; and *Monday* the 3d, at half an Hour past Ten, to *Frankfort*.

Faint and weary as we were, we could have no Admittance here, having brought no Passes with us, which indeed we never imagined would have been required, in a Time of settled general Peace. After waiting an Hour at the Gates, we procured a Messenger, whom we sent to Mr. *Böbler* (*Peter Böbler's* Father) who immediately came, procured us Entrance into the City, and entertained us in the most friendly Manner. We set out early in the Morning on *Tuesday* the 4th, and about One came to *Marienborn*. But I was so ill, that after talking a little with Count *Zinzendorf*, I was forced to lie down the rest of the Day.

The Family at *Marienborn* consists of about ninety Persons gathered out of many Nations. They live for the present in a large House hired by the Count, which is capable of receiving a far greater Number; but are building one, about three (*English*) Miles off, on the Top of a fruitful Hill. *O how pleasant a Thing it is, for Brethren to dwell together in Unity!*

*Thursday* 6. The Count carried me with him to the Count of *Solmes*, where I observed with Pleasure the *German* Frugality. Three of the young Countesses (tho' grown up) were drest in Linnen; the Count and his Son in plain cloth. At Dinner, the next day, a Glass of Wine and a Glass of Water were set by every one, and if either was emptied, a Second. They all conversed freely and unaffectedly. At ten at Night we took Coach again, and in the Morning reached *Marienborn*.

I lodged with one of the Brethren at *Eckershausen*, an *English* Mile from *Marienborn*, where I usually spent the Day, chiefly in conversing with those who could speak



speak either *Latin* or *English*; not being able, for want of more Practice, to speak *German* readily. And here I continually met with what I sought for, *viz*; Living Proofs of the power of Faith: Persons *saved from Inward as well as Outward Sin, by the Love of God shed abroad in their Hearts*; and from all Doubt and Fear, by the abiding *Witness of the Holy Ghost given unto them*.

*Sunday 9.* The Count preached in the old Castle at *Ronneberg* (about three *English Miles* from *Marienborn*) where is also a small company of those who seek the Lord Jesus in Sincerity. *Wednesday 12,* was one of the Conferences for Strangers; where one of *Frankfort* proposing the Question, Can a Man be justified and not know it? The Count spoke largely upon it to this Effect:

1. Justification is, the Forgiveness of Sins.
2. The Moment a man flies to CHRIST he is justified.
3. And has Peace with God, but not always joy:
4. Nor perhaps may he know he is justified, 'till long after.
5. For the Assurance of it, is distinct from Justification itself.
6. But others may know he is justified by his power over Sin, by his Seriousness, his Love of the Brethren, and his *Hunger and Thirst after Righteousness, which alone proves the spiritual Life to be begun*.
7. To be justified is the same Thing as to be born of God\*.
8. When a Man is awaken'd, he is begotten of God, and his Fear and Sorrow and sense of the Wrath of God, are the Pangs of the New-Birth.

I then recollected what *Peter Böbler* had often said upon this Head, which was to this Effect:

1. When a Man has living Faith in Christ, then is he justified:
  2. This is always given in a Moment,
  3. And in that moment he has Peace with God;
  4. Which he cannot have, without knowing that he has it:
- And

\* No: this is a mistake.

5. And being born of God, he sinneth not :

6. Which Deliverance from Sin he cannot have, without knowing that he has it.

*Saturday 15.* Was the Intercession day, when many Strangers were present from different Parts. On *Monday 17.* having stay'd here ten Days longer than I intended (my first Design being only to rest one or two Days) I propos'd setting out for *Hernbuth* ; but Mr. *Ingham* desiring me to stay a little longer, I stay'd 'till *Wednesday 19.* when Mr. *Hauptman* (a Native of *Dresden*) Mr. *Brown* and I set out together.

We breakfasted at *Ghelenhausen*, an old, unhandsome Town, dined at *Offenau* (where is a strange Instance of Moderation, a Church used every *Sunday*, both by the *Papists* and the *Lutherans* alternately) and notwithstanding some sharp Showers of Rain, in the Evening reach'd *Steinau*. *Thursday 20.* we dined at *Braunsal*, and passing thro' *Fulda* in the Afternoon (where the Duke has a pleasant palace) travell'd thro' a delightful Country of Hills and Vales, and in the Evening came to *Reckbergsch*. The next Night (after having had the most beautiful prospect which I think I ever saw, from the Top of a high Hill, commanding a vast extent of various Land on every Side) we, with some Difficulty and many words, procur'd a poor Accommodation at an Inn in *Marksfu!*. *Saturday 22.* having pass'd thro' *Elfenach* in the Morning, we came thro' a more level open Country, to *Saxe Gotha* in the Afternoon, a neat pleasant City, in which the Prince's Palace is indeed a fine Building. We stopp'd an Hour here with a friendly Man, and in the Evening came to *Dittieben* ; and thence in the Morning to *Erfurt*, where we were kindly entertained by Mr. *Reinhart*, to whom we were directed by some of the Brethren at *Marjenborn*. In the Afternoon we came to *Weymac*, where we had more Difficulty to get thro' the City than is usual, even in *Germany* : Being not only detain'd a considerable Time at the Gate, but also carried before I know not what Great Man (I believe, the Duke) in the Square : Who after many other Questions, ask'd, What we were going so far as *Hernbuth* for ? I answer'd, " To see the place.

“Place where the Christians live.” He look’d hard and let us go.

*Monday 24.* We came early to *Jena*, which lies at the Bottom of several high, steep, barren hills. The Students here are distinguished from the Townsmen by their Swords. They do not live together in Colleges (nor indeed in any of the *German Universities*) as we do in *Oxford* and *Cambridge*; but are scattered up and down the Town, in Lodging or Boarding Houses, those of them to whom we were recommended, behaved as brethren indeed. O may brotherly kindness, and every good word and work, abound among them more and more!

At *Jena* the stone Pillars begin, set up by the Elector of *Saxony*, and marking out every quarter of a *German mile*, to the end of his Electorate. Every mile is a large Pillar, with the Name of the neighbouring Towns, and their distances inscribed. It were much to be wish’d, that the same care were taken in *England*, and indeed in all Countries.

We left *Jena* early on *Tuesday*, reach’d *Weisensfeldt* in the Evening, and *Merseberg* on *Wednesday* Morning. Having a desire to see *Halle*, (two *German miles* off) we set out after breakfast, and came thither at Two in the Afternoon. But we could not be admitted into the Town when we came, The King of *Prussia*’s Tall-Men, who kept the Gates, sent us backward and forward, from one Gate to another, for near two Hours. I then thought of sending in a Note to Professor *Francke*, the Son of that *August Herman Francke*, whose Name is indeed as precious Ointment. O may I follow him, as he did CHRIST! and by *Manifestation of the Truth* commend myself to every Man’s Conscience in the Sight of GOD!

He was not in Town. However we were at length admitted into the Orphan-House, that amazing Proof, that *all Things are still possible to him that believeth*: There is now a large yearly Revenue for it’s Support; beside what is continually brought in by the Printing-Office, the books sold there, and the Apothecary’s Shop, which is furnished with all sorts of Medicines.

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The building reaches backward from the Front in two Wings, for, I believe, a hundred and fifty Yards. The lodging chambers for the Children, their dining-room, their chapel, and all the adjoining Apartments, are so conveniently contrived, and so exactly clean, as I have never seen any before. Six hundred and fifty Children (we are inform'd) are wholly maintained there, and three Thousand (if I mistake not) taught. Surely such a Thing neither we nor our Fathers have known, as this great Thing which God has done here!

*Tuesday 27.* We returned to *Merseberg*, and at Five in the Evening came to the Gates of *Leipzig*. After we had sent in our Pass, and waited an hour and an half, we were suffer'd to go to a bad Inn in the Town.

*Friday 28,* We found out Mr. *Marschall*, and the other Gentlemen of the University, to whom we were directed. They were not wanting in any good office while we stayed, and in the Afternoon went with us, an hour forward in our journey.

After a pleasant walk on *Saturday*, on *Sunday 30*; about Seven in the morning, we came to *Meissen*. In *Meissen-Castle*, the *German China-Ware* is made, which is full as dear as that imported from the *Indies*; and as finely shaped, and beautifully coloured, as any I have ever seen. After breakfast we went to Church. I was greatly surprized at all I saw there: At the Costliness of Apparel in many, and the gaudiness of it, in more; at the huge Fur Caps worn by the Women, of the same shape with a *Turkish Turband*; which generally had one or more Ribbands hanging down a great length behind. The Minister's Habit was adorn'd with Gold and Scarlet, and a vast Cross both behind and before. Most of the Congregation sat (the men generally with their hats on, at the prayers as well as sermon) and all of them stay'd, during the Holy Communion, tho' but very few received. Alas, alas! what a *Reform'd* country is this!

At two in the Afternoon we came to *Dresden*, the chief City of *Saxony*. Here also we were carried for above two hours from one Magistrate or Officer to another, with the usual impertinent solemnity, before we  
were

were suffered to go to the Inn. I greatly wonder that common sense and common humanity (for these doubtless subsist in *Germany* as well as *England*) do not put an end to this senseless, inhuman usage of strangers, which we met with at almost every *German* city, tho' more particularly at *Frankfort*, *Weymar*, *Halle*, *Leipsig* and *Dresden*. I know nothing that can reasonably be said in its defence, in a time of full peace, being a breach of all the common, even heathen Laws of Hospitality. If it be a custom, so much the worse; the more is the pity, and the more the shame.

In the Evening we saw the Palace the late Elector was building, when God call'd him away. The stonework he had very near finished, and some of the apartments within. It is a beautiful and magnificent Design; but all is now swiftly running to Ruin. The new Church on the outside resembles a Theatre. It is eight square, built of fine Free-Stone. We were desired also to take Notice of the great Bridge, which joins the new with the old Town; of the large, brass Crucifix upon it, generally admired for the Workmanship; and the late King *Augustus's* Statue on Horseback, which is at a small Distance from it. Alas! Where will all these Things appear, when *the Earth and the Works thereof shall be burnt up?*

Between five and six the next Evening (having left Mr. *Hauptman* with his Relations in *Dresden*) we came to *Neustadt*, but could not procure any Lodging in the City. After walking half an Hour, we came to another little Town, and found a sort of an Inn there; but they told us plainly, *we should have no Lodging with them; for they did not like our Looks.*

About eight we were received at a little House in another Village, where God gave us sweet Rest.

*Tuesday August 1.* At three in the Afternoon, I came to *Hernbuth*, about thirty *English* Miles from *Dresden*. It lies in *Upper Lusatia*, on the Border of *Bohemia*, and contains about an hundred Houses, built on a rising Ground, with evergreen Woods on two Sides, Gardens and Corn-fields on the others, and high Hills at a small Distance. It has one long Street, thro' which the great Road

Road from *Zittau* to *Löbau* goes. Fronting the middle of this Street is the Orphan-house ; in the lower part of which is the Apothecary's Shop, in the Upper, the Chapel, capable of containing six or seven hundred People. Another Row of Houses runs at a small Distance from either end of the Orphan-house, which accordingly divides the rest of the Town (beside the long Street) into two Squares. At the East End of it is the Count's House, a small, plain Building like the rest ; having a large Garden behind it well laid out, not for Show, but for the Use of the Community.

We had a convenient Lodging assigned us in the House appointed for Strangers : And I had now abundant Opportunity, of observing whether what I had heard was enlarged by the Relators, or was neither more nor less than the naked Truth.

I rejoiced to find Mr. *Hermisdorf* here, whom I had so often convers'd with in *Georgia*. And there was nothing in his power which he did not do, to make our stay here useful and agreeable. About eight we went to the publick Service, at which they frequently use other Instruments with their Organ. They began (as usual) with Singing. Then followed the Expounding, closed by a second Hymn ; Prayer follow'd this ; and then a few Verses of a third Hymn ; which concluded the Service.

*Wednesday 2.* At four in the Afternoon, was a Love-feast of the married Men, taking their food with gladness and singleness of Heart, and with the Voice of Praise and Thanksgiving.

*Thursday 3.* (and so every Day at eleven I was at the Bible Conference, wherein Mr. *Muller* (late Master of a great School in *Zittau*, 'till he left all to follow CHRIST) and several others, read together, as usual, a Portion of Scripture in the Original. At five was the Conference for Strangers, when several questions concerning Justification were resolv'd. This Evening *Christian David* came hither. O may God make him a Messenger of glad Tidings.

On *Friday* and *Saturday* (and so every Day in the following Week) I had much Conversation with the  
most



mōst experienced of the Brethren, concerning the great Work which God had wrought in their Souls, purifying them by Faith: And with *Martin Dober*, and the other Teachers and Elders of the Church, concerning the Discipline used therein.

*Sund. 6.* We went to Church at *Bertholdsdorf*, a *Lutheran* Village about an *English* Mile from *Hernbuth*. Two large Candles stood lighted upon the Altar; the last Supper was painted behind it; the Pulpit was placed over it, and over that, a brass Image of CHRIST on the Cross.

The Minister had on a sort of Pudding-sleeve Gown, which covered him all round. At nine began a long Voluntary on the Organ, closed with a Hymn, which was sung by all the People sitting (in which Posture, as is the *German* Custom, they sung all that followed.) Then the Minister walked up to the Altar, bow'd; sung these *Latin* words, *Gloria in excelsis Deo*; bow'd again and went away. This was followed by another Hymn, sung as before, to the Organ by all the People. Then the Minister went to the Altar again, bow'd, sung a Prayer, read the Epistle, and went away. After a third Hymn was sung, he went a third Time to the Altar, sung a Verse (to which all the people sung a Response) read the third Chapter to the *Romans*, and went away. The People having then sung the Creed in Rhyme, he came and read the Gospel, all standing. Another Hymn follow'd, which being ended, the Minister in the Pulpit used a long extemporary Prayer, and afterwards preach'd an Hour and a Quarter on a Verse of the Gospel. Then he read a long Intercession and general Thanksgiving, which before Twelve concluded the Service.

After the Evening Service at *Hernbuth* was ended, all the unmarried Men (as is their Custom) walk'd quite round the Town, singing Praise with Instruments of Musick; and then on a small Hill, at a little Distance from it, casting themselves into a Ring, join'd in Prayer. Thence they returned into the Great Square, and a little after Eleven, commended each other to God.

*Tuesday* 8. A Child was buried. The burying Ground (called by them *Gottes Aker*, i. e. God's Ground) lies a few hundred yards out of the Town, under the side of a little Wood. There are distinct Squares in it for married men and unmarried; for married and unmarried Women; for Male and Female Children, and for Widows. The Corpse was carried from the Chapel, the Children walking first: Next the *Orphan-father* (so they call him who has the chief care of the orphan-house) with the minister of *Bertholdsdorf*; then four children bearing the Corpse, and after them, *Martin Daber* and the Father of the Child. Then followed the Men, and last of all the Women and Girls. They all sung as they went. Being come into the Square where the Male-children are buried, the Men stood on two sides of it, the Boys on the third, and the Women and Girls on the fourth. There they sung again: After which the Minister used (I think, read) a short prayer, and concluded with that blessing, "Unto  
" God's gracious mercy and protection I commit you."

Seeing the Father (a plain Man, a Taylor by trade) looking at the Grave, I ask'd, "How do you find  
" yourself?" He said, "Praised be the Lord, never  
" better. He has taken the Soul of my child to him-  
" self. I have seen, according to my desire, his Body  
" committed to holy ground. And I know that when  
" it is raised again, both he and I shall be ever with  
" the Lord."

Several Evenings this week I was with one or other of the private Bands. On *Wednesday* and *Thursday* I had an Opportunity of talking with *Michael Linner*, the eldest of the church, and largely with *Christian David*, who, under God, was the first Planter of it.

Four times also I enjoy'd the blessing of hearing him preach, during the few days I spent here: And every time he chose the very subject which I should have desired, had I spoken to him before. Thrice he describ'd the state of those who are *Weak in Faith*, who are justified, but have not yet a new, clean heart; who have received Forgiveness thro' the Blood of *Christ*, but have not received the Indwelling of the Holy  
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Ghost. This state he explain'd once, from *Blessed are the poor in Spirit; for theirs is the kingdom of Heaven*; when he shewed at large from various Scriptures, that many are children of God and heirs of the Promises, long before their Hearts are soften'd by Holy Mourning, before they are comforted by the abiding witness of the Spirit, melting their Souls into all Gentleness and Meekness; and much more, before they are renew'd in all that Righteousness, which they hungered and thirsted after, before they are Pure in Heart from all Self and Sin, and merciful as their Father which is in Heaven is merciful.

A second time he pointed out this State from those Words, *Who shall deliver me from the Body of this Death! I thank God, Jesus Christ our Lord. There is therefore no Condemnation to them which are in Christ Jesus*. Hence also he at large both proved the Existence, and shewed the Nature of that intermediate State, which most experience between that Bondage which is described in the 7th Chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, and the full glorious Liberty of the Children of God, described in the Eighth and in many other parts of Scripture.

This he yet again explain'd from the Scriptures which describe the State the Apostles were in, from our Lord's Death (and indeed for some time before) till the Descent of the Holy Ghost at the day of Pentecost. They were then clean, as Christ himself had born them Witness, by the Word which he had spoken unto them. They then had Faith, otherwise he could not have prayed for them, that their Faith might not fail. Yet they were not properly converted; they were not deliver'd from the Spirit of Fear; they had not New Hearts; neither had they received the Gift of the Holy Ghost.

The fourth Sermon which he preach'd, concerning the Ground of our Faith, made such an Impression upon me, that when I went home, I could not but write down the Substance of it, which was as follows:

“The Word of Reconciliation which the Apostles preached, as the Foundation of all they taught, was



that we are reconciled to God, not by our own Works, nor by our own Righteousness, but wholly and solely by the Blood of Christ.

“ But you will say, must I not grieve and mourn for my Sins? Must I not humble myself before God? Is not this Just and Right? And must I not first do this before I can expect God to be reconciled to me? I answer, it is just and right. You must be humbled before God. You must have a broken and contrite Heart. But then observe, this is not your own Work. Do you grieve that you are a Sinner? This is the Work of the Holy Ghost. Are you contrite? Are you humbled before God? Do you indeed mourn, and is your Heart broken within you? All this worketh the self-same Spirit.

“ Observe again, this is not the Foundation. It is not this by which you are justified. This is not the Righteousness, this is no Part of the Righteousness by which you are reconciled unto God. You grieve for your Sins. You are deeply humble. Your Heart is broken. Well. But all this is nothing to your Justification. The Remission of your Sins is not owing to this Cause, either in whole or in part. Nay, observe farther, that it *may* hinder Justification, that is, if you build any Thing upon it; if you think, I must be *so* or *so* contrite. I must grieve *more*, before I can be justified. Understand this well. To think you must be *more* contrite, *more* humble, *more* griev'd, *more* sensible of the Weight of Sin, before you can be justified; is, to lay your Contrition, your Grief, your Humiliation for the Foundation of your being justified; at least for a Part of the Foundation. Therefore it hinders your Justification; and a hindrance it is which must be removed, before you can lay the right Foundation. The right Foundation is, not *your* Contrition (tho' that is not your *own*) not *your* Righteousness, nothing of *your own*: Nothing that is wrought *in you* by the Holy Ghost; but it is something *without you*, *viz.* the Righteousness and the Blood of Christ.

“ For this is the Word, *To him that believeth on God that justifieth the Ungodly, his Faith is counted for Righteousness*

*ousness*. See ye not, that the Foundation is nothing *in us*? There is no connexion between God and the Ungodly. There is no tie to unite them. They are altogether separate from each other. They have nothing in common. There is nothing less or more in the Ungodly, to join them to God. Works, Righteousness, Contrition? No. Ungodliness only. This then do, if you will lay a right Foundation. Go streight to *Christ* with all your Ungodliness. Tell him, Thou whose Eyes are as a flame of fire searching my Heart, seeest that I am Ungodly. I plead nothing else. I do not say, I am humble or contrite; but I am Ungodly. Therefore bring me to him that justifieth the Ungodly. Let thy Blood be the Propitiation for me. For there is nothing in me but Ungodliness.

“Here is a Mystery. Here the wise Men of the world are lost, are taken in their own craftiness. This the learned of the world cannot comprehend. It is foolishness unto them: Sin is the only thing which divides men from God. Sin (let him that heareth understand) is the only thing which unites them to God, *i. e.* the only thing which moves the Lamb of God to have compassion upon, and by his blood, to give them Access to the Father.

“This is the *word of reconciliation* which we preach. This is the foundation which never can be moved. By Faith we are built upon this foundation: And this faith also is the gift of God. It is his free Gift, which he now and ever giveth to every one that is willing to receive it. And when they have received this Gift of God, then their hearts will melt for sorrow that they have offended him. But this gift of God lives in the heart not in the head. The faith of the head, learned from men or books, is nothing worth. It brings neither remission of Sins, nor peace with God. Labour then to believe with your whole heart. So shall you have redemption thro’ the blood of *Christ*. So shall you be cleans’d from all sin. So shall ye go on from strength to strength, being renewed day by day in righteousness and all true holiness.”

*Saturday 12.* Was the Intercession-day, when many strangers were present, some of whom came twenty or thirty miles. I would gladly have spent my life here; but my Master calling me to labour in another part of his vineyard, on *Monday 14*, I was constrained to take my leave of this happy place; *Martin Diber*, and a few others of the Brethren, walking with us about an hour. O when shall this Christianity cover the Earth, as the *Waters cover the Seas!*

To hear, in what manner God *out of this darkness commanded this light to shine*, must be agreeable to all those in every Nation, who can testify from their own experience, *The gracious Lord hath so done his marvellous Acts, that they ought to be had in remembrance.* I shall therefore here subjoin the substance of several conversations, which I had at *Hernbuth*, chiefly on this subject. And may many be incited hereby to give Praise unto him that sitteth upon the Throne, and unto the Lamb for ever and ever!

It was on *August 10* (Old Stile) that I had an Opportunity of spending some hours with *Christian David*. He is a Carpenter by Trade, more than Middle-aged, tho' I believe not fifty yet. Most of his words I understood well; if at any time I did not, one of the Brethren who went with me, explain'd them in *Latin*. The substance of what he spoke, I immediately after wrote down; which was as follows:

“ When I was young, I was much troubled at hearing some affirm, that the *Pope* was *Antichrist*. I read the *Lutheran* books writ against the *Papists*, and the *Papish* books writ against the *Lutherans*. I easily saw that the *Papists* were in the wrong; but not that the *Lutherans* were in the right. I could not understand what they meant, by being justified by faith, by faith alone, by faith without works. Neither did I like their talking so much of *Christ*. Then I began to think, How can *Christ* be the Son of God? But the more I reason'd with myself upon it, the more confused I was, till at last I loathed the very Name of *Christ*. I could not bear to mention it. I hated the  
found



found of it; and would never willingly have either read or heard it. In this Temper I left *Moravia*, and wandered thro' many Countries, seeking Rest but finding none.

In these Wanderings I fell among some *Jews*. Their objections against the New Testament, threw me into fresh doubts. At last I set myself to read over the Old Testament, and see if the Prophecies therein contain'd were fulfill'd. I was soon convinced they were. And thus much I gain'd, A fixt belief, that Jesus was the Christ.

But soon after this a new doubt arose, Are the New Testament Prophecies fulfill'd? This I next set myself to examine. I read them carefully over, and could not but see every event answered the prediction: So that the more I compared the one with the other, the more fully I was convinced that *all Scripture was given by Inspiration of God*.

Yet still my soul was not in Peace: Nor indeed did I expect it, till I should have openly renounced the errors of *Popery*: Which accordingly I did at *Berlin*. I now also led a very strict life. I read much, and prayed much. I did all I could to conquer sin; yet it profited not; I was still conquer'd by it. Neither found I any more Rest among the *Lutherans*, than I did before among the *Papists*.

At length, not knowing what to do, I list'd myself a Soldier. Now I thought I should have more time to pray and read, having with me a New Testament and a Hymn-Book. But in one Day both my Books were stole. This almost broke my heart. Finding also in this way of Life all the Inconveniencies which I thought to avoid by it, after six months I returned to my trade and followed it Two Years. Removing then to *Gorlitz* in *Saxony*, I fell into a dangerous Illness. I could not stir hand nor foot for twenty weeks. Pastor *Sleder* came to me every day. And from him it was, that the Gospel of *Christ* came first with Power to my Soul.

Here I found the Peace I had long sought in vain; for I was assured *my sins were forgiven*: Not indeed  
all

all at once, but by degrees; not in one Moment, nor in one Hour. For I could not immediately believe, that I was forgiven. because of the mistake I was then in concerning Forgiveness. I saw not then, that the first Promise to the Children of God is, *Sin shall no more reign over you*; but thought, I was to *feel it in me* no more from the time it was forgiven. Therefore, altho' I had the mastery over it, yet I often feared, it was not forgiven, because it still *stirred in me*, and at sometimes *thrust sore at me that I might fall*: Because tho' it did not *reign*, it did *remain* in me; and I was continually *tempted*, tho' not *overcome*. This at that time threw me into many doubts: Not understanding, that the Devil *tempts*, properly speaking, only those whom he perceives to be escaping from him. He need not tempt his own: For they *lie in the wicked one* (as St. John observes) and do his will with greediness. But those whom *Christ* is setting free, he tempts Day and Night, to see if he can recover them to his kingdom. Neither saw I then, that the *being justified*, is widely different from the having *The full Assurance of Faith*. I remember'd not that our Lord told his *Apostles* before his Death, *Ye are clean*; whereas it was not till many Days after it, that they were fully assured by the Holy Ghost then received, of their reconciliation to God, through his Blood. The difference between these Fruits of the Spirit, was as yet hid from me; so that I was hardly and slowly convinced I had the one, because I had not the other.

When I was recovered from my Illness, I resolved to return into *Moravia*, and preach *Christ* to my Relations there. Thence I came back to *Gorlitz*, where I continued five Years, and there was a great awakening both in the Town and Country round about. In this Space I made two more Journeys into *Moravia*, where more and more came to hear me, many of whom promis'd to come to me, wherever I was, when a Door should be open'd for them.

After my return from my third Journey, Count *Zinzendorf* sent to *Gorlitz*, the minister of *Bertholdsdorf* being dead, for Mr. *Rosbe* who was in a gentleman's family

family there, to be Minister of that Place. Mr. *Rothe* told him of me, and he writ to me, to come to him, and when I came said, "Let as many as will of your Friends come hither; I will give them Land to build on, and *Christ* will give them the rest." I went immediately into *Moravia* and told them, God had now found out a Place for us. Ten of them followed me then; ten more the next Year; one more in my following Journey. The *Papists* were now alarm'd, set a Price upon my Head, and levell'd the House I had lodg'd in, even with the Ground. I made however eleven Journeys thither in all, and conducted as many as desired it to this Place, the way to which was now so well known, that many more came of themselves.

Eighteen Years ago we built the first House. We chose to be near the great Road rather than at *Bertholdsdorf* (for the Count gave us our Choice) hoping we might thereby find opportunities of instructing some that travel'd by us. In two Years we were increas'd to 150; when I contracted an intimate acquaintance with a *Calvinist*, who after some Time brought me over to his Opinion touching Election and Reprobation: And by me were most of our Brethren likewise brought over to the same Opinions. About this Time we were in great Straits, wherewith many were much dejected. I endeavoured to comfort them, with the Sense of God's Love towards them. But they answer'd, "Nay, it may be he hath no Love towards us; it may be we are not of the Election; but God hated us from Eternity, and therefore he has suffered all these things to come upon us." The Count observing this, desired me to go to a neighbouring Minister, Pastor *Steinmetz*, and talk with him fully on that head, "Whether *Christ* died for All?" I did so, and by him God fully convinced me of that important Truth. And not long after, the Count desired we might all meet together, and consider these Things thro'ly. We met accordingly at his House, and parted not for three Days. We open'd the Scriptures, and consider'd the Account which is given therein, of the whole Oeconomy of God with Man, from the Creation to the Consumma-  
tion



tion of all Things, and by the Blessing of God we came all to one Mind; particularly in that fundamental Point, that *He willeth all Men to be saved, and to come to the Knowledge of his Truth.*

Sometime after, the *Jesuits* told the Emperor, that the Count was gathering together all the *Moravians* and *Bohemians*, forming them into one Body, and making a new Religion. Commissioners were immediately sent to *Hernhuth*, to examine the Truth of this. The Substance of the final Answer return'd thro' them to the Emperor was as follows.

*An Extract of the publick Instrument  
at Hernhuth in August, 1729.*

1. **W**E believe the Church of the *Bohemian* and *Moravian* Brethren, from whom we are descended, to have been a holy and undefiled Church, as owned by *Luther* and all other Protestant Divines: Who own also that our Doctrine agrees with theirs. But our Discipline they have not.

2. But we do not rest upon the Holiness of our Ancestors: It being our continual Care, to shew that we are pass'd from Death unto Life, by worshipping God in Spirit and in Truth. Nor do we account any Man a Brother, unless he has either preserved inviolate the Covenant he made with God in Baptism, or, if he has broken it, been born again of God.

3. On the other Side, whosoever they are who being sprinkled by the Blood of CHRIST, are sanctified thro' Faith, we receive them as Brethren, altho' in some Points they may differ from us. Not that we can renounce or give up any Doctrine of God, contained in Holy Writ; the least part of which is dearer unto us, than Thousands of Gold and Silver.

4. Discipline we judge to be necessary in the highest Degree, for all those who have any Knowledge of divine Truth: And we can therefore in no wise forsake that, which we have receiv'd from our Forefathers.

Yet

Yet if it should ever be (which God forbid) that any of us should speak or act perverse Things, we could only say, with St. John, *They went forth from us, but were not of us: For if they had been of us, they would have continued with us.*

5. The publick Worship of God at *Bertholdsdorf*, which we have hitherto frequented, we are the less able now to forsake, because we have there an Assembly of true Believers, a Doctrine free from Error, and a Pastor who *having labour'd much in the Word, is worthy of double honour.* Therefore we have no cause to form any congregation, separate from this: Especially seeing we both use that liberty which Christ hath purchas'd for us; and so often experience the Power of the doctrine which is taught there, and agree with the Evangelical Protestants (i. e. *Lutherans*) in all Truths of importance. As for the controverted Points, which require subtil Wit, we either are ignorant of them, or desist from them.

6. The Name of Brethren and Sisters we do not reject, as being agreeable both to Scripture and to Christian Simplicity. But we do not approve of being called by the Name of any Man: As knowing, *We have one Father, even Him which is in Heaven.*

In 1732 we were again required to give an account of ourselves. This was then done in the Manner following.

*An Extract of the Letter wrote by the Church of Hernhuth, to the President of Upper Lusatia, Jan. 24th. 1732.*

1. **N**ONE can be ignorant of the Religion of our Ancestors who have read the History of *John Huss*, Some of his Followers endeavoured to repel Force by Force. The rest, having better learn'd CHRIST, obtained leave of *George Podibrad*, King of *Bohemia*, to retire and live apart. Retiring accordingly

ingly in the Year 1453, to a place on the Borders of *Silefia* and *Moravia*, they lived in peace till the time of *Luther* and *Calvin*, with both of whom, as with their followers, they maintained a friendly intercourse, especially when by the Providence of God, they were placed among those of either opinion.

2. In the Year 1699, *David Ernest Jablonsky*, Grandson to *Amos Comenius*, the last Bishop of the *Moravians*, was consecrated Bishop of the united Brethren in *Moravia*, *Bohemia*, and *Poland*, in a Synod regularly assembled. To him Count *Zinzendorf* signified, that several of the *Moravian* Brethren, having escaped from the Tyranny of the *Papists*, were so joined to the *Lutherans*, whose Doctrine they approved, as nevertheless to retain their antient Discipline. His entire Approbation of this, Bishop *Jablonsky* testified to the Count in several Letters.

3. It must be acknowledg'd, that many of our ancestors, about the beginning of the Reformation, from fear of man, did not openly confess the Truth. And hence it was that the *Romish* Pastors bore with them: being little concern'd what their private opinions were. But hence it also was, that continually using dissimulation, and not walking in simplicity, they were no longer fervent in spirit, as of old time, neither could they find any peace to their souls.

4. It was in the year 1715, that a Soldier of the Emperor's, lately discharg'd came to *Sehl*, a Village of which the *Jesuits* are Lords, and began to talk with *Augustin Neusser* and his Brother. He sharply reprov'd their Hypocrisy, in pretending to be *Romanists*, and dissembling the true faith. Yet they *confer'd with flesh and blood*, till the year 1722. when at length they forsook all, and retired into *Upper Lusatia*. They left their three brothers behind them, who were soon after cast in prison, and grievously persecuted by the *Papists*; so that as soon as ever a door was open'd, they also left all, and follow'd their brothers into *Lusatia*: the same did many others soon after, as finding no safety, either for body or soul in their own Country: Whence about the same time, *Michael* and *Martin Linner*, and the  
*Haberlands*



*Haberlands* were driven out, with their Families, after having suffered the Loss of all things, for not conforming to the *Romish* Worship, and for receiving those they call'd *Hereticks* into their Houses.

5. But the Brethren at *Kubnewald* were treated with still greater Severity. All their Books were taken away; they were compelled by the most exquisite Torments, to conform to the *Popish* Superstitions and Idolatries; and in the end cast into, and kept in, the most loathsome Prisons: Whereby *David Schneider*, the *Nitschmans*, and many others, were constrain'd also to leave their Country, and all that they had. These are the plain Reasons of our leaving *Moravia*, of which your Excellency desired an Account from us."

In the mean Time we found a great Remissness of Behaviour had crept in among us. And indeed the same was to be found in most of those round about us, whether *Lutherans* or *Calvinists*, so insisting on Faith, as to forget, at least in Practice, both Holiness and good Works.

Observing this terrible abuse of preaching Christ given for us, we began to insist more than ever, on Christ living in us. All our Exhortations and Preaching turn'd on this; we spoke, we writ, of nothing else. Our constant enquiries were, "Is Christ form'd in you? Have you a new Heart? Is your Soul renewed in the Image of God? Is the whole Body of Sin destroy'd in you? Are you fully assured, beyond all Doubt or Fear, that you are a Child of God? In what Manner and at what Moment did you receive that full Assurance? If a Man could not answer all these Questions; we judged he had no true Faith. Nor would we permit any to receive the Lord's Supper among us, till he could.

In this Persuasion we were, when I went to *Greenland*, five Years ago. There I had a Correspondence by Letter with a *Danish* Minister, *Hans-Egede*, on the Head of Justification. And it pleased God to show me by him, (tho' he was by no Means a Holy Man, but openly guilty of gross Sins) that we had now lean'd

too much to this Hand, and were run into another extreme: That Christ *in us* and Christ *for us*, ought indeed to be both insisted on; but first and principally Christ *for us*, as being the Ground of all. I now clearly saw, we ought not to insist on any thing we *feel*, any more than any thing we *do*, as if it were necessary previous to Justification, or the Remission of Sins. I saw, that least of all ought we so to insist on the full Assurance of Faith, or the Destruction of the Body of Sin, and the extinction of all its Motions; as to exclude those who had not attain'd this from the Lord's Table, or to deny that they had any Faith at all. I plainly perceived, this full Assurance was a distinct gift from justifying Faith, and often not given 'till long after it: And that Justification does not imply, that Sin should not *stir* in us, but only that it should not *conquer*.

And now first it was, that I had that full Assurance of my own Reconciliation to God, thro' Christ. For many Years I had had the Forgiveness of my Sins, and a Measure of the Peace of God; but I had not 'till now, that Witness of his Spirit, which shuts out all Doubt and Fear. In all my Trials I had always a Confidence in Christ, who had done so great Things for me. But it was a Confidence mixt with Fear: I was afraid, *I had not done enough*. There was always something dark in my Soul 'till now. But now the clear Light shined: And I saw that what I had hitherto so constantly insisted on, the *doing* so much and *feeling* so much, the long Repentance and Preparation for Believing, the bitter Sorrow for Sin, and that deep Contrition of Heart which is found in some, were by no Means essential to Justification. Yea, that wherever the free Grace of God is rightly preached, a Sinner in the full career of his Sins, will probably receive it, and be justified by it, before one who insists on such previous preparation.

At my Return to *Hornbuth*, I found it difficult at first, to make my Brethren sensible of this, or to persuade them not to insist on the Assurance of Faith, as a necessary Qualification for receiving the Lord's Supper. But from the Time they were convinced, which is now

three Years since, we have all chiefly insisted on Christ *given for us*: This we urge as the principal thing, which if we rightly believe, Christ will surely be *form'd in us*. And this preaching we have always found to be accompanied with power, and to have the Blessing of God following it. By this, Believers receive a steady Purpose of Heart, and a more unshaken Resolution, to indure with a free and chearful Spirit whatsoever our Lord is pleased to lay upon them.

The same Day I was with *Michael Linner*, the eldest of the Church; the Sum of whose Conversation was this.

“The church of *Moravia* was once a glorious church. But it is now cover'd with thick darkness. It is about sixteen years ago, that I began to seek for Light. I had a new Testament which I constantly read: Upon which I often said to myself, “This says, I ought to be humble and meek and pure in heart. How comes it that I am not so?” I went to the best men I knew, and ask'd, “Is not this the word of God? And if so, ought I not to be such as this requires, both in heart and life?” They answer'd, “The first Christians indeed were such: but it was impossible for *us* to be so perfect.” This Answer gave me no Satisfaction. I knew God cou'd not mock his Creatures, by requiring of them what he saw it was impossible for them to perform. I ask'd others, but had still the same Answer, which troubled me more and more.

About fourteen Years ago, I was more than ever convinced, that I was wholly different from what God required me to be. I consulted his Word again and again; but it spoke nothing but Condemnation; till at last I could not read, nor indeed do any thing else, having no Hope and no Spirit left in me. I had been in this state for several Days, when being musing by my self, those Words came strongly into my Mind, *God so loved the World, that he gave his only begotten Son, to the End that all who believe in him, should not perish but have everlasting Life.*” I thought, “All? Then I am one. Then he is given for *me*. But I am a Sinner. And he came to save Sinners.” Immediately my Burden drop'd off, and my Heart was at rest.



But the full Assurance of Faith I had not yet; nor for the two Years I continued in *Moravia*. When I was driven out thence by the *Jesuits*, I retired hither, and was soon after receiv'd into the Church. And here after some Time it pleas'd our LORD to manifest himself more clearly to my Soul, and give me that full Sense of Acceptance in Him, which excludes all Doubt and Fear.

Indeed the leading of the Spirit is different in different Souls. His more usual Method, I believe is, to give in one and the same Moment the Forgiveness of Sins, and a full Assurance of that Forgiveness. Yet in many he works as he did in me: Giving first the Remission of Sins, and after some Weeks or Months or Years, the full Assurance of it.

This great Truth was farther confirm'd to me the next Day by the Conversation I had with *David Nitschman*, one of the Teachers or Pastors of the Church; who express himself to this Effect:

“ In my Childhood I was very serious; but as I grew up was so careless, that at eighteen Years old, I had even forgot to read. When I found this, I was startled. I soon learned again, and then spent much Time in Reading and Prayer. But I knew nothing of my Heart, 'till about the Age of twenty-six. I bought a Bible, and began to read the New Testament. The farther I read, the more I was condemn'd. I found a Law which I did not, could not keep. I had a Will to avoid all Sin; But the Power I had not. I continually strove; but was continually conquer'd. The Thing which *I would I did not*; but what *I would not* have done that I did. In this Bondage I was, when I fell into a Fit of Sickness; during my Recovery from which I felt a stronger Desire than ever, to avoid all Sin. At the same Time I felt the Power. And Sin no longer reigned over me.

But soon after I fell into grievous temptations, which made me very uneasy. For tho' I yielded not to them, yet they returned again and again, as fast as they were conquered. Then it came into my Mind, “ I take all  
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this Pains to serve God. What if there be no God? How do I know there is?" And on this I mused more and more, 'till I said in my Heart, "There is no God!"

In this State I was when I came to *Hernbuth*, about fourteen Years ago. And every Day for a full Year, from Morning to Night I groan'd under this Unbelief. Yet I prayed continually, unbelieving as I was; particularly one *Sunday*, when being in the Church of *Bertholdsdorf*, and quite weary of hearing so much of Him, whose very Being I did not believe, I vehemently said, "O God, if thou be a God, thou must manifest thyself, or I cannot believe it." In walking home, I thought of an Expression of Pastor *Rotbe's*, "Only suppose these things are so: Suppose there be a God." I said to myself, "Well, I will, I do suppose it." Immediately I felt a strange Sweetness in my Soul, which increased every Moment 'till the next morning: And from that Time, if all the Men upon Earth, and all the Devils in Hell had joined in denying it, I could not have doubted the Being of a God, no, not for one Moment. This first Sweetness lasted for Six Weeks, without any Intermission.

I then fell into Doubts of another kind. I believed in God; but not in Christ. I open'd my Heart to *Martin Dober*, who used many Arguments with me, but in vain. For above four Years, I found no Rest; by reason of this Unbelief: 'Till one Day, as I was sitting in my House, despairing of any Relief, those Words shot into me, "God was in Christ, reconciling the World to himself." I thought, "Then God and Christ are one." Immediately my Heart was filled with Joy; and much more at the Remembrance of these Words which I now felt I *did believe*. "*The Word was with God, and the Word was God. And the Word was made Flesh, and dwelt among us.*"

Yet in a few Days I was troubled again. I believed Christ was the Saviour of the World. But I could not call him *my Saviour*, neither did I believe, He would save *me*. And one day, as I was walking across the Square, that Text came strongly into my Mind

“ *The Unbelieving shall have their Part in the Lake which burneth with Fire and Brimstone.*” I returned home, terrified beyond Expression, and instantly began crying out to our Saviour, telling him, “ I deserved no less than Hell, and gave myself up, if it were his Will, to suffer what I had deserved.” In a Moment I found a Gleam of Hope, that He *would* have mercy even on me.

But this in a short time vanished away, and my Uneasiness returned again. Many endeavour'd to persuade me that I had, but I knew I had not a right Faith in Christ. For I had no Confidence in Him; nor could I lay hold upon him as *my* Saviour. Indeed reading one Day (in *Arndt's True Christianity*) “ That if all the Sins of all the Men upon Earth were joined in one Man, the Blood of Christ was sufficient to cleanse that Man from all Sin:” I felt for a Time comfort and peace: But it was but for a Time, and then I was overwhelm'd as before with sadness and unbelief. And I was oppress'd almost beyond my Strength, when \* a Year ago I went into this little Wood. At first I was tempted to break out into Impatience; but then I thought, our Saviour knows best: nor would he suffer this Trouble to continue so long, if he did not see it was good for me. I deliver'd myself wholly into his Hands, to dispose of me according to his good pleasure. In that Hour I saw, that all who believe in Him, are reconciled to God thro' his Blood, and was assured, that I was thereby reconciled, and numbred among the Children of God. And from that Hour, I have had no Doubt, or Fear, but all Peace and Joy in Believing.”

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\* N. B. i. e. *In the Year 1737. Several Years before which he was elected one of the four publick Teachers of the Church; which Office he retains to this Day. Now which of the two Consequences will you chuse, (for one or the other is unavoidable) Either that a man may preach the Gospel (yea, and with the Demonstration of the Spirit) who has no Faith: Or that a Man who has a Degree of true Faith, may yet have Doubts and Fears?*

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Some of the Circumstances of this uncommon Relation, were made more clear to me, by the account I received in the Afternoon from a Student at *Hernbuth*, *Albinus Theodorus Feder*.

“ I (said he) for three Years fought against Sin with all my Might, by Fasting and Prayer and all the other Means of Grace. But notwithstanding all my Endeavours, I gain'd no Ground; Sin still prevail'd over me; till at last, not knowing what to do farther, I was on the very Brink of Despair. Then it was that having no other Refuge left, I fled to my Saviour as one lost and undone, and that had no Hope, but in his Power and free Mercy. In that Moment I found my Heart at rest in good hope that my sins were forgiven; of which, I had a stronger assurance six weeks after, when I receiv'd the Lord's Supper here. But I dare not affirm, I am a child of God; neither have I the seal of the Spirit. Yet I go on quietly doing my Saviour's Will, taking shelter in his wounds, from all trouble and sin, and knowing he will perfect his Work in his own Time.”

*Martin Dober*, when I describ'd my state to him, said, “ He had known very many believers, who if ask'd the question, would not have dar'd to affirm, that they were the children of God. And he added, It is very common for Persons to receive remission of sins, or justification thro' faith in the blood of *Christ*, before they receive the full assurance of faith, which God many times with-holds; till he has tried whether they will work together with him, in the use of the first gift. Nor is there any need (continued he, *Döber*) to incite any one to seek that assurance by telling him, the faith he has, is nothing. This will be more likely to drive him to despair, than to encourage him to press forward. His single business, who has receiv'd the first gift is, *credendo credere & in credendo perseverare* (to believe on, and to hold fast that whereunto he hath attain'd) to go on doing his Lord's Will, according to the ability God hath already given; cheerfully and faithfully to use what he has receiv'd, without solicitude for the rest.”

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In the conversation I afterwards had with *Augustine Neusser* a Kniss-smith, (another of the Pastors or teachers of the church, about sixty years of age) as also with his brothers, *Wnsel*, and *Hantz Neusser*, the nature of true faith and salvation was yet farther explain'd to me.

*Augustine Neusser* spoke to this effect :

“ By experience I know, that we cannot be justified thro' the blood of *Christ*, till we feel that all our righteousness and good Works avail nothing towards our justification. Therefore what Men call *a good Life*, is commonly the greatest of all Hindrances to their coming to *Christ*. For it will not let them see, that they are lost, undone sinners; and if they see not this, they cannot come unto him.

Thus it was with me. I led a good Life from a child. And this was the great Hindrance to my coming to *Christ*. For, abounding in good works, and diligently using all the means of grace, I persuaded myself for thirteen or fourteen years, that all was well, and I could not fail of salvation. And yet, I cannot say, my soul was at rest, even till the time when God shewed me clearly, that my heart was as corrupt, notwithstanding all my good works, as that of an adulterer or murderer. Then my self-dependence wither'd away. I wanted a Saviour, and fled naked to him. And in him I found true rest to my soul, being fully assured, that all *my* sins were forgiven. Yet I cannot tell the hour or day, when I first receiv'd that full assurance. For it was not given me at first, neither at once; but grew up in me by degrees. But from the Time it was confirm'd in me, I have never lost it; having never since doubted, no, not for a Moment.”

What *Wensel Neusser* said, was as follows :

“ From a Child I had many Fits of Seriousness, and was often uneasy at my Sins: This uneasiness was much increased about fifteen Years since by the preaching of  
*Christian*

*Christian David.* I thought the Way to get Ease was, to go and live among the *Lutherans*, whom I supposed to be all good Christians. But I soon found they, as well as the *Papists*, were carnal, worldly-minded Men. About thirteen Years ago I came from among them to *Hernbutz* : but was still as uneasy as before : Which I do not wonder at now (tho' I did then) for all this Time, tho' I saw clearly, I could not be saved, but by the Death of CHRIST, yet I did not trust in that *only* for Salvation, but depended on my own Righteousness *also*, as the joint Condition of my Acceptance.

After I was settled here, seeing the great Diversity of Sects wherewith we were surrounded. I began to doubt whether any Religion was true ? For half a Year these Doubts perplexed me greatly ; and I was often just on the Point of casting off all Religion and returning to the World. The fear of doing this threw me into a deeper Concern than ever I had been in before. Nor cou'd I find how to escape, for the more I struggled, the more I was intangled. I often reflected on my former course of Life, as more desirable than this. And one day, in the bitterness of my Soul, besought our blessed Saviour, " At least to restore me to that State, which I was in before I left *Moravia*." In that Moment he manifested himself to me, so that I could lay hold on him as my Saviour, and shewed me, it is *only* the Blood of CHRIST which cleanseth us from all Sin. This was ten Years since, and from that Hour, I have not had one Doubt of my Acceptance. Yet I have not any Transports of Joy. Nor had I when he thus revealed himself unto me. Only I well remember, that Manifestation of himself was like a cool, refreshing Wind, to one that is fainting away with sultry Heat. And ever since my Soul has been sweetly at rest, desiring no other Portion in Earth or Heaven."

" I was awaken'd ( said *Hantz Neusser* ) by my Grandfather when a Child, and by him carefully instructed in the New Testament. I married young, and being from that Time weak and sickly, was the more earnest to work out my Salvation : And nineteen or twenty Years ago, I had a strong Confidence in our Sa-  
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viour, and was continually warning others against trusting in themselves, in their own Righteousness or good Works. Yet I was not free from it my self. I did not trust in Him *only* for acceptance with God. And hence it was, that not building on the right Foundation, the Blood and Righteousness of CHRIST alone, I could not gain a full Victory over my Sins, but sometimes conquer'd them, and sometimes was conquer'd by them. And therefore I had not a full or constant Peace, tho' I was commonly easy, and hoping for Mercy.

Sixteen Years ago (on *Saturday* next) I came to my Brother *Augustin* at *Hernbuth*. There was then only one little house here. Here I continued eight Years in much the same State, thinking I trusted in CHRIST alone; but indeed trusting partly in his and partly in my own Righteousness. I was walking one Day in this little Wood, when God discover'd my Heart to me. I saw I had 'till that Hour trusted in my own Righteousness, and at the same Time, that I had no Righteousness at all, being altogether corrupt and abominable, and fit only for the Fire of Hell. At this Sight I fell into bitter Grief, and an horrible Dread overwhelm'd me, expecting nothing (as I saw I deserved nothing else) but to be swallow'd up in a Moment. In that Moment I beheld the Lamb of God, taking away my Sins. And from that Time I have had Redemption thro' his Blood, and full assurance of it. I have that Peace in him which never fails, and which admits of no Doubt or Fear. Indeed I am but a little one in CHRIST; therefore I can receive as yet but little of him. But from his Fulness I have enough; and I praise him, and am satisfied."

In the three or four following Days I had an opportunity of talking with *Zacharias Neusser* (Cousin to *Hantz*) *David Schneider*, *Christopher Demuth*, *Arvid Gardin*, (now at *Constantinop'le*) and several others of the most experienced Brethren. I believe no Preface is needful to the Account they gave of God's dealings with their souls, which I doubt not will stir up many, through his grace to *glorify their Father which is in Heaven.*

“ I was

“ I was born (said *Zacharias Neusser*) on the Borders of *Moravia*, and was first awakened by my Cousin *Wensel*, who soon after carried me to hear Mr. *Steinmetz*, a *Lutheran* Minister, about 30 *Engiish* miles off. I was utterly astonished. The next Week I went again: After which going to him in private, I opened my heart and told him all my doubts, those especially concerning Popery. He offer'd to receive me into Communion with him, which I gladly accepted of; and in a short time after I received the Lord's supper from his hands. While I was receiving, I felt CHRIST had died for me. I knew I was reconciled to GOD. And all the day I was overwhelmed with joy, having those words continually on my mind, *This day is Salvation come to my House: I also am a Son of Abraham.* This joy I had continually for a year and a half, and my heart was full of love to CHRIST.

After this I had thoughts of leaving *Moravia*. I was convinced, it would be better for my soul. Yet I would not do it, because I got more money here than I could elsewhere. When I reflected on this, I said to myself, “ This is mere Covetousness. But if I am covetous, I am not a child of GOD.” Hence I fell into deep Perplexity, nor could I find any way to escape out of it. In this slavery and misery I was for five Years; at the end of which I fell sick: In my sickness my heart was set at liberty, and Peace returned to my soul. I now prayed earnestly to GOD to restore my health, that I might leave *Moravia*. He did restore it, and I immediately removed to *Hernbuth*. After I had been here a quarter of a year, the Count preached one day upon the Nature of Sanctification. I found I had not experienced what he described, and was greatly terrified, I went to my Cousin *Wensel*, who advised me to read over the 3d, 4th, and 5th chapters of the Epistle to the *Romans*. I did so. I had read them an hundred times before, yet now they appeared quite new, and gave such a sight of GOD's justifying the Ungodly as I never had before. On Sunday I went to Church at *Bertholdsdorf*, and while we were singing those words, “ *Wer glauben auch in*  
“ *Jesum*

“Jesum Christ,” (We believe also in *Jesus Christ*,) I clearly saw him as my Saviour. I wanted immediately to be alone, and to pour out my heart before him. My Soul was filled with thankfulness, and with a still, soft, quiet joy, such as it is impossible to express. I had full assurance that *my beloved was mine, and I was his*, which has never ceased to this day. I see by a clear light what is pleasing to him, and I do it continually in love. I receive daily from him peace and joy, and I have nothing to do but to praise him.”

The most material part of *David Schneider's* Account was this :

“Both my Father and Mother feared God, and carefully instructed me in the Holy Scriptures. I was from a Child earnestly desirous to follow their Instructions, and more so after my Father's death. Yet as I grew up, many sins got the dominion over me: of which God began to give me a sense, by the preaching of Pastor *Steinmetz*; who speaking one day of Drunkenness to which I was then addicted, I was so grieved and ashamed that for several days I could not bear to look any one in the face. It pleased God afterwards to give me, tho' not all at once, a sense of my other both outward and inward sins. And before the time of my coming out of *Moravia*, I knew that my sins were forgiven. Yet I can't fix upon any particular time when I knew this first. For I did not clearly know it at once: God having always done every thing in my soul by degrees.

When I was about Twenty-six, I was prest in Spirit to exhort and instruct my Brethren. Accordingly many of them met at my house, to read, pray, and sing Psalms. They usually came about ten or eleven, and stay'd till one or two in the morning. When *Christian David* came to us, we were much quicken'd and comforted, and our number greatly increas'd. We were undisturbed for two Years. But then the *Papists* were inform'd of our Meeting. Immediately Search was made. All our Books were seiz'd, and we were ordered to appear before the Consistory. I was examined many Times; was imprison'd, releas'd and imprison'd again



again five Times in one Year. At last I was adjudged to pay fifty Rix-dollars, and suffer a Year's Imprisonment. But upon a Re-hearing, the Sentence was changed, and I was ordered to be sent to the Gallies. Before this Sentence was executed, I escap'd out of Prison, and came to *Sorau* in *Silesia*. Many of my Brethren follow'd me, and here for near ten Years I taught the Children in the Orphan-House. I soon sent for my Wife and Children. But the Magistrates had just then order'd, that the Wives and Children of all those who had fled, should be taken into safe Custody. The Night before this Order was to be executed, she escap'd and came to *Sorau*.

Soon after, some of my Brethren who had been there, prest me much to remove to *Hernbutz*: *Christian David*, in particular, by whose continued Importunity, I was at length brought to resolve upon it. But all my Brethren at *Sorau* were still as strongly against it, as I myself had formerly been. For a whole year I was struggling to break from them, or to persuade them to go too. And it cost me more pains to get away from *Sorau*, than it had done to leave *Moravia*.

At length I broke loose and came to *Hernbutz*, which was about three Years ago. Finding I could scarce subsist my Family here by hard Labour, where at *Sorau* all Things were provided for me, I grew very uneasy. The more uneasy I was\*, the more my Brethren refrain'd from my Company; so that in a short Time I was left quite alone. Then I was in deep distress indeed. Sin revived and almost got the mastery over me. I tried all Ways, but found no help, In this miserable State I was about a Year ago, when the Brethren cast Lots concerning me, and were thereby directed to admit me to the Lord's Table. And from that Hour my Soul received Comfort, and I was more and more assured that I had an Advocate with the Father, and that I was fully reconciled to God by his Blood."

*Christoph Demuth* spoke to this Effect:

"My Father was a pious Man from his Youth. He carefully instructed all his Children. I was about fifteen  
O when

\* This was utterly wrong.

when he died. A little before he died, having been all his Life-time under the Law, he receiv'd at once Remission of Sins, and the full Witness of the Spirit. He call'd us to him and said, "My dear Children, let your whole Trust be in the Blood of CHRIST. Seek Salvation in this, and in this alone, and he will shew you the same mercy he has to me. Yea, and he will shew it to many of your Relations and Acquaintance, when his Time his come.

From this Time till I was twenty-seven Years old, I was more and more zealous in seeking CHRIST. I then removed into *Silesia*, and married. A Year after I was much prest in Spirit, to return and visit my Brethren in *Moravia*. I did so. We had the New Testament, our *Moravian* Hymns, and two or three *Lutheran* Books. We read and sung and prayed together, and were much strengthen'd. One day as we were together at my house, one knock'd at the door. I open'd it, and it was a *Jesuit*. He said, "My dear *Demuth*, I know you are a good Man, and one that instruct and exhort your Friends. I must see what Books you have." And going into the inner room, he found the Testament and the rest together. He took them all away; nor did we dare to hinder him. The next day we were summon'd before the consistory, and after a long Examination, order'd to appear at the Church before the Congregation on the following *Sunday*. There they read a long confession of faith, and afterwards bid us say, "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." We did so, tho' not knowing what they meant. They then told us, "We had abjur'd the *Lutheran* Errors, and called the blessed Trinity to witness, that we assented to that confession of faith." My heart sunk within me when I heard it. I went home, but could find no rest. I thought I had now denied my Saviour, and could expect no more mercy from him. I could not bear to stay in *Moravia* any longer, but immediately return'd into *Silesia*. There I continued six years, but there too I was perpetually terrified with the thoughts of what I had done. I often enquir'd after my brethren whom I had left in *Moravia*. Some of them I heard were thrown into prison, and others escap'd to

a little village in *Lusatia* call'd *Hernbuth*. I wish'd I could go to that place myself, and at last meeting with one who had the same desire, we agreed to go together. But our design being discover'd, he was apprehended and thrown into prison. Expecting the same treatment, I earnestly pray'd, "That God would shew me a token for good." Immediately my soul was fill'd with Joy, and I was ready to go to prison or to Death.

Two days pass'd, and no Man asked me any question; when doubting, what I ought to do, I went into a neighbouring Wood, and going into a little cave, fell on my face and pray'd, "Lord, thou see'st I am ready to do what thou wilt. If it be thy will I should be call'd into prison, thy will be done. If it be thy will, that I should leave my wife and children. I am ready. Only shew me thy will." Immediately I heard a loud voice saying, "*Fort, fort, fort*" (Go on, go on) I rose joyful and satisfied; went home and told my wife, "It was God's Will I should now leave her; but that I hoped to return in a short time, and take her and my children with me." I went out of the door, and in that moment was filled with peace and joy and comfort.

We had above two hundred miles to go (thirty-five *German*) and neither I, nor my Friend who went with me, had one *Kreutzer*\*. But God provided Things convenient for us, so that in all the way we wanted nothing.

In this Journey God gave me full assurance that my sins were forgiven. This was twelve years ago, and ever since, it has been confirm'd more and more, by my receiving from him every day fresh supplies of strength and comfort.

By comparing my Experience with that of others, you may perceive, how different ways God leads different souls. But tho' a man should be led in a way different from that of all other men, yet if his eye be at all times fixt on his Saviour, if his constant aim be to do his will; if all his desires tend to him; if in all

\* A small Coin of about a Halfpenny Value.



trials he can draw strength from him; if he fly to him in all troubles, and in all temptations find salvation in his blood; in this there can be no delusion: And whosoever is thus minded, however or whenever it began, is surely reconcil'd to God thro' his Son."

*Arria Gradin* (a Swede, born in *Daiecarlia*) spoke to this Purpose:

"Before I was ten Years old, I had a serious sense of religion, and great fervour in prayer. This was increas'd by my reading much in the New Testament; but the more I read, the more earnestly I cried out, "Either these things are not true, or we are not Christians." About sixteen my sense of religion began to decline, by my too great fondness for learning, especially for the Oriental Tongues, wherein I was instructed by a private Preceptor, who likewise did all that in him lay to instruct me in true Divinity.

At seventeen I went to the University at *Upsal*, and a Year or two after was licensed to preach. But at twenty-two meeting with *Arndt's* true Christianity, I found I myself was not a Christian. Immediately I left off preaching, and betook myself wholly to Philosophy. This stifled all my convictions for some years; but when I was about twenty-seven, they revived, and continued the year after, when I was desired to be domestic Tutor to the Children of the Secretary of State. I now felt I was *carnal, sold under sin*, and continually struggl'd to burst the bonds, 'till (being about thirty-one Years old) I was unawares intangled in much worldly Business. This cool'd me in my Pursuit of holiness: Yet for a Year and a half my Heart was never at Peace. Being then in a Bookseller's Shop, I saw the Account of the Church at *Hernbuth*. I did not think there could be any such Place, and asked the Bookseller, if that was a real account? His answer, "That it was no more than the plain Truth," threw me into deep Thought, and fervent Prayer, that God would bring me to that Place. I went to the Secretary, and told him, "I did not design to stay at *Upsal*, having a Desire to travel." He said, "He had a Desire his Son should

should travel, and was glad of an Opportunity to send him with me." I was grieved, but knew not how to refuse any Thing to my Patron and Benefactor. Accordingly we left *Upsal* together, and after a Year spent in several parts of *Germany*, went thro' *Holland* into *France*, and so to *Paris*, where we spent another Year. But I was more and more uneasy 'till I could be disengaged from my Charge, that I might retire to *Hernbuth*. In our Return from *France*, my Pupil's elder Brother returning from *Italy*, met us at *Leipsig*. I immediately writ to his Father, and having obtained his Consent, deliver'd him into his hands.

*April 23, 1738. (N. S.)* I came hither. Here I was as in another World. I desired nothing but to be cleansed inwardly and outwardly from Sin, by the Blood of Jesus Christ. I found all here laying the same Foundation. Therefore, tho' I did not think with them in all points of Doctrine, I waved these, and singly pursued Reconciliation with God thro' Christ.

On the 22d of *May* last, I could think of nothing but; *He that believeth hath everlasting Life*. But I was afraid of deceiving myself, and continually pray'd I might not build without a Foundation. Yet I had a sweet, settled Peace, and for five Days this Scripture was always in my Thoughts. On the 28th, those words of our Lord were as strongly imprest upon me, "If ye being evil, know how to give good Gifts to your Children, how much more shall your Heavenly Father give the Holy Ghost to them that ask him." At the same Time I was incessantly carried out, to ask, that he would give me the Witness of his Spirit. On the 29th I had what I asked of him, viz. the *πληροφορία πνεως*, which is,

"Requies in sanguine Christi. Firma fiducia in Deum & persuasio de gratiâ divinâ; tranquillitas mentis summa, atque serenitas & pax; cum absentîâ omnis desiderii carnalis, & cessatione peccatorum etiam internorum. Verbo, Cor quod antea instar maris turbulenti agitabatur, in summâ fuit requie, instar maris sereni & tranquillî."

“ Repose in the Blood of Christ. A firm Confidence in God, and Persuasion of his Favour : Serene Peace and stedfast Tranquility of Mind, with a deliverance from every fleshly Desire, and from every outward and inward Sin. In a Word, my Heart which before was tost like a troubled Sea, was still and quiet, and in a sweet Calm.”

In the present discipline of the Church of *Hernbuth*, all which is alterable at the discretion of the Superiors, may be observed,

I. The Officers of it.

II. The Division of the People.

III. The Conferences, Lectures, and Government of the Children.

IV. The Order of Divine Service.

I. The Officers are, 1. The *Eldest* of the whole Church ; beside whom, there is an *Eldest* of every particular branch of it. There is also a distinct *Eldest* over the young men, and another over the boys ; a Female *Eldest* over the women in general, and another over the unmarried, and another over the girls. 2. The *Teachers*, who are four. 3. The *Helpers* (or *Deacons*.) 4. The *Overseers* (or *Censors*) eleven in number at *Hernbuth*. 5. The *Monitors*, who are eleven likewise. 6. The *Almoners*, Eleven also. 7. The *Attenders* on the Sick Seven in number. Lastly the *Servants*, or *Deacons* of the lowest Order.

II. The People of *Hernbuth* are divided, 1. Into five Male Classes, *viz.* the little Children, the middle Children, the big Children, the young Men, and the Married. The Females are divided in the same manner, 2. Into eleven Classes, according to the Houses where they live ; and in each Class is an *Helper*, an *Overseer*, a *Monitor*, an *Almoner* and a *Servant*. 3. Into about ninety Bands, each of which meets twice at least



least, but most of them three times a Week, To confess their faults one to another, and pray for one another, that they may be healed.

III. The Rulers of the Church, *i. e.* The Elders, Teachers, Helpers, (all chosen by the Congregation) have a conference every week, purely concerning the state of souls, and another concerning the institution of Youth. Beside which they have one every day, concerning outward things relating to the Church.

The Overseers, the Monitors, the Almoners, the Attenders on the Sick, the Servants, the School-masters, the young Men, and the Children, have likewise each a Conference once a week relating to the several Offices and Duties.

Once a Week also is a Conference for Strangers; at which any person may be present, and propose any question or doubt, which he desires to have resolved.

In *Hernbath* is taught Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, *Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French, English, History* and Geography.

There is a *Latin, French*, and an *English* Lecture every day, as well as an Historical and Geographical one. On *Monday, Wednesday, Friday*, and *Saturday* is the *Hebrew* Lecture; the *Greek* on *Tuesday* and *Thursday*.

In the *Orphan-House*, the larger Children rise at Five (the smaller, between Five and Six.) After a little private prayer they work 'till Seven. Then they are at School 'till Eight, the Hour of Prayer. At Nine those who are capable of it learn *Latin*, at Ten *French*. At Eleven they walk. At Twelve they dine altogether, and work 'till One. At One they work or learn Writing; at Three Arithmetic; at Four History; at Five they work; at Six Sup and work; at Seven, after a time spent in Prayer, Walk; at Eight the smaller Children go to Bed, the larger to the Public Service. When this is ended, they work again, 'till (at Ten) they go to bed.

IV. Every morning at Eight is singing and Exposition of Scripture; and commonly a short prayer.

At Eight in the Evening, there is commonly only mental Prayer, join'd with the singing and Expounding.

The Faithful afterwards spend a quarter of an hour in prayer, and conclude with the kiss of Peace.

On *Sunday* Morning the Service begins at Six; at Nine the Public Service at *Bertholdsdorf*. At One the Eldest gives separate Exhortations to all the Members of the Church, divided into fourteen little Classes for that purpose, spending about a quarter of an Hour with each Class. At Four begins the Evening Service at *Bertholdsdorf*, closed by a Conference in the Church. At Eight is the usual Service; after which the young Men, singing praise round the Town, conclude the day.

On the first *Saturday* in the Month, the Lord's Supper is administred. From Ten in the morning 'till Two, the Eldest speaks with each Communicant in private, concerning the state of his soul. At Two they dine; then wash one another's feet, after which they sing and pray. About Ten they receive in silence without any ceremony, and continue in silence 'till they part at Twelve.

On the second *Saturday* is the solemn Prayer-day for the Children: The third is the Day of general Intercession and thanksgiving: And on the fourth is the great Monthly Conference of all the Superiors of the Church.

For the satisfaction of those who desire a more full Account, I have added,

*An Extract of the Constitution of the Church of the Moravian Brethren at Hernhuth, laid before the Theological Order at Wittemberg, in the Year 1733.*

1. **T**HEY have a *Senior*, or *Eldest*, who is to assist the Church by his Counsel and Prayers, and

to determine what shall be done in matters of importance. Of him is required, that he be well experienced in the things of God, and witness'd to by all for holiness of conversation.

2. They have *Deacons*, or *Helpers*, who are in the private assemblies, to instruct: To take care that outward Things be done decently and in order; and to see that every Member of the Church grows in Grace, and walks suitable to his holy calling.

3. The *Pastor*, or *Teacher* is to be an Overseer of the whole Flock, and every person therein; to baptize the Children; diligently to form their minds, and bring them up *in the nurture and admonition of the Lord*: When he finds in them a sincere Love of the Cross, then to receive them into the Church: To administer the Supper of the Lord: To join in marriage those who are already married to CHRIST: To reprove admonish, quicken, comfort, as need requires: To declare the whole Counsel of God: Taking heed at all times to speak as the Oracles of God, and agreeably to the analogy of Faith: To bury those who have died in the Lord, and to keep that safe which is committed to his charge, even the pure Doctrine and apostolical discipline which we have received from our Forefathers.

4. We have also another sort of *Deacons* who take Care that nothing be wanting to the *Orphan-House*, the Poor, the Sick and the Strangers. Others again there are, who are peculiarly to take care of the Sick: and others, of the Poor. And two of these are intrusted with the public stock, and keep accounts of all that is received or expended.

5. There are Women who perform each of the above-mentioned Offices, among those of their own Sex: For none of the Men converse with them, beside the Eldest, the Teacher, and one, or sometimes two of the Deacons.

6. Towards Magistrates, whether of a superior or inferior rank, we bear the greatest Reverence. We cheerfully submit to their Laws; and even when many of us have been spoiled of their Goods, driven out of their houses and every way oppress'd by them,



yet they resisted them not, neither opening their mouths, nor lifting up their hand against them. In all things which do not immediately concern the inward, spiritual Kingdom of CHRIST, we simply, and without contradicting obey the higher Powers. But with regard to Conscience, the Liberty of this we cannot suffer to be any way limited or infringed. And to this head we refer whatever directly and in itself tends to hinder the salvation of Souls: Or, Whatsoever Things Christ and his Holy Apostles (who we know meddled not with outward worldly things) took charge of, and performed, as necessary for the constituting and well-ordering of his Church. In these Things we acknowledge no Head but CHRIST; and are determined, God being our Helper, to give up not only our Goods, (as we did before) but Life itself, rather than this Liberty which God hath given us.

7. As it behoves all Christians, not to be *sllothful in business*, but diligently to attend the Works of their Calling; there are Persons chosen by the Church, to superintend all those who are employed in outward business. And by this means also, many things are prevented which might otherwise be an occasion of offence.

8. We have also *Censurs* and *Monitors*, In these Experience and Perspicacity; in these Wisdom and Modesty are chiefly required. The *Censurs* signify what they observe (and they observe the smallest things) either to the *Deacons* or *Monitors*. Some *Monitors* there are, whom all know to be such; others who are secretly appointed; and who, if need require may freely admonish in the Love of CHRIST, even the Rulers of the Church.

9. The Church is so divided, that first the husbands, then the Wives, then the Widows, then the Maids, then the young Men, then the Boys, then the Girls, and lastly the little Children, are in so many distinct Classes: Each of which is daily visited, the married Men by a married Man, the Wives by a Wite, and so of the rest\*. These larger are also (now) divided into  
near

\* This Work all the married Brethren and Sisters, as well as all the unmarried, perform in their Turns.

near Ninety smaller Classes or Bands, over each of which one presides who is of the greatest Experience. All these Leaders meet the Senior every week, and lay open to him and to the Lord, whatsoever hinders or furthers the Work of God, in the Souls committed to their charge.

10. In the Year 1727, four and twenty Men and as many Women agreed, That each of them would spend an hour in every day, in praying to God for his Blessing on his People; and for this purpose both the Men and Women chose a place, where any of their own sex who were in distress, might be present with them. The same number of unmarried Women, of unmarried Men, of Boys, and of Girls, were afterwards, at their desire, added to them who pour out their souls before God, not only for their own Brethren, but also for other churches and persons, that have desired to be mentioned in their Prayers. And this perpetual intercession has never ceas'd day or night, since its first beginning.

11. And as the members of the Church are divided, according to their respective states and sexes: so they are also, with regard to their proficiency in the Knowledge of God, Some are dead, some quicken'd by the Spirit of God: Of these, some again are untractable, some diligent, some zealous, burning with their first Love; some babes, and some young men. Those who are still dead, are visited every Day. And of the Babes in CHRIST especial care is taken also, that they may be daily inspected and assisted to grow in grace, and in the knowledge of our LORD JESUS.

12. In the *Orphan-House*, about seventy children are brought up, separate according to their sex. Beside which, several experienc'd persons appointed to consult with the Parents, touching the Education of the other Children. In teaching them Christianity, we make use of *Luther's* Catechism, and study the amending their Wills as well as Understanding; finding by Experience, that when their Will is moved, they often learn more in a few hours, than otherwise in many Months. Our little Children we instruct chiefly by Hymns;

Hymns; whereby we find the most important Truths most successfully insinuated into their Minds.

13. We highly reverence Marriage, as greatly conducive to the Kingdom of CHRIST. But neither our young Men nor Women enter into it till they assuredly know, they are married to CHRIST. When any know it is the Will of GOD, that they should change their State, both the Man and Woman are placed for a Time, with some married Persons, who instruct them how to behave, so that their married Life may be pleasing to GOD. Then their Design is laid before the whole Church, and after about fourteen Days, they are solemnly joined, tho' not otherwise habited, than they are at other Times. If they make any Entertainment (which is not always) they invite only a few intimate Friends, by whose faithful Admonitions they may be the better prepared to bear their Cross and fight the good Fight of Faith. If any Woman is with Child, not only especial mention is made of her in the publick Prayers, but she is also exhorted in private, wholly to give herself up into the Hands of her faithful Creator. As soon as a Child is born, Prayer is made for it, and if it may be, it is baptized in the Presence of the whole Church. Before it is wean'd, it is brought into the Assembly on the Lord's Days.

14. Whoever either of the Male or female Children, seek GOD with their whole Heart, know \* their Sins are forgiven, and obey the Truth, are not used to be much incited to come to the Lord's supper, neither are they forbidden so to do, if they desire it. We think it enough, to teach our children just conceptions of it, and the difference between this food of the Soul, and that Milk which they every day receive of Christ. They then publickly declare, the sentiments of their Hearts concerning it. They are afterwards examined both in private by the Pastor, and also in publick: And then after an exhortation by the Senior, are by him, thro' laying on of hands, added to the Church

\* This was the Order of the Church, till *Christian David's* Return from *Greenland*. See p. 58.



Church and *confirm'd*. The same method is used with those who renounce the Papal Superstitions, or who are turn'd from the service of *Satan* to *God*; and that, if they desire it, altho' they are not young; yea, tho' they are well stricken in years.

15. Once or twice a month, either at *Bertholdsdorf*, or, if it may be at *Hernhuth*, all the Church receives the Lord's Supper. It cannot be exprest how greatly the power of *God* is then present among us. A general confession of sins is made by one of the Brethren in the name of all. Then a few solid Questions are ask'd; which when they have answer'd, the absolution or remission of sins is either pronounced to all in general, or confirm'd to every particular person, by the laying on of hands. The Seniors first receive; then the rest in Order, without any regard had to worldly dignity, in this, any more than in any other of the solemn Offices of religion. After receiving all the Men (and so the Women) meet together, to renew their Covenant with *God*, to seek his face, and to exhort one another to the patience of Hope and the labour of Love.

16. They have a peculiar esteem for Lots, and accordingly use them both in public and private, to decide points of Importance, when the reasons brought on each side, appear to be of equal weight. And they believe this to be then the only way, of wholly setting aside their own will, of acquitting themselves of all blame, and, clearly knowing what is the Will of *God*.

17. At Eight in the Morning, and in the Evening we meet to pray and to praise *God*, and to read and hear the Holy Scriptures: The time we usually spend in sleep, is from eleven at night till four in the morning. So that allowing three hours a day for taking the food both of our bodies and souls, there remain sixteen for work. And this space those who are in health spend therein, with all diligence and faithfulness.

18. Two Men keep Watch every Night in the Streets, as do two Women, in the Women's Apartment

ment: That they may pour out their souls for those that sleep; and by their Hymns raise the hearts of any who are awake to God.

19. For the further stirring up the gift which is in us, sometimes we have public, sometimes private Love-feasts: At which we take a moderate refreshment, with gladness and singleness of heart, and the voice of praise and thanksgiving.

20. If any man among us, having been often admonish'd, and long forborn, persists in walking unworthy of his Holy Calling, he is no longer admitted to the LORD's Supper. If he still continues in his fault, hating to be reform'd, the last step is, publicly, and often in the midst of many prayers and tears, to cast him out of our Congregation. But great is our Joy, if he then see the error of his ways, so that we may receive him among us again.

21. Most of our Brethren and Sisters, have in some Part of their Life, experienc'd Holy Mourning and Sorrow of Heart; and have afterwards been assured, that *there was no more Condemnation for them, being pass'd from Death unto Life.* They are therefore far from fearing to die, or desiring to live on Earth; knowing that to them *to die is Gain*, and being confident that they are the care of him, whose are the *Issues of Life and Death.* Wherefore they depart as out of one chamber into another. And after the soul has left its habitation, their Remains are deposited in the Earth, appointed for that purpose. And the Survivors are greatly comforted, and rejoice over them, with a Joy *the World knoweth not of.*

F I N I S