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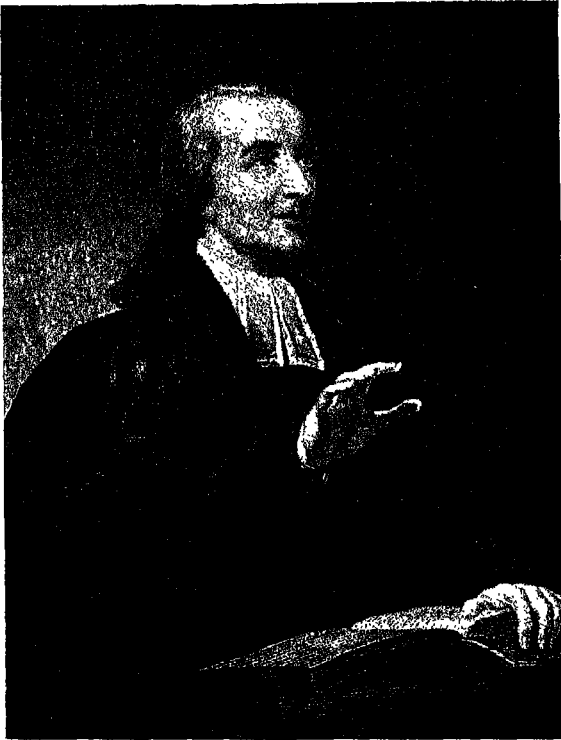
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THE LETTERS OF
THE REV. JOHN WESLEY, A.M.



JOHN FLETCHER
from the portrait by J. Jackson

THE LETTERS

OF THE REV.

JOHN WESLEY, A.M.

SOMETIME FELLOW OF LINCOLN COLLEGE, OXFORD

EDITED BY

JOHN TELFORD, B.A.

VOL. V

FEBRUARY 28, 1766, TO DECEMBER 9, 1772



LONDON : THE EPWORTH PRESS

THE EPWORTH PRESS
(Book Steward: FRANK H. CUMBERS)
25-35 City Road, London, E.C.1

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This edition first published July 1931
Reprinted 1960

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PEACEFUL AND STEADY PROGRESS

(Continued)

FEBRUARY 28 TO DECEMBER 30, 1766

JOHN WESLEY'S LETTERS

PEACEFUL AND STEADY PROGRESS

FEBRUARY 28 TO DECEMBER 30, 1766

To John Fletcher

John Fletcher was born at Nyon in 1729. Wesley became acquainted with him in 1752, soon after he came to London; and when he was ordained at Whitehall in 1757, he hastened to West Street to help Wesley in his sacramental service. Their friendship grew more and more intimate, till Fletcher's death in 1785. He was twenty-five years Vicar of Madeley, and both by his personal influence and his masterly writings rendered constant service to the friend with whom he said 'I gladly would both live and die.' Wesley says, 'We were of one heart and of one soul'; and when he wrote his *Life*, bore witness: 'I have known many excellent men, holy in heart and life; but one equal to him I have not known, one so uniformly and deeply devoted to God.' See *Works*, xi. 273-365.

Wesley went to Lewisham on Sunday evening, February 23, 'and finished the notes on the Book of Job' for his *Explanatory Notes upon the Old Testament*. Fletcher wrote on the 17th as to an exact definition of Perfection, and spoke of his 'desire to execute the plan of a work' to consist of six dialogues on cardinal Christian doctrines. See Tyerman's *Wesley*, ii. 563-4.

LONDON, February 28, 1766.

DEAR SIR,—In my journey northward (which I am to begin from London on Monday, March 10, from Bristol on Monday, March 17) I am obliged to go from Evesham by Birmingham to Nottingham; so that I shall not then be able to reach Madeley. But if I live to return from the Conference at Leeds (which is to begin on Tuesday, August 12, and at which it is possible you may favour us with your company), I hope to cross over from Yorkshire to Shropshire. If so, I shall probably be at Madeley on Wednesday, August 20.

What I mean by *Perfection* I have defined both in the

first and in the *Farther Thoughts* upon that subject : ' Pure love, rejoicing evermore, praying always, in everything giving thanks.' And I incline to think the account you give will amount to the very same thing. But we may observe that, naturally speaking, the animal frame will affect more or less every power of the soul ; seeing at present the soul can no more love than it can think, any otherwise than by the help of bodily organs. If, therefore, we either think, speak, or love aright, it must be by power from on high. And if our affections or will continue right, it must be by a continued miracle. Have we reason to believe, or have we not, that God will continually sustain the stone in air ?

Allow yourself compass enough, and I do not doubt the work you speak of will be of use. But I think you will want, to close the whole, a dialogue on Christian Perfection.

Unity and holiness are the two things I want among the Methodists. Who will rise up with me against all open or secret opposers either of one or the other ? Such are in truth all prudent, all delicate, all fashionable, all half-hearted Methodists ! My soul is weary because of these murderers of the work of God. O let us go through with our work ! Why should not we give *totum pro toto* ? I hope you will always love and pray for, dear sir,

Your affectionate brother and servant.

The Rev. Mr. Fletcher, At Madeley,
Near Shrewsbury.

To John Newton

The sermon on The Lord our Righteousness was preached at West Street, London, on November 24, 1765. He says in his *Journal*, v. 150-1 : ' I said not one thing which I have not said at least fifty times within this twelvemonth.' The *Plain Account*, published in 1766, is Wesley's classic exposition of the doctrine of Christian Perfection, and has had world-wide influence. See *Works*, xi. 366-446 ; Green's *Bibliography*, No. 238.

LEWISHAM, February 28, 1766.

DEAR SIR,—You are exceeding happy in having ' done with controversy,' or rather in having never begun it, as necessity was not laid upon you. And he must be a madman that will leap into the fire without necessity. To ' follow peace

with all men' is an admirable help to the following after holiness. And even outward peace, when we can have it upon honest terms, is an invaluable blessing.

The late sermon I have published *eo nomine* to explain my sentiments on that head. This very day I answered a letter from a good man (and one of considerable sense and learning) who thinks (as you seem to do) that I have therein contradicted some of my former writings. But I think not; and a man *should* understand himself best. I think I have not wrote one line, either in verse or prose (I mean since the year 1737), which contradicts any sentiment in that sermon, much less the grand leading sentiment. And I desire the sense of any doubtful expression which occurs in any of my other writings may be ascertained by this, wherein I purposely explain myself on the head.

I do not only insinuate, but affirm, and that upon full personal knowledge, (1) That 'people otherwise well-meaning' (yea, true believers, holy till then both in heart and life) 'have been deluded and hardened,' at least for the present, 'chiefly, if not merely, by the *too frequent*' and improper 'use of the phrase *imputed righteousness.*' These melancholy instances stare me in the face continually. I affirm, (2) That *some of those* who love that expression are remarkably remiss in showing their zeal and care for practical holiness.' They do not enforce it, as Dr. Owen¹ does, with whom (though I do not like some of his opinions) I should never have disputed had he been alive now. And I suppose I should never dispute with you. I want only that He who died for us may live in us, and that He may *reign alone* in our hearts. I have just printed (but I know not that I shall *publish* it all; for I would not, if possible, afford more matter of controversy to the children of God) for the satisfaction of my serious friends, *A Plain Account of Christian Perfection as believed and taught by the Rev. Mr. John Wesley from the year 1725 to the year 1765.* If you care to give it a reading, you shall be welcome to a copy. I hope Mrs. Newton and yourself will never forget in your prayers, dear sir,

Your affectionate brother and servant.

¹ John Owen (1616-83) was Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University.

On Monday se'nnight I am to set out for Bristol and the North.

To Mrs. Bennis

Mrs. Bennis wrote on March 11 about her religious experience. She asked whether there may not be imperfections where there is no sin, &c. See letter of August 23, 1763.

MANCHESTER, *March 29, 1766.*

MY DEAR SISTER,—One of our preachers¹ has lately advanced a new position among us—that there is no direct or immediate witness of sanctification, but only a perception or consciousness that we are changed, filled with love, and cleansed from sin. But if I understand you right, you find a direct testimony that you are a child of God.

Now, certainly, if God has given you this light, He did not intend that you should hide it under a bushel. 'It is good to conceal the secrets of a king; but it is good to tell the loving-kindness of the Lord.' Every one ought to declare what God has done for his soul, and that with all simplicity; only care is to be taken to declare to several persons that part of our experience which they are severally able to bear, and some parts of it to such alone as are upright and simple of heart.

One reason why those who are saved from sin should freely declare it to believers is because nothing is a stronger incitement to them to seek after the same blessing. And we ought by every possible means to press every serious believer to forget the things which are behind and with all earnestness go on to perfection. Indeed, if they are not thirsting after this, it is scarce possible to keep what they have: they can hardly retain any power of faith if they are not panting after holiness.

A thousand infirmities are consistent even with the highest degree of holiness, which is no other than pure love, an heart devoted to God, one design and one desire. Then whatever is done either in word or deed may be done in the name of the Lord Jesus.

Press after all the residue of the promises.—I am, my dear sister,
Your affectionate brother.

¹ James Oddie. See letter of July 24, 1769.

To Peggy Dale

MANCHESTER, April 1, 1766.

MY DEAR PEGGY,—I perceived that, about the time when you wrote before, your treadings had wellnigh slipped. You was within a little of casting away your confidence and giving up what God had wrought. But His eye pitied you, and His hand held you up and set your feet again upon the rock. Now, my dear maid, abide simple before God! And if the thought comes (as it may do a thousand times), ‘How do you reconcile this or this with pure love?’ do not *reason*, but look unto Jesus, and tell Him earnestly and without delay, ‘Thou shalt answer for me, O Lord, my God.’ Continue to love and pray for, my dear sister, Your affectionate brother.

To Miss Dale, At the Orphan House,
Newcastle-upon-Tyne. North Post.

To John Newton

MANCHESTER, April 1, 1766.

DEAR SIR,—I do not perceive that there is an hair’s breadth difference between us with regard to the nature of Sanctification: only you *express* a little less plainly and a little less scripturally than I am accustomed to do. However, I understand your expressions perfectly well, ‘A cordial, admiring, believing apprehension of Christ.’ And it is of little consequence whether we call this *sanctification* or sanctifying *faith*.

Neither can I discern that there is any more difference between us with regard to the *means* of sanctification; or with regard to the *fruit* of those means, which we both continually maintain to spring wholly and solely from the almighty grace of God, which alone worketh all in and by them all.

And yet it is true that there is often a considerable difference in our *manner of speaking*. Although we think alike—namely, that there is nothing good either in our heart or in our life which we do not *receive* from Christ, and that He is fountain and life of sanctification (which should be in all our thoughts)—yet we do not speak alike. The words ‘Christ’ and ‘faith’ are far oftener in *your* mouth than *mine*. I am glad you give me an opportunity of explaining myself on this head.

Seven-and-twenty years ago the Moravian Brethren objected to me, ‘That I did not speak enough of Christ and

of faith.' My answer was: 'The Bible is my standard of *language* as well as sentiment. I endeavour not only to think but to speak *as the oracles of God*. Show me any one of the inspired writers who mentions Christ or faith more frequently than I do, and I will mention them more frequently. But otherwise I cannot without varying from my standard.' At length the Count said frankly, 'You do speak *scripturally*; but the Lamb has taught us a *better language*.' I cannot believe it: therefore I keep to my old way, and speak neither better nor worse than the Bible.

In food, apparel, and all things else I advise all those under my care to save all they can (with a safe conscience) in order to give all they can. And I never knew any one repent of it in a dying hour.

Peace be with you and yours!—I am, dear sir,

Your affectionate brother.

To Samuel Furly

CHESTER, April 3, 1766.

DEAR SAMMY,—It would have been a great satisfaction to me to have waited upon Mrs. Venn,¹ had I received yours a few days sooner. But it did not reach Sheffield till I was gone, so that I did not receive it till I came to Manchester.

One of our preachers that was (I mean Hampson) has lately made a discovery that there is no such thing in any believer as a *direct, immediate* testimony of the Spirit that he is a child of God, that the Spirit testifies this *only* by the fruits, and consequently that the witness and the fruits are *all one*. Let me have your deliberate thoughts on this head. It seems to me to be a point of no small importance. I am afraid lest we should get back again unawares into justification by works.

My best wishes attend Mrs. Venn, Mr. Riland,² and all at your house.—I am Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Peggy Dale

'Peggy submitted her judgement to John Wesley's, and stayed at home.' Wesley thought it would not be altogether good for her to come under the influence of Mrs. Ryan, who was living at Leyton-

¹ Henry Venn was Vicar of Huddersfield, where his wife died on Sept. 11, 1767.

² See heading to letter of June 22,

1763.

stone with Miss Bosanquet. See Dale's *Life and Letters*, i. 13; and letters of October 12, 1764, October 5 and 13, 1765, and June 28, 1766.

[April 1766.]

MY DEAR PEGGY,—Is *our* intercourse drawing toward a period? Let it be so, if that be best for *you*. But I have another doubt: I am afraid if you go to Leytonstone you will give up perfection; I mean by placing it so high as I fear none will ever attain. I know *not one* in London that has largely conversed with Sally Ryan who has not given it up—that is, with regard to their own experience. Now this, I think, would do you no good at all. Nay, I judge it would do you much hurt: it would be a substantial loss. But I do not see how you could possibly avoid that loss without a free intercourse with me both in writing and speaking. Otherwise I know and feel I can give you up, though you are exceeding near and dear to me. But if you was to be moved from your steadfastness, that would give me pain indeed. You will write immediately to, my dear Peggy,

Your affectionate brother.

To Mrs. Woodhouse

NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE, May 2, 1766.

DEAR MADAM,—Yesterday I received the following lines from Mr. Miller at Edinburgh:

Yours I received this day at one o'clock, and immediately went to Dr. Monro¹ and showed him your letter. He said: 'It is my opinion he was born deaf. I cannot give any particular advice: I do not think it is necessary for him to come hither. But if it be desired, I will write and order medicines for him.' The doctor seems to have little hopes of his recovery.

It seems, therefore, you have no call at present to so long and expensive a journey. But if you desire it, I will endeavour when I am at Edinburgh to talk with Dr. Monro myself. If it be in my power to do anything for Mr. Woodhouse² or you, it will be a pleasure to, dear madam,

Your affectionate servant.

¹ Alexander Monro, M.D. Edin. (1697-1767); first Professor of Anatomy, Edinburgh University, 1720.

² Wesley was at Epworth on April 24, when Mrs. Woodhouse had evidently sought his help as to her father's illness. See letter of May 17.

To *Ebenezer Blackwell*

SUNDERLAND, *May 6, 1766.*

DEAR SIR,—William Matthews¹ writes me word that he has quitted the school at the Foundery, and begs me to speak to you in his behalf. I should be glad to serve him in anything that was in my power, either for his late brother's sake or his own. I judge him to be a right honest man, one that may be trusted in every respect, and one that would perform with all diligence whatever he undertook, not so much for gain as for conscience' sake.

I am not yet quite free from the effects of the fall which I had at Christmas,² and perhaps never shall in this world. Sometimes my ankle, sometimes my knee, and frequently my shoulder, complains. But, blessed be God, I have strength sufficient for the work to which I am called. When I cannot walk any farther, I can take an horse, and now and then a chaise; so that hitherto I have not been hindered from visiting any place which I purposed to see before I left London.

The fields in every part of England are indeed white for the harvest. There is everywhere an amazing willingness in the people to receive either instruction or exhortation. We find this temper now even in many of the higher rank, several of whom cared for none of these things. But surely the time is coming for these also; for the scripture must be fulfilled, 'They shall all know Me, from the least even to the greatest.'

We who have lived more years have need of more earnestness and vigour in running the race which is set before us, or some of those that come after us will get before us in the way. Many of those who have lately set out run well. Grey heads stand upon green shoulders.

They make their morning bear the heat of day.

Let us mend our pace! What is there here that is worth lingering for? A little while, and this world of shadows will vanish, and all will be boundless, bottomless eternity!

My wife, who has been very ill, but is much better, joins

¹ He had evidently been one of Silas Told's scholars. John Matthews died in 1764. See letter of April 24, 1757.

² Riding through the Borough on Dec. 18, 1765, on his way to Shoreham, his mare fell. Wesley was badly bruised. See *Journal*, v. 152.

with me in wishing Mrs. Blackwell and you every blessing which is purchased for you with the blood of the covenant.—I am, dear sir, Your ever affectionate servant.

To Lady Maxwell

Lady Maxwell's biographer says she had 'become zealous in the cause of religion, and was deeply affected when anything occurred calculated to stain its purity or to lead the unwary to question its reality. Something of this nature had happened in Edinburgh, which led her ladyship to state the matter to Mr. Wesley.' See *Life*, p. 23.

NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE, May 6, 1766.

MY DEAR LADY,—It was well that I did not hear anything of a trial you lately had till it was past. You have great reason to bless God that this did not turn you out of the way. You might easily have inferred from it that 'all these people are alike'; and thence have given way to a thousand reasonings, which would have brought you into utter darkness. But it is plain you are not left to your own weakness. You have a strong Helper. The Lord stands on your right hand; therefore you are not moved. And I make no doubt but He will continue to help till His arm brings you salvation. But in the meantime you have need of patience; and the more so, because you have a weak body. This, one may expect, will frequently press down the soul, especially till you are strong in faith. But how soon may that be, seeing it is the gift, yea and the free gift, of God! Therefore it is never far off. The word is nigh thee! 'Only believe!' Look unto Jesus! Be thou saved! Receive out of His fullness grace upon grace; mercy, and grace to keep mercy.

On the 24th instant I hope to be at Edinburgh with my wife and daughter.¹ But perhaps you will see the salvation of God before you see, my dear Lady,

Your ever affectionate servant.

To Mrs. Woodhouse

NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE, May 17, 1766.

MY DEAR SISTER,—It is a doubt with me whether Dr. Monro will attempt anything in Mr. Woodhouse's case²;

¹ See *Journal*, v. 168. The previous letter shows that Mrs. Wesley had been very ill.

² See letters of May 2, 1766, and Feb. 3, 1768.

and the person at Sunderland who was so strongly recommended to me I fear knows nothing of the matter. I hope to be at Edinburgh next week. If I can learn anything more, I will send you word.

You have great reason to praise God for what He has done and to expect what He has promised. That spark of faith which you have received is of more value than all the world. O cherish it with all your might! Continually stir up the gift of God which is in you, not only by continuing to hear His word at all opportunities, but by reading, by meditation, and above all by private prayer. Though sometimes it should be a grievous cross, yet bear your cross, and it will bear *you*: your labour shall not be in vain. Is not our Lord just now ready to bless you? to increase your faith, and love, and patience, and gentleness? You have no need to be any more overcome of evil. Through Him you shall overcome evil with good. Surely His grace is sufficient for you: sufficient to subdue all things to Himself. I want you to be all like Him. Your openness and freedom of behaviour when we were at Epworth endeared you to me much. At any time you should speak to me without reserve just what rises in your heart. The peace that passes all understanding keep you heart and mind in Christ Jesus.—
I am, my dear sister, Your affectionate brother.

If you write in two or three weeks, please to direct to me in Edinburgh.

To Subscribers to 'Notes upon the Old Testament'

This circular letter was found by the Rev. Wilfrid J. Moulton, M.A., in his copy of Wesley's *Explanatory Notes upon the Old Testament*. The work was expected to fill sixty numbers, each containing three sheets and sold at 6d. The printer adds this footnote to the circular:

As it cannot be exactly ascertained in how many numbers the work will be completed, it is judged most necessary (for the sake of uniformity) with the last number to give the title-pages and likewise directions to the binder to divide the volumes; by which means it will be done with greater exactness than otherwise it possibly can be. And as the work unavoidably exceeds what was at first intended, the subscribers shall

receive GRATIS a *Print of Mr. Wesley* with each of the volumes to serve as a frontispiece.

See Green's *Bibliography*, No. 234.

GLASGOW, June 20, 1766.

From the time that I published the *Notes on the New Testament* I was importuned to publish *Notes on the Old*. I long resisted that importunity ; but at length yielded and began the work, supposing that it need not be above twice as long as the former, otherwise all the importunity in the world would not have prevailed on me to undertake it. But I had not gone through the Book of Exodus before I began to find my mistake. I perceived the work would be considerably longer than I expected if I designed to make it intelligible to common readers, and therefore immediately consulted with my friends what was best to be done.

Here was a difficulty on each hand. If I had went on as I begun, and explained every text so as to be understood by every reader, then the work would swell to 100, perhaps 110 or 112 numbers. This, it was easily foreseen, many *would complain* of, especially those who did not observe that it was not possible to make the notes shorter without making them almost useless. On the other hand, if I left many texts unexplained, they would have *reason to complain*. This was judged the greater evil of the two : so that every one to whom I spoke earnestly desired me to go on as I had begun and not to cramp the work. Several of them added that, even if the work should swell to 120 numbers, it would be far better than by labouring to shorten the notes to make them unintelligible to ordinary readers.

In the meantime I myself have far the worst of it : the great burthen falls upon *me*—a burthen which, if I had seen before, all the world would not have persuaded me to take up. I am employed day and night, and *must* go on, whether I will or no, lest the printer should stand still. All my time is swallowed up, and I can hardly catch a few hours to answer the letters that are sent me.

Does any one who knows anything of *me* suppose that I would drudge thus for *money*? What is money to me? Dung and dross. I love it as I do the mire in the streets.

But I find enough that want it ; and among these I disperse it with both hands, being careful only to owe no man anything, to 'wind my bottom round the year.'¹ For my own sake I care not how short the work is ; for I am heartily tired of it. It is for the reader's sake that I say as much on each verse as I think will make it intelligible. And there is no fear I should say any more ; for I am not a dealer in many words.

To Lady Maxwell

GLASGOW, *June 22, 1766.*

MY DEAR LADY,—How great was the satisfaction which I received in several of our late conversations ! The fears which I long entertained concerning you are now wellnigh at an end. I am not now afraid of your being entangled again by your honourable relations or acquaintance ; or of your regarding the pleasures that perish in the using, or seeking happiness in the things of earth. God has given you a taste for better things, and has taught you to see the honour that comes from Him only. Oh what is all the applause or admiration of our poor fellow-worms to this ! Let them censure or praise : of how small concern is this, so your great Judge says, ' Servant of God, well done.' This is the applause which I trust you will always seek, and of which you cannot be disappointed, seeing ' every one that seeketh, findeth ; every one that asketh, receiveth.'

Before this I hope it is made plain to you whether you should comply with St. James or no. I incline to think something of the kind would be good for your body. All the doubt is whether your soul will prosper.² I commend you for being more careful on this than on any other account. And unless you have a clear, particular conviction from God that He will preserve you in the fiery furnace, I cannot advise you to venture into it. Your mind is as yet exceeding tender. You are weak as an infant ; your bones are not knit ; you are not able to bear.

¹ Prior's *An Epitaph*, ll. 45-8 :

' They neither added nor confounded ;
They neither wasted nor abounded,
Each Christmas they accompts did
clear,

And wound their bottom round the
year.'

² Wesley was in Edinburgh from
May 24 to June 1, and probably
stayed with Lady Maxwell.

Yet if it should please our Lord to call you into the combat, He would strengthen you for it, and you would be able to testify, 'I can do all things through Christ that strengtheneth me.'

Pray let me hear (at Newcastle-upon-Tyne) that you use *some exercise* every day. I cannot tell you how tender a concern I feel for you. Fulfil you my joy by receiving all the promise. Then I am sure you will love and pray for, my dear Lady,

Your ever affectionate servant.

To his Brother Charles

This is an extraordinary outpouring of Wesley's deepest religious feeling. It is impressive to find the leading spirit of the Evangelical Revival, who is growing daily in zeal and in influence, exercising such discipline over himself. It is no wonder that the words in brackets were in shorthand, as only intended for his brother's eye. He is severe with himself, but quick to acknowledge the devotion of others.

William Evans the jeweller lived at Woodsclose, Clerkenwell, whence Charles Wesley (in his *Journal*) dates a letter to his wife on July 12, 1766. Wesley writes on February 25, 1776: 'I buried the remains of William Evans, one of the first members of our Society. He was an Israelite indeed, open (if it could be) to a fault; always speaking the truth from his heart.' In Stevenson's *City Road Chapel*, p. 34, his name appears in the band list for June 1745 among the 'single' members.

WHITEHAVEN, June 27, 1766.

DEAR BROTHER,—I think you and I have abundantly too little intercourse with each other. Are we not *old acquaintances*? Have we not known each other for half a century? and are we not jointly engaged in such a work as probably no two other men upon earth are? Why, then, do we keep at such a distance? It is a mere device of Satan. But surely we ought not at this time of day to be ignorant of his devices. Let us therefore make the full use of the little time that remains. *We* at least should *think aloud* and use to the uttermost the light and grace on each bestowed. We should help each other,

Of little life the best to make,
And manage wisely the last stake.¹

¹ Anacreon's *Agæ*. Cowley's translation.

In one of my last I was saying I do not feel the wrath of God abiding on me; nor can I believe it does. And yet (this is the mystery) [I do not love God. I never did]. Therefore [I never] believed in the Christian sense of the word. Therefore [I am only an] honest heathen, a proselyte of the Temple, one of the φοβούμενοι τὸν Θεόν.¹ And yet to be so employed of God! and so hedged in that I can neither get forward nor backward! Surely there never was such an instance before, from the beginning of the world! If I [ever have had] *that faith*, it would not be so strange. But [I never had any] other ἄλλοχος of the eternal or invisible world than [I have] now; and that is [none at all], unless such as fairly shines from reason's glimmering ray. [I have no] direct witness, I do not say that [I am a child of God], but of anything invisible or eternal.

And yet I dare not preach otherwise than I do, either concerning faith, or love, or justification, or perfection. And yet I find rather an increase than a decrease of zeal for the whole work of God and every part of it. I am φερόμενος,² I know not how, that I can't stand still. I want all the world to come to *ὃν οὐκ οἶδα*.³ Neither am I impelled to this by fear of any kind. I have no more fear than love. Or if I have [any fear, it is not that of falling] into hell but of falling into nothing.

I hope you are with Billy Evans. If there is an Israelite indeed, I think he is one. O insist everywhere on *full* redemption, receivable by *faith alone*! Consequently to be looked for *now*. You are *made*, as it were, for this very thing. Just here you are in your element. In connexion I beat you; but in strong, pointed *sentences* you beat me. Go on, in your *own way*, what God has peculiarly called you to. Press the *instantaneous* blessing: then I shall have more time for my peculiar calling, enforcing the *gradual* work.

We must have a thorough *reform of the preachers*. I wish you would *come to Leeds*⁴ with John Jones in the machine.

¹ 'Those that fear God.'

² 'Borne along.'

³ 'What I do not know.'

⁴ Where the Conference was held on Aug. 12. 'A happier Conference we never had, nor a more profitable

one. It was both begun and ended in love, and with a solemn sense of the presence of God.' See *Journal*, v. 181-2; and letter of July 9 to his brother.

It comes in two days ; and after staying two days, you might return. I would willingly bear your expenses up and down. I believe it will help, not hurt, your health. My love to Sally.

To Mrs. Ryan

WHITEHAVEN, June 28, 1766.

MY DEAR SISTER,—For some time I have been convinced it was my duty to tell you what was on my mind. I will do it with all plainness. You may answer or not, as you judge best.

Many things I have observed in you which gave me pleasure ; some which gave me concern : the former I need not mention ; the latter I must, or I should not myself be clear before God.

The first of these is something which looks like pride. You sometimes seem to think too highly of yourself, and (comparatively) to despise others. I will instance in two or three particulars :—

1. You appear to be above instruction—I mean instruction from man. I do not doubt but you are taught of God. But that does not supersede your being taught by man also. I believe there is no saint upon earth whom God does not teach by man.

2. You appear to think (I will not affirm you do), that none understands the doctrine of Sanctification like you.¹ Nay, you sometimes speak as if none understood it besides you : whereas (whether you experience more or less of it than some) I know several, both men and women, who both think and speak full as scripturally of it as you do ; and perhaps more clearly, for there is often something dark and confused in your manner of speaking concerning it.

3. You appear to undervalue the experience of almost every one in comparison of your own. To this it seems to be owing that you some way or other beat down almost all who believe they are saved from sin. And so some of them were, in the only sense wherein I either teach or believe it, unless they tell flat and wilful lies in giving an account of their experience.

¹ See letter in April to Peggy Dale ; time ; and letter of July 9 to his Tyerman's *Wesley*, ii. 561-5, as to brother. the feeling about Perfection at this

A second thing which has given me concern is, I am afraid you are in danger of enthusiasm. We know there are divine dreams and impressions. But how easily may you be deceived herein! How easily, where something is from God, may we mix something which is from nature! especially if we have a lively imagination, and are not aware of any danger.

I will mention one thing more. It has frequently been said, and with some appearance of truth, that you endeavour to monopolize the affections of all that fall into your hands; that you destroy the nearest and dearest connexion they had before, and make them quite cool and indifferent to their most intimate friends. I do not at all speak on my own account; I set myself out of the question. But if there be anything of the kind with regard to other people, I should be sorry both for them and you.

I commend you all to God and to the word of His grace.—I am, my dear sister, Your affectionate brother.

To Lady Maxwell

HARTLEPOOL, July 8, 1766.

MY DEAR LADY,—You have certainly taken the safest step. There would have been danger if you had acted otherwise. There is something infectious in the familiar conversation of persons that know not God. Unless we are continually on the watch, it damps and deadens the soul. So much the more reason you have to praise God for the liberty He has given you. He has dealt exceedingly tender with you. He has given you a thousand tokens for good. Do not dare to distrust His goodness any more. Check every thought of that kind. It cometh not from Him that calleth you. Christ is yours. Here is your foundation. Let nothing remove you from this. Jesus hath loved *you*. He hath given Himself for *you*. And the Father Himself loves you, and will withhold from you no manner of thing that is good.

I am in much hope Mr. Taylor¹ will be of use to you. You will not object to his plainness of speech, but rather encourage him from time to time to tell you all that is in his heart concerning you.

¹ Thomas Taylor. See letter of Dec. 17, 1765.

Mrs. Douglas spent a day with our friends at Newcastle, and I believe a profitable one. I have desired my wife to call upon her next week and bring the Colonel and her to York.¹ If she could spend a few days with the simple Christians there, I hope it would be the means of establishing her for ever.

I rejoice to hear that you have the resolution to sleep and rise early. The uneasiness of it will soon be over, but the advantage will remain for ever. O fear no cross! God is on your side, and will command all to work together for good.—
I am, my dear Lady, Your most affectionate servant.

To his Brother Charles

STOCKTON, July 9, 1766.

DEAR BROTHER,—I hope Sam. Richards has not left his wife destitute. Sister Purnell certainly is unqualified for an housekeeper.¹ I will give her five pounds that she may not be distressed before she is in some way of life. I have wrote to Nancy Smith to go to Bristol directly. By all the accounts I have had from others, and by talking with her myself, I judge she is a proper person. I am sure she has grace and sense, and is willing to learn.

I shall judge of the bands at Kingswood when I am there. They have not met tolerably for these dozen years.

I have set aside J. H., and will stand by it. But I expect to meet more critical cases than his. How apt are you to take the colour of your company! When you and I [talked] together, you *seemed* at least to be of the same mind with me, and now you are all off the hooks again!—unless you only talk because you are in an humour of contradiction; and if so, I may as well blow against the wind as talk with you. I was not mad, though Thomas Maxfield was. I did not talk nonsense on the head as he did. I did not *act* contrary to all moral honesty. When your hymns on one hand were added to his talking and acting on the other, what was likely to be the consequence?

¹ Wesley himself reached York on Saturday, July 19, and stayed till the following Wednesday. For Dr. Douglas of Kelso, with whom Wesley

stayed in June 1782, see *Journal*, vi. 358.

¹ Evidently for housekeeper at Kingswood School.

I will tell you a secret. I will not be opposed at the Conference; for I will not dispute. I shall find them other work. But (as I wrote in my last) it is highly expedient *you* should be there. Don't mind four or five pounds expense; I have enough for you and me.¹

One word more, concerning setting perfection too high.² *That perfection* which I believe, I can boldly preach, because I think I see five hundred witnesses of it. Of *that perfection* which you preach, you do not even think you see any witness at all. Why, then you must have far more courage than me, or you could not persist in preaching it. I wonder you do not in this article fall in plumb with Mr. Whitefield. For do not you as well as he ask, 'Where are the perfect ones?' I verily believe there are none upon earth, none dwelling in the body. I cordially assent to his opinion that there is *no such perfection* here as *you* describe—at least, I never met with an instance of it; and I doubt I never shall. Therefore I still think to set perfection *so high* is effectually to renounce it.

Pray tell Mr. Franks³ I have this moment received Mr. Pine's letter and agree with every article of it.

I believe the sooner Sister Smith goes to Bristol the better. I wish you would advise and encourage her a little.

Both James and Jonas *had* much grace. But you and I are no Calvinists. I know nothing of Jonas's escape. It is not strange that an high nervous disorder should terminate in madness, yet she too *had* much grace, and perhaps has still.

Miss Lewen⁴ gave me a chaise and a pair of horses.

You are a long time getting to London. Therefore I hope you will do much good there. Yes, says William, 'Mr. Charles will stop their *prating in the bands* at London, as he has done at Bristol.' I believe not. I believe you will rather encourage them to speak humbly and modestly the words of truth and soberness. Great good has flowed and will

¹ See letter of June 27.

² See letter of June 28.

³ His Book Steward at the Foundery. Pine was printing Wesley's *Notes upon the Old Testament* and

his *Plain Account of Christian Perfection*. See letter of June 20.

⁴ Wesley's fall in Southwark had shaken him severely (see letter of May 6). This chaise was a great boon.

flow herefrom. Let your 'knowledge direct not quench the fire.' That has been done too much already. I hope you will now *raise*, not *depress* their hopes. 'They consider us,' says honest George,¹ 'as setting suns. And yet it may please God we should outlive many of them.' The proposal is good. But I fear our Council is a little like the Senate of Capua.² Come, try. Name me four senators, and I will name four more. Find such as you can, till you can find such as you would. Don't expect men 'without spot or blemish.' I could name six if need were, and yet not one angel; but *οἱ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀγγελοὶ εἰσὶ*³

My wife continues in an amazing temper. Miracles are not ceased. Not one jarring string. O let us live now! My love to Sally.

To Samuel Furly

YARM, July 9, 1766.

DEAR SAMMY,—What a blessing it is that, where we do not think alike, we can *agree to disagree*! Seventeen or eighteen years ago, after much searching of the Scriptures and mature deliberation, I wrote my thoughts concerning the witness of God's Spirit and the witness of our own spirit.⁴ I have not yet seen any reason to change my judgement on either of these subjects; rather I am confirmed therein more and more both by the living and dying children of God. And this is no peculiarity of the Methodists. Many I have found in various parts both of Great Britain and Ireland (to say nothing of Holland, Germany, and America) who enjoyed that immediate witness before they had any sort of connexion with the Methodists or any knowledge either of their persons or writings. Most of the Papists call it a peculiarity of the Protestants. And they have some colour from the 'Harmonia Confessionum'; which does undoubtedly prove that this was the general

¹ Whitefield. On Aug. 21 Charles Wesley writes to his wife from London: 'Last night my brother came. This morning we spent two blessed hours with G. Whitefield. The three-fold cord, we trust, will never more be broken.'

² The Senate of Capua was attached to Rome, but lost its control when Hannibal appeared, and he entered the city in triumph.

³ 'Such are mortals now.'

⁴ In Wesley's first volume of *Sermons*, published in 1746.

opinion of the Protestant Churches. But not of them alone ; for many of the Romanists too both held and experienced it.

Wishing you and yours every gospel blessing, I am, dear Sammy,
Your affectionate friend and brother.

To the Rev. Mr. Furly, At Crossport,
Huddersfield.

To Francis Wanley, Dean of Ripon

The Methodists at Ripon had suffered much harsh and unlawful treatment. Francis Wanley (1709-91), Dean of Ripon and Rector of Stokesley, was a magistrate, but refused to administer justice in the case of the Methodists. Ripon was in the Yarm Circuit, where Wesley evidently saw Ralph Bell at the Quarterly Meeting which was held that day. On May 2, 1780, Wesley was at Ripon. 'The great hindrance of the work of God in this place has suddenly disappeared, and the poor people, being delivered from their fear, gladly flock together to hear His word.'

YARM, July 9, 1766.

REVEREND SIR,—The regard which I owe to a fellow Christian, and much more to a clergyman and a magistrate, constrains me to trouble you with a few lines, though I have no personal acquaintance with you. Ralph Bell has just been giving me an account of the late affair at Ripon. What he desires is (1) to have the loss he has sustained repaired ; and (2) liberty of conscience—that liberty which every man may claim as his right by the law of God and nature, and to which every Englishman in particular has a right by the laws of his country. I well know the advantage these laws give us in the present case : I say us, because I make the case my own, as I think it my bounden duty to do. I have had many suits in the King's Bench, and (blessed be God) I never lost one yet.¹ But I would far rather put an amicable end to any dispute where it can be done. Not that I am afraid of being overborne by the expense : if I am not, I know them that are able to bear it. But I love peace. I love my neighbour as myself, and would not willingly bring loss or trouble upon any man. Be so good as to impute to this motive my interfering in this matter.—I am, reverend sir,

Your servant for Christ's sake.

¹ See letter of Dec. 20.

To James Rea

James Rea was one of four preachers from Ireland received on trial at the Conference of 1765, and was appointed to Newry. He 'desisted from travelling' in 1770. An unpublished diary by Jonathan Hern, then stationed at Castlebar, says he rode to Dublin with Mr. Clendinnen on July 14, 1772, and attended a watch-night service there that night. John C. Clendinnen, of Downpatrick, was received on trial as a preacher in 1796 and appointed to Ballyshannon. He died at Bideford in 1855.

Robert Williams preached in the market-place at Whitehaven on June 29, 1766, to some thousands of people, all quiet and attentive. Wesley met him in Ireland the previous April. He was a strong dissenter, and went to America in 1769, where he became the Apostle of Methodism in Virginia and South Carolina and led thousands to Christ. See *Journal*, v. 173, 202, 315-6; Crookshank's *Methodism in Ireland*, i. 225, 298.

YORK, July 21, 1766.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—Preach abroad at Newry, Newtown, Lisburn, and Carrick, if ever you would do good. It is the cooping yourselves up in rooms that has damped the work of God, which never was and never will be carried on to any purpose without going out into the highways and hedges and compelling poor sinners to come in.

Papists converted may read their recantation or not; it is of no great consequence. But I go to church whether the minister is good or bad, and advise others so to do.

But what is become of Robert Williams? He is usually a reviver of the work wherever he comes. Let him and you go on hand in hand, and you will carry all before you. But preach abroad in every place. Mind not lazy or cowardly Methodists. 'Tis a shame to preach in an house before October unless in a morning. At the Conference we will consider where it is best for you to be. Meantime be all in earnest.—I am

Your affectionate brother.

I don't recollect who Brother Clendearning is.

To Jane Hilton

Francis Hilton was 'a respectable shoemaker' in Beverley, in whose house Methodist preaching was first held. When this became too small, he hired and fitted up at his own expense a large and commodious room in Mr. Turner's yard, a very central situation. He had a numerous family. His daughter Jane joined the Methodist Society on September 10, 1764. Wesley preached in Hilton's yard on July 14, 1759.

Miss Hilton consulted him about her marriage to William Barton, of Beverley. See *Methodist Magazine*, 1828, pp. 222-5; and letter of September 30, 1768.

YORK, July 22, 1766.

MY DEAR SISTER,—See that you stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ has made you free. You need never more be entangled either with pride or anger or desire of any creature. Christ is yours; all is yours. O be all His, and admit no rival into your heart! But, above all, beware of unbelief. Beware of the reasoning devil. In every cloud or shadow of doubt look up, and help, while yet you ask, is given. All you want is ready! Only believe!—I am, my dear sister,

Your affectionate brother in Christ.

I hope your health is better.

To Mrs. Bennis

Mrs. Bennis told Wesley on July 10, 'I had got into a new world! I found an entire change; I had that *perception* or *consciousness* that I was changed; but I also found doubts, fears, and questionings,' till she cried mightily for the witness of the Spirit, which was granted 'in such a manner as was very clear to me.'

LEEDS, August 14, 1766.

MY DEAR SISTER,—Although I am at present exceedingly hurried with various business, yet love constrains me to write a few lines. Your letters are always welcome to me as the picture of an honest and affectionate heart.

What you say concerning the witness of the Spirit is agreeable to all sound experience. We may in some measure be satisfied without it in the time of broad sunshine; but it is absolutely necessary in the time of clouds and heaviness and temptation; otherwise it would be hardly possible to hold fast your confidence.

Beware of voluntary humility; even this may create a snare. In the *Thoughts on Christian Perfection* and in the *Farther Thoughts* you have the genuine experience of the adult children of God. Oppose that authority to the authority of any that contradict (if reason and Scripture are disregarded), and look daily for a deeper and fuller communion with God. O what is it to walk in the light as He is in the light!

Do not cease to pray for

Your truly affectionate brother.

To Ann Foard

LONDON, August 21, 1766.

DEAR MISS ANN,—Your letters will always be agreeable to me ; and the more largely and freely you write the better. I am deeply concerned for your happiness ; and a measure of happiness you may enjoy as long as you feel any love in your heart to God, though it be but in a small degree. Be thankful for what you have, and in peace and love wait for the whole promise. God has not only promised, but confirmed that promise by an oath, that, 'being delivered from all your enemies, you shall serve Him in righteousness and holiness all the days of your life.' By what art can this be made to mean the last day or the last moment of your life ? Look for it now ! To-day hear His voice. Do not reason against God, against yourself. 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart.' 'The mouth of the Lord hath spoken it.'

I advise you : (1) Get all the opportunities you can of hearing the preaching and conversing with the children of God. (2) Avoid disputing with your might. (3) Spend some time every day in private prayer, in meditation, and in reading the *Notes on the New Testament*, the first volume of *Sermons*, and the *Appeals*. (4) When you may be free, use it rather. Peace be with your spirit.—I am

Your affectionate brother.

To Mrs. Crosby

The Leytonstone circle was disposed to be critical of Wesley's spiritual experience. His patience and readiness to listen to the advice of these friends are remarkable ; and this letter, part of which is missing, gives an insight into his inner life which is of great interest. See letters of March 25, 1764, and June 28, 1766, to Mrs. Ryan.

A name was blotted out at the end of the original letter. It is evidently 'Sarah Crosby' ; but 'S. R. and M. B.' (Sarah Ryan and Mary Bosanquet), with 'has' altered to 'have,' appear in the draft, probably written by Michael Fenwick, who had taught himself to write so like Wesley that Atmore says 'it was difficult without strict scrutiny to discriminate between them' (*Memorial*, p. 123).

ST. IVES, CORNWALL, September 12, 1766.

MY DEAR SISTER,—Last night I received yours, and was in some doubt whether to write again or no ; and if I did, whether to write with reserve or without. At length I resolved

upon the latter, and that for two reasons : (1) because I love *you* ; (2) because I love *myself*. And if so, I ought to write, and to write freely ; for your letters do me good.

I see little difference in our sentiments on the head of friendship : only in two particulars you do not seem to be . . . rally. I really think she has more love than light. Herein I want her to know what is her own gift and wherein she has need of others.

I still say I never saw one text in the Bible which speaks of a state from which it is not possible to fall ; although I see several which speak of the plerophory (or full assurance) of hope. And whoever has this is divinely assured ' I shall dwell with God in glory.'

I shall add a little on a subject more difficult to speak on (unless to a *friend indeed*), namely, myself. In times past you thought very wrong concerning me. I believe God tore you from me on that very account. You told me at Leeds you was convinced of your mistake ; you told me so again at London. But I doubt you are now as deep in it as before. And are you not brought into that opinion of me the second time by the very same persons who brought you into it at first ? O Sally, beware ! Evil is before you ! Remember poor Thomas Walsh !¹

' You lose your authority with many of the people and preachers by not *living closer* with God.' Who knows whether I live more or less closely with God ? *You know something by my own testimony*. Your companions know nothing about it but by those *surmisings* with which God is not well pleased. For that they have the discernment of spirits I do not believe. And what can Brother Jones or Penington² know but by my outward walking ? Wherein I will be bold to say they see nothing but what might become Gregory Lopez.

' I used to wonder, said one, that you was *so little affected* at things that would make *me* run mad. But now I see it is God's doing. If you *felt* these things as many do, you would be quite incapable of the work to which you are called.' Con-

¹ See *Wesley's Veterans*, v. 188-98.

² William Penington. See letter of Sept. 21, 1764.

sider this well. I am called to a peculiar work. And perhaps the very temper and behaviour which you blame is one great means whereby I am capacitated for carrying on that work. I do not 'lessen my authority' (perhaps there have been six exceptions, perhaps not) over two hundred preachers and twenty thousand men and women by any tenderness either of speech or behaviour, whether to preachers or people. God exceedingly confirms my authority thereby; of which *I* have such proofs as *you* cannot have.

The wants I feel within are to God and my own soul; and to others, only so far as I *choose to tell them*. If they descant upon them any farther, it is their own loss, not mine. But He that sends me does not take it well at their hands. *I* take well all that *you* say; and I love you the more, the more free you are. That is another total mistake, that I dislike any one for plain dealing. And of all persons living Sarah Crosby has least room to say so.—My dear sister, adieu.

To Mrs. Crosby, At Miss Bosanquet's,
In Leytonstone, Near London.

To John Haime

In *Wesley's Veterans*, i. 54, Haime writes: 'In the beginning of September 1766 I was living at Shaftesbury, when, Mr. Wesley passing through on his way to Cornwall, I asked if it would be agreeable for me to be at his house in London a few days. He said, "Yes, as long as you please." But before I set out I received the following letter':

ST. IVES, CORNWALL, September 16, 1766.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I think you have no need to go to London; God has, it seems, provided a place for you here. Mr. Hoskins¹ wants a worn-out preacher to live with him, to take care of his family and to pray with them morning and evening.

To William Orpe

Orpe was now the Assistant in the Staffordshire Round. The *Minutes* for 1767 show that special attention was being given to the trust deeds and that Wednesbury trustees were afraid that Conference might impose one preacher on them for many years. Francis Ward was one of the first Methodists in the town, and Wesley was writing in his house when it was beset by the mob in 1743. See *Journal*, iii. 98; and letter of December 14, 1765.

¹ See letter of July 15, 1765.

TIVERTON, September 18, 1766.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—Certainly Mr. Ward ought not to be a trustee, nor any person who is not a member of our Society. Neither can Francis Whitehead or Thomas Underhill, seeing the majority of the present trustees are against them. You must needs have men of peace and those who love the cause of God and the whole Methodist plan. A new conveyance may include the whole. But I doubt whether you should not discharge *such a lawyer* immediately. Go on, calm and steady.—I am, dear Billy, Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Mr. Will. Orpe, At Mrs. Wright's, Baker,
In Wednesbury. Per Bristol and Gloucester.

To Thomas Rankin

Rankin was appointed Assistant at Epworth, with William Brammah ('a plain, honest man of deep piety and great zeal') and Lancelot Harrison as his colleagues. He had not been more than two months there when he was seized with fever and ague, which made his work a burden. Hence Wesley's remedies. See *Wesley's Veterans*, vi. 162.

BRISTOL, October 9, 1766.

DEAR TOMMY,—I am persuaded good will be done in Lincolnshire. They are in general a simple, teachable people. And Billy Brammah will do much good, if he continues to sleep early and rise early, and denies himself with regard to tobacco and eating flesh suppers.

One or other of the remedies against an ague in the *Primitive Physick* will hardly fail. I depend most on (1) the pills. If these fail, (2) on the *sal prunellae*. If that fail, (3) on the spirits of hartshorn.

Cornwall in general is in a good way. Most of the large Societies there have subscribed for the *Notes* for the use of the preachers. I know not why the Society at Epworth should not follow their example.

Perhaps those advices may be printed separate by-and-by. Be calm and steady. Be clothed with firmness and humility.—I am, dear Tommy,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To John Whitehead

John Whitehead became an itinerant in 1765, and was a preacher for some years. He then married, and entered into business in Bristol.

Afterwards he opened a school at Wandsworth, where two sons of Dr. Lettsom were his pupils. Under Dr. Lettsom's direction he studied medicine, and took his M.D. at Leyden. He became Wesley's medical adviser, attended him on his death-bed, and wrote his *Life*. See Moore's *Wesley*, i. v-vi.

Whitehead was now in his second year at Athlone. With him were William Thompson, the Irish preacher who in 1791 became the first President; and Thomas Brisco, whose health gave way, and who died at Chester in 1797. John Johnson and James Morgan were in the North-West Round.

KINGSWOOD, *October 15, 1766.*

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I am of your mind that there is need of three preachers in the North,¹ and that there would be sufficient provision for them. Send me word which of those who are there now you think would be most proper to act as Assistant. If they can persuade the people to give a penny a quarter for horses, it may prevent much inconvenience. If James Morgan judges it best, I have no objection to James Mears being the General Steward.

It is not advisable to take any step with a young woman without the full and free consent of her parents. So let what is past be forgotten, and be more wary for the time to come. Let your eye be single, that your whole body may be full of light. Mind one thing! What have you to do but to save your own soul and them that hear you?—I am

Your affectionate brother.

I desire James Morgan, Mark Davis, John Johnson, W. Thompson, and T. Brisco to act as Assistants this year

To Peggy Dale

LONDON, *November 7, 1766.*

MY DEAR PEGGY,—How happy is it to sit loose to all below! Just now I find a paper on which is wrote (in Miss Lewen's hand), 'March 24, 1762. Margaret Dale, Anne Dale, Margaret Lewen wonder in what state of life they will be in the year 1766.' How little did any of you think at that time that she would then be in eternity!² But she now wonders at nothing and grieves at nothing:

Extinct is the animal flame,
And passion is vanished away!

¹ Of Ireland.

² Miss Lewen had died in October. See letter in June 1764 to her.

You say, 'Do not forget me till that time!' I think there is no danger. I remember your determination to be all for God, your childlike confidence in Him, your tenderness to your friends, your honest, artless simplicity! O give all the glory to Him for every gracious thought or word that brings you nearer heaven! A few days remain for you and me: let us husband them to the uttermost. I long for you to burn with the flame of the seraphim, to love with love like theirs! O press forward! Wrestle and fight and pray! And sure neither life nor death shall separate you from, my dear sister,

Your affectionate brother.

To George Merryweather

Merryweather's daughter married Matthew Naylor, a local preacher, who introduced Methodism into Bishop Auckland and other places in Durham. Their son, Mr. B. S. Naylor, became a teacher of elocution in Melbourne. When he died, this letter was found among his papers left to Mr. John Ross, and was sent to the Australian *Spectator* by the Rev. Dr. Sugden. Wesley's view on inoculation and his advice about a lawyer show how he touched life at all points. See *W.H.S.* xiii. 88-9.

LONDON, November 15, 1766.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—Go on in the name of the Lord and in the power of His might. The Lord is on your side. Fear not what man can do unto you.

So far you may fairly go. You may mildly reprove a swearer *first*. If he sets your reproof at naught, *then* you ought to proceed as the law directs.

I have no manner of objection as to the inoculating grown persons. I have some scruples as to inoculating children, unless the physician could promise me the child shall not die of it.

The lawyer in London whom I can best trust is Mr. Hunt, No. 15 Friday Street.—I am, dear George,

Your affectionate brother.

To Christopher Hopper

Hopper, who was stationed in Newcastle, says: 'I was just worn out; my bodily strength failed. I was on the verge of eternity.' He became a supernumerary in 1767, but after a year's rest was able to take a circuit. See *Wesley's Veterans*, i. 146.

LONDON, *November 20, 1766.*

MY DEAR BROTHER,—The letter now before me runs thus :

SUNDERLAND, *November 10.*

Mr. Hopper has been here preaching for a fortnight ; and he proposes to come to live here and be our minister ; and an house is to be built for him. Then we shall not want the travelling preachers so often. And I hope he will give us the sacrament.

You must explain this to me yourself. I can say nothing to it ; for I know nothing of the matter.—I am

Yours affectionately.

*To Christopher Hopper*LONDON, *November 27, 1766.*

It is well my letter was overlooked till I came home : so one will do for two. John Fenwick will set out to-morrow morning, which is as soon as he could be spared from hence.

Nay, it is you must make the best of M. Fenwick. Cure him of his coxcomicality, and he may do good. If Mrs. Robinson continues to walk closely with God, I expect her health will continue.

Miss Lewen's Will probably will be a nine days' wonder.¹ Mr. Whitefield acted according to the light he had ; but I durst not have done so, because I am God's steward for the poor.

We all join in love. Adieu !

To Ann Foard

Mrs. Wilberforce was sister to John Thornton, of Clapham. Her husband was guardian to his nephew William Wilberforce, who lived with them for some time at Wimbledon. His mother was afraid of the Methodist influences of that home, and called him back to Hull. Mrs. Wilberforce was a friend and disciple of Wilberforce, and afterwards lived at Blackheath. She died in 1788. See *A Sect that moved the World*, pp. 44, 66, 91, 97, 100.

LONDON, *November 30, 1766.*

DEAR SISTER,—Your letter was exceeding acceptable to me, and the more so because I was almost afraid you had forgotten me. I am glad to find you have not forgotten the blessing which God gave you when at Newcastle and the

¹ Under her will Wesley received amongst the poor. See letter of £1,000, which he soon distributed Nov. 7th.

resolutions which you formed there ; and I trust you never will, till God gives you the full enjoyment of the glorious liberty which you then tasted. Do not imagine that this is afar off ; or that you must do and suffer a great deal before you attain it.—I dare not affirm that. Has not Christ done and suffered enough for you ? The purchase is made ; the price is paid already ; you have only to believe and enter into rest, to take the purchased possession ; *all is ready, and to-day is the day of salvation ! Why should you not now be all love ? all devoted to Him that loves you ? Is it not the language of your heart ?—

Henceforth may no profane delight
Divide this consecrated soul ;
Possess it Thou, who hast the right,
As Lord and Master of the whole.

You are to obey your parent in the Lord only, not in opposition to Him. If, therefore, any means should offer whereby you might enjoy that full liberty of conscience which every creature has a right to, I judge it would be not only lawful but your bounden duty to accept of such an offer.

You did nothing amiss in showing the letter, especially to so good and sensible a man as Mr. Thornton.

Mrs. Wilberforce's charity is a good omen : what is it God will not do if we can trust Him ? Only cast your whole care upon Him, and He will do all things well ; He will withhold from you no manner of thing that is good. O let Him have all your heart !—I am, my dear sister,

Your affectionate brother.

To William Orpe

LONDON, December 16, 1766.

DEAR BILLY,—I *did* intend to give William Fugill¹ four or five guineas—if his behaviour was unblameable. But it has not been so ; therefore I alter my intention, and give the rest to them that deserve it better. The circumstances you mention are very considerable, and I am afraid amount to a full proof that *at this very time* his heart is not right either with God or with his brethren.

¹ See letter of June 18, 1762, to Christopher Hopper.

I do not see but in a particular case you may preach in such a meeting-house. We may *repair*, but we must not *build* houses yet.

If you require another preacher, I will look for one. But Assistants are not so plenty as blackberries.

I hope you are visiting from house to house. This will do execution!—I am, dear Billy,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Mr. Orpe, At Mr. Ezekiel King's,
In Stroud, Gloucestershire.

To Peggy Dale

LONDON, December 19, 1766.

MY DEAR PEGGY,—Indeed, it is an unspeakable blessing to be convinced that God does all things well! But what wonder is it that such poor short-sighted creatures as we are cannot *explain* the reasons of His acting! Many times these are among the secrets of His government which we shall not understand till death opens *our* eyes.¹ Oh what a scene will then be unfolded, when we shall *see* what we now *believe*!

Do you find faith's abiding impression, realizing things to come? Do you feel no decay of love? Is the eye of your soul always fixed and always unclouded? And yet what a depth of blessing remains for you! It is indeed

A sea of life and love unknown,
Without a bottom or a shore!

It comforts me to think that you are sinking deeper and deeper into this, and receiving more and more of Him that loves you. I hope you are not weary of visiting the poor and sick. Abound more and more in the work of the Lord! And still love and pray for, my dear sister,

Your affectionate brother.

To George Merryweather

LONDON, December 20, 1766.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—When the actions² are brought, then it is soon enough to apply to the King's Bench. If

¹ The death of Miss Lewen had probably strengthened her feeling that she would die early (*Life and Letters*, i. 14).

² Probably the trouble at Ripon. See letters of July 9, 1766 (to Dean Wanley), and Jan. 29, 1767.

they are cast, I suppose it will cost you little if anything. If you are cast, it cannot easily be determined what the expense will be. But one thing you should keep in your own breast, and it may stand you in good stead. Get proof, if it be possible, that those gentlemen are a confederate body. And if they should swear through thick and thin, so that 'all things should go against you, you have only to prove 'There is such a *combination*,' and the suit turns on your side at once.

Go on in the work whereto God has called you, and He will do all things well. I hope our preachers preach and live the gospel.—I am
Your affectionate brother.

To Walter Sellon

LONDON, December 30, 1766.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—It is certain that nothing less than the mighty power of God can ever effect that union. However, in me *mora non erit ulla*¹; and I doubt not you are of the same mind.

Begin then. Set upon John Goodwin² as soon as you please. You are very capable of the work; and you have something more leisure than I have. But I would not have you stint yourself for room. The book should be in the letter wherein my Abridgement of the *Serious Call* is printed. And if it have three hundred and fifty pages, well.

Are you tired with ploughing on the sand? Then come away to better work. It is true you would have less money, only forty pounds a year; but you would have more comfort and more fruit of your labour. Here is a wide and glorious field of action. You might exceedingly help a willing people, as well as strengthen the hands of

Your affectionate brother.

¹ 'No delay will occur.'

and letters of Dec. 1, 1757, and July

² See Tyerman's *Wesley*, iii. 55; 9, 1768.

METHODISM BROADENING OUT

JANUARY 15, 1767, TO DECEMBER 30, 1769

PRINCIPAL EVENTS

1767. *Rigging-loft rented for Methodist preaching in New York.*
- May. 30. Wesley visits Ireland ; leaves July 29.*
- Aug. 18. Conference in London : effort to remove debts on preaching-houses ; Francis Asbury received on trial.*
1768. *Jan. Appointed a domestic chaplain to the Countess Dowager of Buchan.*
- Apr. 27. Wesley makes a Will.*
- Aug. 24. Trevesca College opened.*
1769. *Aug. 1. Conference begins at Leeds : Richard Boardman and Joseph Pilmoor volunteer to go to New York ; £50 contributed for the preaching-house there, £20 'given to our brethren for their passage.'*
- Hannah Ball's Sunday school at High Wycombe.*

Many features of the previous three years are prominent in this period. If possible, Wesley was burdened more than ever by the care of all the Churches. He tells his brother on December 17, 1768, with something like a sigh, 'I have no time for Handel or Avison now.' But he made time to guide Joseph Benson in his reading at Kingswood, little thinking that he was preparing an editor of high capacity for his beloved Magazine. That was still unborn; but Benson was evidently destined to be one of Wesley's most influential and powerful preachers.

Three new lady correspondents were added to Wesley's list at this time. Hannah Ball at High Wycombe abounded in good works, and began her Sunday school nearly fourteen years before Robert Raikes started his in Gloucester. Nancy Bolton, of Witney, became one of Wesley's most favoured correspondents. Mary Bishop, of Bath, was a teacher and thinker after Wesley's own heart.

There are signs in the correspondence of the renewal of the Calvinistic Controversy, which was to flame up around the Minutes of the Conference of 1770. George Whitefield is described at the time as 'still breathing nothing but love'; but the letter to Joseph Townsend in August 1767 points to the coming storm. The letters to Charles Wesley are of the deepest significance; and there is a pathetic touch about the fragment of a letter to his old friend Mrs. Woodhouse asking for particulars of John Whitelamb, who had been his father's curate and had married Mary Wesley. The effort to clear off the debts of the Connexion is one of the outstanding features of this period. Wesley left no stone unturned to accomplish this object, in which preachers and friends gave him the most generous and unwearying support. The last letter is one of unique interest. Wesley had sent his first two preachers to America, where Methodism had already taken root, and was himself thinking of another voyage across the Atlantic, though that was never accomplished.

METHODISM BROADENING OUT

JANUARY 15, 1767, TO DECEMBER 30, 1769

To Ann Foard

LONDON, *January 15, 1767.*

DEAR MISS ANN,—Time changes thought, especially in youth and amidst variety of company. So that it would be nothing strange if you should forget those for whom you once had a regard ; but you need not. Every reasonable affection is intended to last to eternity. And the true affection for our friends is, as Milton says,

a scale
Whereby to heavenly love thou may'st ascend.¹

For the present you seem to be in your place, the place which the wisdom of God has assigned you ; and the crosses you now meet with, as they are not of your own choosing, will surely work together for good. Your want of more public opportunities may in a good measure be supplied by private exercises. Let no day pass without more or less private prayer, reading, and meditation. And does not God see in secret ? Does He not now read your heart, and see if it pants for His pure love ? If so, are not all things ready ? May you not now find what you never did before ? Ask Him that loves you, whose nature and whose name is Love !—I am

Your affectionate brother.

To Thomas Rankin

John Ellis was in Lincolnshire East. His sermons were 'generally accompanied with a divine power to the hearts of the people.' Rankin was Assistant in Lincolnshire West, where Ellis is given as his colleague

¹ *Paradise Lost*, viii. 589-92 : In reason, and is judicious ; is the
 'Love refines scale
The thoughts, and heart enlarges : By which to heavenly love thou
 hath his seat may'st ascend.'

in the *Minutes* of 1767. He suffered much fever and ague during the winter of 1766-7, and probably needed the help of Ellis. See Atmore's *Memorial*, pp. 118-20; *Wesley's Veterans*, vi. 162.

LONDON, *January 22, 1767.*

DEAR TOMMY,—What has more than once troubled me is this. One Assistant was very zealous for one, two, or three years. Afterwards he quite lost his catholic zeal and usefulness. See that this be not your case.

Are the people there willing that John Ellis should come into Lincolnshire? If they are, let the exchange be made without delay.

There is a good work going on in London. But not like that which George Bell and Thomas Maxfield put a stop to. I know not when we shall see an end of the advantage which Satan gained by their means. They made the very name of Perfection stink in the nostrils even of those who loved and honoured it before. And this I told them and others long ago must be a consequence of proceeding in such a manner.

I hope you all labour in training up the children and in visiting from house to house. Take care of the rising generation.—I am, dear Tommy,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Mr. Tho. Rankin, At Mr. Hutton's,
In Epworth, Near Thorne, Yorkshire.

To his Brother Charles

LONDON, *January 27, 1767.*

DEAR BROTHER,—Some thoughts occurred to my mind this morning which I believe it may be useful to set down: the rather because it may be a means of our understanding each other clearly; that we may agree as far as ever we can, and then let all the world know it.

I was thinking on Christian Perfection, with regard to the thing, the manner, and the time.

I. By perfection I mean the humble, gentle, patient love of God and man ruling all the tempers, words, and actions, the whole heart by the whole life. I do not include an impossibility of falling from it, either in part or in whole. Therefore I retract several expressions in our Hymns which partly

express, partly imply, such an impossibility. And I do not contend for the term sinless, though I do not object against it.

Do we agree or differ here? If we differ, wherein?

2. As to the manner. I believe this perfection is always wrought in the soul by faith, by a simple act of faith, consequently in an instant. But I believe in a gradual work both preceding and following that instant.

Do we agree or differ here?

3. As to the time. I believe this instant generally is the instant of death, the moment before the soul leaves the body. But I believe it may be ten, twenty, or forty years before death.

Do we agree or differ here?

I believe it is usually many years after justification, but that it *may be* within five years or five months after it. I know no conclusive argument to the contrary. Do you? If it *must be* many years after justification, I would be glad to know how many. *Pretium quotus arrogat annus?*¹ And how many days or months or even years can you allow to be between perfection and death? How far from justification *must* it be? And how near to death?

If it be possible, let you and I come to a good understanding, both for our own sakes and for the sake of the people.²

To George Merryweather

LONDON, January 29, 1767.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—To *suppose* a combination, does not avail; to *prove* it, would cast them at once.

You are in the right to lose no time; what is to be done should be done as soon as possible. Delays are never more dangerous than in law proceedings.³

I have no knowledge of Mr. Dunning⁴ or Sir Fletcher Norton.

¹ Horace's *Epistles*, II. i. 35: 'What year must claim the reward?'

² See letter of Feb. 12.

³ See letters of Dec. 20, 1766, and Oct. 6, 1767.

⁴ John Dunning (1731-83), first Baron Ashburton 1782; Solicitor-

General 1768-70. Sir Fletcher Norton (1716-89); Attorney-General 1763, Speaker of the House of Commons 1770, Baron Grantley of Markenfield 1782. Attacked by Junius in Letter 39.

Only I have lately retained Sir Fletcher in the behalf of Miss Lewen's executors. Peace be with your spirit!—I am
Your affectionate brother.

To his Brother Charles

LONDON, February 12, 1767.

DEAR BROTHER,—What I mean is, Bishop Lowth is sometimes hypercritical and *finds* fault where there *is* none. Yet doubtless his is the best English Grammar that is extant.¹ I never saw *Hermes*; the author of it is a rooted Deist.

I won't complain of the preaching too often at Bath. Pray do *you* take two things upon yourself: (1) Let punctual notice be given on Sunday, March 8, in the chapel² of my preaching there on Tuesday evening, March 10. (2) That notice be given at Bristol on the same Sunday of my preaching at the New Room on Wednesday the 11th, at seven in the evening, and afterwards meeting the Society, at which I desire all who can to be present. On Thursday, Friday, and Saturday I purpose meeting the classes.

Pray take care that Brother Henderson³ wants nothing. Sickness is an expensive thing.

You are not yet (nor probably I) aware of pickthanks.⁴ Such were those who told you I 'did not pray for you by name in public.' And they are liars into the bargain, unless they are deaf.

The voice of one who truly loves God surely is—

'Tis worse than death my God to love
And not my God alone.

Such an one is certainly 'as much athirst for *sanctification* as he once was for justification.' You remember this used to

¹ In June 1770 Wesley 'looked over Dr. Priestley's *English Grammar*. I wonder he would publish it after Bishop Lowth's' (*Journal*, v. 370).

² See *Journal*, v. 198.

³ Richard Henderson, then Assistant at Bristol.

⁴ Pickthank, 'one who picks a thank—i.e. one who carries favour

with another, especially by informing against someone else' (*New Eng. Dic.*). See 1 *Henry IV.* III. ii. 22-5:

Yet such extenuation let me beg,
As, in reproof of many tales devised
(Which oft the ear of greatness needs must
hear)

By smiling pickthanks and base news-mongers.

be one of *your* constant questions. It is not now. Therefore *you* are altered in your sentiments. And, unless we come to an explanation, we shall inevitably contradict each other. But this ought not to be in any wise, if it can possibly be avoided.¹

I still think to disbelieve *all the professors* amounts to a *denial of the thing*. For if there be *no living witness* of what we have preached for twenty years, I cannot, dare not preach it any longer. The whole comes to one point,—Is there or is there not any instantaneous sanctification between justification and death? I say, Yes; you (*often seem to*) say, No. What arguments brought you to think so? Perhaps they may convince me too. Nay, there is one question more, if you allow there is such a thing,—Can one who has attained it fall? Formerly I thought not; but *you* (with T. Walsh and Jo. Jones) convinced me of my mistake.

Sat. morning.

The delay of sending this gives me occasion to add a few words. I have heard nothing of the lovefeast; but if I had, I could not go. On Monday I am to set out for Norwich. Divide, then, the men and women at once, as we do in London. I shall not be in town again till this day fortnight.

Oh for *an heart* to praise my God!

What is there beside? Πάντα γέλωσ καὶ πάντα κόνις.²

To Lady Maxwell

Norwich, February 23, 1767.

MY DEAR LADY,—For a considerable time I was under apprehensions that you were in a state of temptation. And as I had no other way of helping you, this put me upon commending you the more frequently to Him that is able to save you. Your last, therefore, was doubly acceptable to me, as it relieved me from my fears concerning you and gave me the occasion of rejoicing over one for whom I have the most

¹ See letter of Jan. 27.

² 'All things a jest and all things dust.'

sincere and tender affection. Sure it is that the grace of God is sufficient for you in this and in every trying hour. So you have happily experienced it to be already ; and so I trust you will experience to the end. But you must not imagine that you are yet out of the reach of temptation : thoughts will be suggested again and again ; so that you have still need to be

For ever standing on your guard
And watching unto prayer.

And let my dear friend keep at the utmost distance from temptation and carefully shun all occasions of evil. Oh it is a good though painful fight ! You find you are not sent a warfare at your own cost. You have Him with you who can have compassion on your infirmities, who remembers you are but dust, and who at the same time has all power in heaven and earth, and so is able to save you to the uttermost.

Exercise, especially as the spring comes on, will be of greater service to your health than an hundred medicines ; and I know not whether it will not be restored in a larger measure than for many years when the peace of God fixes in your heart.¹ Is it far off ? Do not think so. His ear is not heavy ; He now hears the cry of your heart. And will He not answer ? Why not to-day ? Come, Lord Jesus ; come quickly ! Your openness obliges me to be more than ever, my dear Lady,
Your affectionate friend and servant.

To the Editor of 'Lloyd's Evening Post'

Wesley says in his *Journal*, March 5, 1767 : ' I at length obliged Dr. Dodd by entering into the lists with him. The letter I wrote (though not published till two or three weeks after) was as follows.' Dodd had attacked Wesley's doctrine of Christian Perfection in the *Christian Magazine*, of which he was editor. See *Works*, viii. 339-47 ; *Green's Bibliography*, No. 34 ; and letter of November 30, 1774, to Miss March.

¹ *Her Life*, p. 25, shows that she was then 'distressed in mind and weak in body.'

LONDON, March 5, 1767.

SIR,—Many times the publisher of the *Christian Magazine* has attacked me without fear or wit; and hereby he has convinced his impartial readers of one thing at least—that (as the vulgar say) his fingers itch to be at me, that he has a passionate desire to measure swords with me. But I have other work upon my hands: I can employ the short remainder of my life to better purpose.

The occasion of his late attack is this: Five- or six-and-thirty years ago I much admired the character of a perfect Christian drawn by Clemens Alexandrinus. Five- or six-and-twenty years ago a thought came into my mind of drawing such a character myself, only in a more scriptural manner, and mostly in the very words of Scripture; this I entitled *The Character of a Methodist*, believing that curiosity would incite more persons to read it, and also that some prejudice might thereby be removed from candid men. But, that none might imagine I intended a panegyric either on myself or my friends, I guarded against this in the very title-page, saying, both in the name of myself and them, 'Not as though I had already attained, either were already perfect.' To the same effect I speak in the conclusion: 'These are the principles and practices of our sect; these are the marks of a true Methodist'—i.e. a true Christian, as I immediately after explain myself: 'by these alone do those who are in derision so called *desire* to be distinguished from other men' (page 11). 'By these marks do we *labour* to distinguish ourselves from those whose minds or lives are not according to the gospel of Christ' (page 12).

Upon this Rusticulus, or Dr. Dodd, says: 'A Methodist, according to Mr. Wesley, is one who is perfect, and sinneth not in thought, word, or deed.'

Sir, have me excused. This is not 'according to Mr. Wesley.' I have told all the world I am not perfect; and yet you allow me to be a Methodist. I tell you flat I have not attained the character I draw. Will you pin it upon me in spite of my teeth?

'But Mr. Wesley says the other Methodists have.' I say no such thing. What I say, after having given a scriptural

account of a perfect Christian, is this : ' By these marks the Methodists *desire* to be distinguished from other men ; by these we *labour* to distinguish ourselves.' And do not you yourself *desire* and *labour* after the very same thing ?

But you insist, ' Mr. Wesley affirms the Methodists ' (i.e. all Methodists) ' to be perfectly holy and righteous.' Where do I affirm this ? Not in the tract before us. In the front of this I affirm just the contrary ; and that I affirm it anywhere else is more than I know. Be pleased, sir, to point out the place. Till this is done all you add (bitterly enough) is mere *brutum fulmen* ; and the Methodists (so called) may still declare (without any impeachment of their sincerity) that they do not come to the Holy Table ' trusting in their own righteousness, but in God's manifold and great mercies.'—
I am, sir, Yours, &c.

To George Whitefield

On March 4 Wesley ' dined at a friend's with Mr. Whitefield, still breathing nothing but love.' On the 20th, the day Whitefield re-opened Lady Huntingdon's enlarged chapel at Brighthelmstone, he ' rode on through more storms to Liverpool ' ; but finding no ship to carry his horses, set out for Portpatrick on the 23rd. See *Journal*, v. 196, 201 ; *Life and Times of the Countess of Huntingdon*, i. 379 ; and for Richard Moss, the letter of January 16, 1756.

LIVERPOOL, March 21, 1767.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—Yesterday I came hither just in good time ; for the ship which sailed a few days ago was the next night overtaken by a storm and is gone to the bottom with all the crew. If I can't find a convenient vessel here very soon, I think to go round (as I did before) by Portpatrick.

I trust before you receive this you will have reason to bless God for His comfortable presence with you at Brighthelmstone. I should have rejoiced could I have made one of the company ; but I was called to buffet with the wind and rain. All is well so we are but about our Master's work. Let us work in earnest while the day is.

We are so far from having any travelling preachers to spare that there are not enough to supply the people that earnestly call for them. I have been this very year at my wits' end

upon the account. But some of the local preachers are equal both in grace and gifts to most of the itinerants. Such is Richard Moss in particular. And I heartily rejoice when these are removed into a larger field of action.

I trust you always remember in your prayers

Your ever affectionate brother.

To Peggy Dale

PORTPATRICK, *March 29, 1767.*

MY DEAR PEGGY,—Those you mention are Israelites indeed, to whom you will do well to speak with all freedom. A few more in Newcastle are of the same spirit ; although they are but few in whom the gold is free from dross.

I wish you could help poor Molly Stralliger. I am often afraid for her lest she should be ignorant of Satan's devices and lose all that God had wrought in her.

Do you still find a witness in yourself that God has purified your heart from sin ? Do you never feel any return of pride, or anger, or self-will, or foolish desire ? Do you steadily endure, seeing Him that is invisible ? Are you always sensible of His loving presence ? Are you constantly happy in Him ? Does He keep you sleeping and waking, and make your very dreams devout ? O stand fast in glorious liberty ! And be sure to remember daily, my dear sister,

Your affectionate brother.

To Ann Foard

LONDONDERRY, *April 20, 1767.*

DEAR SISTER,—Certainly the point we should always have in view is, What is best for eternity ? And I believe it would be best for you to change your condition if a proper person offers. But I should scruple doing this without a parent's consent. If your mother is willing, I see no objection to your marrying one that fears God and is seeking salvation through Christ. Such an one is not an unbeliever in the sense wherein that word is taken in 2 Corinthians vi. 14.

I love to think of you and hear from you. I want you to be always holy and happy. And why not ? You have a strong Helper ; and shall not His strength be made per-

fect in your weakness? Why, then, should you stop short of His whole promise—'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart'? Hold Him to His word, and let not your hope be weakened by the subtle reasonings of men. Still let the language of your heart be,

Big with earnest expectation,
Let me sit at Thy fest,
Longing for salvation!

As long as you are in this spirit you will not forget
Your affectionate brother.

To Mrs. Crosby

Sligo, May 2, 1767.

MY DEAR SISTER,—It is a long time since I heard either of you or from you. I hope you think of me oftener than you write to me. Let us but continue in prayer,

And mountains rise and oceans roll
To sever us in vain.

I frequently find profit in thinking of you, and should be glad if we had more opportunities of conversing together. If a contrary thought arises, take knowledge from whom it comes: you may judge by the fruit of it; for it weakens your hands and slackens you from being instant in prayer. I am inclined to think I found the effect of your prayer at my very entrance into this kingdom. And here especially we have need of every help, for snares are on every side. Who would not, if it could be done with a clear conscience, run out of the world, wherein the very gifts of God, the work of God, yea His grace itself in some sense, are all the occasion of temptation?

I hope your little family remains in peace and love and that your own soul prospers. I doubt only whether you are so useful as you might be. But herein look to the anointing which you have of God, being willing to follow wherever He leads, and it shall teach you of all things.

There is an amazing increase of the work of God within these few months in the North of Ireland. And no wonder;

for the five preachers¹ who have laboured there are all men devoted to God, men of a single eye, whose whole heart is in the work, and who

Constantly trample on pleasure and pain.

Do they gain ground in London? I am afraid perfection should be forgotten. Encourage Richard Blackwell² and Mr. Colley³ to speak plainly and to press believers to the constant pursuit and earnest expectation of it. A general faintness in this respect is fallen upon this whole kingdom. Sometimes I seem almost weary of striving against the stream both of preachers and people. See that you all strengthen the hands of, my dear sisters,⁴ Your affectionate brother.

To Lady Maxwell

CASTLEBAR, May 7, 1767.

MY DEAR LADY,—Your silence is not enough. I will not believe you are tired of my correspondence unless I have it under your own hand. But when I have heard nothing from you for six or eight weeks I begin to be full of fears. I am afraid either that you are dead; or that you are extremely ill, not well able to write; or that your affection is cooled, perhaps to me, perhaps to Him that loves you a thousand times better than I do. It lies upon *you* to put a period to my fears, to show me that you are still the same, only more and more determined, in spite of all temptations, to go on in the most excellent way.

I knew not whether it was proper to make any inquiry concerning the trial out of which you said God had delivered you, because there are some things of so delicate a nature that one scarce knows how to commit them to paper. Otherwise I think there is nothing which you might not mention to *me*,

¹ James Dempster, John Johnson, James Morgan, James Rea, and Robert Williams.

² See letter of July 4, 1763.

³ Benjamin Colley, a clerical helper of Wesley, was misled by George Bell and Maxfield; but he saw their

errors, and was restored to Methodism. Wesley buried him on Nov. 8. See *Journal*, v. 238; and letter of Sept. 18, 1773, to John Valton.

⁴ She was at Leytonstone with Miss Bosanquet and Mrs. Ryan.

as I believe none is more nearly concerned for your happiness. Have you found a return of the trial you mentioned? Still the God whom you serve is able to deliver you. I do not indeed wonder that things should make a deep impression upon so tender a spirit. But still, is not His grace sufficient for you? and shall not His strength be made perfect in your weakness? Are not you still determined to seek your happiness in Him, and to devote to God all you have and all you are? Is it not your desire to be all given up to Him and to glorify Him with your body and with your spirit? Go on in His name and in the power of His might! Through Him you shall be more than conqueror. Frequently He has chastened and corrected you; but He has not given you over to death, and He never will. 'Thou shalt not die, but live, and declare the loving-kindness of the Lord.'

I shall hope to receive a particular account of your health and of your present situation in all respects. Need there be any reserve between us? Cannot you speak to me with all simplicity? May the peace and love of God fill and rule your heart!—I am, my dear Lady,

Your most affectionate servant.

A letter directed to Dublin will always find me.

To Peggy Dale

CASTLEBAR, May 17, 1767.

MY DEAR SISTER,—Concerning that displeasure, one may doubt whether it was any other than the concern you ought to have felt on the occasion; or, at least, whether it was any more than temptation to sin. But if it was, what would it prove? Not that your heart *had not been* cleansed, but that, being off your guard, you suffered a degree of evil to re-enter. Was it so? Then (if it be not done already) the Lord cleanse you from it this moment! Woman, be it unto thee even as thou wilt! Believe, and feel the blessing! Certainly the more vigorously you follow after Him the clearer will that unction be, without which it is not possible on some occasions to distinguish between temptation and sins. But you take

the right way, without perplexing your mind about anything else. *Now* give yourself up to God. This is all you have to do. And even while you are doing it light will spring up. I feel it does me good to converse with you even at a distance. O never diminish either your love or your prayers for, my dear Peggy,

Your affectionate brother.

To Lady Maxwell

CORK, June 4, 1767.

MY DEAR LADY,—My belief is that a journey to England might be of great service to your health. And it is not improbable you might receive much benefit from the water of the Hot Wells near Bristol. In August I hope to be at Bristol, and again in the latter end of September. My chaise and horses are at Bristol, which you would oblige me much if you would please to use as your own (if you do not bring any with you) during your stay there; for you should if possible ride out daily. My wife, who is at Newcastle, will be exceeding glad to wait upon you there. And if you choose to rest a few days, I should be happy if you would make use of the Orphan House. You would be pleased with the Miss Dales,¹ and they with you; you and they have drank into one Spirit. Miss Peggy is one of the holiest young women that I have any knowledge of; indeed, I think both the sisters have no desire but to glorify God with their body and with their spirit. You will be so kind as to let me know when you expect to be at Newcastle, and possibly I may meet you there.

As you were providentially called to the place where you now are, I cannot doubt but you will be preserved. But you have need of much prayer and continual watching, or you may insensibly lose what God has given. I am jealous over you; I cannot but be interested in whatever concerns you. I know your tender spirit, your desire to please all for their good, your unwillingness to give pain. And even these amiable dispositions may prove a snare; for how easily may they be carried too far! If you find anything hurts

¹ See letter of Sept. 29.

you or draws your soul from God, I conjure you flee for your life! In that case, you must not stand upon ceremony; you must escape without delay. But I hope better things: I hope you are sent to Brisbane,¹ not to receive hurt, but to do good, to grow in grace, to find a deeper communion than ever with Him that gave Himself for you; and to fulfil the joy of, my dear Lady, Your most affectionate friend.

To Peggy Dale

Wesley was not disappointed. He crossed from Donaghadee on July 29, and, after visiting Glasgow and Edinburgh, reached Newcastle on August 6. On the 11th he settled with Miss Lewen's father some disputed matters as to her will. 'He agreed to pay the legacies on the 2nd of November; and we relinquished the residue of the estate.' See *Journal*, v. 224-7; and letter of August 27.

ATHLONE, June 18, 1767.

MY DEAR PEGGY,—By conversing with you I should be overpaid for coming two or three hundred miles round about. But how it will be I know not yet. If a ship be ready for Whitehaven, then I shall aim at Whitehaven and Newcastle; otherwise I must sail for Holyhead or Chester.

I hope you now again find the inward witness that you are saved from sin. There is a danger in being content without it, into which you may easily *reason* yourself. You may easily bring yourself to believe that there is no need of it, especially while you are in an easy, peaceful state. But beware of this. The witness of sanctification as well as of justification is the privilege of God's children. And you may have the one always clear as well as the other if you walk humbly and closely with God.

In what state do you find your mind now? Full of faith and love? Praying always? Then I hope you always remember, my dear Peggy, Your affectionate brother.

To Christopher Hopper

ATHLONE, June 18, 1767

MY DEAR BROTHER,—Sometimes the children forget the parents; but it is seldom the parents forget their children.

¹ Her father, Thomas Brisbane, lived at Brisbane, in the county of Ayr.

I suppose it was the death of honest Paul Greenwood ¹ which occasioned the report of yours. He could ill be spared: but he was ready for the Bridegroom; so it was fit he should go to Him.

Michael ² should take care to be either in Dublin or in the North of Ireland before the end of July. If it be possible for him to be a simple, plain man, pretending to nothing but to follow Christ, God will find him employment. And if he walk circumspectly and humbly in Ireland, the people of England will soon be reconciled to him.

I wish you joy of having full employment.³ You know, the more work the more blessing. There is good work to be done in this kingdom also; and many of our preachers do it in good earnest. But we want more labourers, especially in the North, where one preacher is increased into seven! and the people cry aloud for more. But, alas! we can neither make them nor hire them!—I am, with love to Sister Hopper,
Your affectionate friend and brother.

I hope to see you and honest John ⁴ at the Conference. An exact account of the Societies you will bring with you.

To his Brother Charles

Many searching words about personal and family religion are in the 1766 *Minutes*. Richard Bourke was at Athlone. Wesley buried him on February 15, 1778; 'a more unblameable character I have hardly known.' See *Journal*, vi. 180; *Minutes*, 1778.

John Dillon was at Cork. He was born in the Army, received His Majesty's pay at fourteen, fought at Dettingen and Fontenoy, became a preacher in 1765, and died at Dublin on May 11, 1770. See *Atmore's Memorial*, pp. 105-8; *Crookshank's Methodism in Ireland*, i. 235-6.

ATHLONE, June 21, 1767.

DEAR BROTHER,—For some time I have had many thoughts concerning the work of God in these kingdoms. I have been surprised that it has spread so far, and that it has spread

¹ See letter of Oct. 8, 1735.

² See letter of Nov. 27, 1766.

After his breakdown in health.

⁴ John Fenwick, who was helping Hopper.

no farther. And what hindered? Surely the design of God was to 'bow a nation to His sway': instead of which, there is still only a Christian here and there, and the rest are yet in the shadow of death; although those who would profit by us have need to make haste, as we are not likely to serve them long.

What, indeed, has hindered? I want to consider this. And must we not first say, *Nos consules*?¹ If we were more holy in heart and life, and more throughly devoted to God, would not all the preachers catch our spirit and carry it with them throughout the land? Is not the next hindrance the littleness of grace (rather than of gifts) in a considerable part of our preachers? They have not the whole mind which was in Christ; they do not steadily walk as He walked. And therefore the hand of the Lord is stayed; though not altogether; though He does work still, but not in such a degree as He surely would were they holy as He that hath sent them is holy.

Is not the third hindrance the littleness of grace in the generality of the people? Therefore they pray little and with little fervency for a general blessing; and therefore their prayer has little power with God. It does not, as once, shut and open heaven. Add to this, that as there is much of the spirit of the world in their hearts, so there is much conformity to the world in their lives. They ought to be both burning and shining lights; but they neither burn nor shine. They are not true to the rules they profess to observe; they are not holy in all manner of conversation. Nay, many of them are salt that has lost its savour, the little savour they once had. Wherewith, then, shall the rest of the land be seasoned? What wonder that their neighbours are as unholy as ever?

But what can be done to remedy this? I wish you would give an attentive reading to the *Minutes* of the last Conference, and see if it will not be worth our while to enforce them with our might. *We* have weight enough, and can force them. I know not who can or will when we are

¹ 'We who are the chiefs.'

gone. Let us *now* fix things on as firm a foundation as possible, and not depend upon seeing another Conference.

Richard Bourke, John Dillon, and one or two more in this kingdom are truly devoted men; so are a few of the preachers in England. *Si sic omnes!*¹ What would be able to stand before them?

How go you on in London? How is G. Whitefield, and my Lady, and Mr. Madan, and Romaine, and Berridge? Do you converse with those that are most alive, and sparingly and warily with them that are dead while they live?

I hope Sally and your young ones are well. Oh what a work is it to train up children for heaven!

Peace be with you and yours! *"Ερρωσο."*²

To Miss March

PORTARLINGTON, June 29, 1767.

For some days you have been much on my mind. Are you still making the best of life? employing a few days exactly in such a manner as you judge is most to the glory of God? And do you still hold fast what you have received and expect the fullness of the promise? Surely you may retain all that earnestness of expectation to which Mr. Maxfield³ used to incite you without any prejudice either to humility or sobriety of spirit. Doubtless it is possible, with Mr. Dryden's leave, 'to be wise and love' 'at the same time; and neither of these need interfere with the other, seeing the spirit of love is also the spirit of wisdom. Are all your family breathing this spirit and strengthening each other's hands in God? I hope you have the satisfaction of observing the same thing in most of those that are round about you, and of seeing the work of God prosper, wherever you have occasion to be. When you are with the genteel part of your acquaintance, you have more immediate need of watching unto prayer, or you will insensibly drink into the lightness of their spirit and

¹ 'Oh that the rest were like-minded!'

² 'Farewell.'

³ See *Journal*, v. 5-7; and letter of Oct. 13, 1764.

⁴ *Palamon and Arcite*, li. 364-5
(*Amare et sapere vix deo conceditur*—
Publius Syrus):

The proverb holds, that to be wise and love
Is hardly granted to the gods above.

abate a little of the accuracy of your walking. Nay, stand fast, walking in every point as Christ also walked. Fashion and custom are nothing to you : you have a more excellent rule. You are resolved to be a Bible Christian ; and that, by the grace of God, not in some but in all points. Go on in the name of God and in the power of His might.¹ Still let your eye be single ; aim at one point ; retain and increase your communion with God ! You have nothing else to do.

Happy and wise, the time redeem,
And live, my friend, and die to Him.

At some times we must look at outward things : such is the present condition of humanity. But we have need quickly to return home ; for what avails all but Christ reigning in the heart ?

Daily in His grace to grow ?

What else have we to care for ? Only now to use all the grace we have received and now to expect all we want ! The Lord Jesus swallow you up in His love !

To Duncan Wright

July 4, 1767.

DEAR DUNCAN,—You have chosen the better part, and will never repent of your choice. Write down the sermon you preached upon that subject with what additions you see good, and I will correct and print it if I live to return to London. Perhaps I may likewise print the Advice concerning Children as a separate tract. I am glad Richard Blackwell² goes to Colchester. Perhaps he and you by turns may spend the ensuing year in London.—I am Yours affectionately.

To the Printer of the 'Freeman's Journal'

The letter to which this is an answer is addressed to Jeffery Wagstaffe, Esq., at the Mercury in Parliament Street, and signed Peter

¹ Compare with his last letter, to Wilberforce, Feb. 26, 1791.

² See letter of May 2. Wright was

then in London. At the Conference in August he was appointed to Canterbury and Blackwell to Dundee.

Traffick, who says : ' I am a man who carry on a considerable share of trade in this city.' He and his wife ' were remarkably a happy, industrious couple,' and ' might have been still blest, were it not for a cursed gospel gossip, a neighbour of ours, who seduced my wife, as the serpent did Eve, to go with her one evening to a Swaddling meeting-house ; when she came home, she did nothing but rave of the sanctity of those good people (as she called them) and of the heavenly man who preached.' The husband had forbidden her to go any more to the meetings, and had brought the curate of the parish to see her, but with no good result.

WHITEFRIAR STREET, DUBLIN, *July 9, 1767.*

SIR,—Two or three days ago I was desired to read a letter printed in the *Dublin Mercury* of June 27. I cannot possibly believe what I have heard strongly asserted that the author is a clergyman of our own Church ; the slander is so dull, so trite, so barefaced, and so clothed in so base, ungenteel Billingsgate language. ' Cursed gospel gossip, sanctified devils, scoundrels, canting hypocritical villains,'—these are some of the flowers which he strews abroad with no sparing hand. The writer therefore must needs be one of the lowest class, as void of learning and good manners as even of conscience.

His wonderful tale confutes itself. ' At the last lovefeast at midnight she fell into a trance.' *Ex pede Herculem.* Let every man of reason judge of the rest by this ; none of our lovefeasts last till midnight—no, nor till ten, rarely till nine o'clock. But the poor man confounds a lovefeast with a watch-night (at which the service does usually continue till midnight or a little longer), knowing just as much of the one as the other.

I call upon him hereby, if he does ' carry on a considerable trade in the city,' or any trade at all (except perhaps that of retailing whisky or crying bloody murders through the streets), to give up his name and place of his abode with the name of the curate whom he brought to reason with his wife. No evasion here can be received. Unless this be done without delay, all candid men will believe the whole story to be a senseless, shameless slander.

If Mr. B—— (with whom I had formerly the pleasure of conversing at his own house, and who behaved like a gentle-

man and a Christian) had had objections to me or my fellow labourers, he would not have proposed them in such a manner. He would have spoken (in private or in public) as a gentleman to a gentleman; and I would have answered him plainly and directly. Indeed, I am ready to give any man of understanding a reason of the hope that is in me that I have a conscience void of offence towards God and towards man.—I am
Your humble servant.

To Mrs. Bennis

Mrs. Bennis wrote on July 15: 'Your late visit [in May] to this city proved a great blessing to my soul; your word was accompanied with power, and enabled me more clearly to see the work of God on my heart, yet I cannot say I am satisfied.'

DUBLIN, July 25, 1767.

DEAR SISTER BENNIS,—When you write to me, you have only to 'think aloud,' just to open the window in your breast. When we love one another, there is no need of either disguise or reserve. I love you, and I verily believe you love me; so you have only to write just what you feel.

The essential part of Christian holiness is giving the heart wholly to God; and certainly we need not lose any degree of that light and love which at first attend this: it is our own infirmity if we do; it is not the will of the Lord concerning us. Your present business is not to reason whether you should call your experience thus or thus, but to go straight to Him that loves you, with all your wants, how great or how many soever they are. Then all things are ready; help, while you ask, is given. You have only to receive it by simple faith. Nevertheless you will still be encompassed with numberless infirmities; for you live in an house of clay, and therefore this corruptible body will more or less press down the soul, yet not so as to prevent your rejoicing evermore and having a witness that your heart is all His. You may claim this: it is yours; for Christ is yours. Believe, and feel Him near.—My dear sister, adieu.

Yours affectionately.

To Joseph Townsend

Joseph Townsend, Fellow of Clare College, Cambridge, and Rector of Pewsey, Wiltshire, in whose church Wesley preached on October 2, 1764, had studied in Edinburgh; and his fellow student, Dr. Haweis, had married Townsend's sister, Mrs. Wordsworth. Townsend visited Scotland in 1767 on a mission from Lady Huntingdon, and spent two months in Edinburgh, where he preached at five in the morning to crowded congregations. He revisited Edinburgh, where he and De Courcy and Erasmus Middleton preached in Lady Glenorchy's chapel alternately with the Methodist preachers. The incongruity in teaching between the Calvinists and Methodists led Lady Glenorchy to withdraw from Wesley's Society. She wrote to a friend, 'The Methodists charge Mr. De Courcy with having influenced me, and Lady Maxwell in particular is greatly offended with me.' Wesley found the Methodist Society in 1770 reduced from one hundred and sixty to fifty. 'Such is the fruit of a single preacher's staying an whole year in one place together with the labours of good Mr. Townsend.' See *Journal*, v. 98, 366; *Life and Times of the Countess of Huntingdon*, i. 411, ii. 159; and letter of Aug. 19, 1770.

EDINBURGH, August 1-3, 1767.

DEAR SIR,—When I saw you here some years since, I could not but admire you, such was your simplicity and godly sincerity. You knew the poor little flock, though a proverb of reproach, were a living people of God. You knew their preachers were messengers of Christ; and you espoused their cause in the face of the sun. You returned to London. You conversed with Mr. Madan and others, most of whom owe the Methodists their own souls also. You came to Edinburgh again. But you *did not know* the Methodists, unless one or two honourable ones. You had *no fellowship* with them; you neither joined with them in public nor strengthened their hands in private. You stood aloof from them as though they would have infected you. Nay, you preached just by them at the very hour of their preaching. You lessened their congregations; you threw many of the Society into vain reasonings; you opened many mouths against them; you exceedingly grieved the spirit of the preachers and caused their hands to hang down. Was this well done? Was it of a piece with your former conduct? Did it do any honour to the gospel? Did it do any real good? Did it cherish any

Christian temper in Mr. Walker or Dr. Erskine? ¹ Was it a proof of love to *me*? Was it a means of increasing the knowledge or love of God in your own soul? Alas, my brother! I know you would do well; but surely herein you have mistaken your way.

Do you say, 'Nay, but I have acted right; for the Methodist people are a fallen people and the preachers preach only dry morality. They are in grievous error, denying election, perseverance, and the righteousness of Christ. Therefore their work is at an end, and the work of God which is now wrought is wrought by the awakened clergy. If I had preached in their chapels, I should thereby have abetted all their errors.'

This is home to the point. Convince me of this, and I have done with the Methodists and with preaching. But is it the true state of the case? Let us consider it point by point.

1. Are the Methodists a *fallen people*? Blessed be God, they are not: there never were more, there never were so many of them, either in England, Scotland, or Ireland, standing fast in loving, holy faith, as at this day.

2. 'But the preachers preach only dry morality.' With what ears must *they* hear who think so? With the same as the honest Predestinarian at Witney, who, when I had been enforcing Galatians vi. 14 (and indeed with uncommon freedom of spirit), said, 'It was a pretty *moral* discourse.' My brother, distrust yourself; you may possibly mistake. I think we likewise have the Spirit of God. I think even I, to speak as a fool, can judge a little of preaching the gospel, perhaps as well as either Mr. Madan or Romaine.

3. 'But they deny election and perseverance and the righteousness of Christ.' They are not Calvinists; but they no more deny the righteousness of Christ than they do the godhead of Christ. Let this never be said more; it is a shameless slander. They deny only the vile abuse of that precious truth.

¹ Robert Walker, a minister of the Established Church in Edinburgh, was a friend and correspondent of Lady Glenorchy. He and Erskine

preached at the opening of her chapel in Edinburgh on May 8, 1774. For Dr. John Erskine, see letter of April 24, 1765.

4. 'But they teach perfection.' They do exhort believers to go on unto perfection; and so do you, if you speak as the oracles of God.

5. 'Their work is at an end.' Far from it; sinners are still convinced and converted throughout the land.

6. 'The work of God is now wrought by the clergy.' The more the better; but where, and by whom? How many has any one of them convinced or converted since Whitsuntide? I fear, when we come to particulars, there will be small room to boast. If you put things on this issue, 'Whose word does God now bless?' the matter will soon be determined.

7. 'My preaching in your chapel would have been in effect to tell the people of Edinburgh that the Methodists did not deny the Calvinist doctrines.' Amazing! Did Mr. Gillies¹ tell them so when he preached in our house? Just the contrary. He told them: 'In some opinions I do not agree with the Methodists; but I know they are a people of God: therefore I wish them good luck in the name of the Lord.' Might not you have done the very same? May you not still? Can you be clear before God without doing it?

I have now told you all that lay upon my mind. If you can receive it, I shall rejoice for your sake and for the people's. If not, I have delivered my own soul. For many years I have been labouring for peace, though I have had little thanks for my pains. However, my record is above, and my reward with the Most High. It is but a little while that I have to endure the contradiction either of sinners or good men. May God enable you, that stand up in my stead, to labour more successfully! So prays, dear sir,

Your affectionate brother and servant.

To Ann Foard

NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE, August 8, 1767.

DEAR SISTER,—We have many instances of this: persons cold and dull, and scarce knowing how to believe their own words, have asserted as they could the truths of the gospel and enforced them upon others, and at that very time God has

¹ Dr. John Gillies. See letter of March 24, 1761 n.

caused light and love to spring up in their own hearts. Therefore, however you feel it in your own breast, speak as well as you can for God. Many times you will see some fruit upon others; if not, you shall have a recompense in your own bosom. In one sense you do believe that God is both able and willing to cleanse you from all unrighteousness, and to do it now; but not in that sense wherein all things are possible to him that believeth. But what if He should give you this faith also? yea, while you have this paper in your hand! To-day hear His voice! O listen! and heaven springs up in your heart.

Among the hearers of Mr. Madan and Mr. Romaine (much more among those of Mr. Whitefield) there are many gracious souls, and some who have deep experience of the ways of God. Yet the hearing them would not profit you; it would be apt to lead you into unprofitable reasonings, which would probably end in your giving up all hope of a full salvation from sin in this life. Therefore I advise you, check all curiosity of this kind and keep quite out of the way of danger.

Hannah Harrison is a blessed woman.¹ I am glad you had an opportunity of conversing with her. And why should not you enjoy the same blessing? The Lord is at hand.—
I am
Your affectionate brother.

To John Whitehead

LONDON, August 15, 1767.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—As you desired it, you may labour in Lancashire for the ensuing year.²

I have considered what you say concerning the usefulness of being present at the General Conference. And I think we may steer a middle course. I will only require a select number to be present. But I will permit any other travelling preacher who desires it to be present with them.

O let us be all alive to God and all athirst for His whole image!—I am
Your affectionate brother.

¹ See letter of Nov. 26, 1768.

² His name appears second of the four preachers for Lancashire.

William Whitwell was his colleague at Bristol when this was written. See letter of Oct. 15, 1766.

To Mary Bosanquet

Miss Bosanquet had lost her father and mother. Mrs. Ryan, to whom Wesley probably refers, was in feeble health: 'I plainly saw she decayed fast.' They were at Bath, where she unexpectedly recovered. Richard Taylor came to London to settle with his creditors, and stayed with Miss Bosanquet at Leytonstone. He advised her to move to Yorkshire. See Moore's *Mrs. Fletcher*, pp. 69, 72; and letter of December 11, 1768.

LONDON, August 16, 1767.

MY DEAR SISTER,—So the Lord has chastened and corrected you. But He hath not given you over unto death. It is *your* part to stand ready continually for whatever He shall call you to. Everything is a blessing, a means of holiness, as long as you can clearly say, 'Lord, do with me and mine what Thou wilt, and when Thou wilt, and how Thou wilt.'

Undoubtedly she was (and so was I) in the third stage of a consumption. And physicians have long since agreed that this is not curable by any natural means. But what signifies this in the sight of God? As,

When obedient nature knows His will,
A fly, a grapestone, or an hair can kill¹;

so, when it is His will to restore life or strength, any means shall be effectual. But we are slow of heart to believe that He is still the uncontrolled, Almighty Lord of hell and earth and heaven.

You judge right. I never knew, till you wrote me word, that Richard Taylor had been at Leytonstone at all. At this Conference² it will be determined whether *all* our preachers or none shall continually *insist* upon Christian perfection. Remember in all your prayers, my dear sisters,

Your ever affectionate brother.

To Miss Bosanquet, At Mr. Michael Hemmings.
In Bath.

To Peggy Dale

In Dale's *Life and Letters* this is dated 1765, but it is 1767. Wesley had been at Newcastle from August 6 to 12. The letter to her on June 18 shows how he had looked forward to this meeting.

¹ See letter of Aug. 14, 1731.

² Conference met in London on Aug. 18.

WITNEY, August 27, 1767.

MY DEAR PEGGY,—I thought it was hardly possible for me to love you better than I did before I came last to Newcastle. But your artless, simple, undisguised affection exceedingly increased mine. At the same time it increased my confidence in you, so that I feel you are unspeakably near and dear to me. Oh what a cordial is this which is given to quicken us in our way! Surely

An earnest of our great reward
On earth our Master pays!

We have all reason to give ourselves up to Him without reserve and to glorify Him with our bodies and with our spirits!

If you cleave to Him with simplicity of heart, certainly you need not feel sin any more. Indeed, you will feel temptation of various kinds, and sometimes closing you in on every side. But still your soul may stand fast, believing on the Lord. By faith you will overcome all!

Believe, while saved from sin's remains!
Believe yourself to heaven.

—I am, my dear Peggy, Your affectionate brother.
Don't forget what you have learnt in music.¹

To Miss Dale, At the Orphan House,
Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

To William Orpe

Wesley is here seen behind the scenes in his preacher's courtship. Orpe had been two years an itinerant, and Wesley gives him instructions as to the agreement it would be wise to make with his intended wife. The marriage evidently turned out well. His daughter Mary (Bray?) married the Rev. Joseph Brookhouse; and their daughter married T. W. Young, son of the Rev. Robert Young.

PEMBROKE, September 2, 1767.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I advise you to tell her immediately, either in person or by letter (whichever you think safest),

¹ She married Charles Avison the organist.

'I dare not settle in any one place : God has called me to be a travelling preacher. Are you willing to accept of me upon these terms? And can you engage never directly or indirectly to hinder me from travelling? If not, it is best for us to part. It cannot be avoided.'—I am, dear Billy,

Yours affectionately.

To Mr. Will. Orpe, At Mr. Michael Dobinson's, In Derby. With speed.

To Peggy Dale

BRISTOL, September 29, 1767.

MY DEAR PEGGY,—I hope Mr. Whitefield was an instrument of good at Newcastle¹ and a means of stirring up some. He is very affectionate and very lively, and his word seldom falls to the ground : though he does not frequently speak of the deep things of God or the height of the promises.

But you say not one word of Lady Maxwell!² Did she call at Newcastle going and coming? Did you converse with her alone? And did she break through her natural and habitual shyness? How did you find her? Seeking heavenly things alone, and all athirst for God? It will be a miracle of miracles if she stands, considering the thousand snares that surround her.

I have much satisfaction when I consider in how different a situation you and my dear Molly Dale are. You have every outward advantage for holiness which an indulgent Providence can give. And, what is happier still, you have a fixed determination to use all those advantages to the uttermost. Let your eye be steadily fixed on the mark! to be all love! all devoted! to have one desire, one work, one happiness, one Christ reigning alone and filling you with His fullness!—I am, my dear sister,

Your affectionate brother.

To George Merryweather

BRISTOL, October 6, 1767.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I rejoice at the behaviour of Mr. Whitefield.³ At length he meets me half way. I have no

¹ Whitefield preached at Newcastle on Sept. 20, 1767, in the Castle Garth. He says, 'I am become a downright street- and field-preacher.'

See Tyerman's *Whitefield*, ii. 532-4.

² See letter of June 4.

³ Whitefield had visited Yarm on Sept. 23.

objection to Mr. Oddie's changing places with Matthew Lowes¹ for a round or two. If *they* will be quiet, be *you* quiet too.² Get out of the fire as soon as you can. I have carried many suits in the King's Bench, but never was reimbursed in one.—
I am
Your affectionate brother.

To Christopher Hopper

The *Minutes* for 1767 give, 'Glasgow, Dunbar—John Atlay, Thomas Simpson, and Joseph Thompson.' Thompson (see letter of September 23, 1770) had been at Edinburgh with Hilton the previous year, and was with Wesley at Aberdeen on June 8, 1766. Hilton left the Connexion in August 1777 'because he saw the Methodists were a fallen people.' He became a Quaker. See *Journal*, vi. 168-9; letter of October 7, 1773; and for Atlay, May 6, 1774.

BRISTOL, October 9, 1767.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—'Tis pity but we could follow the blow at Belford³; I think something might be done there. I appointed John Atlay to be at Glasgow till February, and Jos. Thompson in the Dunbar Circuit. Two preachers, if they are zealous and active, will do better than one. But why is not Joseph Thompson there? I will not have my plan altered! Whoever does not observe the twelfth rule of a preacher 'renounces connexion with me! If Joseph Thompson does not intend to renounce this, let him come to Dunbar immediately. I will be on or off! I tell them what these two preachers are to do. 'Each preacher is to be a fortnight in the city and in the country alternately'—viz. at Leith, Dalkeith, Linlithgow, and Burraytowys. Let them keep to this, and the fruit will soon appear. And if they do not keep to this, notwithstanding any reason or pretence to the contrary, I will no farther concern myself with them. I will not attempt to guide those who will not be guided by me.

¹ Oddie was at Newcastle, and Lowes at Yarm.

² The law suit. See letter of Jan. 29.

³ Fifteen miles beyond Alnwick. Wesley preached there on May 22, 1766: 'The hearers were seriously

attentive, and a few seemed to understand what was spoken.' See *Journal*, v. 167.

⁴ 'Act in all things, not according to your own wish, but as a son in the gospel, and in union with your brethren, &c.'

There is a round cut out already. Let them keep to it, or renounce all intercourse with me !

Legacy or not, Samuel Franks¹ will answer your demands. But what do you make of John Hilton ? Did he do nothing in Scotland ? He was all life—all fire. I will tell Thomas Olivers part of my mind.

Now let you and I go on in the name of God. We know in whom we have believed.—I am Yours affectionately.

To Ann Foard

SALISBURY, October 14, 1767.

MY DEAR SISTER,—At length I get a little time (after having been some weeks almost in a perpetual motion) to write a few lines to one I sincerely love. Grow in grace every hour, the more the better. Use now all the grace you have ; this is certainly right : but also now expect all the grace you want ! This is the secret of heart religion—at the present moment to work and to believe. Here is Christ your Lord, the lover of your soul. Give yourself up to Him without delay ; and, as you can, without reserve. And simply tell Him all you desire and all you want. What situation is it that hurries you ? Is it not determined whether you shall change your condition or no ?² Be it either way, God sitteth on the throne and ruleth all things well.—I am

Your affectionate brother.

To Robert Costerdine

Robert Costerdine was born at Flixton in 1726. He became a preacher in 1764, and died in 1812. Wesley put his name in his Deed of Declaration in 1784. The 'A. H.' was Christopher Hopper, to whom Wesley wrote. See *Journal*, v. 243n ; and letter of January 9, 1768.

LONDON, November 24, 1767.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—A few days since, I received a letter from a gentleman, the substance of which with a few alterations I subjoin :—

¹ Wesley's Book Steward ; Olivers was Hilton's colleague in Dublin.

² She was engaged to John Thorn-

ton, of Southwark. See heading to letter of June 3, 1763.

REVEREND SIR,—In the *Minutes* of the Conference held at Leeds last year the whole debt of the Methodists, considered as one body, appeared to be £11,338. I suppose it is much the same now, perhaps a little more or less. The Yearly Subscription was designed to pay off this. And it has helped a little toward it, as well as answered many other excellent purposes, for which also it was intended from the beginning. But it must be long before it can answer that design; as it has hitherto been so small, that it has very little more than supplied the yearly wants. Meantime this debt remains as a constant load on your shoulders and a constant reproach on all the Societies. If this debt could be discharged, it would be an ease to your mind, an honour to the whole body, and a glorious proof of our care to provide things honest in the sight of all men.

But how is it possible to raise so large a sum as £11,000? I believe it is not only possible, but easy, far easier than many may conceive, to do it in two years' time, by the following simple method, without burthening either the rich or poor. First, as it is for the glory of God and the promoting of His cause, let us beg His blessing upon our honest endeavours. Then let us willingly and earnestly set our shoulders to the work, and by His grace it shall be accomplished. I suppose the Societies in Great Britain and Ireland contain twenty-four thousand members: one-fourth part of these, if they subscribe according to the following scheme, will discharge the whole debt in two years:

Subscribers.	Guineas.	In two years.
1,000 . . .	at two . . .	£4,200
1,000 . . .	one and a half . . .	3,150
1,000 . . .	one . . .	2,100
1,000 . . .	three quarters . . .	1,575
1,000 . . .	half . . .	1,050
1,000 . . .	a quarter . . .	525
	In all . . .	<u>£12,600</u>

This may be paid either yearly, quarterly, or in any such manner as the subscribers please. The grand objection is, there are not so many persons in our Societies who are able and willing to contribute so much. Perhaps so. But are there not some who are both able and willing to contribute more? Are there none who clear several hundred pounds a year? or who are two or three thousand pounds beforehand? And will none of these give ten, twenty, perhaps fifty guineas in such a case as this? a case of so general

concern, and that can occur but once in their lives? By this method the poor will be quite excused, unless any of them choose to throw in their mite.

Praying God to give good success to this and to all your undertakings for His glory, I remain Your affectionate friend and servant,
A. H.

I think you love me and the cause wherein I am engaged. You wish to ease me of any burthen you can. You sincerely desire the salvation of souls and the prosperity of the work of God. Will you not, then, exert yourself on such an occasion as this? Will you not gladly embrace the opportunity? Surely you will not be straitened in your own bowels. Do according as God has prospered you. And do it willingly, not of necessity, knowing God loveth a cheerful giver.—I am
Your affectionate brother.

Thus far the printed circular, which is signed 'J. Wesley.' In a note to Costerdine, then in the Haworth Circuit, Wesley adds:

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I have wrote to T. Colbeck, Jam. Greenwood, Jo. Greenwood, Sutcliffe, Southwell, Garforth, and Littledale. The rest in your circuit I leave to you. Leave no stone unturned. When you receive the printed letters, seal, superscribe, and deliver them in my name to whom you please. Be active. Adieu!

To Robert Costerdine

CANTERBURY, November 26, 1767.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I am glad you have spent a little time at Whitehaven: the poor people there need every help. There and in every other large town both you and your fellow labourers should take care of those two principal points: (1) to instruct the children; and (2) to visit the parents from house to house, according to the plan laid down at the last year's Conference. Then you will see the fruit of your labour, and the work of the Lord will prosper in your hands. Wherever you are, you should encourage the people to *read* as well as to *pray*. And to that purpose it is well to carry little books with you. Peace be with your spirit!—I am

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Robert Costerdine

This may have been a circular letter to the Assistants. The signature alone is Wesley's. See *Minutes*, 1767: 'Can we make a push toward paying the whole debt? I will state the case in writing to the most substantial men in our Society.'

NORWICH, *December 2, 1767.*

MY DEAR BROTHER,—We judge it will be to the glory of God to make a push without delay toward the payment of the General Debt. Send me a list (to London) by the next post of ten, twenty, or more of the most able persons whom you can recollect in your circuit. I will first write to each of them myself. The rest (when you have the plan) I must leave to you. Let much prayer be made concerning this.—
I am Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Ann Foard

NORWICH, *December 2, 1767.*

MY DEAR SISTER,—In the way of life you are entering upon you will have need of great resolution and steadiness. It will be your wisdom to set out with two rules, and invariably adhere to them: (1) 'I will do everything I can to oblige you, except what I cannot do with a clear conscience'; (2) 'I will refrain from everything I can that would displease you, except what I cannot refrain from with a clear conscience.' Keep to this on both sides from the hour you meet, and your meeting will be a blessing. You will do well likewise constantly to pray with as well as for one another.

Now, Nancy, put on by the grace of God the armour of righteousness on the right hand and on the left! Beware of foolish desires! Beware of inordinate affections! Beware of worldly cares! But, above all, I think you should beware of wasting time in what is called innocent trifling. And watch against unprofitable conversation, particularly between yourselves. Then your union may be (as it ought) a type of the union between Christ and His Church; and you may in the end present each other before Him holy and unblameable at His coming.¹—I am Your affectionate brother.

¹ See letter of Oct. 14, 1767.

To Mrs. Moon

Mrs. Moon wrote from Potto on November 8, 1767: 'I found my heart much enlarged with thankfulness for Mr. Whitefield's coming among us. His conversation was so open and his spirit so full of universal love, that his word was attended with exceeding great power, which caused the rocks to rend and the humble hearts to weep tears of joy. He defended your doctrine and discipline and the people under your care, both in public and in private, with such love and boldness as I never saw before. May the Lord reward his labours with everlasting joy.' See *Methodist Magazine*, 1798, pp. 45-6; and letter of October 6.

NORWICH, December 6, 1767.

MY DEAR SISTER,—I can easily believe that nothing would be wanting to me which it was in your power to supply; for I am persuaded your heart is as my heart, as is the case with all the 'souls whom Himself vouchsafes to unite in fellowship divine.' What is always in your power is to bear me before the throne of grace. One thing in particular which I frequently desire is 'a calm evening of a various day'; that I may have no conflicts at the last, but rather, if God sees good, before 'my flesh and my heart faileth.'

In every place where Mr. Whitefield has been he has laboured in the same friendly, Christian manner. God has indeed effectually broken down the wall of partition which was between us. Thirty years ago we were one; then the sower of tares rent us asunder; but now a stronger than him has made us one again.

There is no weakness either in our body or mind but Satan endeavours to avail himself of it. That kind of dullness or listlessness I take to be originally a pure effect of bodily constitution. As such it is not imputable to us in any degree unless we give way to it. So long as we diligently resist, it is no more blameable than sleepiness or weariness of body.

Do many of those who were saved from sin in your neighbourhood stand fast in their liberty? or have one half, if not the greater part, been moved from their steadfastness? How is it that so many are moved? that in many places so few comparatively stand? Have you lately conversed

with Sister Heslop? Does she retain all the life she had? Does John Eland? and some others at Hutton?

Peace be multiplied upon you!—I am, my dear sister,
Your affectionate brother.

To Mrs. Emma Moon, At George Merryweather's,
In Yarm, Yorkshire. North Post.

To James Oddie

LONDON, December 15, 1767.

DEAR JAMES,—I have written myself to Miss Dales, T. Moses, Brother Hewitson, Fenwick, Smith, Watson, Hosmer, Morrison, Davison, Parker, Lipton, Bowmaker, Al. Patterson, T. Dobson, Rd. Parker, Brother Bell, Joblin, W. Newton, R. Foster, Jon. Simpson, Brother Coward, Gibson, Jos. and George Morrison, Capt. Robinson, Mark Middleton, Jo. Allen, and Mrs. Bate. Do all you can with the rest; think not that one of you will be poorer for this. I will send you printed letters, which you may seal and deliver in my name to as many as you please (except the above).¹ Speak, and spare not, trusting in God. But never let one thought come into your mind of dropping the Yearly Collection; not if any one would give me £20,000 to-day. Wherever this is dropped you drop *me*, for I cannot go on one year without it. I should think you had never been present at a Conference nor ever read the *Minutes* of any for these four years. Talk nothing *discouraging*, but encouraging. Prophecy good and not evil.—I am, dear James,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Mrs. Woodhouse

This letter has been mutilated, and only these portions are left.

LONDON, December 23, 1767.

MY DEAR SISTER,—Your letters are always welcome to me; but especially when they bring me the good news of your welfare. Whereunto you have attained, hold fast without reasonings and disputings. Stand fast in that degree of liberty wherewith Christ has made you free. And continually expect all the residue of His precious promises; even to rejoice

¹ Oddie was the Assistant in Newcastle. See letter of Jan. 12, 1768.

evermore, to pray without ceasing, and in everything to give thanks.
 leads to God, and generally leaves a solemn awe upon the spirit. The same I would say with regard to that extraordinary influence which you have sometimes felt. By the fruit you shall know from what root it springs. Has it any particular effect on your body or soul? If you can inform me of this (and in the most minute manner as to all the circumstances), then I shall be able to form a more certain judgement of it. That Sunday morning you speak of . . . was in bed when it came over you? I suppose

To Mrs. Woodhouse, At Mr. Hutton's,
 In Epworth, Near Thorne, Yorkshire.

To John Fenwick

This was written at the back of a printed circular letter sent out by Wesley on November 30, 1767, concerning the General Debt.

December 25, 1767.

Well said, John Fenwick! Go on in the name of God! One year will suffice if you have faith. Richard Pearce, of Bradford,¹ writes he will give £20; Mr. Iles, of Stroud, that he will give £50. Surely God's time is come. Set all your shoulders to the work, and it shall be done.

Have you Mr. Heaton's (the lawyer's) bill? I think Michael Callendar² will settle.

To George Merryweather

LONDON, *December 28, 1767.*

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I thank Mr. Waldy and you for your ready and generous assistance. It seems the time is come. But John Fenwick writes from Newcastle: 'We are all here of opinion that what is done should be done *at once*; and we think the debt may be paid off in one year. Only let us set about it in faith. I will give £25; Mr. Davison will give £25; Jo. Morrison £25; Miss Dales £50.' Very well. This will not interfere. Some may give at once, some quarterly,

¹ Bradford-on-Avon. See *Wesley's Veterans*, i. 216.

² See heading to letter of Sept. 7, 1749.

some yearly. You will encourage your neighbours all you can.—I am, with love to Sister Merryweather,

Your affectionate brother.

To Miss G. Wood

This letter is addressed on the back 'To Mr. Francis Gilbert in Chester,' but in pencil is written 'For Miss G. Wood.' *A Short Account of Miss Mary Gilbert, daughter of Nathaniel Gilbert, of Antigua*, describes her uncle's removal from Kendal to Chester in 1765. She died there on January 21, 1768, in her seventeenth year. Francis Gilbert, who was ruined by a dishonest clerk in St. John's, came to England and joined the Methodists. He was a zealous preacher and leader. See Bretherton's *Methodism in and around Chester*, pp. 72-82.

Wesley needed rest, which, he said on December 13, 'was not to be had.' The Rev. Vincent Perronet wrote from Shoreham on December 31 :

MY REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER,—We were this day most agreeably surprised to hear of your *recovery* before we had so much as heard of your *illness*.

It appears plain that the Lord has more for his *labourer* both to *do* and to *suffer*. For though a glorious share of both has fallen to thy lot, yet thy gracious Master seems resolved to qualify His faithful servant even for a *far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory* !

Our respects and best wishes are with you and yours. The Lord Jesus Christ be with all of us !

I need not tell my brother that, if *Shoreham* can any way contribute to his health, all at *Shoreham* will rejoice to see him.—I am

Yours most affectionately, VIN. PERRONET.

LONDON, December 31, 1767.

MY DEAR SISTER,—In my last (which, it seems, you did not receive) I gave you both two advices : To beware of that levity which many serious people think innocent if not commendable between married people. Let your intimacy incite you to watch over one another that you may be uniformly and steadily serious. Do not talk on trifles with one another any more than you would with strangers ; but let your freest conversation be always such as tends to make you wiser and better.

My little indisposition is passed away. Health we shall have, if health be best. I have Brother Gilbert's of the 28th instant, and am obliged to you for your kind assistance. I knew nothing would be wanting on *your* part.¹ I purpose

¹ See letters of Dec. 15, 1767, and Jan. 9, 1768.

² As to the debt. See letter of Nov. 24.

writing to several of our friends in Ireland. Peace be with all your spirits !—I am, my dear sister,

Your affectionate brother.

To Samuel Levick

Samuel Levick, a deeply pious young man, became a preacher in 1763, and died in 1771. See Atmore's *Memorial*, p. 242.

LONDON, January 2, 1768.

I can stay no longer. I wrote to Mr. Hoskins, Brother Trezize, Rd. Williams, Hitchens, Mitchell, Lovelace, Burrell, Eb—, Mary and Kath. Carmarthen, Brother Thomas, Mr. Thomas, Dyer, Brother Nance, Mitchell, Sister Launder, Brother Gundry, Nichols, Jo. Vinicombe, Rich. Permewan, and Jo. Bennets. The rest to you. Push home with rich and poor. Leave no stone unturned. Lose no time. Exert yourself, trusting in God.

Give my printed letters whoever you judge. Therein you see your first plan. And let that go as far as it can go. But John Fenwick writes from Newcastle: 'We are all of opinion the debt may be cleared in one year. I will give £25, Robert Davison will give £25, John Morrison £25, Miss Dales £50.' Let us undertake it in faith, and it will be done ! This should be insisted on with men of substance.¹

I want an exact account of the debts in your circuit. Is Jos. Pasco alive ? Be all alive !—I am, dear Sammy,
Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Mr. Samuel Levick, At Mr. James Mitchell's,
In Redruth.

To the Countess of Huntingdon

The Countess Dowager of Buchan had appointed Wesley as one of her domestic chaplains. See *Journal*, v. 276-7n.

LONDON, January 4, 1768.

MY DEAR LADY,—I am obliged to your Ladyship and to Lady Buchan for such a mark of your regard as I did not at all expect. I purpose to return her Ladyship thanks by this post.

¹ See letter of Jan. 19.

That remark is very striking as well as just : If it is the Holy Spirit that bears witness, then all speaking against that witness is one species of blasphemy against the Holy Ghost. And when this is done by those who peculiarly profess to honour Him, it must in a peculiar manner grieve that blessed Spirit. Yet I have been lately surprised to observe how many who affirm salvation by faith have lately run into this ; running full into Mr. Sandeman's notion that faith is merely an assent to the Bible, and not only undervaluing but even ridiculing the whole experience of the children of God. But so much the more do I rejoice that your Ladyship is still preserved from that spreading contagion, and also enabled plainly and openly to avow the plain, old, simple, unfashionable gospel.

I am glad to hear that your Ladyship has thoughts of being soon in town, but sorry that your health is not yet re-established. Yet certainly health we shall have, if health be best. For the Lord still ruleth in heaven and earth.

Wishing your Ladyship many happy years, I remain, my dear Lady,
Your very affectionate servant.

To Christopher Hopper

This letter shows with what energy Wesley was grappling with the debt on Methodism in England, Scotland, and Ireland, which amounted to about £13,388. Hopper was regaining strength after his illness. He says : ' In July 1767 I set out for London. God was with me, and gave me a will and power to preach His word. August 18 our Conference began. Dear Mr. Whitefield and honest Howell Harris attended. All was love, all was harmony. It was a Pentecost indeed ! ' He was now a supernumerary, with hands free to undertake this financial effort. See *Minutes*, 1768 ; *Wesley's Veterans*, i. 147 ; and letter of December 15, 1767.

January 9, 1768.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I constitute you, Christopher Hopper by name, Lord President of the North. Enter upon your province, Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmorland, Durham, Yorkshire, and Lincolnshire, without delay. Pray dispatch letters to Jacob Rowell, Jo. Heslop, Richard Boardman,¹

¹ Rowell was Assistant at the Dales, and Boardman at York : for Heslop, see letters of Sept. 26 and Oct. 1 ; and Boardman, letter of March 27, 1771.

and your other deputies without loss of time ; and quicken them to put forth all their strength and make one push for all. But hold ! John Fenwick writes to me : ' I will give £25 ! ' Do not abate him the five ! No drawing back ! I think the time is come for rolling this reproach from us. Your thought concerning the preachers is a noble one. If fifty of them set such an example, giving a little out of their little, such an instance would have an effect upon many. Let one stir up another. Spare no pains. Write east, west, north, and south. You have a ready mind and a ready pen ; and it cannot be used in a better cause.—I am

Yours affectionately.

To James Oddie

William Minethorp, a local preacher in York, became an itinerant in 1762. He was honoured for his simplicity, piety, and watchfulness. The plan for the payment of the debt was largely Christopher Hopper's, and the Newcastle Methodists subscribed handsomely. See *Atmore's Memorial*, pp. 273-4 ; and letters of November 24 and December 28, 1767.

LONDON, *January 12, 1768.*

DEAR JAMES,—Desire an old tried Scot, William Darney by name, to take a turn or two in the Dunbar Circuit ; and I will desire William Minethorp, now near York (a good man and a good preacher), to go down into your circuit and supply his place. Then Alnwick will have the preaching on Sunday, which is highly expedient.

If we pay the debt in one year (and there is a fine prospect), it is all along of your Newcastle people ; for nobody else thought of it. Go on, go on, in God's name !—I am

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To his Brother Charles

Charles Wesley had now three sons. John James, the youngest, died on July 5, 1768, at the age of seven months. The other boys became famous musicians, not preachers. John White, father of John Westley's wife, was Patriarch of Dorchester and for some time Rector of Lambeth. He was one of the two assessors appointed to assist Dr. Twisse, the first Chairman of the Westminster Assembly. He died in 1648.

LONDON, January 15, 1768.

DEAR BROTHER,—SIX or seven hundred pounds is brought to a Conference, of which five hundred at least pays debt. Then extraordinary demands are answered. How much remains for law? I am now near three hundred pounds out of pocket, which I borrowed to pay Mr. Pardon. When I receive some more from Newcastle,¹ I will send it to Bristol; probably very soon.

It is highly probable one of the three will stand before the Lord. But, so far as I can learn, such a thing has scarce been for these thousand years before, as a son, father, grandfather, *atavus*, *tritavus*, preaching the gospel, nay, and the genuine gospel, in a line. You know, Mr. White, sometime Chairman of the Assembly of Divines, was my grandmother's father.

Look upon our little ones at Kingswood as often as you can. A word from you will be a quickening to them. O how many talents are we entrusted with!

'But what account can thy bad steward make?' Indeed, we have need to gird up the loins of our mind and run faster the small remainder of our race. 'One thing!' Let us mind one thing only; and nothing great or small but as it ministers to it!

Peace be with you and yours! Adieu.

To Samuel Levis

LONDON, January 19, 1768.

DEAR SAMMY,—I think this is the least we can insist upon—that all our freemen neither directly nor indirectly take anything for the time to come. My little indisposition is passed over.²

Now, up and be doing! Lose not a day. I desire you (1) exhort our wealthy members to act generously and make a push once for all; (2) encourage the middling ones to subscribe more or less according to the plan; (3) receive two mites from the willing poor; (4) take an exact account of the debts which lie upon the houses in your circuit; (5) before the 20th of next month send me an exact account both of the debts and

¹ See previous letter.

² See letter of Dec. 31, 1767.

of the money subscribed, which is to be paid at the spring visitation of the classes. Go on in faith.—I am

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Mr. Samuel Levick, At Mr. John Nance's, In St. Ives, Cornwall.

To Mrs. Moon

LONDON, *January 24, 1768.*

MY DEAR SISTER,—Formerly, when persons reproached me for doing thus and thus, I have very frequently said, 'In truth I have not done it yet ; but by the grace of God I will.' This seems to be the very case with you. You are accused for what you did not, but ought to have done. You ought to have informed me from time to time, not indeed of trifles or idle reports, but of things which you judged to be a real hindrance to the work of God. And God permitted you to be reminded of this omission by those who intended nothing less.

Opposition from their brethren has been one cause why so many who were set free have not retained their liberty. But perhaps there was another more general cause : they had not proper help. One just saved from sin is like a new-born child, and needs as careful nursing. But these had it not. How few were as nursing fathers ! How few cherished them as a nurse her own children ! So that the greater part were weakened, if not destroyed, before their sinews were knit, for want of that prudent and tender care which their state necessarily required. Do all that you can to cherish them that are left ; and never forget

Your affectionate brother.

To Hannah Ball

This is the beginning of Wesley's correspondence with Hannah Ball. She was born on March 13, 1733, and had been for some time under religious impressions, which were deepened by reading Thomas Walsh's Sermons. 'Some time after this,' she says, 'Mr. Wesley came to Wycombe. I had now a conflict between desire and aversion. Desire at length so far prevailed, that though I did not attend the preaching at night, yet I went at five in the morning. I was struck with the venerable appearance of Mr. Wesley ; but more deeply affected with the words of his text, which were taken from Matthew xv. 28,

"O woman, great is thy faith: be it unto thee even as thou wilt." This was on January 8, 1765. She wrote in 1769, 'After hearing this sermon, I was under very strong convictions for five months; and then I found peace to my troubled soul' on June 3, 1765. The little *Memoir* gives thirty-two letters from Wesley to this devoted lady. She became a power in the Society at High Wycombe, and established a Sunday school in the town in 1769, nearly fourteen years before Robert Raikes began his schools in Gloucester. She died on August 16, 1792, in her fifty-ninth year. See *Memoir of Miss Hannah Ball*, pp. 6, 36, 179.

LONDON, January 28, 1768.

MY DEAR SISTER,—I found a particular love to you from the time that you spoke so freely to me on that nice subject; especially when I found you had resolution to give up all for Christ, and even to pluck out the right eye and cast it from you. Use the same freedom still. Tell me from time to time anything that tries or troubles you. Certainly you will have trials of various kinds. Expect one after another, and conquer all through Him that loves you. Only hold fast your shield! Cast not away that confidence which hath great recompense of reward! Christ is yours! Yea, all He has and is is yours! And let all you are, soul and body, be His! Draw not back! Hang upon Him! Trust Him in all things! and love for His sake, my dear sister,

Your affectionate brother.

To Miss Ball, At Mr. Ball's, Laceman,
In High Wycombe.

To Peggy Dale

LONDON, January 30, 1768.

MY DEAR PEGGY,—It is a certain truth that the witness of sanctification is a privilege which every one that is sanctified *may claim*. Yet it is not true that every one that is sanctified *does enjoy* this. Many who are really sanctified (that is, *wholly devoted* to God) do not enjoy it as soon as that work is wrought; and many who received it do not retain it, or at the least not constantly. Indeed, they cannot retain it in two cases: either if they do not continue steadily watching unto prayer; or, secondly, if they give way to reasoning, if they let go any parts of 'love's divine simplicity.' I am afraid this was *your* case: you did not remain simple; you gave way to evil reasoning. But you *was* as surely sanctified as you was

justified. And how soon may you be so again? The way, the new and living way, is open! Believe, and enter in!—
I am, my dear Peggy, Your affectionate brother.

To Joseph Benson

Benson had gone from Cumberland to Newcastle to see Wesley; but he had left. After a few weeks among the Methodists of the North, he set out to walk to London, as Wesley wished him to come to the Foundery. At Ferry Bridge a gentleman saw him reading his Greek Testament near the kitchen fire in the inn, and took him to London in the basket of his carriage. He arrived in the middle of February 1766, and after a month at the Foundery went with Wesley to Bristol, where on March 11 he was made classical master at Kingswood.

James Hindmarsh was the chief English and mathematical master, and his wife housekeeper. The collection reported at the Conference of 1767 was £121 9s. The Conference authorized a midsummer collection and special subscriptions for the school, and £173 was contributed in the following year. Franks, the Book Steward, was thus able to meet the needs of the school. For an account of the revival at the school in April 1768, see *Journal*, v. 258–60, and *History of Kingswood School*, pp. 57–8; and for Thomas Lewis, letter of December 7, 1764.

LONDON, *January 31, 1768.*

DEAR JOSEPH,—Tommy Taylor we have tried. Therefore I do not desire to part with him. But was T. Dancer out of his wits? How was it possible he could write to me about another master without first consulting you? I understood what he wrote to be wrote by you all, and therefore immediately spoke to the young man and desired him to give warning where he was that he might be at liberty in March. Perhaps there is a Providence in this blunder. For if Mr. Williams is what he *appears* to be, he is deeply devoted to God. You shall have what money you want; if T. Lewis will draw upon Mr. Franks for it, not only sixty pounds, but (if need be) sixty to that.

You should write to me often and not too briefly. I am, with love to Brother and Sister Hindmarsh and T. Taylor,
dear Joseph, Your affectionate brother.

If T. Lewis *will not*, do *you* draw on Mr. Franks.

To Mr. Joseph Benson, At Kingswood
School, Near Bristol.

*To Mrs. Woodhouse*LONDON, *February 3, 1768.*

MY DEAR SISTER,—You did not willingly omit anything that was in your power.¹ Therefore you have no reason to be uneasy on that account. Your father went to God in a good old age as a ripe shock of corn. Be you also ready; that, whenever our Lord cometh, He may find you watching!

Undoubtedly God does sometimes show His children things to come in dreams or visions of the night. And whenever they bring us nearer to Him, it is well, whenever they are means of increasing our faith and holiness. Only we must take care not to depend upon them too much, and to bring all to the standard—the law and the testimony. I believe it would be a trial to you if you should hear I was called away. But you have a strong Helper in all trials.

It might please God to calm your troubled mind by that particular outward representation; and let Him work in whatever manner He pleases. Peace and love are blessings, come how they will. These I hope you find increasing in you. Let your soul be all love, and it suffices.—I am, my dear sister,
Your affectionate brother.

To Mrs. Woodhouse, At Mr. Hutton's,
In Epworth, Near Thorne, Yorkshire.

To Ann Bolton

This is the beginning of one of the closest friendships and most sustained correspondence of Wesley's life. In January 1764 he preached at Witney, near which, at Blandford Park, Miss Bolton lived with her brother. She came to London, and the proposed marriage did not take place. See letter of April 7.

LONDON, *February 13, 1768.*

MY DEAR SISTER,—The best and most desirable thing of all is that you should live and die wholly devoted to God, waiting upon Him without distraction, serving Him without carefulness, and studying one thing—to be holy both in body and spirit, an whole burnt sacrifice of love. If you have not steadiness and resolution for this, the next thing to be desired is that you may marry a man of faith and love, who has a

¹ See letters of May 17, 1766, and Nov. 12, 1768, to her.

good temper and a good understanding. The temptation you are now in was perhaps the most dangerous one you ever had in your life. God deliver you from that almost certain destruction which attends the being unequally yoked to an unbeliever !

If you could come up to London before I leave it, which is to be the 7th of March, and had time and resolution to converse with those who are most alive to God, it might be an unspeakable help to you. If you do come, let me know exactly when and how and where you purpose to lodge. And may the God of love 'cover with His wings your head' and keep you from all evil !—I am, my dear sister,

Your affectionate brother.

To James Oddie

LONDON, February 14, 1768.

DEAR JEMMY,—I require William Ellis¹ to go into the Dales (if he is not gone already) without delay. Otherwise I require you to forbid his preaching in any of our Societies.

Push on the collection in God's name ! I think you will not easily stop short of seven hundred.²

It is not right, Jemmy ; it is not right. They envy the rooms of those poor girls,³ and want at all hazards to thrust them out. I wrote to Molly Dale on Saturday in haste ; but to-day I have wrote her my cooler thoughts. Peace be with you and yours.—Dear Jemmy, adieu !

To Miss March

STROUD, March 14, 1768.

There are innumerable degrees, both in a justified and a sanctified state, more than it is possible for us exactly to define. I have always thought the lowest degree of the latter implies the having but one desire and one design. I have no doubt but in that general outpouring of the Spirit God did give — this degree of salvation, neither did it ever appear to me that — had lost it ; rather — seemed to stand just on the threshold of Christian perfection, and I apprehend nothing would be more likely to hurt the soul than undervaluing the grace

¹ Oddie's third colleague at Newcastle.

² The Misses Dale at the Orphan House.

³ See letters of Jan. 12 and 15.

already received. Without any sin we may be in a sense pleased with the approbation of those we esteem and love. But here we have need of much prayer, lest this should degenerate into pride or vanity. I still say to you, as to an almost new-born babe, 'Dare to believe; on Christ lay hold!' Without being solicitous about the name of what you have, ask and expect all you want! Is it not nigh, even at the door?

The knowledge of ourselves is true humility; and without this we cannot be free from vanity, a desire of praise being inseparably connected with every degree of pride. Continual watchfulness is absolutely necessary to hide this from stealing in upon us. But as long as we steadily watch and pray, we shall not enter into temptation. It may and will assault us on every side; but it cannot prevail.

To John Fletcher

This was an early stage in Fletcher's life at Madeley, when he was in close contact with those who were not in sympathy with his views. Wesley's advice must have been of real service.

Lady Huntingdon's chapels were increasing, and the need of preachers was keenly felt. She was preparing for the opening of her college at Trevecca on August 24, 1768, of which Fletcher became the first President early in January, with Easterbrook as Assistant. Six students had been expelled from St. Edmund Hall, Oxford, on March 11, 1768, for Methodist practices. This letter is given in a shortened form in the *Works*, xii. 161-2. See Tyerman's *Whitefield*, ii. 541-5; *W.H.S.* xiv. 46-7.

Joseph Easterbrook, son of the bellman at Bristol, who had been educated at Kingswood School, was now seventeen. He became Vicar of Temple Church, Bristol, and died in 1791. He went to see Fletcher at Madeley. Fletcher thanks Lady Huntingdon on January 3, 1768, for recommending him, and says: 'I hope he will be the captain of the school [the college at Trevecca], and a great help to the master, as well as a spur to the students. He has good parts, a most happy memory, and a zeal that would gladden your Ladyship's heart. He has preached no less than four times to-day.' See Tyerman's *Wesley's Designated Successor*, pp. 122, 132; and letter of February 6, 1791, to Henry Moore.

BIRMINGHAM, *March 20, 1768.*

DEAR SIR,—Yesterday Mr. Easterbrook informed me that you are sick of the conversation even of them who profess religion, 'that you find it quite unprofitable if not hurtful to

converse with them three or four hours together, and at sometimes almost determined to shut yourself up as the less evil of the two.'

I do not wonder at it at all, especially considering with whom you have chiefly conversed for some time past—namely, the hearers of Mr. Madan and Mr. Romaine (perhaps I might add of Mr. Whitefield). The conversing with these I have rarely found to be profitable to my soul. Rather it has damped my desires, it has cooled my resolutions, and I have commonly left them with a dry, dissipated spirit.

And how can we expect it to be otherwise? For do we not naturally catch their spirit with whom we converse? And what spirit can we expect them to be of, considering the preaching they sit under? Some happy exceptions I allow; but, in general, do men gather grapes of thorns? Do they gather constant, universal self-denial, the patience of hope, the labour of love, inward and outward self-devotion, from the doctrine of Absolute Decrees, of Irresistible Grace, of Infallible Perseverance? Do they gather these fruits from Antinomian doctrine? or from any that borders upon it? Do they gather them from that *amorous* way of praying to Christ or that way of preaching His righteousness? I never found it so. On the contrary, I have found that even the precious doctrine of Salvation by Faith has need to be guarded with the utmost care, or those who hear it will slight both inward and outward holiness. I will go a step farther: I seldom find it profitable for *me* to converse with any who are not athirst for perfection and who are not big with earnest expectation of receiving it every moment. Now, you find none of these among those we are speaking of, but many, on the contrary, who are in various ways directly or indirectly opposing the whole work of God; that work, I mean, which God is carrying on throughout the kingdom by *ἄνδρες ἀγράμματοι καὶ ἰδιῶται*.¹ In consequence of which His influence must in some measure be withdrawn from them.

Again, you have for some time conversed a good deal with the genteel Methodists. Now, it matters not a straw what doctrine they hear, whether they frequent the Lock or West

¹ Acts iv. 13: 'unlearned and ignorant men.'

Street. They are (almost all) salt that has lost its savour, if ever they had any. They are thoroughly conformed to the maxims, the spirit, the fashions, and customs of the world. Certainly, then, *Nunquam ad eos homines ibis quin minor homo redebis.*¹

But, were these or those of ever so excellent a spirit, you converse with them too long. 'Three or four hours'! One had need to be an angel, not a man, to converse four hours at once to any purpose. In the latter part of such a conversation we shall doubtless lose all the profit we had gained before.

But have you not a remedy for all this in your hands? In order to truly profitable conversation, may not you select persons clear both of Calvinism and Antinomianism, not fond of that luscious way of talking, but standing in awe of Him they love—persons who are vigorously working out their salvation, persons athirst for full redemption, and every moment expecting if not already enjoying it? Though, it is true, these will commonly be poor and mean; seldom possessed of either riches or learning, unless there be now and then a *rara avis in terris*,² a Miss March or Betty Johnson.³ If you converse with these humbly and simply an hour at a time, with prayer before and prayer after, you will not complain of the unprofitableness of conversation or find any need of turning hermit.

As to the conference at Worcester on lay-preaching, do not you observe almost all the lay preachers (x) are connected with *me*? (2) are maintainers of universal redemption? *Hinc illae lacrymae!*⁴ These gentlemen do not love *me*, and do love particular redemption. If these laymen were connected with them, or if they were Calvinists, all would be well. Therefore I should apprehend you will have two things to do: (1) urge the argument the strength of which I believe is in the second *Appeal*, and above all in the *Letter to a Clergyman*⁵; (2) apply to the conscience, You do not love Mr. Wesley enough, you love your opinions too much; otherwise this debate would never have arisen. For it is undeniable these quacks cure

¹ A Kempis's *Imitation*, i. 20: 'One said, As oft as I have gone among men, I returned home less a man.'

² Juvenal's *Satires*, vi. 165: 'A bird rarely seen on earth.'

³ See headings to letters of March 4, 1760, and Dec. 15, 1763.

⁴ Horace's *Epistles*, i. xix. 41: 'Hence these tears.'

⁵ See *Works*, viii. 136-200; and letter of May 4, 1748.

whom we cannot cure, they save sinners all over the nation. God is with them, God works by them, and has done so, for near these thirty years. Therefore the opposing them is neither better nor worse than fighting against God.—I am
Your ever affectionate brother.

To Robert Costerdine

MANCHESTER, March 28, 1768.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—Be not discouraged. Go on in faith, and you will gain more subscriptions before the Conference.¹

If God permit, I shall be at York on Friday, June 24; Mond. the 27, Pateley Bridge; Tu. 28, Skipton; W. 29, Otley; Th. 30, Parkgate; Sat. July 2, Keighley; Su. 3, Haworth; Mond. 4, Bradford. This is the best way I could think of to spend a few days.¹ But I can preach sometimes at noon.—
I am
Your affectionate friend and brother.

I commonly preach at six in the evening.

To Mr. Costerdine, At Mr. Colbeck's,
In Keighley, Yorkshire.

To Dr. Rutherford

For the letter of March 28, 1768, to Dr. Thomas Rutherford, concerning his *Four Charges to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Essex*, see pp. 357-69.

To Christopher Hopper

Hopper was in Newcastle, and Wesley relied on his help as to the debt. These preachers were not able to get what Wesley thought right from the rich Societies. Boardman was in York, Brisco and Daniel Bumstead at Birstall, and John Oliver at Leeds. See letter of January 9.

MANCHESTER, March 29, 1768.

DEAR CHRISTOPHER,—I see no help for it. What must be must be. You must go point-blank to York, Leeds, and Bradford. Our rich men subscribe twenty shillings a year. And neither Brother Boardman, Brisco, Bumstead, nor Oliver can

¹ For the debts of the Connexion, see letters of Nov. 24 and Dec. 2, 1767, to him.

² This fills out the entry in the

Journal, v. 277. He left Newcastle on June 13, and 'in the residue of the month visited most of the Societies in Yorkshire.'

move them. They want a hard-mouthed man. Get you gone in a trice. Show them the difference. I beg of you either *mend* them or *end* them. Let this lumber be removed from among us.—I am
Ever yours.

To Ann Bolton

LIVERPOOL, April 7, 1768.

Indeed, my dear sister, the conversation I had with you at London¹ much increased my affection for you and my desire that you should not fall short of any blessing which our Lord has bought for you with His own blood. Certain it is that He loves you. And He has already given you the faith of a servant. You want only the faith of a child. And is it not nigh? What is it you feel *now*? That spark just kindling in your heart which enables you to say:

Lord, I am Thine by sacred ties,
Thy child, Thy servant bought with blood!

Look up, my sister, my friend! Jesus is there! He is ever now interceding for *you*! Doubt not of it! Doubt not His love! Forget yourself, a poor, vile, worthless sinner. But look unto Jesus! See the Friend of Sinners! *Your* Friend; your ready and strong Saviour!

It was not a small deliverance which you had in escaping the being joined to one who was not what he seemed.² If he had acted thus after you were married, it would almost have broke your heart. See how the Lord careth for you! Surely the hairs of your head are all numbered! If you *can* continue as you are, use it rather. If you should do otherwise, will not you consult *me* before you engage?

As to your health, I wish you would punctually follow the directions which I formerly gave you. But tell me if you find any new symptom. Perhaps you will not stay here long; but you cannot, shall not depart hence till your eyes have seen His salvation!—My dear Nancy, adieu.

On Saturday se'nnight I expect to be at Whitehaven; on Saturday fortnight at Glasgow. Shall I not hear from you soon?

¹ See letter of Jan. 25, 1770, where he speaks of another visit. ² See letter of Feb. 13.

To Peggy Dale

Of the remaining four letters' to Peggy Dale, 'two are only copies—one bearing the endorsement of the fact that the original had been given away by Canon Dale. One has been in a cover which is lost, and with it its number.' See Dale's *Life and Letters*, i. 20.

LIVERPOOL, April 7, 1768.

MY DEAR PEGGY,—I do not well understand what letter you mean. I have answered (if I do not forget) every letter which I have received. And I commonly answer either of you ¹ within a day or two. In this respect I do not love to remain in your debt. In others I must always be so; for I can never pay you the affection I owe. Accept of what little I have to give.

Mr. Law does well to insist on those sister graces, lowliness, meekness, and resignation.² These one would most importunately ask of God. And, indeed, without them love is only a name. Let your faith thus work by love, and it will make you fruitful in every good temper and word and work.

I hope to be at Glasgow on Wednesday the 19th instant; at Aberdeen the 28th; at Edinburgh May 5; at Newcastle on Friday, May 20. Peace be with your spirit!—I am, my dear Peggy,
Your affectionate brother.

To Robert Costerdine

John Shaw, who was sensible, upright, and pious, served as an itinerant from 1763 to 1793. He 'was a remarkably corpulent man, which rendered travelling sometimes a great burden to him.' He was preacher in Lincoln West, and had made some suggestion, probably about the chapel debt. See Atmore's *Memorial*, p. 384.

KENDAL, April 13, 1768.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—If the debt of Colne house were given at Leeds Conference, it will be taken in of course. If it were not, I will lay Mr. Shaw's paper before the ensuing Conference. On Monday, June 27, I hope to be at Pateley Bridge (coming from Tadcaster, where I expect to preach at noon—one might meet me at Tadcaster); Tuesday, 28th, at Skipton; Wednesday, 29th, at Otley; Saturday, July 2nd, Keighley. You

¹ Herself or Miss Molly Dale.

² *A Serious Call to a Holy Life*, xvi.—xxii.

may have the three volumes. Do not spare to speak when you visit the classes again, and many will enlarge their subscription.—I am
Yours affectionately.

To Ann Bolton

May 9, 1768.

MY DEAR SISTER,—How far are you from holiness? Nay, rather think how near you are to it! You are no farther from it than you are from faith, than you are from Christ. And how far is He from you? Is He not nigh? Is He not just now knocking at the door of your heart? Hark! The Master calleth you! Thou dead soul, hear the voice of the Son of God, and live! What saith He to you? Woman, be of good cheer! Thy sins are forgiven thee.—I am, my dear Nancy,
Your affectionate brother.

To his Brother Charles

EDINBURGH, May 14, 1768.

DEAR BROTHER,—It is well Sally R—— is in peace. I have been long persuaded that if she continued to hinder him, God would, in mercy to them both, take her away.

I am glad Mr. Fletcher has been with you. But if the tutor fails, what will become of our college at Trevecca? Did you ever see anything more queer than their plan of institution? Pray who penned it, man or woman? I am afraid the visitor too will fail.¹

The archers here have sorely wounded Lord Buchan.* But if Isaac stays with you in London, what have the Stewards of Bristol to do with him? They may, then, easily find his equal; for, with regard to them, he is equal to—nothing.

I am at my wits' end with regard to two things—the Church and Christian Perfection. Unless both you and I stand in the gap *in good earnest*, the Methodists will drop them both. Talking will not avail. We must *do*, or be borne away. Will you set shoulder to shoulder? If so, think deeply upon the matter, and tell me what can be done. *Age, vir esto! nervos intendas tuos.*² Peace be with you and yours! Adieu.

¹ Fletcher was the visitor.

* 'Come, be a man! Stretch your nerves.'

² The Earl of Buchan died on Dec. 1, 1767, and his son succeeded him at the age of twenty-four.

from Terence's *Eunuchus*, II. iii. 19.

To the Rev. Mr. Plenderlieth

Plenderlieth was a minister of the Established Church in Edinburgh. At Elgin Lady Maxwell found his ministry a blessing. On May 8, 1784, Wesley spent an agreeable hour with 'a daughter of good Mr. Plenderlieth, late of Edinburgh.' See Lancaster's *Life of Lady Maxwell*, p. 28.

The father of Dr. Joseph Stennett, jun. (1692-1758), was Sunday Lecturer at St. Paul's Alley, Barbican. At Perth on April 24, 1770, Wesley 'spent a few agreeable hours with Dr. Oswald, an upright, friendly, sensible man'; and on April 27, 1772, 'three or four hours in conversation with Dr. Oswald and Mr. Fraser, two as pious and sensible ministers as any I know in Scotland.' Wesley had probably met Dr. Oswald when he visited Perth on April 23-5, 1768, and acted on his advice in Edinburgh on May 14-16. See *Journal*, v. 256, 363, 456.

Dr. Erskine wrote a Preface to the Edinburgh edition of Hervey's *Eleven Letters* attacking Wesley. James Kershaw replied; and Erskine published a defence of his Preface, in which he attacked Wesley still more violently. 'One is at the head of their Societies who has blended with some precious gospel truths a medley of Arminian, Antinomian, and enthusiastic errors.' See letter of April 24, 1765; and for Wesley's reply, *Works*, x. 346-55.

NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE, May 23, 1768.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR,—Some years ago it was reported that I recommended the use of a crucifix to a man under sentence of death. I traced this up to its author, Dr. Stennett, an Anabaptist teacher. He was charged with it. He answered, 'Why, I saw a crucifix in his cell' (a picture of Christ on the cross); 'and I knew Mr. Wesley used to visit him: so I supposed he had brought it.' This is the whole of the matter. Dr. Stennett himself I never yet saw; nor did I ever see such a picture in the cell: and I believe the whole tale is pure invention.

I had for some time given up the thought of an interview with Mr. Erskine, when I fell into the company of Dr. Oswald. He said, 'Sir, you do not know Mr. Erskine. I know him perfectly well. Send and desire an hour's conversation with him, and I am sure he will understand you better.' I am glad I did send. I have done my part, and am now entirely satisfied.

I am likewise glad that Mr. Erskine has spoke his mind. I will answer with all simplicity, in full confidence of satisfying you and all impartial men.

He objects, first, that I attack predestination as subversive of all religion, and yet suffer my followers in Scotland to remain in that opinion. Much of this is true. I did attack predestination eight-and-twenty years ago¹; and I do not believe now any predestination which implies irrespective reprobation. But I do not believe it is necessarily subversive of all religion. I think hot disputes are much more so; therefore I never willingly dispute with any one about it. And I advise all my friends, not in Scotland only, but all over England and Ireland, to avoid all contention on the head, and let every man remain in his own opinion. Can any man of candour blame me for this? Is there anything unfair or disingenuous in it?

He objects, secondly, that I 'assert the attainment of sinless perfection by all born of God.' I am sorry Mr. Erskine should affirm this again. I need give no other answer than I gave before, in the seventh page of the little tract² I sent him two years ago.

I do not maintain this. I do not believe it. I believe Christian perfection is not attained by any of the children of God till they are what the Apostle John terms fathers. And this I expressly declare in that sermon which Mr. Erskine so largely quotes.

He objects, thirdly, that I 'deny the imputation of Christ's active obedience.' Since I believed justification by faith, which I have done upwards of thirty years, I have constantly maintained that we are pardoned and accepted wholly and solely for the sake of what Christ hath both done and suffered for us.

Two or three years ago Mr. Madan's sister showed him what she had wrote down of a sermon which I had preached on this subject. He entreated me to write down the whole and print it, saying it would satisfy all my opponents. I was not so sanguine as to expect this: I understood mankind too well. However, I complied with his request: a few were satisfied; the rest continued just as they were before.

As long as Mr. Erskine continues of the mind expressed in his

¹ See letter of April 30, 1739.

Lord our Righteousness, see letter of Feb. 28, 1766, to John Newton.

² For *A Plain Account of Christian Perfection* and the sermon on The

Theological Essays, there is no danger that he and I should agree any more than light and darkness. I love and reverence him, but not his doctrine. I dread every approach to Antinomianism. I have seen the fruit of it over the three kingdoms. I never said that Mr. Erskine and I were agreed. I will make our disagreement as public as ever he pleases; only I must withhold specify the particulars. If he will fight with me, it must be on this ground; and then let him do what he will and what he can.

Retaining a due sense of your friendly offices, and praying for a blessing on all your labours,—I remain, reverend and dear sir,
Your affectionate brother and servant.

To Henry Brooke

Brooke, 'a man of remarkable piety and worth,' was received into the Dublin Society in April 1765. Grant, Martin, and Freeman were leading Methodists in Dublin; Mr. Grant being the Treasurer of the Widows' Alms House. Olivers and John Hilton were the preachers there. See letters of March 1, 1762, and July 8, 1774, to him.

SUNDERLAND, *May 25, 1768.*

MY DEAR BRETHREN,—I know not what to say; the accounts I receive from Dublin are so contradictory to each other. In my last to T. Olivers I desired he would go immediately into Waterford Circuit. I wish Mr. Hilton would give me his cool judgement concerning the late transactions.

I desire all the money subscribed in Ireland for the payment of the General Debt may be lodged in the hands of George Grant, James Martin, and James Freeman as trustees. But when this amounts to £100, let so much of the Dublin debt be paid without delay.

See that you bear one another's burthens.—I am, my dear brethren,
Your affectionate brother.

What is the present debt on Dublin house?

To Mr. Henry Brooke, Stafford Street,
Dublin.

To George Merryweather

Wesley preached at Osmotherley on June 17. This letter fills part of the gap in the *Journal*. William Ripley wrote: 'We had a pleasant ride to Osmotherley, and a good sermon at eleven, from Zion travelling and bringing forth suddenly—and so plentifully that a nation is born

in a day. Here he showed that God in this respect was carrying on a wonderful work amongst the Methodists in convincing and removing or pardoning sin, and renewing the heart, and that speedily. In the evening he preached a comfortable sermon from little David and great Goliath, reading the whole chapter. He made excellent remarks as he spiritualized the whole, showing that the sling of faith and stones of God's promises would soon lay low the proud giants of self and sin. My soul was melted down in love; my eyes flowed with tears; I was filled with a holy courage, and something of a valiant mind sprung up in me.' Thomas Lee and John Heslop were preachers at Yarm. See *Journal*, v. 277n; *W.H.S.* iii. 93n.

NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE, *June 6, 1768.*

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I have a letter from Nathl. Smith, at Osmotherley, desiring me to preach there. But I do not see how I can. Pray consult with T. Lee or John Heslop concerning it. On Friday, 17th instant, I am to preach at Potto and Hutton; on Saturday evening at Whitby. Where is it of most importance to preach in the way? At Stokesley, Guisborough, or elsewhere? Fix it among you in time.—
I am
Your affectionate brother.

To Ann Bolton

NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE, *June 7, 1768.*

MY DEAR SISTER,—As there is nothing new in your disorder only an increase of the same symptoms, I believe, if you will observe the directions I formerly gave, this will help you more than an hundred medicines. Oily medicines would kill you quickly; so would anything that loads your stomach. You must take care to have air enough at night: it would not hurt you to have the window a little open. When you have that tickling cough, chew a small bit of bark (as big as half a peppercorn), swallow your spittle four or five times, and then spit out the wood. So much bark as this I can allow you, but no more, at the peril of your life. Try if red currants agree with you; if they do, eat as many as you can.

O Nancy, I want sadly to see you: I am afraid you should steal away into paradise. A thought comes into my mind which I will tell you freely. If you go first, I think you must leave me your seal for a token: I need not say to remember you by, for I shall never forget you.

Experience shows what is the best means of grace to *you*.

Read and think of the love of God. That is your point. Jesus loves *you*! He is *yours*. Be not so unkind as to distrust Him! Cast your soul at His feet! Prisoner of hope, be bold! Come unto Him now and take the water of life freely!

If you are able to write, write to me soon, directing to me at Mrs. Hudson's in York. I want to know everything that concerns you. For you are exceeding near to, my dear Nancy,

Your affectionate brother.

To Miss Bolton, At the Rev. Mr. Davis's,
In Evesham, Worcestershire. Cross Post.

To his Brother Charles

NORTON, NEAR STOCKTON, June 14, 1768.

DEAR BROTHER,—I rejoice to hear from various persons so good an account of the work of God in London. You did not come thither without the Lord; and you find your labour is not in vain.¹ I doubt not but you will see more and more fruit while you converse chiefly with them that are athirst for God. I find a wonderful difference in myself when I am among these and when I am among fashionable Methodists. On this account the North of England suits me best, where so many are groaning after full redemption.

But what shall we do? I think it is high time that you and I at least should come to a point. Shall we go on in asserting perfection against all the world? Or shall we quietly let it drop? We really must do one or the other; and, I apprehend, the sooner the better. What shall we jointly and explicitly maintain (and recommend to all our preachers) concerning the nature, the time (now or by-and-by), and the manner of it (instantaneous or not)? I am weary of intestine war, of preachers quoting one of us against the other. At length let us *fix* something for good and all; either the same as formerly or different from it.

“*Ἐρωσο.*”

¹ On July 16 Charles writes to his wife from London, where he is looking for a house, and tells her that ‘on Thursday night the Foundery was crowded with serious

hearers of every sort. My subject, “He is able to save to the uttermost all that,” &c.’

² ‘Farewell.’

To Jane Hilton

YORK, June 25, 1768.

MY DEAR SISTER,—Your conversation gave me much satisfaction. I rejoiced to find that you was sensible of your loss, and determined by the grace of God never to rest till you had recovered all which you once enjoyed. Nay, and you will recover it with increase; you will find a deeper communion with God, and a more full self-devotion than ever. An earnest of this was given you the other day. Hold that fast, and continually expect the rest. How did you find yourself on Thursday morning? Had you not again a taste of the great salvation? And how have you been since? Are you still happy in God, and resolved not to rest till you are all devoted to Him? See that you do not fall again into evil reasonings! Be simple before God! Continue instant in prayer; and watch against whatever you know by experience to be a weight upon your mind. How soon may you then have your whole desire! How soon may your heart be all love! Why not now? All things are ready! Only believe! And speak freely to, my dear Jenny,

Your affectionate brother.

To Miss Hilton, In Beverley.

To Jane Hilton

GUISELEY, July 1, 1768.

MY DEAR SISTER,—You must now expect temptations. Perhaps they will assault you on every side; for all the powers of hell are enraged at you and will use every art to move you from your steadfastness. But He that is for you is greater than all that are against you: only beware of evil reasoning! Hang simply on Him that loves you, and whom you love; just as a little helpless child. Christ is yours, all yours: that is enough. Lean your whole soul upon Him! Do you find a witness in yourself that He has cleansed your heart? Do you feel this always? And have you a constant sense of the loving presence of God? You never need lose anything that God has given, so you keep close to Him. Be little and mean in your own eyes, glorying only in the Lord. And do not cease to pray for

Your affectionate brother.

You may direct to me at Epworth, near Thorne, Yorkshire.

It is a pity but you should now read the *Plain Account of Christian Perfection* (I suppose you may get it at Hull) and the First Epistle of St. John.

To Miss March

July 5, 1768.

I am more inclined to congratulate you than to condole with you upon your present situation. Many circumstances concurred to expose you to the greatest of all dangers—that of being generally commended. It is therefore a peculiarly gracious providence whereby this danger is turned aside, and that without any particular fault or even imprudence on your part. You may now experience the truth of that fine reflection, ‘Nothing is more profitable for us than to suffer reproach for a good action done with a single eye.’ Nevertheless you cannot be excused from speaking plain to Sarah Crosby and A[nn Foard]; and the sooner this is done the better, lest their want of judgement should produce more ill effects. Certainly you should labour to convince them that they were altogether in a fault. In any wise they should have spoke to you first; then, if you had not satisfied them, they might have gone farther. But what can be done for the poor young woman? I am afraid lest she should be turned out of the way.

You will hardly need that tract for a time, as you have Mr. Brainerd’s *Life*. There is a pattern of self-devotion and deadness to the world! But how much of his sorrow and pain had been prevented, if he had understood the doctrine of Christian Perfection! How many tears did he shed because it was impossible to be freed from sin!

As you have not the same outward trials which many have, it is highly needful you should have some inward ones; although they need not be either many or long. If you walk closely with God, He is able to give any degree of holiness, either by pleasure or pain. S[ally]¹ continues with you a little longer to quicken you in the way. Why should not a

¹ Sarah Ryan died on Aug. 17.

living Christian be exactly of the same spirit with a dying Christian, seeing the difference between her life and ours is nothing when compared to eternity ?

The last scene of life in dying believers is of great use to those who are about them. Here we see the reality of religion and of things eternal ; and nothing has a greater tendency to solemnize the soul and make and keep it dead to all below. *We are reasonable creatures, and undoubtedly reason is the candle of the Lord.* By enlightening our reason to see the meaning of the Scriptures, the Holy Spirit makes our way plain before us.

To Walter Sellon

John Goodwin the Arminian (1593-1665) published '*Redemption Redeemed*, wherein the most glorious work of the Redemption of the World by Jesus Christ is vindicated against the Encroachments of Later Times' (1651, folio). Toplady thought George Kendall had effectually answered it in two folios ; but Sellon rejoined, 'If it was, I will eat it, as tough a morsel as it is.' Dr. John Owen replied in 850 octavo pages to Goodwin's seven chapters on the Perseverance of the Saints. Sellon's book *Arguments against the Doctrine of General Redemption Considered* (178 pages) was published in 1769.

WAKEFIELD, July 9, 1768.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I am glad you have undertaken the *Redemption Redeemed*. But you must in no wise forget Dr. Owen's Answer to it ; otherwise you will leave a loophole for all the Calvinists to creep out. The doctor's evasions you must needs cut in pieces, either interweaving your answers with the body of the work under each head or adding them in marginal notes. Your ever affectionate brother.

To Jane Hilton

Jeremiah Robertshaw, the second preacher at York, was a native of the West Riding, 'a remarkably plain, honest, simple, pious man.' He became an itinerant in 1762, and died in February 1788. See Atmore's *Memorial*, pp. 373-4.

On July 14 Wesley crossed over into Lincolnshire, and, after about ten days there, returned by Doncaster, Rotherham, and Sheffield, and thence to Madeley. See *Journal*, v. 278.

EPWORTH, July 13, 1768.

MY DEAR SISTER,—Coming here this afternoon, I found your welcome letter. I would have you write as often as you can. For you have need of every possible help; inasmuch as your grace is as yet young and tender, and all the powers of darkness are at work to move you from your steadfastness. But it is enough that Christ is yours; and He is wiser and stronger than all the powers of hell. Hang upon Him, and you are safe; lean on Him with the whole weight of your soul. Do you find now as clear an evidence of the invisible as of the visible world? And are your thoughts continually fixed on the God of your salvation? Do you pray without ceasing? Does He preserve you even in your dreams? Hold fast what you have, and look for more; for there is no end of His goodness.

Mr. Robertshaw is to stay with you another year; and doubt not the Lord will stay with you for ever. Think always of Him; and think sometimes of

Your affectionate brother.

To-morrow I go hence; but I expect to be here again next week, and to stay here till Monday se'nnight.

To Thomas Adam

Thomas Adam, the Rector of Wintringham, was at first a friend to the Methodists, but had now changed his attitude. Wesley says: 'I read Mr. Adam's ingenious *Comment* on the former part of the Epistle to the Romans. I was surprised and grieved. How are the mighty fallen! It is the very quintessence of Antinomianism. I did wonder much, but I do not wonder now, that his rod does not blossom.' The *Comment* was published in London in 1771. See *Journal*, v. 61, 278*n*, 480; and letter of October 31, 1755.

After Henry Venn left Huddersfield some of his old parishioners disapproved of his successor, and built a chapel, towards which he subscribed. William Moorhouse, who had attended Venn's ministry, was its pastor for more than fifty years. See *Journal*, v. 279; *Life and Times of the Countess of Huntingdon*, ii. 47.

SWINFLEET, July 19, 1768.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR,—One of Wintringham informed me yesterday that you said no sensible and well-meaning man could hear and much less join the Methodists; because

they all *acted under a lie*, professing themselves members of the Church of England while they licensed themselves as Dissenters. You are a little misinformed. The greater part of the Methodist preachers are not licensed at all ; and several that are are not licensed as Dissenters. I instance particularly in Thomas Adams and Thomas Brisco. When Thomas Adams desired a licence, one of the Justices said, ' Mr. Adams, are not you of the Church of England ? Why, then, do you desire a licence ? ' He answered, ' Sir, I am of the Church of England ; yet I desire a licence, that I may legally defend myself from the illegal violence of oppressive men.' T. Brisco being asked the same question in London, and the Justice adding, ' We will not grant you a licence,' his lawyer replied, ' Gentlemen, you cannot refuse it : the Act is a mandatory act. You have no choice.' One asked the chairman, ' Is this true ? ' He shook his head, and said, ' He is in the right.' The objection, therefore, does not lie at all against the greater part of the Methodist preachers ; because they are either licensed in this form or not licensed at all.

When others applied for a licence, the Clerk or Justice said, ' I will not license you but as Protestant Dissenters.' They replied, ' We are of the Church ; we are not Dissenters : but if you will call us so, we cannot help it.' They did *call* them so in their certificates, but this did not *make* them so. They still *call themselves* members of the Church of England ; and they believe themselves so to be. Therefore neither do these act under a lie. They speak no more than they verily believe. Surely, then, unless there are stronger objections than this, both well-meaning and sensible men may, in perfect consistence with their sense and sincerity, not only hear but join the Methodists.

We are in truth so far from being enemies to the Church, that we are rather bigots to it. I dare not, like Mr. Venn, leave the parish church where I am to go to an Independent meeting. I dare not advise others to go thither rather than to church. I advise all over whom I have any influence steadily to keep to the Church. Meantime I advise them to see that the kingdom of God is within them ; that their hearts be full of love to God and man ; and to look upon all, of whatever opinion, who are

like-minded, as their 'brother and sister and mother.' O sir, what art of men or devils is this which makes you so studiously stand aloof from those who are thus minded? I cannot but say to you, as I did to Mr. Walker (and I say it the more freely because *Quid mea refert?* I am neither better nor worse, whether you hear or forbear), 'The Methodists do not want you; but you want them.' You want the life, the spirit, the power which they have, not of themselves, but by the free grace of God; else how could it be (let me speak without reserve) that so good a man and so good a preacher should have so little fruit of his labour—his unwearied labour—for so many years? Have your parishioners the life of religion in their souls? Have they so much as the form of it? Are the people of Winttingham in general any better than those of Winterton or Horton? Alas! sir, what is it that hinders your reaping the fruit of so much pains and so many prayers?

Is it not possible this may be the very thing, your setting yourself against those whom God owns by the continual conviction and conversion of sinners?

I fear, as long as you in any wise oppose these, your rod will not blossom, neither will you see the desire of your soul, in the prosperity of the souls committed to your charge. I pray God to give you a right judgement in all things; and am, dear sir,

Your affectionate brother.

To John Mason

John Mason was left an orphan at four years of age, became a preacher in 1764, and was well read in history, skilled in anatomy, medicine, and natural philosophy. His collection of English plants 'would have done credit to the first museum in Europe.' He was at Bandon in 1767-8, and then at Limerick. Wesley often visited Kinsale, and says in August 1760: 'Surely good might be done here also, would our preachers always preach in the Exchange, as they may without any molestation, instead of a little, ugly, dirty garret.' A chapel was built in 1789 on the top of Compass Hill. See Thomas's *Methodism in Exeter*, p. 12.

PEMBROKE, August 6, 1768.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I would advise to make a longer trial of Kinsale. I am still in hope that good will be done there. And there has been considerable good done at Bandon; and will be more if the preachers do not coop themselves up in the

house. But no great good will be done at any place without field-preaching. I hope you labour to keep the bands regular in every place, which cannot be done without a good deal of care and pains. Take pains likewise with the children and in visiting from house to house ; else you will see little fruit of your labour. I believe it will be best to change the preachers more frequently.—I am

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To the Stewards of the Foundery

Wesley held his first Covenant Services in the French church, Spitalfields, where about eighteen hundred persons were present on August 11, 1755. See *Journal*, iv. 3, 126.

PEMBROKE, August 6, 1768.

MY DEAR BRETHREN,—The thing you mention is of no small concern, and ought not to be determined hastily. Indeed, it would be easy to answer, if we considered only how to save money ; but we are to consider also how to save souls. Now, I doubt whether we should act wisely in this respect were we to give up the chapel in Spitalfields. We have no other preaching-place in or near that populous quarter of the town ; and a quarter which, upon one account, I prefer before almost any other—namely, that the people in general are more simple and less confused by any other preachers. I think, therefore, it would not be worth while to give up this if we could gain a thousand pounds thereby. I should look upon it as selling the souls of men for money ; which God will give us in due time without this. That many who live near the Foundery would be glad of it I allow, because it would save them trouble. But neither can I put the saving of trouble in competition with the saving of souls.—I am, my dear brethren,

Your affectionate brother.

To Jane Hilton

BRISTOL, August 20, 1768.

MY DEAR SISTER,—I write often because I know you are yet weak and tender and in need of every help. I am not sorry that you have trials ; they are intended to show you your own helplessness, and to give you a fuller confidence in Him who has all power in heaven and earth. You have reason to cast

all your care upon Him ; for He has dealt bountifully with you. When any trial comes, see that you do not look to the thing itself, but immediately look unto Jesus. Reason not upon it, but believe. See the hand of God in Shimei's tongue. If you want advice in any point, write to me without delay. And meantime stay your whole soul upon Him who will never leave you nor forsake you. Tell Him simply all you fear, all you feel, all you want. 'Pour out your soul into His bosom. Do you feel no pride, no anger, no desire ? You will feel temptations to all ; and the old deceiver will tell you again and again, 'That is pride, that is anger !' But regard him not. And cast not away your confidence, which hath great recompense of reward.

Your affectionate brother.

I am to spend a month or two in and near Bristol.

To Lawrence Coughlan

Wesley introduces this letter into his *Journal*, v. 283, with the words, 'About this time I wrote to a friend as follows.' This was Lawrence Coughlan. See letters of March 6, 1763, and October 6, 1768 (where the reference to his wife suggests that he had lost her money).

[August 27, 1768.]

DEAR LAWRENCE,—By a various train of providences you have been led to the very place where God intended you should be. And you have reason to praise Him that He has not suffered your labour there to be in vain. In a short time how little will it signify whether we had lived in the Summer Islands or beneath

The rage of Arctos and eternal frost !¹

How soon will this dream of life be at an end ! And when we are once landed in eternity, it will be all one whether we spent our time on earth in a palace or had not where to lay our head.

You never learned, either from my conversation or preaching or writings, that 'holiness consisted in a flow of joy.' I constantly told you quite the contrary : I told you it was love ; the love of God and our neighbour ; the image of God stamped on the heart ; the life of God in the soul of man ; the mind

¹ See Prior's *Solomon*, i. 264-5 :
'If any suffer on the polar coast

The rage of Arctos and eternal
frost.'

that was in Christ, enabling us to walk as Christ also walked. If Mr. Maxfield or you took it to be anything else, it was your own fault, not mine. And whenever you waked out of that dream, you ought not to have laid the blame of it upon me. It is true that joy is one part of 'the fruit of the Spirit,' of the kingdom of God within us. But this is first 'righteousness,' then 'peace,' and 'joy in the Holy Ghost.' It is true, farther, that if you love God with 'all your heart' you may 'rejoice evermore.' Nay, it is true still farther that many serious, humble, sober-minded believers, who do feel the love of God sometimes, and do then rejoice in God their Saviour, cannot be content with this, but pray continually that He would enable them to love and 'rejoice in the Lord always.' And no fact under heaven is more undeniable than that God does answer this prayer; that He does, for the sake of His Son, and through the power of His Spirit, enable one and another so to do. It is also a plain fact that this power does commonly overshadow them in an instant, and that from that time they enjoy that inward and outward holiness to which they were utter strangers before. Possibly you might be mistaken in this; perhaps you thought you had received what you had not. But pray do not measure all men by yourself; do not imagine you are the universal standard. If you deceived yourself (which yet I do not affirm), you should not infer that all others do. Many think they are justified, and are not; but we cannot infer that none are justified. So neither, if many think they are 'perfected in love,' and are not, will it follow that none are so. Blessed be God, though we set an hundred enthusiasts aside, we are still 'encompassed with a cloud of witnesses,' who have testified, and do testify, in life and in death, that perfection which I have taught these forty years! This perfection cannot be a delusion, unless the Bible be a delusion too; I mean, 'loving God with all our heart and our neighbour as ourselves.' I pin down all its opposers to this definition of it. No evasion! No shifting the question! Where is the delusion of this? Either you received this love or you did not; if you did, dare you call it a delusion? You will not call it so for all the world. If you received anything else, it does not at all affect the question. Be it as much a delusion as you please, it is

nothing to them who have received quite another thing—namely, that deep communion with the Father and the Son, whereby they are enabled to give Him their whole heart, to love every man as their own soul, and to walk as Christ also walked.

O Lawrence, if Sister Coughlan and you ever did enjoy this, humble yourselves before God for casting it away ; if you did not, God grant you may !

To James Morgan

Thomas Olivers and John Hilton, who were in Dublin, preached strongly against the levity of some of the people ; but James Morgan opposed them, and when Olivers spoke his mind freely Morgan and his friends quite bore him down. The party spirit engendered led to many painful disputes in years to come. See Crookshank's *Methodism in Ireland*, i. 210 ; *Wesley's Veterans*, i. 236-7 ; and letter of June 27, 1769.

St. Just, September 3, 1768.

DEAR JEMMY,—I have been thinking much of you ; and why should I not tell you all I think and all I fear concerning you ? I think all that you said at the Conference¹ upon the subject of the late debate was right ; and it amounted to no more than this,—‘ The general rule is, they who are in the favour of God know they are so. But there may be some few exceptions. Some may fear and love God, and yet not be clearly conscious of His favour ; at least, they may not dare to affirm that their sins are forgiven.’ If you put the case thus, I think no man in his senses will be under any temptation to contradict you ; for none can doubt but whosoever loves God is in the favour of God. But is not this a little misstating the case ? I do not conceive the question turned here. But you said, or was supposed to say, ‘ All penitents are in the favour of God,’ or ‘ All who mourn after God are in the favour of God.’ And this was what many disliked, because they thought it was unscriptural and unsafe as well as contrary to what we had always taught. That this is contrary to what we have always taught is certain, as all our hymns as well as other writings testify. So that, whether it be true or not, it is without all question a new doctrine among the Methodists.

¹ In Bristol on Aug. 16-19.

We have always taught that a penitent mourned or was pained on this very account, because he felt he was 'not in the favour of God,' having a sense of guilt upon his conscience and a sense of the divine displeasure at the same time. Hence we supposed the language of his heart was, 'Lost and undone, for aid I cry.' And we believed he was really lost and undone till God did

Peace, righteousness, and joy impart,
And speak forgiveness to his heart.

I still apprehend this to be scriptural doctrine, confirmed not by a few detached texts, but by the whole tenor of Scripture, and more particularly by the Epistle to the Romans. But if so, the contrary to it must be unsafe, for that general reason, because it is unscriptural. To which one might add this particular reason,—it naturally tends to lull mourners to sleep; to make them cry, 'Peace, peace,' to their souls, 'when there is no peace.' It directly tends to damp and still their convictions, and to encourage them to sit down contented before Christ is revealed to them and before the Spirit witnesses with their spirits that they are the children of God. But it may be asked, 'Will not this discourage mourners?' Yes, it will discourage them from stopping where they are; it will discourage them from resting before they have the witness in themselves, before Christ is revealed in them. But it will encourage them to seek Him in the gospel way—to ask till they receive pardon and peace. And we are to encourage them, not by telling them that they are in the favour of God though they do not know it (such a word as this we should never utter in a congregation at the peril of our souls), but we should assure them, 'Every one that seeketh findeth, every one that asketh receiveth.' If a man does not know the pardoning love of God for himself, I would ask, How or by what means are you to know it for him? Has God given you to search the heart and try the reins of your hearers? Can you infallibly know the real state of that man's mind? Can you be certain that no secret sin stands between God and his soul? Are you sure he does not regard iniquity in his heart? I am afraid you have not been sufficiently wary in this, but have given occasion to them who sought occasion. But this is not

all. I doubt you did not see the hand of God in Shimei's tongue. 'Unto you it was given to suffer' a little of what you extremely wanted—obloquy and evil report. But you did not either acknowledge the gift or the Giver. You saw only Mr. T. Olivers, not God. O Jemmy, you do not know yourself. You cannot bear to be continually steeped in poison—in the esteem and praise of men; therefore I tremble at your stay in Dublin. It is the most dangerous place for you under heaven! All I can say is, God can preserve you in the fiery furnace, and I hope He will.—I am, dear Jemmy,

Yours affectionately.

To his Wife

Wesley reached Bristol on Saturday, August 13, between eleven and twelve at night, and on Sunday he heard that his wife was dangerously ill. 'I took chaise immediately, and reached the Foundery before one in the morning. Finding the fever was turned, and the danger over, about two I set out again, and in the afternoon came (not at all tired) to Bristol.' He made the journey of 228 miles, stayed just an hour at the Foundery, and returned to Bristol for his Conference, which lasted from Tuesday to Friday. Wesley preached at Newlyn on Sunday evening, September 4, and evidently wrote this letter early next morning before setting out to preach in Penzance at 9 a.m. See *Journal* v. 281-2, 286.

NEWLYN, September 5, 1768.

MY DEAR LOVE,—I can make allowances for faintness and weakness and pain. I remember when it was my own case at this very place, and when you spared no pains in nursing and waiting upon me, till it pleased God to make you the chief instrument of restoring my strength.¹ I am glad you have the advice of a skilful physician. But you must not be surprised or discouraged if you do not recover your strength so soon as one might wish, especially at this time of the year. What is chiefly to be desired is that God may sanctify all His dispensations to you: that all may be means of your being more entirely devoted to Him whose favour is better than strength or health or life itself.—I am, dear Molly,

Your ever affectionate Husband.

¹ For this illness at Newlyn in July 1753, see *Journal*, iv. 77. The 'we' in the entries for July 12 and 18 evidently included his wife, to whom he had been married rather

more than two years. It was apparently the beginning of the serious illness which sent him into retirement at Lewisham, where he wrote his own epitaph on Nov. 26.

To Lady Maxwell

Lady Maxwell had found the joy and peace of faith in Christ the previous April. See her *Life*, p. 28.

REDRUTH, *September 9, 1768.*

MY DEAR LADY,—It is impossible for me to give *you* pain without feeling it myself. And yet the manner wherein you receive my plain dealing gives me pleasure too. Perhaps you never had so uncomplaisant a correspondent before. Yet I think you hardly ever had one who had a more tender regard for you. But it is this very thing which lays me under a constraint to tell you all I hear or fear concerning you, because I cannot be content that you should be a Christian after the common rate. No. I want you to have all the mind that was in Christ and in *everything* to walk as He walked. To live like an angel here below, unblameable in spotless love.

What a comfort it is when we can have confidence in each other! I rejoice that you can speak freely even upon so delicate a subject. You may be assured that no eye but mine shall see your letter. One cannot be too wary in things of this kind; some men are so weak, and others so wicked. I give entire credit to everything you say, particularly concerning Mr. H.¹; and I join with you in thinking there must be some mistake in the person who informed me of that circumstance. I do not believe he uttered such a word. I cannot think him capable of it. I am now entirely easy upon that head, being persuaded that, through the power of Christ strengthening you, you will stand fast both in the inward and outward liberty wherewith He has made you free.

I am glad to hear Lady Baird² has the courage to cast in her lot with a poor, despised people. In what instance do you apprehend Lady Baird to be in danger of enthusiasm? When I know more particularly, I will take an opportunity of either speaking or writing.

I suppose a copy of the strange account of Eliz. Hobson³ was sent you from Newcastle from my papers. Not long after, the former half of these papers, eight pages out of sixteen,

¹ 'H.' is Christopher Hopper.

² See letter of April 29, 1769.

³ For the account of Elizabeth^t

Hobson's apparitions, see letter of Sept. 12, 1782, to a Quaker.

was taken away, none can tell how to this day. What I could remember, I wrote down again. But I question whether my memory served me as to every circumstance, and must therefore ask of you a copy of what was lost. If you please, Mr. Thompson¹ can transcribe it for me. The thing is now brought, I hope, to a final issue. She has met him at Boyldon Hill, when he took his leave with, 'I shall see you no more, in time or eternity.'

How much happiness is it for us that we hope to see each other both in time and in eternity! 'Nor shorter space true love can satisfy.'

That you may be daily more athirst both for holiness and glory is the prayer of, my dear Lady,

Your affectionate servant.

I am now setting my face toward Bristol.

To George Merryweather

BRISTOL, *September 26, 1768.*

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I have appointed Richard Boardman¹ to supply (for the present at least) the place of Jacob Rowell. I desire John Heslop² may preach at Yarm no more. Quietly let him sink into nothing. And the less he preaches in other places the better till he comes again to his senses. Indeed, if anything of so notorious a kind occurs, I will thank any steward for preventing such a preacher from doing any more hurt till he has an answer from me.—I am, with love to Sister Merryweather,

Your affectionate brother.

To Jane Hilton

Miss Hilton married William Barton in 1769, and by the kindness of one of her sons, Mr. George Barton, Wesley's letters to her appeared in the edition of his *Works* in 1829–31. They had 'a tolerable measure of this world's good.' She died on August 17, 1826, and was buried in the Minster Yard by the side of her husband, who passed away a few years earlier. See letters of July 22, 1766, and October 8, 1768.

¹ William Thompson was at this time Wesley's Assistant in Edinburgh.

² Boardman was Assistant in the Dales, and took the place of Rowell at Yarm.

³ Heslop was second preacher at Yarm in 1767. He had evidently been paying attention to a lady there. See letter of Oct. 1.

BRISTOL, September 30, 1768.

Indeed, Jenny, you hardly deserve to hear from me. What, put me off with a letter of two lines! See that you make me amends by the length of your next; or else I will be angry at you, if I can.

You, as it were, ask my advice. But I know nothing of the matter: you should have spoken to me when I saw you. Is the person a believer? Is he a Methodist? Is he a member of our Society? Is he clear with regard to the doctrine of Perfection? Is he athirst for it? If he fails in any of these particulars, I fear he would be an hindrance to you rather than an help. Was not inordinate affection to him one cause of your losing the pure love of God before? If it was, you have a great reason to be afraid lest it should again rob you of that pearl. Has it not already? Have you all the life you had two months ago? Is your soul still all love? Speak freely, my dear Jenny, to
Your affectionate brother.

To Christopher Hopper

John Heslop had been at Athlone in 1765 and Yarm in 1766-7. His name now disappears from the *Minutes*. See letter of September 26.

BRISTOL, October 1, 1768.

Truly, Christopher, I am at my wits' end. I know not what can be done. Possibly you may instruct me. The poor man is an incorrigible coxcomb. His last exploit with Mr. Oastler's niece has pinned the casket. I cannot imagine what can be done with him or how he can be trusted anywhere. He can be in no part of the South or West of England; neither my brother nor many others could suffer it. There is no vacancy in the North of England; and wherever he has been there, they are sick of him. I ask *you* again, Where can he be, where he will not do mischief? In any part of Scotland? or of Ireland? If the time was come for my voyage to Ireland, I would take him with me, and drop him there.—I am, with love to Sister Hopper,
Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Mrs. Hall

KINGSWOOD, October 6, 1768.

DEAR PATTY,—You do not consider, money never stays with *me*: it would burn me if it did. I throw it out of my

hands as soon as possible, lest it should find a way into my heart. Therefore you should have spoken to me while I was in London, and before Miss Lewen's money flew away.¹ However, I know not but I may still spare you five pounds, provided you will not say, 'I will never ask you again,' because that is more than you can tell; and you must not promise more than you can perform.

I scarce know what to say with regard to the other affair. It is a delicate point. Is she *sure* of her temporal affairs? Remember her whom Lawrence Coughlan² married and ruined. Let me not have another blot of the same kind. Let her take care to tread upon firm ground.

Oh how busy are mankind! and about what trifles! Things that pass away as a dream! Vanity of vanities, all is vanity, but to love and serve God.—I am, dear Patty,

Your ever affectionate.

To Jane Hilton

BRISTOL, October 8, 1768.

MY DEAR SISTER,—You need never be afraid of 'wearying my patience,' unless it be by your silence. There is no danger of your writing too often or too much; whatever comes from you is welcome. I can easily believe the description you give is just; therefore there are only two particulars remaining: First, Have you both the consent of your parents? Without this there is seldom a blessing. Secondly, Is he able to keep you? I mean in such a manner as you have lived hitherto. Otherwise, remember! When poverty comes in at the door, love flies out at the window.

Do you find as much as ever of the spirit of prayer and of continual watchfulness? Are you always sensible of the presence of God? in the greatest hurry of business? Have you power over wandering thoughts? And do you find as much union of spirit as ever with, my dear Jenny,

Your affectionate brother.

To Jenny Hilton, At Mr. Francis Hilton's,
In Beverley, Yorkshire.

¹ Wesley had settled some disputed points with Miss Lewen's father, and received on Nov. 2, 1767, the £1,000 legacy which she left him. See *Journal*, v. 226-7; *Stamp's Orphan*

House, pp. 111-12; *Tyerman's Wesley*, ii. 589-90.

² See letters of Aug. 27, 1768, and Feb. 25, 1785 (to John Stretton).

To Joseph Benson

Benson remained at Kingswood till the spring of 1770, when he became Head Master of Trevecca. Peter Price was a master at Kingswood 1765-8 and a Methodist preacher 1764-8. See letters of December 4, 1768, and January 2, 1769.

WYCOMBE, November 7, 1768.

DEAR JOSEPH,—You have now twenty more volumes of the *Philosophical Transactions*. Dr. Burton's Latin and Greek Poems you have in the study.¹ Malebranche² and some other books are coming. Logic you cannot crack without a tutor: I must read it to Peter and you, if we live to meet. It would not be amiss if I had a catalogue of the books at Kingswood; then I should know the better what to buy. As fast as I can meet with them at sales, I shall procure what are yet wanting. But beware you be not swallowed up in books: an ounce of love is worth a pound of knowledge.—I am, dear Joseph,

Your affectionate brother.

To Hannah Ball

On September 28, 1768, Miss Ball writes: 'This day I hope to begin afresh, and live a life of faith and love; to be given up entirely to the Lord, and feel Him all my own. I have received a letter from dear Mr. Wesley which has very much encouraged my soul. I bless God for counting me worthy to correspond with so good and great a man.' 'This letter,' says the *Memoir*, p. 18, 'is not to be found amongst Miss Ball's papers.'

LONDON, November 12, 1768.

MY DEAR SISTER,—You may always direct to me in London, and the letter will be sent to me wherever I am. There is at present a better prospect at Henley than there has been for several years; and I trust you will see more fruit at Wycombe than there has lately been. Stir up the gift of God that is in you! Willingly catch all opportunities of warning every one and exhorting every one, if by any means you may save some! Cast off every weight! Beware of everything that damps or deadens your soul! If you may be free from the cares and entanglements of another state of life, use it rather.³ Surely

¹ At Kingswood School.

² Included in the list of studies for fourth year. See *History of Kingswood School*, p. 66.

³ Referring to an offer of marriage from an ungodly young man which she had refused.

you are happier if you so abide. Now you have but one care : keep yourself in the love of God, in His pure love, by growing therein. Rejoice, pray, give thanks evermore. Cleave closer to Him that loves you ; and for His sake love, my dear sister,
Your affectionate brother.

To Mrs. Woodhouse

LONDON, November 12, 1768.

MY DEAR SISTER,—I believe Mr. Rankin¹ will write soon. You did well to write to me. I am always glad to hear from you, more than from most other persons. I can hardly believe John Harrison's² story. Perhaps one ought not to believe it without having the accuser and accused face for face, especially if the girl has behaved well while she has been with you. It may be you did not pray for her, and then anger would easily arise.

You must trust God with Mr. Woodhouse,³ and He will do all things well. There is very little danger in any sore throat if, as soon as it begins, you apply an handful of nettles boiled, and repeated if need be after six hours. I have known one cured at the beginning by drinking a pint and an half of cold water and steeping his feet in hot water. But all strong drinks are hurtful. I have not lately heard from John Standing.⁴

Do you now retain the love you had ? and the spirit of prayer ? And are you still able to give your whole heart to God ? Cleave to Him, and what can hurt you ? And write freely to, my dear sister, Your affectionate brother.

To Mrs. Woodhouse, At Mr. Hutton's,
In Epworth, Near Thorne, Yorkshire.

To John Mason

Richard Bourke and John Mason were at Limerick. John Hilton and Thomas Rankin accompanied Wesley on his tour in the spring of 1769. ' Mr. Wesley's plan and design were, if in any place which he

¹ Rankin had been Assistant at Epworth for two years, and was now in Cornwall.

² Harrison was a ' Still ' brother at Epworth. See *Journal*, iii. 5, 19.

³ See letter of Feb. 3, 1768.

⁴ Standing, then travelling in South Lancashire, appears in the *Minutes* in 1766. He was greatly beloved by those among whom he laboured. See Atmore's *Memorial*, p. 400.

visited there was any particular divine influence upon the congregation or Society, to leave one of us there for a few days, and then we were to meet him again at a place appointed. . . . Mr. Hilton was left behind in the North, as he could not bear the long journeys.' He was with Wesley in the North in April 1770. He left him in 1777, and joined the Friends. See *Journal*, v. 364, vi. 168; *Wesley's Veterans*, vi. 164-5.

LONDON, November 15, 1768.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—For one preacher to stay long at one place is neither profitable for him nor for the people. If there is only one preacher at Limerick, he must duly visit the country Societies. As David Evans is now gone over to Waterford, Brother Bourke will be at liberty. So either he or you should go without delay and relieve John Hilton at Londonderry. If any deny the witness of sanctification and occasion disputing in the select society, let him or her meet therein no more. I hope the singing goes on well.—I am

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To George Cussons

George Cussons, born at Ampleforth in the North Riding in 1734, was an intimate friend of the Rev. Dr. Conyers, of Helmsley. He joined the Society at Scarborough in 1760; but came to London in 1769, and began business as a cabinet-maker in Wardour Street in 1774. He was one of the founders of the Naval and Military Bible Society, and a leading member at West Street and Great Queen Street. He died in 1817. See *Journal*, iv. 330n, 535n; *Arminian Magazine*, 1790, pp. 42-5; *Two West End Chapels*, pp. 63-6.

LONDON, November 18, 1768.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—When you seek God with fasting added to prayer, you cannot seek His face in vain. This has been exceedingly blessed in various parts, and the revival of God's work has begun at the very time. You would do well to have several meetings of this kind as well as frequent meetings for prayer. Undoubtedly the visits paid you by Dr. Conyers, by Mr. Venn, and Mr. King¹ were so many answers to prayer; and He will not withhold from you any manner of thing that is good.

It is by patient continuance in well doing, in using all the

¹ John King, Rector of Pertonhall, Beds (1752-1800), Cowper's school-fellow. See *Journal*, v. 61, 63n.

grace which is already given you, that you are to seek the whole gift of God, the entire renewal of your soul, the full deliverance from sin. And do not think it far off: this is the voice of unbelief. He is nigh that sanctifieth: only believe, and feel Him near. This is what you should continually insist on, the nearness of the promise. And, indeed, if it is to be received by naked faith, by consequence it may be received now.—
I am, dear George, Your affectionate brother

To Jane Hilton

Hannah Harrison was the wife of Lancelot Harrison, who was colleague of Thomas Rankin and William Brammah in Lincolnshire West in 1766, Lincolnshire East 1767, and Cornwall West 1768. See letters of August 8, 1767, and March 18, 1769.

LONDON, November 26, 1768.

MY DEAR SISTER,—There seems to have been a particular providence in Hannah Harrison's coming to Beverley, especially at that very time when a peace-maker was so much wanting; and it was a pledge that God will withhold from you no manner of thing that is good.

The words of our Lord Himself show us what we are to expect from 'those of our own household.' But all this likewise shall be for good. 'It is given to you to suffer' for Him; and all will turn to your profit, that you may be more largely a partaker of His holiness.

Do you feel, when you are tried in a tender point, no temper contrary to love? Grief there may be; but is there no resentment or anger? Do you feel invariable calmness of spirit? Do you perceive nothing but pity and tender goodwill both at the time and afterwards?

Write to me of the trials you meet with. You may always direct to London, and the letter will come safe. Expect more faith and love daily.
Your affectionate brother.

To Thomas Rankin

LONDON, December 1, 1768.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—Last year Mr. H.¹ was much persuaded that by means of the Yearly Subscription our whole

¹ See letter of Nov. 24, 1767.

debt of above eleven thousand pounds would be paid within two years. Many of our brethren were more sanguine still. They were persuaded that, by generously exerting themselves and giving a large sum at once, it would be paid in one year. I did not expect this; but I would not contradict, because I would not discourage them. The event was as I foresaw. By the noble effort which many of our brethren made most of the pressing debts are already discharged, amounting in the whole to near five thousand pounds.

But a debt of above seven thousand pounds remains upon us still; and what can be done with regard to this?

I will tell you what occurs to my mind. Many of our brethren chose to subscribe yearly ten, five, three, two guineas or less. I doubt not but these will cheerfully pay the residue of their subscription, and perhaps some of them will add a little thereto, as they see the great occasion there is for it. A few delayed subscribing or contributing, because they 'wanted to see the event,' supposing the design to be impracticable and that nothing 'would come of it.' As it now appears that great good has come of it, that many burthens are already removed, I cannot but earnestly exhort all these now at least to set their shoulders to the work. Now at least let them exert themselves for my sake, for the gospel's sake, and for the sake of their still afflicted brethren who groan under a load which they cannot well bear and yet cannot remove without our assistance.

Several generously contributed at once in hopes of paying the whole debt; of them nothing more can be required but their prayers that others may be as open-hearted as themselves. Nevertheless, if of their own free goodwill they see good to add a little to their former benefaction, this as well as the former is lent unto the Lord, and what they lay out shall be paid them again.

Ought I not to add that there were some of our brethren who did not answer my expectations? I knew they were able to assist me largely; and I flattered myself they were not less willing than able, as they owed me their own souls also, and this was the first favour of the kind which I had requested of them.

Let me be excused from saying any more of what is past. Let them now drop all excuses and objections, and show they love me and their brethren and the work of God not in word only but in deed and in truth.

Let me have joy over *you*, my brother, in particular. You have a measure of *this world's goods*. You see your brother hath need. I have need of your help, inasmuch as the burthens of my brethren are my own. Do not *pass by on the other side*, but come and help as God has enabled you. Do all you can to lighten the labour and strengthen the hands of

Your affectionate brother.¹

To Christopher Hopper

LONDON, December 3, 1768.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—Regard not custom, but reason.¹ I wish you would (1) Nowhere begin preaching later than seven in the evening ; (2) Preach nowhere unless they *can* and *will* procure you a tolerable lodging ; (3) Change the stewards as soon as may be, whoever is pleased or displeased ; (4) Execute our discipline in every point without fear or favour ; (5) Expect no thanks from Richard Taylor nor any man else for doing him good.—I am, with love to Sister Hopper,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Joseph Benson

Benson's son in his manuscript *Life*, p. 87, speaks of the ill advice of injudicious friends, and says that 'some laconic observations of Mr. Wesley were not lost upon him.' See letters of November 7 and December 22.

LONDON, December 4, 1768.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I cannot yet convince you of one thing (and it is a thing of importance), that you may make greater progress in valuable knowledge by reading those books (particularly if read in that order) than you can by reading any other books which are now extant in England. It follows that your friend B—— in this respect is not your friend. For he puts you out of your way ; he retards you in

¹ An identical letter, addressed to Mr. Mark Middleton, was in the hands of Mr. George Stampe, dated Dec. 7, 1768.

² Hopper was the preacher in the Birstall Circuit.

the attainment of the most useful knowledge. He gratifies your curiosity (a bad principle too) at the expense of your improvement. It is better for you to read these books than his; which (if they are not hurtful or dangerous at least) do not lead directly to the end you propose. Choose the best way.—I am, dear Joseph, Your affectionate brother.

To George Merryweather

William Brammah was at Yarm, and his wife was evidently in danger of yielding to religious excitement. On February 2, 1817, Joseph Benson read this letter to the Society at City Road, London. 'In the meetings for prayer which have lately been held after the exhortation on Saturday evenings,' says the manuscript *Life*, iv. 1513, two or three or more had often prayed at once with those in distress of soul in different parts of the Morning Chapel whilst others were exhorting them to believe. 'I advised that they should have greater reverence for the presence and majesty of God. I appealed to the following letter of Mr. Wesley's, which lately fell into Mr. Ker-shaw's hands, and which with one or two others he sent me.'

LEWISHAM, *December 10, 1768.*

MY DEAR BROTHER,—The matter is short: all things in divine worship must 'be done decently and in order.' Two must never pray at the same time, nor one interrupt another. Either Alice Brammah must take advice or the Society must be warned to keep away from her. These are the very things which were the beginning of poor George Bell's fall.—I am, with love to Sister Merryweather,

Your affectionate brother.

To Mary Bosanquet

Miss Bosanquet was now living at Gildersome, in the West Riding, where Mrs. Ryan had died on August 17. For Taylor's affair, see letter of August 16, 1767.

Christopher Hopper and Thomas Lee were at Birstall. Lee was born in the parish of Keighley in 1727, became one of Wesley's zealous preachers in 1755, and died in 1786. See *Wesley's Veterans*, iii. 198-219; and vi. 138 for his encouragement to Thomas Rankin.

LONDON, *December 11, 1768.*

MY DEAR SISTER,—I am afraid lest you should straiten yourself; and I was not in haste. Yet we have such a number round about us here that I have a ready call for what I have

to spare. I am glad Brother Taylor's affair has been heard : it seems all parties are now pretty well satisfied. If we live till next autumn, the yearly Conference is to be at Leeds. It will be a little strange if you do not see me then, though it were twice three miles from Gildersome.

You have no reason to fear, but as your day so your strength shall be. Hitherto the Lord has helped you. He has delivered ; and you may be assured that He will yet deliver. He gave, and He took away : but still you can praise Him, since He does not take His Spirit from you. I hope you find no shyness in Brother Lee or Hopper. If there be, you are to overcome evil with good. I shall always be glad to hear from you or Sally Crosby. I trust neither life nor death will part you from, my dear sister, Your affectionate brother.

To Miss Bosanquet, At Mr. James Rhodes's,
In Leeds.

To his Brother Charles

This case of discipline is referred to in the *Journal*, v. 294. Heavy charges were brought against William Garrat, a member of the London Society. As printed in the *Works* the part of the letter within brackets was omitted.

Wesley was preparing his *Extract from Dr. Young's 'Night Thoughts on Life, Death, and Immortality,'* printed by William Pine, Bristol, in 1770. His Preface shows that he followed the rules here laid down : (1) To leave out all the lines that contain childish conceits, that sink into prosaic flatness, that rise into the turgid, the false sublime, or are incurably obscure ; (2) to explain words that are obscure to unlearned readers ; (3) to point out the sublime strokes of poetry and the most pathetic strokes of nature and passion. See *Journal*, v. 296-7 ; *Works*, xiv. 336-8.

Charles Wesley, jun., was now eleven, devoted to Handel's music, and showing rare promise as a musician. Charles Avison (1710-70) was organist of St. Nicholas's, Newcastle, from 1736 till his death. Wesley had read his *Expression in Music* on October 22. It was probably from him that Charles Wesley was anxious to hear. Avison's elder son, Edward, married Peggy Dale, one of Wesley's closest friends. See *Journal*, v. 290 ; *Arminian Magazines*, 1788, p. 15 ; and letter of June 1, 1765.

LONDON, December 17, 1768.

DEAR BROTHER,—I thank you for *your reproof* ; there is reason in what you say. If there was not evil, there was the appearance of evil.

[Two hours on Tuesday and four hours on Thursday I listened with both my ears. John Downes, his wife, John Jones, and William Evans vehemently accused. William Garrat answered (though interrupted an hundred times keenly enough) point by point. When the hearing was over, the strongest thing of all was, we seemed all agreed in our verdict, —(1) that he had *spoken* several hot and improper things; (2) that he had *done* wrong in leaving his master¹ on so short warning; and yet (3) that there had been *no dishonesty*, either on the one part or the other.

[‘How, then, came the man to break?’ Why, (1) in four years’ time he earned six hundred pounds; (2) within that time he expended (including a few bad debts) about seventeen hundred and fifty.]

Matters have not been well carried out at Liverpool. But what can’t be cured must be endured.

Why, you simpleton, you are cutting me out a month’s work. Nay, but I have neither leisure nor inclination *to write a book*. I intend only (1) to leave out what I most dislike; (2) to mark what I most approve of; (3) to prefix a short preface. And I shall run the *hazard of printing* it at Bristol. There you *yourself can* read the proof-sheets.

You do well with regard to my sister Emily. What farther is wanting I will supply. I hear *nothing from or of our friend*² at Newcastle. I have no time for *Handel or Avison* now. Peace be with you and yours. Adieu.

I am now a mere Fellow of a college again.

To Joseph Benson

SHOREHAM, December 22, 1768.

MY DEAR JOSEPH,—You do not quite take my meaning yet.³ When I recommend to any one a method or scheme of study, I do not barely consider this or that book separately but in conjunction with the rest. And what I recommend I know; I know both the style and sentiments of each author, and how he will confirm or illustrate what goes before and prepare for

¹ Mr. Dear.

² Mrs. Wealey.

³ See letter of Dec. 4.

what comes after. Now, supposing Mr. Stonehouse,¹ Rouquet, or any other to have ever so great learning and judgement, yet he does not enter into my plan. He does not comprehend my views nor keep his eye fixed on the same point. Therefore I must insist upon it, the interposing other books between these till you have read them through is not good husbandry. It is not making your time and pains go so far as they might go. If you want more books, let me recommend more, who best understand my own scheme. And do not ramble, however learned the persons may be that advise you so to do. This does indulge curiosity, but does not minister to real improvement, as a stricter method would do. No; you would gain more clearness and strength of judgement by reading those Latin and Greek books (compared with which most of the English are whipped syllabub) than by fourscore modern books. I have seen the proof, as none of your Bristol friends have done or can do. Therefore I advise you again, keep to your plan (though this implies continual self-denial) if you would improve your understanding to the highest degree of which it is capable.—I am, dear Joseph, Your affectionate brother.

To Jane Hilton

SHOREHAM, December 22, 1768.

MY DEAR SISTER,—I do not remember that I ever found a fault in you before. But I do now. I must blame you. Why are you so short? You can tell *me* all that is in your heart. And what should hinder you? Suppose I was now sitting by you, would you need to hide anything? And sometimes we can write what we cannot speak. But, either in writing or speaking, there need be no reserve between *us*.

You mention trials. But this is a general word. Would it not ease your mind to be more particular? Are your trials mostly inward or outward? Are they from those of your own household? Can any one lay disobedience to your charge? Or do they only say you are proud and stubborn? Let them say everything they can. Still look unto Jesus! Commune with

¹ Dr. James Stonehouse, lecturer of All Saints', Bristol. See Tyerman's *Whitefield*, ii. 195; and for

James Rouquet, letter of March 30, 1761.

Him in your heart ! Let your eye be singly fixed on Him ; your whole soul shall be full of light !—I am, my dear Jenny,
Your affectionate brother.

To Jenny Hilton, At Mr. Hilton's,
In Beverley.

To Hannah Ball

LONDON, December 24, 1768.

Nothing can be more certain than that God is willing to give always what He gives once, and that therefore, whatever you experience now, you may enjoy to your life's end. . . . Watch and pray, and you will not enter into temptation. . . . Be the success more or less, never be weary of well doing. In due time you shall reap if you faint not. . . .

To Mary Bosanquet

LONDON, December 28, 1768.

MY DEAR SISTER,—To hear from *you* is always agreeable to me ; and at present there is no hindrance. In this house we have no jarring string ; all is peace and harmony.¹ Right precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of His saints. And to hear particular accounts of this kind is exceedingly helpful to those they leave behind. Therefore I wanted as particular an account as Sally Crosby or you can give.²

T. Lee is of a shy, backward, natural temper, as well as of a slow, cool speech and behaviour ; but he is a sincere, upright man ; and it will be worth all the pains to have a thorough good understanding with him. Peace be with your spirits !—
I am, my dear sister, Your affectionate brother.

To Miss Bosanquet, At Gildersome Hall,
near Leeds.

To a Friend

For the letter in December 1768, giving Wesley's ' Free Thoughts on the Present State of Public Affairs,' see pp. 370-88.

To Dr. Brown

Charles III of Spain ordered the expulsion of the Jesuits from Paraguay on June 17, 1767, and the Governor of Buenos Ayres returned from carrying out the expulsion on Sept. 16, 1768. On the back of the letter is this note in pencil, which throws light upon it :

¹ Mrs. Wesley was away from the Foundery.

² Of the death of Sarah Ryan. See letter of Dec. 11.

'During a hundred and fifty years, there has not been a crime committed amongst the Indians of Paraguay which has been thought worthy of capital punishment.' Some one has added 'Dr. Brown said the above was an answer to the Letter within, wrote with a Pencil by himself.'

[1768.]

SIR,—Since I had the pleasure of waiting upon you, I [have] been often reflecting on the account given us of the Indians in Paraguay. It is about four and twenty years since I read the first account of them, translated from a French author. It then made much the same impression on my mind, which I believe it has now made on yours. Permit me, Sir, to speak my free thoughts concerning it, which I shall be glad to alter, upon better information.

I am throughly persuaded that true, genuine religion is capable of working all those happy effects which are said to be wrought there; and that, in the most ignorant and savage of the human-kind. I have seen instances of this: no Indians are more savage than were the colliers of Kingswood; many of whom are now an humane, hospitable people full of love to God and man; quiet, diligent in business; in every state content; every way adorning the Gospel of God their Saviour.

But the difficulty with me lies here. I am not persuaded, that the Romish Missionaries (very few excepted) either know, or teach, true, genuine religion. And of all their Missionaries, generally speaking, the Jesuits are the worst. They teach nothing less than the true genuine religion of Jesus Christ. They spend their main strength in teaching their converts, so called, the opinions and usages of their Church. Perhaps the most religious that ever was among them, was their 'East Indian Apostle,' Francis Xavier. And from his own Letters (four volumes of which I had) it plainly appears, that (whether he knew it himself or no) he never taught one tittle of the religion of the heart, but barely opinions and externals. Now what virtue, what happiness can possibly spring from such a root as this? Allowing then, that the Paraguay converts have peace and plenty, allowing they have moral honesty, allowing they have an outward form of religion (and thus far I know not but their guides may bring them), I cannot believe they have gone one step farther, or that they know

what True Religion is. Do their instructors experience the inward Kingdom of God? Righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost? And if not, are they likely to lead others, any farther than they have gone themselves? Can they point out

The Eternal Sunshine of the spotless Mind,
Each Prayer accepted, and each Wish resigned?
Desires composed, Affections ever even;
Tears that delight, and Sighs that waft to Heaven?¹

And without this, who can be happy? Who can avoid feeling many dull, heavy hours? Let the Indians eat, drink, dance, play: all this will not fill up the blanks of life. Their highest enjoyments will carry them no farther than 'Sauntering Jack and Idle Joan' in Prior. What can carry them any farther but heart-religion, 'Fellowship with the Father and with the Son'! O may you and yours always experience this better part, which alone takes away the weariness of life, which alone gives that heart-felt, that unceasing joy, the pledge and earnest of Life Eternal!—I am, sir,

Your very humble servant.

To Joseph Benson

Benson was at this time classical master at Kingswood. In the manuscript *Life* his son speaks of the difficulties that arose. Benson's strength was not equal to the burdens, and Wesley seems to have complained that 'the school had not been kept in exact order, and that sufficient attention had not been paid to the boys' spiritual improvement.' A story got abroad to Benson's disadvantage, and Wesley wrote to the school for information. Benson thought of resigning his position. Thomas Simpson was Head Master from 1770 to 1783; John Parkinson was a master.

[LONDON], January 2, 1769.

You forget John Jones, Mr. Sellon, and Mr. Rouquet were far better scholars than Mr. Parkinson; and T. Simpson, yea and P. Price² (when he was well) were very properly qualified. But change of masters it is impossible to prevent, unless we could bribe them with much money, which I neither

¹ Pope, *Eloisa and Abelard*, p. 207, quoted in *Earnest Appeal*, § 3.

² *An Epitaph*, l. 2:

'Without love, hatred, joy, or fear,
They led—a kind of—as it were.'

³ See letter of Nov. 7, 1768.

can nor will. The case lies here : *A master may be weary on other accounts*, but he certainly will if he do not grow in grace. Again, the devil is more deeply concerned against this school than against any other in England.

If I cannot get proper masters for the languages, I shall let the school drop at the Conference. I will have another kind of school than that at Trevecca or none at all. I would within this year but for want of two things—time and money. So we must creep till we can fly.

Again, in another letter :

Your grand point is, Bring the boys into *exact order*, and that without delay. Do this at all hazards. I think we have found another master. In the meantime let John Whitehead learn all he can.¹

To Christopher Hopper

Hopper was at Birstall, with Lee and Bumstead as colleagues ; Cownley was the Assistant at Newcastle. Bumstead afterwards entered into business in London and died in 1797. See Atmore's *Memorial*, pp. 69–70.

New York needed preachers, and in 1768 Thomas Taylor, one of the officers of the Society there, appealed to Wesley for help ; and there was much discussion as to who should go. See Stevens's *American Methodism*, p. 43 ; *Wesley's Veterans*, iv. 43 ; and letter of February 6.

LONDON, January 5, 1769.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—If Joseph Cownley or you have a mind to step over to New York, I will not say you nay. I believe it would help your own health and help many precious souls. Tho. Taylor is very well at Alnwick. However, if you could raise a little money for his family I should be glad.

Now let us see what you can do in the Grand Affair, the Lord being your Helper. I shall doubt whether your name be Christopher Hopper if Birstall Circuit does not subscribe more ² this year than the last. And take honest Tommy Lee and Daniel Bumstead by the hand. Go on in the name of the Lord. Speak, and speak again. Take no denial. Be as active as

¹ Whitehead was then stationed as a preacher in Bristol. See letter of Jan. 27, 1770, to him.

² Another hand has written above this in faded ink, 'Towards paying the General Debt.'

Sister Hopper would be if she was in your place. *You* love to do whatever contributes to the comfort of

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Ann Bolton

January 12, 1769.

MY DEAR SISTER,—That you have been exceedingly tempted is no bad sign. It puts you upon your guard. It makes you more sensible of your own weakness, and shows you where your strength lies. But take care of reasoning against yourself and against Him that loves you. See Him willing as well as able to save! Willing to save you *now*. Do not shrink back! Do not stagger at His promise, or fancy it to be far off. The word is nigh thee: look up, and take knowledge of His love. Believe, and thou shalt be saved.

I believe Henry Tucker will call upon you in a few days, and, if it would be of use, will procure what he spoke of.¹ I was pleasing myself with the hopes of seeing you next week, and had laid out all my journey. But I had forgotten the day which we have desired all our brethren to observe as a day of thanksgiving. I must not be out of London then. So both you and I have need of patience. Your last visit² endeared you to me exceedingly. I hope it will not be the last. You say nothing about your health: so I am in hopes it rather grows better than worse. Pray do not stay a month before you write again to, my dear Nancy,

Your affectionate brother.

My dear Nancy, adieu!

To Miss Bolton, At Mr. Bolton's,
In Witney, Oxfordshire.

To Samuel Levick

LONDON, January 19, 1769.

DEAR SAMMY,—Let there now be an honest contention between Tommy Rankin and you which shall be most diligent with regard to the General Debt. Undoubtedly the Eastern Circuit shall be assisted out of the collection made in the Western, provided they do all they can themselves. Go on in faith, and you will prosper in this and all things.

¹ Probably some medicine he had recommended.

² See letters of April 7, 1768, and Feb. 4, 1769, to her.

The comfort is that whatever you want is already purchased for you. All is ready. For Christ is ready. And He is yours. —I am, dear Sammy, Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Mr. Sam. Levick, At Mr. Nehem. Jane's,¹
In Plymouth Dock.

To Ann Bolton

LONDON, February 4, 1769.

MY DEAR SISTER,—You may be assured it is not want of inclination which keeps me from calling at Witney.² But my time falls short. On Monday, March 6, I am to leave London to preach at Bath on Tuesday evening; in the residue of the week to visit the classes at Bristol; and on the Monday following to set out for Ireland. So that my time is little enough for my work, though I go the shortest way I can.

With regard to yourself, you make me say more than I intended to say. I could not but admire your behaviour in London³: so affectionate, and yet so prudent. If we live till the latter end of the year, I hope we shall spend a little more time together. And surely it will be useful, not hurtful. But in the meantime take care of your health. Colds⁴ are dangerous things to you, particularly at this time of the year. Ride as much as possible. Drink the bran water, and follow the other advices I have given you from time to time.

I hope your having a convenient place for preaching will be much for the furtherance of the gospel. A blessing is ready for many; for *you* in particular. I say still, Dare to believe! Believe, and feel Him near! Put forth your hand and touch Him! Is He not standing at the door of your heart? And do not forget, my dear Nancy, Your affectionate brother.

PS.—Don't think of sending *me* anything; your love is sufficient.

To Robert Costerdine

Robert Costerdine was now Assistant in Sheffield. The letter was from Thomas Taylor. Wesley mentioned the need of New York at

¹ See letter of Feb. 9, 1765.

² He had been kept in London.

³ See letter of Jan. 12.

⁴ See letter of Feb. 12.

the Conference in Leeds on August 3, when it was resolved to send £50 and two preachers to help on the work there. See *Journal*, v. 330-1; and letter of January 5.

LONDON, *February 6, 1769.*

MY DEAR BROTHER,—By the former rule of Conference you must not undertake any building till two-thirds of the money it will cost are subscribed. Now, I doubt you would hardly with all your strength be able to procure one-third at Doncaster. If you read publicly on any Sunday that letter from New York, you may then receive what the hearers are willing to give. I am not at all sorry that our brother Southwell¹ purposes settling at New York. On the 6th of March I am to set out for Bristol and Ireland.—I am, dear Robert,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Edward Bolton

Edward Bolton and his sister resided at Blandford Park, near Witney. It became one of Wesley's favourite homes. Bolton was a local preacher, and often travelled with Wesley. He died in 1818, at the age of seventy-one. See *Journal*, v. 447; letter of February 13, 1768.

LONDON, *February 12, 1769.*

MY DEAR BROTHER,—A preaching-house can't be too light or too airy. Therefore your windows must be large. And let them be sashes, opening downward; otherwise the air coming in would give the people cold. I do not know but it might be best to have either a paved or a boarded floor. And see that whatever is done be done neat and strong. It is the Lord's work, and He will provide. I will give you ten pounds towards it; for which you may draw upon Mr. Franks when you please.²

I hope my dear Nancy is recovered from her cold. Don't let her omit riding.³ And make the best use of both her advice and example; for you know not how soon she may be taken away.—I am

Your affectionate brother.

¹ Serjeant Southwell, of Kendal, with whom Wesley spent a comfortable evening on March 21, 1767. See *Journal*, v. 201.

² See *Journal*, v. 345.

³ See letters of Feb. 4, 1769, and Jan. 25, 1770.

To Mrs. Woodhouse

LONDON, February 15, 1769.

MY DEAR SISTER,—You are not incapable of speaking just what you feel, just what nature and grace dictate. And you need never think of any difference between us; for we love one another. And it is a true observation,

Love, like death, makes all distinctions void.¹

Think we are just sitting by each other as when I saw you last at Owston. And write just as you would speak to me—as free, or, if you can, more freely. Meantime stand fast in that liberty wherewith Christ hath made you free. Let temptations come as they will. Let them fly all round you. But they cannot enter unless you please. What temptations do you find the most troublesome? Sometimes the most troublesome are not the most dangerous. But no danger can hurt you while you watch and pray: so long you are unconquerable. I know not why your name is not in the paper, if you are not ashamed of the gospel of Christ. O be bold for a good Master!—I am, my dear sister,

Your affectionate brother.

Mrs. Woodhouse, Owston,
Lincolnshire.

To Robert Costerdine

NORWICH, February 18, 1769.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—If Jer. Cocker *now* lives in any known sin, he must not be in our Society. If he does not, you did not act wisely in putting him out of it. Stewards are not to govern our Societies; it is no part of their office. This belongs to the Assistant only, under *my* direction. I myself directed before that Jer. Cocker should have another trial. And you did not do well in running your head against *me* to please any man living. I say again, unless he *now* lives in sin, give him another trial.—I am

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Philothea Briggs

The nineteen letters originally printed as 'To a Young Disciple' are to Miss Philothea Briggs, daughter of William Briggs, Wesley's

¹ Prior's *Solomon*, ii. 242. See letter of Aug. 9, 1772.

Book Steward at the Foundery, who was in the Customs House and afterwards in the Ordnance Office at the Tower. She was granddaughter of Vincent Perronet, the Vicar of Shoreham; and became the wife of the first Missionary Treasurer, William Thompson, the Hull banker and Member of Parliament. She tells Wesley: 'When I was about ten years old, the Lord began to work on my soul. I was justified, when I was between twelve and thirteen, in 1766.' She was now a girl of fifteen or sixteen. The correspondence shows how much Wesley was concerned in the spiritual life of the youngest member of the Perronet circle. See *Arminian Magazine*, 1784, p. 445; and letter of March 30, 1771, to her.

LONDON, *February 25, 1769.*

DEAR PHILLY,—You have no need to take thought for the morrow: as your day so your strength will be. With regard to little compliances, I should be of Miss March's mind; only, if we begin, we know not where we shall stop. If you plead your conscience for not complying with anything, you must use the most mild and respectful expressions you possibly can, and God will order all things well. You will want no help which is in the power of, dear Philly,

Yours affectionately.

To Jane Hilton

LONDON, *March 1, 1769.*

MY DEAR SISTER,—I rejoice that I have confidence in you in all things. I believe you do not willingly lose any opportunity of speaking for a good Master. I apprehend you should particularly encourage the believers to give up all to God, and to expect the power whereby they will be enabled so to do every day and every moment. I hope none of your preachers speak against this, but rather press all the people forward.

Do you now feel anything like anger, or pride, or self-will, or any remains of the carnal mind? Was your second deliverance wrought while I was at Beverley? at the time of the sermon or after it? You did not tell me in what manner you found the change, and whether it has continued without any intermission from that moment. Certainly there never need be any decay; there never will if you continue watching unto prayer. Continue to pray for

Your affectionate brother.

To John Valton

Valton had gone to Painswick on October 10, 1768, and returned on November 7, 'after some hard contests for my Master, as well in the hoy as on the coach.' He remained at Purfleet till 1775, when he became one of Wesley's preachers. See *Wesley's Veterans*, vi. 56-7; letters of January 31, 1764, and March 23, 1769: and for Valton's letters to Wesley about this time, *Arminian Magazine*, 1783, pp. 159-61; 1784, pp. 111-12.

LONDON, *March 1, 1769.*

MY DEAR BROTHER,—Wherever you are I do not doubt but you will find something to do for God. But I think you are not always to stay at Purfleet; a larger field of action is prepared for you. Indeed, the time is not yet fully come. For the present, therefore, labour where you are. But be ready, that, whenever our Lord shall call, you may reply, 'Lo, I come to do Thy will, O God.'—I am

Your affectionate brother.

To Lady Maxwell

Lady Maxwell had suffered much 'on account of the death of a sincere friend. A sword has pierced through my soul in this dispensation; and yet I have felt such an acquiescence in the will of God as I cannot easily express. I have great cause to adore His condescension for the solace I enjoy, from a conviction that my departed friend is happy—unutterably happy.' See *Life*, p. 43.

LONDON, *March 3, 1769.*

MY DEAR LADY,—To be incapable of sympathizing with the distressed is not a desirable state. Nor would one wish to extirpate either sorrow or any other of our natural passions. And yet it is both possible and highly desirable to attain the same experience with the Marquis De Renty, who on occasion of his lady's illness told those who inquired how he could bear it, 'I cannot say but my nature is deeply affected with the apprehension of so great a loss. And yet I feel such a full acquiescence in the will of God, that, were it proper, I could dance and sing.'

I have heard my mother say, 'I have frequently been as fully assured that my father's spirit was with me as if I had seen him with my eyes.'¹ But she did not explain herself

¹ Dr. Annesley died in 1696, just before his daughter moved from South Ormsby to Epworth.

any farther. I have myself many times found on a sudden so lively an apprehension of a deceased friend that I have sometimes turned about to look ; at the same time I have felt an uncommon affection for them. But I never had anything of this kind with regard to any but those that died in faith. In dreams I have had exceeding lively conversations with them ; and I doubt not but they were then very near.

It gives me pleasure to hear that you did not neglect our own preaching in order to attend any other. The hearing Mr. F. at other times I do not know that any could blame ; unless you found it unsettled your mind, or weakened your expectation of an entire deliverance from sin. And this, I apprehend, it did not.

You never 'take up too much of my time.' To converse with you even in this imperfect way is both agreeable and useful to me. I love your spirit, and it does me good. I trust God will still give you that hunger and thirst after righteousness till you are satisfied therewith. And who knows how soon ?—I am, my dear Lady,

Your ever affectionate servant.

To Mrs. Crosby

CHESTER, March 18, 1769.

MY DEAR SISTER,—The westerly winds detain me here, I care not how long : good is the will of the Lord. When I am in Ireland, you have only to direct to Dublin and the letter will find me.

I advise you, as I did Grace Walton¹ formerly, (1) Pray in private or public as much as you can. (2) Even in public you may properly enough intermix *short exhortations* with prayer ; but keep as far from what is called preaching as you can : therefore never take a text ; never speak in a continued discourse without some break, about four or five minutes. Tell the people, 'We shall have another *prayer-meeting* at such a time and place.' If Hannah Harrison² had followed these few directions, she might have been as useful now as ever.

¹ See letter of Sept. 8, 1761, to her. March 31, 1781 (to Lancelot Harri-

² See letters of Nov. 26, 1768, and son).

As soon as you have time, write more particularly and circumstantially; and let Sister Bosanquet do the same. There is now no hindrance in the way; nothing to hinder your speaking as freely as you please¹ to, dear Sally,

Your affectionate brother.

To John Valton

DUBLIN, March 23, 1769.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—Certainly the Lord is preparing you for a more extensive work and showing that He can and will give you a mouth. Take care you do not cleave to any person or thing! God is a jealous God. And stay where you are as long as you can stay; but do not resist when He thrusts you out into His harvest. That God has called you to a more extensive work I cannot doubt in the least.² He has given you an earnest of it at Stroud; and your weakness of soul or body is no bar to Him. Leave Him to remove that when and as it pleases Him. But I doubt concerning the time; it does not seem to be fully come. At present you are to do all you can where you are, and to be always hearkening to His voice and waiting till He makes plain the way before your face.—I am

Your affectionate brother.

To Mrs. Barton (*Jane Hilton*)

LISBURN, April 9, 1769.

MY DEAR SISTER,—I thank Brother Barton¹ for his letter. Both of you have now more need than ever continually to watch and pray that you enter not into temptation. There will be a great danger of so cleaving to each other as to forget God, or of being so taken up with a creature as to abate your hunger and thirst after righteousness. There will be a danger likewise of whiling away time, of not improving it to the uttermost, of spending more of it than needs in good sort of *talk* with each other which yet does not quicken your souls. If you should once get into an habit of this, it will be exceeding hard to break it off. Therefore you should now attend to every

¹ His wife was not near to open his letters.

² See letter of March 1 to him.

³ Miss Hilton had recently married William Barton, of Beverley. See letter of Sept. 30, 1768.

step you take, that you may begin as you hope to hold on to the end. And beware you are not entangled with worldly care any more than worldly desire. Be careful for nothing, but in everything make your request known to God with thanksgiving.

Your affectionate brother.

To Richard Steel

Wesley inserted this letter in the *Arminian Magazine* for 1784, pp. 165-7, and put 'To Mr. S. at Armagh.' It has been thought this means Hugh Saunderson, who was just entering on his work as a preacher. More probably it was sent to his colleague, Richard Steel, who was then at Armagh. The strictures are perhaps not personal, but intended to show what Wesley had felt most important for a preacher in Ireland to observe. See *W.H.S.* xiii. 42-4; and letter of June 13, 1770.

LONDONDERRY, April 24, 1769.

DEAR BROTHER,—I shall now tell you the things which have been more or less upon my mind ever since I have been in the North of Ireland. If you forget them, you will be a sufferer, and so will the people; if you observe them, it will be good for both.

1. To begin with little things. If you regard your health, touch no supper but a little milk or water gruel. This will entirely by the blessing of God secure you from nervous disorders; especially if you rise early every morning, whether you preach or no.

2. Be steadily serious. There is no country upon earth where this is more necessary than Ireland; as you are generally encompassed with those who with a little encouragement would laugh or trifle from morning to night.

3. In every town visit all you can from house to house. I say 'all you can,' for there will be some whom you cannot visit; and if you examine, instruct, reprove, exhort as need requires, you will have no time hanging on your hands. It is by this means that the Societies are increased wherever Thomas Ryan¹ goes: he is preaching from morning to night; warning every one, that he may present every one perfect in Christ Jesus.

¹ Thomas Ryan was Assistant at Armagh in 1767. See *Journal*, iv. 500.

4. But on this and every other occasion avoid all familiarity with women. This is deadly poison both to them and you. You cannot be too wary in this respect ; therefore begin from this hour.

5. The chief matter of your conversation as well as your preaching should doubtless be the weightier matters of the law. Yet there are several (comparatively) little things which you should earnestly inculcate from time to time ; for ' he that despiseth small things shall fall by little and little.' Such are,—

(1) Be active, be diligent ; avoid all laziness, sloth, indolence. Fly from every degree, every appearance of it ; else you will never be more than half a Christian.

(2) Be cleanly. In this let the Methodists take patters by the Quakers. Avoid all nastiness, dirt, slovenliness, both in your person, clothes, house, and all about you. Do not stink above ground. This is a bad fruit of laziness ; use all diligence to be clean, as one says,

Let thy mind's sweetness have its operation
Upon thy person, clothes, and habitation.¹

(3) Whatever clothes you have, let them be whole ; no rents, no tatters, no rags. These are a scandal to either man or woman, being another fruit of vile laziness. Mend your clothes, or I shall never expect you to mend your lives. Let none ever see a ragged Methodist.

(4) Clean yourselves of lice. These are a proof both of uncleanness and laziness : take pains in this. Do not cut off your hair, but clean it, and keep it clean.

(5) Cure yourself and your family of the itch : a spoonful of brimstone will cure you. To let this run from year to year proves both sloth and uncleanness. Away with it at once. Let not the North be any longer a proverb of reproach to all the nation.

(6) Use no tobacco unless prescribed by a physician. It is an uncleanly and unwholesome self-indulgence ; and the more customary it is the more resolutely should you break off from every degree of that evil custom.

¹ George Herbert's *The Temple*, ' The Church Porch,' stanza 62.

(7) Use no snuff unless prescribed by a physician. I suppose no other nation in Europe is in such vile bondage to this silly, nasty, dirty custom as the Irish are. But let Christians be in this bondage no longer. Assert your liberty, and that all at once: nothing will be done by degrees. But just now you may break loose through Christ strengthening you.

(8) Touch no dram. It is liquid fire. It is a sure though slow poison. It saps the very springs of life. In Ireland, above all countries in the world, I would sacredly abstain from this, because the evil is so general; and to this and snuff and smoky cabins I impute the blindness which is so exceeding common throughout the nation.

I might have inserted under the second article what I particularly desire wherever you have preaching—namely, that there may be a little house. Let this be got without delay. Wherever it is not, let none expect to see me.—I am

Your affectionate brother.

To Lady Maxwell

LONDONDERRY, *April 29, 1769.*

MY DEAR LADY,—A while ago I was concerned at hearing from Edinburgh that you were unwell¹; although I could not doubt but it was ordered well by an unerring Providence as a means of keeping you dead to all below and of quickening your affections to things above. And, indeed, this is the rule whereby the inhabitants of a better world judge of good and evil. Whatever raises the mind to God is good, and in the same proportion as it does this. Whatever draws the heart from its centre is evil, and more or less so as it has more or less of this effect. You have accordingly found pain, sickness, bodily weakness to be real goods, as bringing you nearer and nearer to the fountain of all happiness and holiness. And yet it is certain nature shrinks from pain, and that without any blame. Only in the same moment that we say, 'If it be possible, let this cup pass from me,' the heart should add like our great Pattern, 'Nevertheless, not as I will, but as Thou wilt.' Lady Baird² I did not see before I left London; and Lady K. B. I did not

¹ Lady Maxwell had been confined but was now restored.
to her house by sickness in March, ² See letter of Sept. 9, 1768.

understand. She was exceedingly civil, and I think affectionate ; but perfectly shut up, so that I knew no more of her state of mind than if I had never seen her.—I am, my dear Lady,

Your ever affectionate servant.

To Miss March

May 1769.

By comparing your own outward state with Miss Thornton's¹ you now see clearly the advantages you enjoy : you have nothing external to hinder your waiting upon God without carefulness and without distraction. None has a right to interrupt you while you are exercised in things divine and labouring to be holy in body and spirit. You may have just so much and no more connexion with any one as experience shows is profitable for you. O stand fast in this liberty, glorifying God with all you have and all you are !

It is remarkable that St. Paul places this the last of all, that 'love endureth all things' ; and this is the sum of his wish with regard to the Colossians, 'that they might be strengthened unto all patience and longsuffering with joyfulness.' They who have attained this are ripe for the inheritance and ready to salute their friends in light. There is a time when we grow up towards this, even without any sensible increase ; as in the parable, the seed groweth and springs up he knoweth not how. At many times, indeed, we do know how the power of the Highest suddenly overshadows us, while either the first or the pure love is shed abroad in our hearts. But at other times He confirms and increases that love in a gradual and almost insensible manner.

Death has had a large commission this year with regard to our Societies in Ireland as well as England. Just as I left Dublin² four or five of our members there were taken away in four or five days ; three elder, and two in the bloom of youth, one of whom had been filled with love for some years. They all witnessed a good confession at the last, and died in full assurance of hope. Nancy Rogers,³ whom I saw just before I left the town, breathed the very spirit of Jane Cooper. I

¹ See letter of Aug. 12.

² He left on April 3.

³ See Crookshank's *Methodism in*

Ireland, i. 223 ; and for Jane Cooper, letter of Sept. 11, 1765.

think their kindred spirits are now acquainted with each other better than you and I are, but not better than we shall be when we meet together in the paradise of God.

To Peggy Dale

The *Life and Letters* of Pelham Dale says: 'Apparently Molly's marriage was the trial Peggy had to endure. The sisters had given up the world and devoted themselves to good works, and Molly fell away—into matrimony. Peggy, who had been firmer, felt her sister's defection, with perhaps an undercurrent of regret that she had always been so firm, since she was now left alone.' 'Molly' is evidently an error for 'Anne.' Molly did not marry (see heading to letter of June 1, 1765). Peggy married Edward Avison in 1773. The *Life and Letters*, p. 10, is also mistaken in saying Anne died in 1766. She married John Collinson on April 23, 1769, and removed to London. The *Newcastle Courant* of April 29 describes her as Miss Dale, of Northumberland Street, 'a most agreeable young lady, endowed with every qualification to render the marriage state happy, with a fortune of £2,000.' Miss Ritchie, who visited London in 1788, says on August 17 that the previous week she spent a little time with Mrs. Collinson, 'one of the early seals to the Wesleyan ministry at Newcastle, and an intimate friend of Mr. Wesley.' 'My soul has fed on heavenly manna while we have conversed and read and prayed together. Her sweet simplicity of spirit did me good. We strove to help each other to draw nearer to our centre, and, forgetting things behind, to take a stronger hold on Israel's Strength.' See Bulmer's *Memoirs of Mrs. Elizabeth Mortimer*, pp. 115-16.

[NEWMARKET], May 20, 1769.

The hearing from my dear Peggy at this critical time gives me a particular satisfaction. I wanted to know how you bore such a trial, a wound in the tenderest part. You have now a first proof that the God whom you serve is able to deliver you in every trial. You feel, and yet conquer. We conquer all when we can say, 'Not as I will, but as Thou wilt.' I hope you are delivered not only from *repining* with regard to her, but from *reasoning* with regard to yourself. You still see the more excellent way and are sensible of the advantages you enjoy. I allow *some* single women have fewer advantages for eternity than they might have in a married state. But, blessed be God, you have all the advantages which one can well conceive. You have affectionate, wise, and pious friends deeply experienced in the way of God. You have leisure and opportun-

ity for every good work and for improvement in all holiness. O may you improve every advantage to the uttermost ! And give more and more comfort to, my dear Peggy,
Your ever affectionate brother.

To Joseph Benson

CORK, May 27, 1769.

DEAR JOSEPH,—You have now (what you never had before) a clear, providential call to Oxford.¹ If you keep a single eye and have courage and steadiness, you may be an instrument of much good. But you will tread on slippery ground, and the serious persons you mention may do you more hurt than many others. When I was at Oxford, I never was afraid of any but the almost Christians. If you give way to them and their prudence an hair's breadth, you will be removed from the hope of the gospel. If you are not moved, if you tread in the same steps which my brother and I did, you may be a means under God of raising another set of real Bible Christians. How long the world will suffer them (whether longer than they did us or not) is in God's hand.

With regard to Kingswood School, I have one string more : if that breaks, I shall let it drop. I have borne the burthen one-and-twenty years ; I have done what I could : now let someone else do more.—I am, dear Joseph,

Your affectionate brother.

To Mrs. Bennis

Wesley had been at Limerick on May 13-17. Mrs. Bennis wrote on the 25th : ' I have found my soul much quickened by your late visit ; but am not satisfied till I feel restored *all* that I have lost. . . . I feared, when you left this for Cork, I should again lose all my earnestness and sink down where I was before.' Her letter begins : ' Dear Sir, Since the Lord first called me by His grace to partake of His mercy, He has given me to esteem and love you as a dear parent ; but my own littleness and your great worth created such an awe in me as caused me to keep a painful distance, notwithstanding your kind and loving solicitations to the contrary (I hope this will not appear as flattery ; it is indeed the truth of my heart) ; but have now resolved by divine assistance this shall not be the case in future.'

¹ He entered at St. Edmund Hall, Oxford, and kept some of his terms whilst Head Master at Trevecca.

CORK, *May 30, 1769.*

MY DEAR SISTER BENNIS,—Some years since, I was inclined to think that one who had once enjoyed and lost the pure love of God must never look to enjoy it again till they were just stepping into eternity. But experience has taught us better things. We have now numerous instances of those who had cast away that unspeakable blessing and now enjoy it in a larger measure than ever. And why should not this be your case? Because you are unworthy? So were they. Because you have been an unfaithful steward? So they had been also; yet God healed them freely: and so He will you. Only do not reason against Him. Look for nothing in yourself but sin and unworthiness. Forget yourself. Worthy is the Lamb; and He has prevailed for you. You shall not die, but live—live all the life of heaven on earth. You need nothing in order to this but faith. And who gives this? He that standeth at the door.

I hope to see you at Limerick on Monday evening; probably we shall be at Brough soon after one o'clock.¹ And I pray let there never more be any reserve between you and, my dear sister,

Your affectionate brother.

To John Mason

CORK, *May 30, 1769.*

MY DEAR BROTHER,—By last Friday's post we sent you word that I hoped to see you at Limerick¹ once more. We purpose with God's leave to set out early on Monday morning, and hope to reach Brough soon after one. O let us work while the day is! Our Father worketh hitherto.—I am

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Howell Powell, Bandon

John Dillon was Assistant at Cork. He fought at Dettingen and Fontenoy, became a preacher in 1765, and died in 1770. See *Journal*, iv. 505n; *Atmore's Memorial*, pp. 105-8.

¹ On Monday, June 5, Wesley writes: 'Having been much impertuned to give them a day or two more, I rode to Limerick. . . . On

Thursday, the 8th, I once more took my leave of this loving people.' See *Journal*, v. 319.

² Mason was stationed there.

CORK, June 3, 1769.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—If Mr. Freeman¹ complies with your proposal, you cannot avoid removing to Castle Townsend, and it will be a clear providential token that God calls you to that place. I have sent you a few little tracts by the bearer.

Wishing you all health of soul and body, I remain,

Your affectionate brother.

Brother Dillon will probably be in Bandon next week.

To John Furz (?)

Wride had been in Devonshire, and the friendly appeal which called forth Wesley's reply may have come from John Furz, the Assistant. For the name Langdon at Exeter, see *Journal*, iv. 326, and heading to letter of February 14, 1771. The Conference met at Leeds, and Wride was appointed to Haworth.

ATHLONE, June 25, 1769.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—Brother Langdon and you are not much mistaken concerning Thomas Wride. A great part of the accusation against Thomas Wride is owing to prejudice. But it is only his own zeal and activity and patiently blameless behaviour which can effectually speak for him. He may, if he has an horse, come to the Conference, and I will try him another year.—I am, my dear brethren,

Your affectionate brother.

To an Irish Lady

This letter is to be read in connexion with that of September 3, 1768, to James Morgan. The lady's name does not appear. On April 23 and the two following days Wesley heard the preachers face to face, and endeavoured to remove their little misunderstandings. See *Journal*, v. 307.

TULLAMORE, June 27, 1769.

DEAR MADAM,—When I had the pleasure of conversing with you some years since, you had a regard both for me and the people called Methodists. If I am rightly informed, you are now of another mind. May I ask, When did that change begin? Was it at your last journey to Dublin? Whenever it was, suffer me to ask, What were the reasons of it? I will tell you what I conjecture, and I do it in writing because I may not have an opportunity of talking with you; because I

¹ James Freeman of Dublin. See letter of June 7, 1762.

can write more freely than I could speak ; because I can now say all I have to say at once ; whereas, if we were talking together, I might probably forget some part ; and because you may by this means have the better opportunity of calmly considering it.

I conjecture (to tell you just what rises in my heart) that this change was owing to several causes. Some admired and commended you as a person of uncommon sense and uncommon attainments in religion. Others told you at large from time to time all the real or supposed faults of the Methodists, in particular the jars which had lately been in Dublin on account of Mr. Morgan and Olivers. This naturally tended to breed and increase pride on the one hand and prejudice on the other. Riches increased ; which not only led you step by step *into more conformity to the world, but insensibly instilled self-importance, unwillingness to be contradicted, and an overbearing temper.* And hence you was of course disgusted at those who did not yield to this temper and blamed that conformity. Perhaps some of these professed or expected to be perfected in love ; they at least believed perfection. Now, this you seemed to hate with a perfect hatred ; and on that account disliked them the more.

Permit me to add a few words on each of these heads. And first, would it not be well if you started back from every appearance of admiration (which you know is deadly poison), whether on account of your sense or piety ? and if you utterly discountenanced all who directly or indirectly commended you to your face ? yea, and all who told you of the jars or faults of the Methodists, or indeed of any absent person ?

Should you not earnestly strive and pray against thinking highly of your own understanding or attainments in religion ? Otherwise this, by grieving the Holy Spirit, would expose you to still more prejudice ; especially towards those who might seem to vie with you in religion, if not in understanding.

Can you be too sensible how hardly they that have riches enter into the kingdom of heaven ? Yea, or into the kingdom of an inward heaven ? into the whole spirit of the gospel ? How hard is it for these (whether you do or no) not to conform too much to the world ! how hard not to be a little overbearing, especially to inferiors !

Is it right to be disgusted at those who fear you conform too far, who do not sink down before you—nay, perhaps oppose your judgement or blame your practice ?

And with regard to perfection. Have not they that hold it the same right to be angry with you for denying it as you with them for affirming it ?

But what is it you are angry at ? What is it you object to ? Let us understand the question before we dispute about it.

By Christian Perfection I mean (1) loving God with all our heart. Do you object to this ? I mean (2) an heart and life all devoted to God. Do you desire less ? I mean (3) regaining the whole image of God. What objection to this ? I mean (4) having all the mind that was in Christ. Is this going too far ? I mean (5) walking uniformly as Christ walked. And this surely no Christian will object to. If any one means anything more or anything else by perfection, I have no concern with it. But if this is wrong, yet what need of this heat about it, this violence—I had almost said fury—of opposition, carried so far as even not to lay out anything with this man or that woman who professes it ? ‘Nay,’ says Mrs. —, ‘I did not refrain from it for this only, but for their espousing Mr. Olivers’s cause against Mr. Morgan.’ Worse and worse ! What ! are people to starve (at least for me), unless they think as I think or like whom I like ? Alas, what religion, what humanity, what common sense is this ?

But I have done. I have once for all taken upon myself a most unthankful office. I have spoken with all plainness and simplicity, and now leave the event to God. May He open your heart, that you may discern His holy and acceptable and perfect will, that you may have a right judgement in all things, and evermore rejoice in His holy comfort.—I am, dear madam,

Your affectionate servant.

To John Whitehead

COOLALOUGH, July 4, 1769.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—One from every circuit must be at Conference ; but it may be either Brother Whitwell¹ or you. I think the money need not be brought ; only let us have exact accounts, and lists of the Societies.

¹ William Whitwell was Whitehead’s colleague at Bristol.

When you mentioned, first your apprehension that you could manage the Kingswood School, and then your thoughts concerning Nancy Smith,¹ it seemed to me that there might be a providential connexion between the one and the other—though not to the exclusion of James Hindmarsh: that I never thought of.

Good will follow from the disagreement of Brother Proctor and Palmer. I should be apt to believe a dying woman. Be zealous! Be watchful!—I am

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Mrs. Bennis

On July 13 Mrs. Bennis writes: 'I have been grievously exercised since I put my papers into your hands; when you asked for them I found a satisfaction in gratifying you, but have since been much tempted both to pride and shame.' She desires him to return them by the new preacher, and says, 'Mr. Bourke's visit here has proved a blessing to my soul and to his also.'

DUBLIN, July 24, 1769.

MY DEAR SISTER,—If the reading over your papers has no other effect, this it certainly has—it makes me love you abundantly better than I did before: I have now a more intimate knowledge of you; I enter more into your spirit, your tempers and hopes and fears and desires, all which tends to endear you to me. It is plain one of your constant enemies, and the most dangerous of all, is evil reasoning. Accordingly the thing which you chiefly want is Christian simplicity. Brother Bourke² and you should carefully watch over each other in that respect, and let each deal faithfully with the other; let there be no reserve between you; encourage one another also to pray for and expect the continual and direct witness of the Spirit. They are by no means the best part of our preachers in any sense who doubt of this. I know but of one who had experienced the work that doubted concerning the witness—namely, James Oddie³; and I am afraid that for some time he has experienced neither the one nor the other. Two of your

¹ Mr. Smith was an apothecary at Bristol (*Journal*, iii. 254). Did Whitehead marry his daughter?

² The Assistant at Limerick.

³ See letter of March 29, 1766.

written books I send back by that lovely woman Jenny Moore¹; the third I must borrow a little longer.

My dear friend, remember Your affectionate brother.

To Ann Bolton

Miss Bolton had written on July 26 an account of her sister's wonderful recovery from the verge of death and her earnest appeals to all around her for decision. On October 17 Wesley was at Witney, 'where we have now a large and commodious house.' See *Arminian Magazine*. 1784, p. 167.

LEEDS, July 30, 1769.

MY DEAR SISTER,—You see, God gives you a token for good. But I doubt whether your sister will recover. It is probable He gives her this reprieve both that she may be ripe for glory and that she may bear a faithful testimony to Him before He calls her hence. So she has not a moment to lose. With regard to her paralytic disorder, I wonder they have not advised bathing; that often avails when nothing else will.

After the Conference I have to traverse all Wales; so that I do not expect to see Bristol before September. I have then all the West of England to visit, which will take me up at least six weeks longer. In October, if it please God to prolong my life, I am in hope of seeing you at Witney. I was almost afraid you had forgotten me; but I think you will not soon. I think death itself will not separate you from, my dear Nancy,

Your affectionate brother.

To the Travelling Preachers

This letter (written out by a helper) was sent by Wesley to his brother Charles from Galway on May 12, with this note in his own hand: 'Dear Brother, Send me your thoughts on the foregoing articles, with as many amendments and additions as you please. Adieu.' The letter shows how Wesley's mind was already exercised as to the continuance of Methodism after his death, though his thoughts did not take practical shape till 1784, when the Deed of Declaration was executed.

LEEDS, August 4, 1769.

MY DEAR BRETHREN,—I. It has long been my desire that all those ministers of our Church who believe and preach salvation by faith might cordially agree between themselves, and

¹ Mrs. Moore, of Angher. She received these safely after some delay. See Crookshank's *Methodism in Ireland*, i. 200.

not hinder but help one another. After occasionally pressing this in private conversation wherever I had opportunity, I wrote down my thoughts upon the head and sent them to each in a letter. Out of fifty or sixty to whom I wrote, only three vouchsafed me an answer.¹ So I give this up: I can do no more. They are a rope of sand; and such they will continue.

2. But it is otherwise with the travelling preachers in our Connexion. You are at present one body. You act in concert with each other and by united counsels. And now is the time to consider what can be done in order to continue this union. Indeed, as long as I live there will be no great difficulty. I am under God a centre of union to all our travelling as well as local preachers.

They all know me and my communication. They all love me for my work's sake; and therefore, were it only out of regard to me, they will continue connected with each other. But by what means may this connexion be preserved when God removes me from you?

3. I take it for granted it cannot be preserved by any means between those who have not a single eye. Those who aim at anything but the glory of God and the salvation of men, who desire or seek any earthly thing, whether honour, profit, or ease, will not, cannot continue in the Connexion: it will not answer their design. Some of them, perhaps a fourth of the whole number, will secure preferment in the Church. Others will turn Independents, and get separate congregations, like John Edwards and Charles Skelton.² Lay your accounts with this, and be not surprised if some you do not suspect be of this number.

4. But what method can be taken to preserve a firm union between those who choose to remain together?

Perhaps you might take some such steps as these:—

On notice of my death, let all the preachers in England and Ireland repair to London within six weeks.

¹ See heading to letter of April 19, 1764.

² Edwards, an able Irishman, left Wesley about 1753, having adopted Calvinistic views, and settled at Leeds, where he attracted 'a very

considerable and respectable congregation, who erected him a very large and commodious chapel.' He died about 1784. See letter of Nov. 20, 1755; and for Skelton, July 17, 1751.

Let them seek God by solemn fasting and prayer.

Let them draw up articles of agreement to be signed by those who choose to act in concert.

Let those be dismissed who do not choose it in the most friendly manner possible.

Let them choose by votes a committee of three, five, or seven, each of whom is to be Moderator in his turn.

Let the Committee do what I do now ; propose preachers to be tried, admitted, or excluded ; fix the place of each preacher for the ensuing year and the time of the next Conference.

5. Can anything be done now in order to lay a foundation for this future union ? Would it not be well, for any that are willing, to sign some articles of agreement before God calls me hence ? Suppose something like these :—

‘ We, whose names are under-written, being throughly convinced of the necessity of a close union between those whom God is pleased to use as instruments in this glorious work, in order to preserve this union between ourselves, are resolved, God being our Helper,—

‘ I. *To devote ourselves entirely to God ;* denying ourselves, taking up our cross daily, steadily aiming at one thing—to save our own souls and them that hear us.

‘ II. *To preach the old Methodist doctrines,* and no other, contained in the *Minutes* of the Conferences.

‘ III. To observe and enforce the whole *Methodist discipline* laid down in the said *Minutes.*’

To Robert Wilkinson

Robert Wilkinson, converted in 1767, was admitted on trial as a preacher at the Leeds Conference, which began on August 1, and was appointed second preacher in the Augher Circuit. He died of fever at Grimsby in 1780, after a devoted and fruitful ministry, leaving a wife and two children. See Atmore's *Memorial*, pp. 502-6.

LEEDS, August 5, 1769.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I believe God calls you to labour in a quieter part of His vineyard—namely, in the North of Ireland, in the Augher Circuit, among a simple, earnest, loving people. Your best way is to carry your own horse over from

Whitehaven, or rather Portpatrick, where you have a short and sure passage ; then ride on to the widow Cumberland's in Lisburn, and any of our preachers whom you meet with will direct you to Charlemount or Augher.

Be all in earnest !—I am Your affectionate brother.

To Mrs. Woodhouse

Wesley's letter to her on November 12, 1768, is addressed 'To Mrs. Woodhouse, at Mr. Hutton's, in Epworth.' It is evident that trouble had drawn her and Mrs. Hutton more closely together.

John Ellis took the place of Shaw as second preacher in the Lincoln West Circuit. Rankin speaks of him and another colleague as 'worthy, steady, and useful men.' See *Wesley's Veterans*, vi. 161 ; and for Shaw, letter of April 13, 1768.

BRADFORD, August 5, 1769.

MY DEAR SISTER,—If the trials you have met with had only produced that effect, a free intercourse between you and Sister Hutton, I should think they had been of unspeakable service. For how valuable is a tried friend ! If you find any hurt with regard to your health, there is a medicine in the *Primitive Physick* which I never remember to have failed in any single instance. But above all see that your soul receives no hurt. Beware of murmuring. David saw God's hand in Shimei's tongue, and therefore he was quiet. I send you John Ellis again, and I hope you will be free with him. Was John Shaw shy ? Then be not like him when you write or speak to, my dear sister, Your affectionate brother.

To Mrs. Barton

BIRSTALL, August 6, 1769.

Indeed, Jenny, I began to be jealous of you. I began to be almost afraid that a new situation in life and worldly cares had cooled the affection which you once had. I am glad to find the case is not so, but that you still retain your former friendship. Indeed, why should not the word 'Love never faileth' have place in this as in other instances ?

In your last you said something which I did not understand. Last year you certainly was saved from sin. And this you testified for several months. Have you since then doubted of it ? Do you suppose you never received that blessing ?

If you did, when or how did you lose it ?¹ Send me as particular an account as you can, that I may be able to form a more certain judgement. Wherever I am, you need only direct to the Foundery. Peace be with your spirits!—My dear Jenny,
Your affectionate brother.

To Miss March

CARMARTHEN, August 12, 1769.

At some times it is needful to say, 'I will pray with the Spirit and with the understanding also.' At other times the understanding has little to do, while the soul is poured forth in passive prayer. I believe we found the answer to many prayers at the Conference, particularly on the last two days. At the conclusion all the preachers were melted down while they were singing those lines for me,—

Thou who so long hast saved me here,
A little longer save ;
Till, freed from sin and freed from fear,
I sink into a grave.
Till glad I lay my body down,
Thy servant's steps attend ;
And, oh, my life of mercies crown
With a triumphant end !

Various scriptures show that we may pray with resignation for the life or ease of a friend : it is enough that every petition be closed with, 'Not as I will, but as Thou wilt.' It is true that a believer knows the devices of Satan to be many and various. But the Apostle means more than this—namely, that those who have the unction of the Holy One are thereby enabled to discern his devices whenever they occur, and to distinguish them from the influences of the good Spirit, how finely soever they are disguised. To answer for ourselves is often a cross ; and we had much rather let people think and talk as they please : but it is a cross we must often take up ; otherwise we 'walk not charitably' if we do not 'reprove our brother' ; if we 'suffer sin upon him' we 'hate our brother in our heart.'

If Miss Thornton be arrived at London, I wish you would take the first opportunity of conversing with her. She will

¹ See letter of Sept. 9.

have more need of a faithful friend now than ever she had in her life. I expect she will hear reasons upon reasons why she ought as a point of duty to conform a little to the world, to have a few trifling acquaintance, and not to be so particular in her dress. Now, as you have heard all these things before, and have been enabled by the grace of God to discover Satan even with his angel's face, and to stand firm against all his assaults, you will be better able to assist and confirm her if you seek her before she is much shaken.

It has a little surprised me that several who are, I believe, filled with love, yet do not desire to die. It seems as if God generally does not give this desire till the time of death approaches. Perhaps in many it would be of little use. First let them learn to live.

Doubtless that rest was given 'to support you under your sickness.' Yet that is no reason why it should be ever taken away: it was certainly a degree of that rest which remaineth for the people of God. But it may be called by this or any other name; names are of little consequence: the thing you need never let go. You may live in and to Jesus; yea, and that continually, by simple faith and holy, humble love.

Let Mary Thornton¹ be as sensible as ever she will or can be of her own helplessness and poverty. But let her not cast away that confidence which hath great recompense of reward. She did experience the pure love of God; let none take advantage from her being tried by fire (if it should be so) to reason her out of it. That general promise, 'In blessing I will bless thee,' certainly contains all the promises, whether relating to this life or the next; and all are yours! Peace be multiplied upon you!

To Mary Yeoman, of Mousehole, Cornwall

Wesley spent an agreeable hour on March 25, 1782, with the Misses Yeoman at their boarding-school at Sheriffhales, near Shifnal in Shropshire, and says, 'I believe they are well qualified for their office. Several of the children are under strong drawings.' See *Journal*, vi. 345; and letter of February 5, 1772.

¹ Miss Thornton was now living *Magazine*, 1805, p. 37; and letter in with Miss March. See *Methodist* May 1769, also July 6, 1770.

ST. IVES, *September 2, 1769.*

MY DEAR SISTER,—Your case is not peculiar. I have known many who were just as you are now ; and the same God who delivered them is as ready to deliver you. I advise you to continue in the way whether you find any benefit or not. Pray, as you can, though you are ever so cold or dead. Hear the preaching ; keep to your class. The Lord is at hand ; He will abundantly pardon.—I am

Your affectionate brother.

To Mrs. Barton

BRISTOL, *September 9, 1769.*

MY DEAR SISTER,—Now I understand you well ; but I did not understand you before. I thought you meant that you had not now the love that you had once.¹ I am glad to find that I was mistaken, and that you still retain that precious gift of God. Undoubtedly you may retain it always ; yea, and with a continual increase. You may have a deeper and deeper fellowship with the Father and with His Son Jesus Christ. You may have more and more of the mind which was in Him and be more fully renewed in His likeness. You should send me word from time to time what your present experience and your present trials are. Peace be with your spirits !—I am,

Your affectionate brother.

To Edward Spencer

Combe Grove is about two miles from Southstoke, of which parish Edward Spencer was Vicar from 1769 to 1771. For Wesley's opinion of him, see letter of June 20, 1770.

FROME, *September 13, 1769.*

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR,—I expect to be at Bradford on Tuesday and Wednesday next. In returning from thence to Bath to-morrow se'nnight, the 21st instant, I will preach if you please in your church. I remember preaching some years since at Combe Grove.² Peace be with you and yours.—I am, dear sir,

Your affectionate brother and servant.

¹ See letter of Aug. 6.

² On Sept. 17 and 19 and Oct. 1, 1764. See *Journal*, v. 94-8.

To Mr. _____

In September Wesley writes in his *Journal*, v. 341: 'Sat. 23.—I rode to Pill, and preached in the street (the only way to do much good there) to a more numerous and more attentive congregation than I have seen there for many years.'

BRISTOL, September 17, 1769.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I hope you will not be disappointed any more. On Thursday se'nnight I propose with God's leave to preach at Pill at three o'clock.—I am

Your affectionate brother.

To Mrs. Bennis

BRISTOL, September 18, 1769.

MY DEAR SISTER,—I wrote a longer letter to you than I usually do before I set out from Dublin: where or how it stopped I cannot imagine.¹ I think of you every day; indeed, I do not know that I ever loved you so well as since I was at Limerick last.¹ The more we are acquainted with each other the more we ought to love one another.

I hope Brother Bourke and you faithfully endeavour to help each other on. Is your own soul all alive, all devoted to God? Do you find again what you found once? And are you active for God? Remember you have work to do in your Lord's vineyard; and the more you help others the more your soul will prosper.—I am, my dear sister,

Your affectionate brother.

To Mrs. Woodhouse

Wesley's inquiry in this fragment of a letter concerning his brother-in-law and old pupil is of special interest. John Whitelamb, born near Wroot, transcribed Samuel Wesley's *Dissertations on the Book of Job* for the printer. He was sent to Oxford chiefly at the cost of the Rector's family, where John Wesley described his new pupil at Lincoln College as 'a valuable person, of uncommon brightness, learning, piety, and industry; and as possessing a very happy memory, especially for languages, and a judgement and intelligence not inferior.' He became Samuel Wesley's curate, and married Mary Wesley in January 1734. Samuel Wesley resigned the rectory of Wroot in his favour. Mary Whitelamb and her first child were buried together on November 1, 1734. She was deformed through an injury in infancy. Whitelamb heard Wesley preach on his father's tombstone. He was

¹ She evidently received it. See letter of July 24.

² June 5-8. See note in letter of May 30 to her.

buried on July 29, 1769. A stone records his age, &c., with the words, 'Worthy of imitation.' Wesley printed a letter from him after Whitelamb heard him preach at Epworth, and another to Charles Wesley, in the *Arminian Magazine* for 1778, pp. 183-6, with a note, 'At that time, and for some years later, he did not believe the Christian revelation.' See letter of June 11, 1731, to his father.

BRISTOL, October 4, 1769.

How long is it since Mr. Whitelamb died? What disease did he die of? Did he lie ill for any time? Do you know any circumstances preceding or attending his death? Oh, why did he not die forty years ago, while he knew in whom he had believed! Unsearchable are the counsels of God, and His ways past finding out.

To Mrs. Woodhouse, At Mr. Hutton's,
In Epworth, Near Thorne, Yorkshire.

To Mrs. Barton

NORWICH, November 1, 1769.

MY DEAR SISTER,—Have you been tried with bodily weakness or with outward afflictions? If with the latter, have you found a deliverance from them? It is certain, in every temptation He will make a way to escape, that you may be able to bear it. When you are tempted, it is an unspeakable blessing that there is nothing in your heart which joins with the temptation. And there never need be more: the enemy is thrust out, and cannot re-enter if you continue to watch and pray. Continue likewise to be useful in your generation; as you have time, do good unto all men. Snatch all the opportunities you can of speaking a word to any of your neighbours. Comfort the afflicted, support the weak, exhort the believers to go on to perfection. Never be weary of well doing; in due time you shall reap if you faint not.—I am,
dear Jenny, Your affectionate brother.

To Mrs. Jane Barton, In Norwood,
Beverley, Yorkshire.

To Ann Bolton

November 1, 1769.

MY DEAR SISTER,—I do not advise you to *reason* whether you have faith or not, but simply to look up to Him that loves you for whatever you want. And He cannot withhold

from you any manner of thing that is good. Oh how nigh is He to deliver you out of all temptation and to supply your every need. Only trust Him in all things, and you shall praise Him in all things.—I am, my dear Nancy,

Your affectionate brother.

To Hannah Ball

Wesley preached at Henley on October 16. Miss Ball tells Miss Ray, of Cookham: 'Last Monday evening and Tuesday morning I had the happiness to hear the Rev. Mr. Wesley preach at Henley: it was a delightful season to my soul; and would no doubt have proved a blessing both to you and Miss North, had you condescended openly and with sincerity of heart to meet the dear despised children of God, who, though poor in this world, are rich in faith and heirs of the kingdom of glory.' See *Journal*, v. 345; *Memoir*, p. 37.

November 5, 1769.

MY DEAR SISTER,—Need I tell you that I found a particular satisfaction in my late conversations with you? Perhaps you observed such a freedom in my behaviour as I never showed to you before. Indeed, it seemed to me as if I had just recovered a dear friend whom I had been in fear of losing. But you sweetly relieved me from that fear and showed me that your heart is as my heart.

Do you still find a clear deliverance from pride, from anger, from your own will, and from the love of earthly things? Have you an uninterrupted sense of the presence of God as a loving and gracious Father? Do you find your heart is continually ascending to Him? And are you still enabled in everything to give thanks? You must expect various trials. We know nature is variable as the wind. But go on. Be never weary of well doing; in due time you shall reap if you faint not.—I am, my dear sister,

Your affectionate brother.

To Joseph Benson

NORWICH, November 5, 1769.

DEAR JOSEPH,—I heard that tale, and answered point-blank, 'It is mere invention.' However, I wrote to inquire at the school, so you did well to send a real account both to me and to Ireland.¹

¹ See letter of Jan. 2.

' This gives any one enough of Kingswood School.'¹ ' Ah ! simple Master Shallow ! ' as Shakespeare has it, should not I then have enough of it long ago ? You put me in mind of Sir John Phillips's² exclamation when a puff of smoke came out of the chimney, ' Oh, Mr. Wesley, these are the trials which I meet with every day.'—I am, dear Joseph,

Your affectionate brother.

To Mary Bishop

Miss Bishop had a school in Bath. Her health failed for a time in 1774 ; but about 1781 she set up school at Keynsham, where Wesley visited her. The whole place was transformed by the spirit and behaviour of the children in her school and in Mr. Simpson's. See *Journal*, vi. 336, 451d ; vii. 331-2.

This letter is the beginning of a very intimate correspondence. The letters were annotated and additions made to them by the Rev. Henry J. Foster from the collection of thirty-eight letters in the possession of Mrs. Alfred Hall, now in the Wesley Museum at City Road, London. Extensive additions and revisions have since been made from the autographs.

IPSWICH, November 5, 1769.

DEAR MISS BISHOP,—When I was last in Bath,³ Mr. Hodsal told me Miss Bishop would be glad to see me. But as I did not know you at all, and I had not an hour to spare, I did not think of it any farther till yesterday, when I heard from Miss March, who gave me a particular account of your situation.

We have had a Society in Bath for about thirty years, sometimes larger and sometimes smaller.⁴ It was very small this autumn, consisting only of eleven or twelve persons, of whom Michael Hemmings was leader. I spoke to these one by one, added nine or ten more, divided them into two classes, and appointed half of them to meet with Joseph Harris. But if you are willing to cast in your lot with us, I had rather that those single women in both classes who desire it should meet with *you* and any others who are not afraid of the reproach of Christ. In that little tract *A Plain Account of*

¹ Benson had used these words in his letter to Wesley.

² Sir John was a devout Christian who attended the Religious Societies in London. He was a benefactor of the Holy Club and one of the Georgia

Trustees. See *Journal*, i. 186, 297 ; viii. 278-82, 301.

³ About Sept. 21.

⁴ See *Wes. Meth. Mag.* 1846, pp. 1088-1825. The chapel was then in Avon Street.

the People called Methodists you see our whole plan.¹ We have but one point in view—to be *altogether Christians*, scriptural, rational Christians. For which we well know, not only the world, but the *almost Christians*, will never forgive us. From these, therefore, if you join heart and hand with us, you are to expect neither justice nor mercy. If you are determined, let me know. But consider what you do. Can you give up all for Christ? the hope of improving your fortune, a fair reputation, and agreeable friends? Can He make you amends for all these? Is He alone a sufficient portion? I think you will find Him so. And if you was as entirely devoted to God as my dear Jenny Cooper was, you would never have cause to repent of your choice either in time or in eternity.

I never had one thought of *resigning up* our room to any person on earth. What I wrote to Lady Huntingdon² was, 'I am willing your preachers should have as full and free use of it *as our own*.' I *could not* go any farther than this: I have no right so to do. I hope you will send me as particular an account as you can of all that has lately passed and of the present state of things. The more freely you write, the more agreeable it will be to

Your affectionate brother.

PS.—You may direct to London.

To Miss Bishop, In the Vineyard,
Bath.

To Professor John Liden, of Lund

Professor Liden was a Swede visiting England. He had attended the services on October 15 at Spitalfields and the Foundery, and asked Wesley various questions, here answered. The letter was found transcribed in Liden's Journal (in 1843), sent to him by '*olkswarde* Mr. Wesley,' in reply to questions addressed to him with regard to his system and mode of administration. The Journal had been deposited in the Library at Upsala, with instructions that it should not be opened till after his death. Liden was Professor of History in Lund. See *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, 1889, pp. 118–20.

LONDON, November 16, 1769.

To answer those questions thoroughly would require a volume. It is partly done in the little tracts: on the points

¹ See letter in Dec. 1748 to Vincent Perronet.

² See letter of Nov. 22.

wherein they are defective I will add a few words as my time permits.

1. There are many thousand Methodists in Great Britain and Ireland which are not formed into Societies. Indeed, none are but those (or rather a part of those) who are under the care of Mr. Wesley. These at present contain a little less than thirty thousand persons.

2. The places at which there is constant preaching (three or four times a week at least) are the Foundery near Moorfields, the French Church [in West Street] near the Seven Dials (at these two places there is preaching every morning and evening), the French Church in Spitalfields, the Chapel in Snowsfields, Southwark, the Chapel in Wapping, and one not far from Smithfield.

3. They have many schools for teaching reading, writing, and arithmetic, but only one for teaching the higher parts of learning. This is kept in Kingswood, near Bristol, and contains about forty scholars. These are all boarders, and might be abundantly more, but the house will not contain them. *The Rules of Kingswood School* give an account of the books read and the method pursued therein.

4. I believe some of the best preachers are James Morgan, Peter Jaco, Jos. Cownley, T. Simpson, John Hilton, John Pawson, Alex. Mather, Tho. Olivers, Sam. Levick, Duncan Wright, Jacob Rowell, Christopher Hopper, Dan. Bumstead, Alexander M'Nab, and William Thompson. Each of these preachers has his food wherever he labours and twelve pounds a year for clothes and other expenses. If he is married, he has ten pounds a year for his wife. This money is raised by the voluntary contributions of the Societies. It is by these likewise that the poor are assisted where the allowance fixed by the laws of the land does not suffice. Accordingly the Stewards of the Societies in London distribute seven or eight pounds weekly among the poor.

5. Mr. Whitefield is a Calvinist, Messrs. Wesley are not; this is the only material difference between them. And this has continued without any variation ever since Mr. Whitefield adopted those opinions. The consequences of that difference are touched upon in the letter sent two or three years ago to the persons named therein.

6. There are only three Methodist Societies in America : one at Philadelphia, one at New York, and one twelve miles from it. There are five preachers there ; two have been at New York for some years. Three are lately gone over. Mr. Whitefield has published a particular account of everything relative to the Orphan House [in Georgia].

7. The most eminent writers against the Methodists are the late Bishop of London (Dr. Gibson), Dr. Church, the Bishop of Gloucester (Dr. Warburton), and Bishop Lavington. Bishops Gibson and Lavington were thoroughly convinced of their mistake before they died. I believe Dr. Church was so too. None, I think, but Mr. Perronet has wrote *for* the Methodists.

8. No Moravians belong to their Societies. They have no considerable settlements in England but at London, Bedford, and Pudsey, a little town near Leeds, in Yorkshire. They make a profound secret of everything relating to their community. What I know of them I have published in the Journals. The Count's house at Chelsea is a palace for a prince. Truly they are wise in their generation.

To Peggy Dale

In Dale's *Life and Letters* this letter is prefaced by the statement : 'The last letter in the packet shows us Peggy returned to her work and prayer-meetings, and reproaching herself that she does not speak or pray with sufficient boldness. There is no more question of doubt or reason, only a desire for service ; and Wesley encourages her to persevere. He has had always a high opinion of Peggy's influence with others.' The *Life* adds : 'The rest of Peggy's history is a blank. If she outlived her twenty-third year, it was by very little.' The writer was not aware that she married Edward Avison in 1773 and died in 1777. See heading to letter of June 1, 1765 ; and for Wesley's approval of her marriage, letter of March 21, 1773.

LONDON, *November 17, 1769.*

MY DEAR SISTER,—If any man lack wisdom, let him ask of God, who giveth to all men liberally and upbraideth not. That particular branch of wisdom, readiness of thought, he is as willing to give as any other ; yea, and ready utterance whenever it will be for His glory and the furtherance of His kingdom. And if you want more courage and boldness in

His cause, make your requests known to Him with thanksgiving. Perhaps He will first answer you by giving you a deeper sense of want, with an increase of desire and resignation together. And afterwards you shall have the petition which you asked of Him. But there is one rule which our Lord constantly observes,—‘Unto him that hath shall be given.’ ‘Unto him that *uses* what he hath.’ Speak, therefore, as you can; and by-and-by you shall speak as you would. Speak, though, with fear; and in a little time you shall speak without fear. Fear shall be swallowed up in love!—I am, my dear Peggy,

Your affectionate brother.

To Joseph Benson

LONDON, November 19, 1769.

Indeed, Joseph, I am not well pleased at all. You seem quite ruffled and discomposed because a story was invented of you (*if it was from invention*; for your taking it so deeply makes me fear it was not). I thought it kindest to reprove you rather in jest than in earnest, and this very thing you take ill! What, are you seeking to pick a quarrel with me? Well, if you require me to be serious, I *will* be serious. I am ashamed you should have it to learn still that if you are a Christian you are to expect men will say *all manner of evil* of you falsely. So they have done of *me* for at least these forty years. You was not of this spirit when you came into that House.¹ Honour and power have done you no good; I am sorry for you, but I know not how to help you. If you *will* go, you *must* go.

Benson replied in as candid a spirit—a notably frank letter. He had expressed his opinion that he ought to go to Trevecca. As to being ‘ruffled, &c.’ he says: ‘The story was not invented of me particularly. On the contrary, I have reason to think I was very little concerned in it. For though Mr. Borks’ letter did not mention any one’s name, yet by the letters the Trimbottoms wrote, and what I heard from Mr. Whitehead and others concerning the reports in Bristol, I have reason to think I was not the person accused—at least, so they told me when I asked them. And so you intimated in your letter to Mr. Lewis, desiring him to inquire of me particularly which letter he bluntly read before Mr. Hind, who thence inferred you

¹ Wesley thought Kingswood was spoiling him.

thought him a person of no veracity. I leave, therefore, you to judge what temptation I had to be "ruffled." . . .

'I knew you were not well reconciled to me when you left Bristol; and, farther, it occurred to my mind in what manner you had parted with most of the masters, who I find have generally gone away with offence. And, in particular, how disrespectfully you spoke of Mr. Wh— in the public Society, which I can assure you grieved me much, as I know it did many beside me, who heartily love you and the cause wherein you are engaged. I had also just heard what method you took to tell Mr. Henderson your mind, &c. . . .

'You think "honour and power have done me no good." I should think you mentioned *honour* by way of irony, and as for *power* I am puzzled to find where I have had any, unless you mean over a few children.'

He ventures to tell Wesley: 'But so it is, and so it always has been: you have had the misfortune to mistake your friends and enemies. Whoever has made it a point (in order to gain your favour) to contradict you in nothing, but professed implicitly to follow your direction and abide by your decision, especially if they added thereto the warmest expressions of regard for you and told you a tale of their being saved from sin and perfected in love, they never failed to gain your favour in an high degree, and, what is worse, have often used it to a bad purpose, by filling your ear with insinuations against others. And such have generally gained credit with you. . . . On the other hand, whoever, from a conviction that all men are fallible and that implicit obedience is due to God alone, could not in conscience acquiesce in your bare *ipse dixit*, but have believed it their duty to call in question some things you have advanced, and perhaps made bold to take notice to yourself of what appeared to them amiss;—if, added to this, their modesty would not permit them to tell you how sincerely they loved you or how much they were devoted to God,—such persons have in general stood low in your esteem, and had the misfortune and discouragement to find you set light by their services and put a misconstruction on their whole conduct; and yet they were all the while your most faithful and affectionate friends, who would tell to your face what they would not even intimate behind your back, and would notice to yourself weaknesses and mistakes (*et humanum est errare*) which they would by all means conceal from the world.'

He quotes Wesley's 'If you *will* go, you *must* go'; and asks: 'Is this all the answer I must have, when, after stating the case and showing you the necessity, I asked your advice in an affair of such importance? These are all the thanks I must receive for putting myself to so many inconveniences to serve you? After exhausting my spirits from morning to night in a school where you are sensible I should have had an assistant, especially for these twelve months last, to the prejudice of my spiritual proficiency, to say nothing (for they

are not worth mentioning) of temporal inconveniences? And why should I not take you at your word? No, I have too much love for the children, too much regard for their parents, and (whether you will believe it or no) too much sense of my duty to God and respect for yourself, to leave things in such confusion.'

For Wesley's reply, see letter of December 3.

To Various Friends

This circular letter, signed by Wesley but with the PS. in another hand, was sent to various friends. The effort to raise £12,000 to pay all the chapel debts had thus far yielded about £7,000. The letter is given in the *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, 1845, pp. 578-9.

LONDON, November 20, 1769.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—Two years ago many of our brethren, who considered the number of the people called Methodists and the circumstances which a great part of them were in, believed we should pay off the debt at once. I myself was fully persuaded that between twenty and thirty thousand people were well able to do this; but I was not at all persuaded that they were willing. However, I said little upon that head, being unwilling to weaken the hands of those who were of another mind.

It was a good step which was made the first year. Upwards of £5,000 were contributed; by which means the most pressing debts were paid, and many of our brethren were firmly persuaded we should make an end of the whole the second year. I well knew the Methodists could do this; but I saw no reason to think they would. And when the collection was brought in, amounting to above £2,000, it was full as much as I expected.

'But what can be done this third year? £5,000 remain unpaid. Are the Methodists able to clear this in one year?' Yes; as well as they are able to clear £50. But are they willing? That I cannot tell: I am sure a few of them are; even of those who have a large measure of worldly goods; yea, and of those who are lately increased in substance, who have twice, perhaps ten or twenty times, as much as when they saw me first. Are you one of them? Whether you are or not, whether your substance is less or more, are you willing

to give what assistance you can ? to do what you can without hurting your family ?

' But if I do so, I cannot lay out so much in such and such things as I intended.' That is true. But will this hurt you ? What if, instead of enlarging, you should for the present contract your expenses ? spend less, that you may be able to give more ? Would there be any harm in this ?

' But neither can I lay up so much.' This likewise is most true. But is it ill husbandry to lay up treasure in heaven ? Is that lost which is given to God ? Whether you go to Him soon, or whether He gives you a few years longer here—in either case is it not wise to lay up for yourself a good foundation, that you may attain eternal life ?

' But I thought we should have paid the debt in one year, and so need no farther collections.' I never thought so. I knew it might be paid in one year, but never expected it would. There is more likelihood of its being paid this year. It will, if our brethren exert themselves : do you, for one ; let nothing be wanting on your part. Yet do not imagine ' we shall need no farther collections.' Indeed we shall, though we owed not one shilling. Do not you remember the original design of the Yearly Subscription ?¹ Paying our debts is but one branch of the design. It answers several other valuable ends equally necessary. It enables us to carry the gospel through the three kingdoms. And as long as we pursue that *glorious design*, this subscription will be necessary ; though it is true, when once this burthen is removed, a far smaller contribution will suffice.

However, let the morrow take thought for the things of itself : to-day do what you can, for the love of God, of your brethren, of the cause of God, and of

Your affectionate brother.

PS.—This is the letter, a copy of which I intend sending this or next post to each of the chief persons in your circuit. You will second it in good earnest. Try what you can do, going on in the cheerfulness of faith. Probably you will take in subscriptions by Christmas, and receive what is

¹ See *Works*, viii. 335-6.

subscribed between Easter and Midsummer. Be not weary in well doing ; you shall reap if you faint not.

To Christopher Hopper

The deed of the preaching-house at Dawgreen, in the parish of Dewsbury, dated November 1, 1762, contains the names of John Greenwood and Titus Fozard (Fazzard) among the trustees. On April 19, 1774, Wesley stayed with Mr. Greenwood, who was thought to be dying of gout in the stomach. Wesley was convinced that it was angina pectoris, and recommended electrical treatment, which gave immediate relief. See *Journal*, vi. 16-17.

LONDON, November 20, 1769.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—If she will return of her own accord, I will receive her with open arms. But I will not hire her to return. I think that would be foolish, nay sinful.¹

Brother Fazzard was a good man, though for some years his head was a good deal wrong. I hope Brother Greenwood continues right, and is no longer puzzled by the smooth speakers.

If you love the souls or bodies of men, recommend everywhere the *Primitive Physick* and the small tracts. It is true most of the Methodists are poor ; but what then ? Nine in ten of them would be no poorer if they were to lay out an whole penny in buying a book every other week in the year. By this means the work of God is both widened and deepened in every place.—I am, with love to Sister Hopper,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To John Valton

Valton received this letter on November 23, his thirtieth birthday. He says : ' It is not easy to conceive what dejection of spirit I was thrown into by this letter. I could neither think nor pray. But can God require me to make bricks without straw ? Oh no, Lord ! Thou art not an austere man. Besides, my weakness, my timidity, and want of gifts are to me proofs that I am not called. Nor have I the least intimation that it is the will of God. Oh what a dreadful apprehension of such an undertaking ! It almost deprives me of life

¹ Mrs. Wesley often left him and returned again in answer to his entreaties. She was with her daughter in Newcastle. See letters of Dec. 17, 1768, and Jan. 15, 1770.

when I think of being thrust out!—Suffice to say, I gave Mr. Wesley my reasons; which for the present satisfied his mind, as appears from his reply' in December. See *Wesley's Veterans*, vi. 60-1; and letter of December 2 to him.

LONDON, November 21, 1769.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—It is a great thing to be open to the call of God. It really seems as if He were now calling you. When I wrote last, you was not willing to go out; and probably He is now thrusting you out into His harvest. If so, take care you be not disobedient to the heavenly calling. Otherwise you may be permitted to fall lower than you imagine.—I am
Your affectionate brother.

To Mary Bishop

LONDON, November 22, 1769.

MY DEAR SISTER,—It is exceedingly strange. I should really wonder (if I could wonder at any weakness of human nature) that so good a woman as Lady Huntingdon, and one who particularly piques herself on her catholic spirit, should be guilty of such narrowness of spirit. Let it teach us a better lesson!¹ Let us not vary in thought or word from the old Methodist principle, 'Whosoever doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven, the same is my brother and sister and mother.'

We have other instances of persons who now enjoy the peace of God and yet do not know the time when they received it. And God is sovereign: He may make what exceptions He pleases to His general rule. So this objection is easily set aside; and so is that of your age. The Spirit of the Lord can give understanding either in a longer and shorter time. And I doubt not but He will give you favour in the eyes of your sisters. You have only to go on in simplicity, doing the will of God from the heart and trusting in the anointing of the Holy One to teach you of all things.

I am glad you are acquainted with the Miss Owens.*

¹ Henry Venn was then preaching to crowded audiences in the Countess of Huntingdon's chapel at Bath. See letter of Dec. 26.

* Wesley says on Sept. 16, 1772: 'I went to Publow, which is now what

Leytonstone was once. Here is a family indeed. Such mistresses, and such a company of children, as, I believe, all England cannot parallel!' See *Journal*, v. 484; and letter of Aug. 22, 1772.

Encourage one another to be altogether Christians. Defy fashion and custom, and labour only

To steer your useful lives below
By reason and by grace.

Let not the gentlewoman entrench upon the Christian; but be a simple follower of the Lamb.

I expect to hear soon what has occurred since you wrote last. And I hope you will always speak without any reserve to, my dear sister, Your affectionate brother.

To Miss Bishop, In the Vineyard,
Bath.

To Professor John Liden, of Lund

Wesley's letter of November 16, which has no signature and no 'Dear Sir,' had evidently been replied to on the 24th.

THE FOUNDERY, November 30, 1769.

DEAR SIR,—Though I hope shortly to have the pleasure of seeing you, yet I cannot but write a line to return you thanks for your favour of the 24th instant. If any other of the tracts which we have written or published would be acceptable to you, I will order them to be sent to Mr. Ley's, or any other place which you are pleased to appoint. Never was there anything which I less desired or expected some years since than *virum volitare per ora*,¹ having from my infancy loved silence and obscurity. But we came not into the world to do our own will. Happy are we if we are always ready to do and to suffer the will of Him that sent us! Desiring a remembrance in your prayers, I remain, dear sir,

Your affectionate servant.

To Robert Bell

Robert Bell was in the Excise. Wesley visited Longtown, 'the last town in England,' on April 14, 1770, where he preached 'in a large broad entry, with a room on either hand,' and again on April 23, 1784. Tyerman says Bell introduced Methodism into Carlisle about 1767, where the first place of worship was a cart-shed. Bell had been converted under Grimshaw. Wesley once met his class, and exclaimed,

¹ Virgil's *Georgics*, iii. 9: 'To hover on the lips of men.'

'Glory be to God for Mr. Bell; he has certainly been a very useful man.' See *Journal*, v. 362, vi. 498; *Tyerman's Wesley*, iii. 63; *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, 1847, p. 768.

LONDON, *December 2, 1769.*

MY DEAR BROTHER,—Upon the first moving of the thing, Mr. Ball seemed cold, saying he had just procured the same favour for another. But he added, 'Do you make a point of this?' I told him I did. 'Then,' said he, 'I will do what I can.' So I hope there is little reason to doubt but the thing will soon be accomplished.

You have cause to bless God upon many accounts; particularly for the friendliness of your collector and supervisor; above all, for His revealing His love in your heart and giving you a word to speak in His name.—I am

Your affectionate brother.

To Mr. Bell, Officer of Excise,
In Longtown, Cumberland.

To John Valton

LONDON, *December 2, 1769.*

MY DEAR BROTHER,—Certainly you are not called to go out now. I believe you will be by-and-by. Your inabilities are no bar; for when you are sent you will not be sent a warfare at your own cost. Now improve the present hour where you are.¹—I am

Your affectionate brother.

To Joseph Benson

LONDON, *December 3, 1769.*

DEAR JOSEPH,—You must not expect that I should answer particularly a letter of a sheet long. I have only time to take notice briefly of two or three of the mistakes it contains.²

I. I have been told an hundred times, 'You love those that flatter you, and hate all that deal plainly and honestly with you.'³ For J. Oliver told Jo. Hilton, who (with many others) cordially believed it. But nothing under heaven can be more false. What man did I ever love like T. Walsh?

¹ See letter of Nov. 21. 'This letter,' says Valton, 'was as pleasant as the grapes of Eschol to my soul.'

² See letter of Nov. 19.

³ See letters of March 25, 1764, and Sept. 12, 1766.

What woman do I now regard like Miss Bosanquet? And what human creatures have dealt so plainly and honestly with me? What preacher now deals so plainly with me as John Fenwick? and whom do I love and trust more?

2. The first spring of the reproach cast on Kingswood School was not any mismanagement there. It was the hatred of good which is in the devil and his children. Therefore even Mr. Parkinson never did or could escape it. Therefore a fresh flood of it has been poured out even since you was there.

3. This *you* had reason to expect, and therefore ought not to have been surprised, much less discouraged at it. For this I gently reprov'd you in my first letter. That reproof you took heinously ill, and reproach'd me for unmercifulness and want of sympathy. This I should think was extremely wrong.

4. 'Is this all the thanks I receive for serving you?' Nay, I think the thanks are due to *me*. When I first sent you to Kingswood, it was to serve *you* at least as much as myself. Nay, it was not to serve myself at all. For what is the school to *me*? It has been and may be of use to many. But it is no more to *me* than to *you* or Lady Huntingdon.

There are other mistakes in your letter (which is all wrote in a spirit of discontent), but I have no time to point them out. You told me you would stay at the school till March. Till then you should be as much at Kingswood as you can.—
I am

Your affectionate brother.

To Mrs. Barton

LONDON, December 24, 1769.

MY DEAR SISTER,—Some of the trials which you must frequently have are of a delicate nature. You will need much of the wisdom from above, or you would suffer loss under them. Those who are very near to you were (and probably are still) prejudiced against William Fallowfield beyond all sense and reason. And how extremely difficult it is for you not to drink in *a little* of their spirit! Only what is ill-will in them may in you be a simple error of judgement. Yet there is danger lest it should weaken your soul and insensibly lead you to some wrong temper.

I believe you may speak without reserve to Brother Howard.¹ He is a cool, thinking man. But does he preach Christian perfection clearly and explicitly? Which of your other preachers does? Your affectionate brother.

To Joseph Benson

LONDON, December 26, 1769.

DEAR JOSEPH,—Every man of sense who reads the rules of the school may easily conclude that a school so conducted by men of piety and understanding will exceed any other school or academy in Great Britain or Ireland. In this sentiment you can never be altered. And if it was not so conducted since *you* was there, why was it not? You had power enough. You have all the power which *I* have. You may do just what you please. *Dirue, edifica; muta quadrata rotundis.*² And I will second you to the uttermost.

Trevecca is much more to Lady Huntingdon than Kingswood is to *me*. It mixes with everything. It is *my* college, *my* masters, *my* students. I do not speak so of this school. It is not *mine*, but the Lord's. I look for no more honour than money from it.

But I assure you you must not even mutter before her anything of *deliverance from all sin*. *Error errorum*, as Count Zinzendorf says; 'heresy of heresies.' 'I will suffer no one in *my* Society that even *thinks* of perfection.' However, I trust you shall not only think of but enjoy it. I am glad you defer your journey.—I am, dear Joseph,

Your affectionate brother.

To Walter Sellon

Wesley's first two preachers reached America on October 24, and found the people eager for the gospel. Wesley himself cherished the idea of going over, but was never able to do so.

Sellon was preparing an answer to *A Practical Discourse of God's Sovereignty*, by Elisha Coles, a clerk to the East India Company, who died in 1688. See *Journal*, v. 361.

¹ Robert Howard, Assistant at York, was received on trial as a preacher in 1768, and ceased to travel in 1770.

² Horace's *Epistles*, i. 100: *Diruit, aedificat, mutat quadrata rotundis* ('He pulls down, he builds, he changes square things to round').

Toplady's two tracts, *The Church of England Vindicated from the Charge of Arminianism* and *The Doctrine of Absolute Predestination Stated and Asserted*, translated in great measure from the Latin of Jerom Zanchius, were both issued in 1769. Wesley published an abridgement of the latter in Toplady's own words, with the closing paragraph: 'The sum of all is this. One in twenty (suppose) of mankind is elected; nineteen in twenty are reprobated. The elect shall be saved, do what they will; the reprobate shall be damned, do what they can. Reader, believe this or be damned. Witness my hand, A—— T——.' Toplady's rejoinder was 'a scurrilous and undignified performance.' Tyerman says: 'A more impious piece in the garb of piety was never published than his Zanchius. . . . Augustus Toplady, a stripling twenty-nine years of age, is a pope infallible; and all who hold opinions different from his are reprobate knaves or fools.' 'Toplady's blood was up, and the bitterness of his attack has scarcely a parallel in religious history. He piled contempt upon contempt, invective on invective; he dragged to light all Wesley's weaknesses. See Tyerman's *Wesley*, iii. 54-5; Wright's *Toplady*, pp. 85-8; Green's *Bibliography*, No. 261.

LONDON, December 30, 1769.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—It is not yet determined whether I should go to America or not. I have been importuned some time; but *nil sat firmi video*.¹ I must have a clear call before I am at liberty to leave Europe.

You should heat your milk, but never let it boil. Boiling robs it of the most nutritious particles. Take care to keep always your body moderately open, and your stomach will not often complain. Mr. Viner did you great honour. Do not make too much haste in dealing with Elisha Coles. I am afraid the treatise will be too short. And pray add a word to that lively coxcomb Mr. Toplady, not only with regard to Zanchius, but his slander on the Church of England. You would do well to give a reading to both his tracts. He does certainly believe himself to be the greatest genius in England. Pray take care, or *notus sit pro suis virtutibus*.²

Mr. Johnson³ was grievously short in not mentioning that 'other thing' at the Conference or not till all the money

¹ 'I see nothing sufficiently strong.' See letter of Jan. 25, 1770.

² 'Let him be known in proportion as he deserves.'

³ Thomas Johnson, the Assistant

in Lincolnshire East. The *Minutes* for 1769 give details of the way in which £2,458 19s. 7d. was used in discharging debts.

was gone. However, the matter is not much. I think we can procure you thirty pounds in February. I believe you strengthen the hands of our preachers all you can. You will find Billy Minethorp a right man. His resolution in the late affair was admirable. I have scarce ever seen such another instance in the kingdom.—I am

Your affectionate brother.

THE CALVINISTIC CONTROVERSY

JANUARY 1, 1770, TO DECEMBER 28, 1771

PRINCIPAL EVENTS

- 1770, May 5. *Letter from Dr. Wrangel.*
Aug. *Doctrinal Minutes at the Bristol Conference.*
Sep. 30. *Death of George Whitefield.*
Nov. 18. *Wesley preaches Whitefield's funeral sermon.*
- 1771, Jan. 17. *Benson dismissed from Trevecca.*
Jan. 23. *Mrs. Wesley leaves him.*
Sep. 4. *Francis Asbury sails for America.*
Fletcher's First and Second Check to Antinomianism published.
Wesley issues the first five volumes of his collected Works.

The storm aroused by the Doctrinal Minutes of the Conference in 1770 is the outstanding feature of these years. The Hon. and Rev. Walter Shirley, who was the prime mover in the onslaught made on Wesley, was convinced by the declaration of the ensuing Conference that he 'had mistaken the meaning of the doctrinal points in the Minutes.' Wesley's attitude is shown in his letters to his brother, to the Countess of Huntingdon, and to Mary Bishop. John Fletcher proved himself a masterly champion of Wesley's Minutes and a noble example of the Christian controversialist.

America takes its place in the correspondence of the period. Wesley was strongly urged to go over to see the work with his own eyes. The death of Whitefield on September 30, 1770, marks the close of the most memorable friendship and partnership of the Evangelical Revival; and the funeral sermon which Wesley preached on November 18 shows how deeply he loved his friend and gloried in his boundless influence.

The correspondence with Joseph Benson has special importance; and Wesley's affectionate care for young Christians is seen in letters to Ann Bolton and to the members of the Perronet family. Nor should the letter 'To a Nobleman' be overlooked. It is another illustration of Wesley's far-reaching influence over spiritually-minded men and women in all ranks of society. The straightforward candour of such letters as that to Mary Bosanquet on January 2, 1770, is characteristic. The letters to his preachers give a vivid picture of his vigilant oversight of all the work of Methodism.

THE CALVINISTIC CONTROVERSY

JANUARY 1, 1770, TO DECEMBER 28, 1771

To Mrs. Crosby

LONDON, *January 1, 1770.*

MY DEAR SISTER,—Whereunto you have attained hold fast. You never need let it go. Nothing is more certain than that God is willing to give always what He gives once. If, therefore, He now gives you power to yield Him your whole heart, you may confidently expect the continuance of that power till your spirit returns to God, provided you continue watching unto prayer, denying yourself, and taking up your cross daily. Only beware of evil reasoning! Hang upon Him that loves you as a little child; living *to-day*, and trusting Him for *to-morrow*.¹—I am, dear Sally,

Your affectionate brother.

To a Nobleman: The Earl of Dartmouth (?)

This letter is a beautiful illustration of Wesley's combination of courtesy with plainness and directness in dealing with men of rank and position. Compare the letters of April 10, 1761 (where he addresses his friend as 'Dear Sir'), and July 26, 1764.

[*January 1, 1770.*

DEAR SIR,—I bless God that you are not disgusted at the great plainness with which I wrote. Indeed, I know not but it might be termed roughness; which was owing partly to the pressure of mind I then felt, and partly to my being straitened for time: otherwise I might have found softer expressions. I am thankful likewise for your openness; which obliges me to be open and unreserved, and to say all I mean, and that in the most simple manner, on each of the articles that lie before us.

¹ See letter of Jan. 2.

I must do this even with regard to my fellow labourers, lest I should seem to mean more than I do. But I am sensible this is a tender point, and one so extremely difficult to treat upon that I should not venture to say one word did I not know to whom I speak. What I mean is this: From many little circumstances which have occurred, I have been afraid (just so far it went) that those clergymen with whom you are most acquainted were jealous of your being acquainted with me. I was the more afraid when I heard the sudden exclamation of one whom you well know, 'Good God! Mr. Wesley is always speaking well of these gentlemen, and they can never speak well of him.' But I am entirely satisfied by that full declaration which you make: 'I do not know of any impression that has been made upon me to your disadvantage.'

I had once the opportunity of speaking a few minutes to you on the head of Christian Perfection; and I believe you had not much objection to anything which was then spoken. When I spoke nearly to the same effect to one of the late Bishops of London, Bishop Gibson, he said earnestly, 'Why, Mr. Wesley, if this is what you mean by perfection, who can be against it?' I believe verily there would need no more than a single hour, spent in free and open conversation, to convince you that none can rationally or scripturally say anything against the perfection I have preached for thirty years.

The union which I desire among the persons I mentioned is an entire union of heart, constraining them to labour together as one man in spreading vital religion through the nation. But this I do not hope for, though I know a few who would cordially rejoice therein. The union which I proposed is of a lower kind: I proposed that they should love as brethren and behave as such. And I particularized what I think is implied in this, I imagined in so plain a manner, as was hardly possible without great skill to be either misunderstood or misrepresented. I really do not conceive what ambiguity there can be in any part of this proposal, or what objection can lie against our going thus far, whether we go farther or no.

With regard to you, I have frequently observed that there

are two very different ranks of Christians, both of whom may be in the favour of God—an higher and a lower rank. The latter avoid all known sin, do much good, use all the means of grace, but have little of the life of God in their souls and are much conformed to the world. The former make the Bible their whole rule, and their sole aim is the will and image of God. This they steadily and uniformly pursue, through honour and dishonour, denying themselves, and taking up their cross daily; considering one point only—'How may I attain most of the mind that was in Christ, and how may I please Him most?' Now, I verily believe never was a person of rank more prepared for this state than you were the first time I had the pleasure of seeing you. Nay, I doubt not but you pant after it now; your soul is athirst to be all devoted to God. But who will press you forward to this? Rather, who will not draw you back? It is in this respect that I think one that uses plain dealing is needful for you in the highest degree; so needful, that without this help you will inevitably stop short: I do not mean stop short of heaven, but of that degree of holiness, and consequently of happiness both in time and eternity, which is now offered to your acceptance.

It is herein that I am jealous over you. I am afraid of your sinking beneath your calling, degenerating into a common Christian, who shall indeed be saved, but saved as by fire. I long to see both you and your lady a little more than common Christians—Christians of the first rank in the kingdom of God, full of all goodness and truth. I want you to be living witnesses of all gospel holiness! And what shall hinder if you seek it by faith? Are not all things ready? The Lord God give you to experience that all things are possible to them that believe!

O God, let all their life declare,
How happy these Thy servants are;
How far above these earthly things;
How pure when washed in Jesu's blood;
How intimately one with God,
A heaven-born race of priests and kings!

—I am, honoured sir,

Your friend and servant.

To Mrs. Woodhouse

LONDON, January 1, 1770.

MY DEAR SISTER,—Indeed, there is no happiness without Him for any child of man. One would rather choose to be pained and restless whenever He withdraws His presence. He has permitted that difference which prevents your finding comfort even in a near relation, that you may seek it with a free and disengaged heart in Him who will never deceive your hope. This will endear and sweeten every cross, which is only a painful means of a closer union with Him. The neglect of others should incite you to double diligence in private prayer. And how knowest thou, O woman, but thou shalt gain thy husband? ¹ You have already many blessings. You are surrounded with them. And who can tell if He may not add this to the rest? I pray, tell me from time to time all that is in your heart. Use no reserve with, my dear sister,

Your affectionate brother.

To Mrs. Woodhouse, At Mr. Hutton's,
In Epworth, Near Thorpe, Yorkshire.

To Mary Bosanquet

Miss Bosanquet's health was strained by three years' nursing of her friend Mrs. Ryan, and her way was 'strewed with many perplexities.' Mrs. Crosby was living with her in her Yorkshire home, and on Wednesday nights they had formed a meeting, the numbers of which increased to fifty. She had to be very careful whom she admitted as fixed members. See Moore's *Mrs. Fletcher*, p. 79; and letter of December 11, 1768.

Wesley translated the *Instructions from the French in 1768*, and calls it 'one of the most useful tracts I ever saw for those who desire to be "fervent in spirit."' See *Journal*, v. 249; Green's *Bibliography*, No. 296.

LONDON, January 2, 1770.

MY DEAR SISTER,—You know I am not much given to suspect the worst; I am more inclined to hope than fear. Yet I cannot but fear that they who make those sage remarks do not always speak with a single eye. But what are they afraid of? There is little danger now of any *wrong intercourse*

¹ Mr. Woodhouse was evidently not in sympathy with his wife's Methodism.

between you and me. Indeed, we love one another and can trust one another ; and there is good reason that we should. God seemed to mark us out for it long ago, and perhaps lately more than ever. You may now speak all that is in your heart, and with all simplicity.

Keep your place. Keep the reins in your own hand. It is best for her,¹ best for you, and best for all. You ought not to suffer any interruption or any forming of parties. I suppose you have *Instructions for Members of Religious Societies*. I know nothing equal to them in the English tongue. It would be well diligently to inculcate those instructions on all under your roof.

The moment any are justified, they are babes in Christ, little children. When they have the abiding witness of pardon, they are young men. This is the characteristic of a young man. It was not this, but much more, even salvation from inward sin, which above five hundred in London received. True, they did not (all or most of them) *retain* it ; but they *had* it as surely as they had pardon. And you and they may receive it again.² How soon !—I am, my dear friend,

Your affectionate brother.

To Miss Bosanquet, Gildersome Hall,
Near Leeds.

To Mary Bosanquet

LONDON, January 15, 1770.

MY DEAR SISTER,—It is not strange if the leading of one soul be very different from that of another. The same Spirit worketh in every one ; and yet worketh several ways, according to His own will. It concerns us to follow our own light, seeing we are not to be judged by another's conscience.

A little time will show who hinders and who forwards the welfare of the family. And I hope you will have steadiness to pursue every measure which you judge will be to the glory of God.

I am glad you find your temporal difficulties are lessened. Beware of increasing your expenses. I advise you not to take

¹ Mrs. Crosby.

² See letter of Jan. 1 to Mrs. Crosby.

any other child till all these expenses are over.¹ 'Tis pity but you had an electric machine.² It would prevent much pain in a family and supersede almost all other physic. I cure all vomiting and purging by warm lemonade.

She is there still³; and likely so to be, unless I would *hire* her to return, which I dare not do. I will not buy a cross, though I can bear it. Many are much stirred up here and are greatly athirst for pure love. I am sure you tasted it once, though you was reasoned out of it. How soon may you find it again! Simple faith is all we want. Peace be with your spirit!—I am, my dear sister, Your affectionate brother.

To Miss Bosanquet, At Gildersome Hall,
Near Leeds.

To Christopher Hopper

It was the time of the struggle between Wilkes and the House of Commons. The House had spent the Session of 1769 in fierce debates. Wilkes had been brought before the bar of the Commons on a charge of libel, expelled from Parliament, and at once re-elected for Middlesex. He was three times expelled and three times re-elected. The Commons gave his seat to Colonel Luttrell, and the City of London elected Wilkes an alderman. Sacheverell had been found guilty of seditious libel in 1709 by a small majority of the Peers; but 'the light sentence they inflicted was in effect an acquittal, and bonfires and illuminations over the whole country welcomed it as a Tory triumph.' See Green's *Short History*, p. 717; for Wesley's visit to Dr. Sacheverell when he was leaving Charterhouse for Oxford in 1720, see Telford's *Wesley*, p. 30; and for his thoughts on 'The Present State of Public Affairs,' the letter to a Friend in December 1768.

LONDON, January 16, 1770.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—There is reason to believe that this has been indeed a festival time all over the kingdom. While a Sacheverell madness has spread far and wide, God gives us the spirit of love and of a sound mind.

¹ See previous letter, and Moore's *Mrs. Fletcher*, p. 90: 'I lessened my family all I could by putting out some of the bigger children to trades or servants' places; but much expense attended it.'

² Wesley procured an electric

apparatus in Nov. 1756, and was greatly impressed with 'the virtue of this surprising medicine.' See *Journal*, iv. 49, 190.

³ His wife, who was in Newcastle. See letter of Nov. 20, 1769, to Christopher Hopper.

I think verily, if we could procure those premises upon reasonable terms, together with such a servitude or security (are these synonymous terms ?) as you mention, it would be a noble acquisition, and might tend much to the furtherance of the work of God in Edinburgh.

If all the Assistants would exert themselves with regard to the Yearly Collection as heartily as Christopher Hopper, a great deal might be done. We must have farther proof of William.—I am, with love to Sister Hopper,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Ann Bolton

LEWISHAM, *January 25, 1770.*

Nancy, Nancy ! I had almost said, I wish I could be angry at you ; but that would not be an easy thing. I was wondering that you never wrote. I doubt your love is grown cold. Let it not be six weeks before I hear from you again. You find I can chide if you provoke me.

You surprise me with regard to the books. I have spoke to Mr. Franks twice ; and twice he told me he had sent them. I doubt he sent them among the other books without directing them particularly to *you*. I shall see that matter set right.

You must not leave off riding¹ if you would have tolerable health. Nothing is so good for you as exercise and change of air. It was upon that as well as other accounts that I wanted you to come up to London. I do not know whether the objection of ' giving offence ' need to affright you from it. I wish you had a week to spare before I go out of town.² If I should be called to America³ (though I determine nothing yet), it might be a long time before we meet again.

In every temptation there will be a way made to escape that you may be able to bear it. Do not stay a month longer before you write to, my dear Nancy,

Your affectionate brother.

I have a room or two to spare now.

¹ See letter of Feb. 12, 1769.

letter of April 7, 1768.

² She had once before come up to London to meet him. See Feb. 17, 1770.

³ See letters of Dec. 30, 1769, and

To Joseph Benson

On December 3, 1769, Wesley wrote, 'You told me you would stay at the school till March.' This promise Benson kept. An entry in his Journal for November 27, 1769, runs: 'I have lately seen my way plain to leave Kingswood, and concluded on going to Trevecca.'

LONDON, January 27, 1770.

DEAR JOSEPH,—All is well. We have no need to 'dispute about a dead horse.' If the school at Trevecca is the best that ever was since the world began, I am glad of it, and wish it may be better still. But do not run away with any of my young men from Kingswood: that I should blame you for. I have wrote already to T. Simpson,¹ and will write again. Do all the good you can in every place.—I am

Your affectionate brother.

To John Whitehead

John Whitehead had desisted from travelling at the Conference of 1769. The sentence at the end of the letter after January 2, 1769, 'Let John Whitehead learn all he can,' indicates that he was studying at Kingswood.

LONDON, January 27, 1770.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—Tell John Hilton 'wherever Mr. Wesley is he labours to strengthen the hands of the Assistant and does nothing without advising with him.' So I do nothing here without advising with John Pawson.² I believe his doing otherwise was chiefly through inadvertence. Therefore come to an explanation as soon as possible. Brother Hitchens³ complains you broke through the plan of preaching which I fixed and did not allow him his turn. But, however this was, Wick must not lose its turn. I solemnly promised Mr. Haynes it should not, and allowed the preacher the use of my mare once a fortnight. Neglect another place rather than that. Give my kind love to Brother and Sister Thomas.⁴ I

¹ The Head Master. See letter of Jan. 2, 1769.

² Pawson was the Assistant in London and Hilton at Bristol.

³ William Hitchens, a native of Bisveal near Redruth, was for some time an itinerant preacher; but he married and settled as a hatter

in Bristol. He laboured as a local preacher for many years. See Atmore's *Memorial*, pp. 190-1.

⁴ Barnabas Thomas, the second preacher at Bristol, a Cornishman, had become a preacher in 1764. See letter of March 25, 1785.

thank him for his letter. You should give Mr. Shirley¹ an hint not to contradict *me* when he preaches in my house. I hope you spend a little time (you and Brother Thomas) with our children at Kingswood. Who are your new class-leaders? —I am, with love to Sister Whitehead,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Mr. Whitehead, At the New Room,
In Bristol.

To Dr. Wrangel

Wesley says in his *Journal*, v. 290, that on October 14, 1768, he dined with Dr. Wrangel, one of the King of Sweden's chaplains, who had spent several years in Pennsylvania, and who strongly pleaded with Wesley to send some of his preachers to help the Americans, 'multitudes of whom are as sheep without a shepherd.' On his return to Stockholm he wrote to Wesley, and two of his letters are printed in the *Arminian Magazine* for 1784, pp. 330, 614. In the first, dated May 5, 1770, he says that on his return he had lodged with his old fellow chaplain, Dr. Lamberg, Bishop of Gothenburg. 'I found him to be a great friend of yours. He had heard you preach while on his travels in England. I sent him your books, and he was well pleased with what he read, and desired me to remember him to you.' (Compare *Journal*, v. 345ⁿ.) The King had on his death-bed made Dr. Wrangel a Privy Counsellor. 'When I spoke to him of the way of salvation, he received the word with gladness, and departed in the Lord, to the great edification and comfort of the whole family.' He refers to a Society for Propagating Practical Religion which he had proposed and which had been received with much favour. He was about to be made Almoner of His Majesty, and requested Wesley's prayers, as 'this office is of importance to religion in general.'

Wrangel writes again on October 10, 1771, and says, 'Your last and very affectionate letter gave me infinite pleasure.' The new King had appointed him 'Almoner, President of the Consistory at Court, and Chaplain to all his Orders,' 'a station of great trust, but, alas! a very perilous one.' He continues: 'I send you enclosed the Letter of Admission to our Society. The Rules are not yet printed in English; we send them in German, as I think you are master of that language.' He thanks Wesley for the kind present of his sermons and books by Mr. Charleson. This gift evidently included the Funeral Sermon for George

¹ The Hon. Walter Shirley, Rector of Loughrea, and cousin to Lady Huntingdon, had evidently been teaching Calvinism in Wesley's preaching-house. See letter of Nov. 27.

Whitefield, preached on November 18, 1770. 'I presented a copy of your sermon to the Society, which was very acceptable. The Society will have the *Life* of Mr. Whitefield inserted in their "Pastoral Collections, or Account of the Work of God Abroad." He says: 'I beg of you, sir, to remember me kindly to all your friends, not forgetting dear Kingswood.' A postscript is added: 'I have been greatly blessed in my labour amongst the great. I shall soon give you a particular account of it.' Wesley was elected Foreign Corresponding Member of the Society 'Pro Fide et Christianismo,' and acknowledged the honour in the letter of January 31, 1772.

The following letter was cut out of an album in the possession of Mr. H. W. Surtees, of Derby, and is printed in the *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society*, xvi. 127-8. It was evidently written to Dr. Wrangel soon after his return to Sweden. The thanks in Wrangel's letter of May 5, 1770, probably include the work mentioned in Wesley's postscript. The letter may be dated January 30, in time for the reply of May 5.

[LONDON, January 30, 1770.]

The last time, the last words however important, are commonly remembered. Notwithstanding your intentions of revisiting this country, I consider it as very unlikely. The distracted state of your own, the various events which may take place, the thousand circumstances which may happen, lead me to regard this opportunity as the last I may ever have of addressing you—at least of seeing you; and I wish it to be worthy of recollection.

The length of our acquaintance, indeed, will not authorize the subject of this letter or the recommendation of the enclosed book. Let the interest I take in your welfare excuse it. Or should you ascribe this interest to the weakness of superstition or the folly of enthusiasm, deem it not the *impertinence* of zeal.

I have often thought of you—thought of you as possessing everything which the world calls enviable or delightful: health, friends, leisure. Permit me with the solicitude more properly belonging to a matron than to myself—permit me to entreat you to look beyond all these for happiness.

The dangers of prosperity are great; and you seem aware of them. If poverty contracts and depresses the mind, riches sap its fortitude, destroy its vigour, and nourish its caprices.

But the chief disadvantage of an elevated situation is this : it removes us from scenes of misery and indigence ; we are apt to charge the great with want of feeling, but it is rather want of consideration. The wretched are taught to avoid, and the poor fear to accost them ; and in the circles of perpetual gaiety they forget that these exist.

You need not be reminded that there is no rank in life which exempts us from disappointment and sorrow in some kind or degree ; but I must remind you there is but one belief which can support us under it.

Neither hypocrisy nor bigotry, neither the subtle arguments of infidels nor the shameful lives of Christians have yet been able to overturn the truths of Revealed Religion.

They contain all that is cheering—all that is consoling to the mind of man—that is congenial to the heart and adapted to his nature.

You admit their importance ; you reverence their mysteries : *cherish their influences.*

The book which I have taken the liberty to enclose was written by a gentleman as much distinguished for literature and taste as for piety. The style alone might recommend it : you will find none of the cant and narrowmindedness of sects and parties in any of its pages. Give it one serious perusal.

To Lady Maxwell

Lady Glenorchy (see her *Life*, p. 128) writes on January 27, 1770 : ' My mind has of late been distracted with various opinions insensibly imbibed from others, which have drawn me away from the simplicity of the gospel, which have led me to depreciate ordinances and to seek a useless speculative life. Blessed be God, who has in Lady Maxwell raised up for me a friend in time of need, who has been the instrument in His hand of bringing back my soul into a plain path. . . . Ever since my first interview with her, the Lord has been pleased to show me gradually from whence I have fallen, and has led me back to that singleness of heart with which He enabled me to set out some years ago.' The second paragraph of this letter shows how Lady Maxwell laid herself out to help her friend.

Lady Maxwell (*Life*, p. 56) had been confined to bed with pain and sickness. In July 1770 she established a school to give three years'

training for poor children in Edinburgh; and before her death eight hundred had enjoyed its benefits. She was particular to have masters of undoubted piety.

LONDON, *February 17, 1770.*

MY DEAR LADY,—To us it may seem that uninterrupted health would be a greater help to us than pain or sickness. But herein we certainly are mistaken; we are not such good judges in our own cause. You may truly say, 'Health I shall have if health be best.' But in this and all things you may trust Him that loves you. Indeed, nervous disorders are, of all others, as one observes, enemies to the joy of faith. But the essence of it, that confidence in a loving, pardoning God, they can neither destroy nor impair. Nay, as they keep you dead to all below, they may forward you therein, and they may increase your earnestness after that pure love which turns earth into paradise.

It will be by much pains and patience that you will keep one in high life steadfast in the plain, old way. I should wish you to converse with her as frequently as possible. Then I trust God will use you to keep alive the fire which He has kindled. I am in great hopes that chapel will be of use; but it will not be easy to procure a converted clergyman. A schoolmaster will be more easily found; although many here are frightened at the name of Scotland. A diligent master may manage twenty or perhaps thirty children. If one whom I lately saw is willing to come, I believe he will answer your design.

I have some thoughts of going to America¹; but the way is not yet plain. I wait till Providence shall speak more clearly on one side or the other. In April I hope to reach Inverness and to take Edinburgh in my way back to England. But let us live to-day! What a blessing may you receive now!

Now let your heart with love o'erflow,
And all your life His glory show!

—I am, my dear Lady, Your ever affectionate servant.

¹ See letters of Jan. 25 and Feb. 21 (to George Whitefield).

To Walter Sellon

LEWISHAM, February 21, 1770.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—Do not make too much haste. Give everything the last touch. It will be enough if the papers meet me at Manchester before the end of March. I believe it will be the best way to bestow a distinct pamphlet on that exquisite coxcomb.¹ Surely wisdom will die with him! I believe we can easily get his other tract, which it would be well to sift to the very foundation, in order to stop the mouth of that vain boaster. I am to set out for Bristol March 5, and from Bristol March 12.—I am Your affectionate brother.

To George Whitefield

Robert Keen, woollen-draper in the Minories, was Whitefield's friend and correspondent, and one of the managers of his London chapels. It was he who suggested that Wesley should preach Whitefield's funeral sermon. Whitefield died on September 30, 1770. This was Wesley's last letter to him. See Tyerman's *Whitefield*, ii. 458, 578, 584, 614; and letter of November 18.

Whitefield added two wings to his Orphan House to provide a college for the sons of the respectable inhabitants of Georgia, Virginia, and the West Indies. He opened it on January 28, 1770. John Berridge of Everton shared Wesley's opinion. See letter of September 16, 1773.

LEWISHAM, February 21, 1770.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—Mr. Keen informed me some time since of your safe arrival in Carolina; of which, indeed, I could not doubt for a moment, notwithstanding the idle report of your being cast away, which was so current in London. I trust our Lord has more work for you to do in Europe as well as in America. And who knows but before your return to England I may pay another visit to the New World?² I have been strongly solicited by several of our friends in New York and Philadelphia. They urge many reasons, some of which appear to be of considerable weight. And my age is no objection at all; for I bless God my health is not barely as good but abundantly better in several respects than when I was five-and-

¹ Toplady. See letters of Dec. 30, 1769, and June 24, 1770.

² See letters of Feb. 17 and Dec. 14.

twenty. But there are so many reasons on the other side that as yet I can determine nothing ; so I must wait for farther light. Here I am : let the Lord do with me as seemeth Him good. For the present I must beg of you to supply my lack of service by encouraging our preachers as you judge best, who are as yet comparatively young and inexperienced, by giving them such advices as you think proper, and, above all, by exhorting them, not only to love one another, but, if it be possible, as much as lies in them to live peaceably with all men.

Some time ago, since you went hence, I heard a circumstance which gave me a good deal of concern—namely, that the College or Academy in Georgia had swallowed up the Orphan House. Shall I give my judgement without being asked ? Methinks friendship requires I should. Are there not, then, two points which come in view—a point of mercy and a point of justice ? With regard to the former, may it not be inquired, Can anything on earth be a greater charity than to bring up orphans ? What is a college or an academy compared to this ? unless you could have such a college as perhaps is not upon earth. I know the value of learning, and am more in danger of prizing it too much than too little. But still, I cannot place the giving it to five hundred students, on a level with saving the bodies, if not the souls too, of five hundred orphans. But let us pass on from the point of mercy to that of justice. You had land given and collected money for an Orphan House ; are you at liberty to apply this to any other purpose—at least, while there are any orphans in Georgia left ? I just touch upon this, though it is an important point, and leave it to your own consideration whether part of it at least might not properly be applied to carry on the original design. In speaking thus freely on so tender a subject, I have given you a fresh proof of the sincerity with which I am

Your ever affectionate friend and brother.

To Matthew Lowes

LONDON, *March 2, 1770.*

DEAR MATTHEW,—The way you propose for clearing the circuit¹ is, I think, the very best which can be devised. Only

¹ Lowes was Assistant in the Dales Circuit.

let your fellow labourers second *you heartily*, and the thing will be done.

Four or five circuits exerted themselves nobly. Had all the rest done the same our burthen would have been quite removed. Well, *we* will fight till we die.—I am

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Mrs. Barton

TEWKESBURY, March 15, 1770.

MY DEAR SISTER,—I rejoice to hear that you stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ has made you free ; and the more because, although many taste of that heavenly gift, deliverance from inbred sin, yet so few, so exceeding few, retain it one year, hardly one in ten, nay one in thirty. Many hundreds in London were made partakers of it within sixteen or eighteen months ; but I doubt whether twenty of them are now as holy and as happy as they were. And hence others had doubted whether God *intended that salvation* to be enjoyed long. That many *have* it for a season, that they allow, but are not satisfied that any *retain* it always. Shall not *you* for one ? You will, if you watch and pray and continue hanging upon Him. Then you will always give matter of rejoicing to, dear Jenny,

Your affectionate brother.

To Mrs. Jane Barton, in Norwood,
Beverley, Yorkshire.

To Mrs. Marston

Wesley had spoken to Mrs. Marston at Worcester on March 14 or 15. On the 15th he met the select society, preached at Evesham at noon, rode on to Broadmarston 'through a furious shower of snow driven full in our faces,' and preached in the evening. See *Journal*, v. 355-6 ; and letter of April 1.

BROADMARSTON, March 16, 1770.

MY DEAR SISTER,—I want to ask you several questions. At what time and in what manner was you justified ? Did you from that time find a constant witness of it ? When and how was you convinced of the necessity of sanctification ? When did you receive it, and in what manner ? Did you then find the witness of it ? Has it been clear ever since ?

Have you not found any decay since that time? Do you now find as much life as ever you did? Can you give God your whole heart? In what sense do you 'pray without ceasing and in everything give thanks'? Do you find a testimony in yourself that all your words and actions please Him?

You have no need to be nice or curious in answering these questions. You have no occasion to set your words in order; but speak to me just as you would do to one of your sisters. The language of love is the best of all. One truly says,—

There is in love a sweetness ready penned :
Copy out only that, and save expense.¹

You have love in your heart; let that teach you words. Out of the abundance of the heart let the mouth speak. I shall then know better how to advise you. I have a great concern for you, and a desire that you should never lose anything which God has wrought, but should receive a full reward. Stand fast in the name of the Lord and in the power of His might!—
I am
Your affectionate brother.

You may direct to me at the preaching-house in Manchester.

To Mary Bosanquet

Some Account of the Experience of E. J. was published in 1770. The little pamphlet, however, gives no clue to her identity; but the letter of May 2, 1771, calls her Sister Jackson. She says: 'In the hour that He convinced me of the necessity of it, before that hour was expired, I was justified. Thirteen months after, I was convinced of the necessity of full salvation. That night, before I slept, God gave me the blessing.' For ten years she had enjoyed the blessing. 'I never have had a tedious moment nor a murmuring thought.' She was 'banished from all that was near and dear to me, and driven from city to city'; yet she was able to rejoice in tribulation. See *Arminian Magazine*, 1783, pp. 46-7; Green's *Bibliography*, No. 262; *W.H.S.* iv. 59-60; and letter of May 2, 1771 to Philothea Briggs.

¹ George Herbert's *The Temple*, 'Jordan.'

MACCLESFIELD, *March 26, 1770.*

MY DEAR SISTER,—I am now moving northward. In about a fortnight I expect to be at Whitehaven, and a week after at Glasgow, in the beginning of May at Aberdeen, and May 11 at Edinburgh.

To exert your faith is the very thing you want. Believe, and enter in. The experience of Eliz. Jackson has animated many. It is the very marrow of Christianity; and if it be diligently spread among our believers it may be of unspeakable use. It is certainly right to pray whether we can pray or no. God hears even when we hardly hear ourselves.

She saw it so through the advice and importunity of Clayton Carthy.¹ And God permitted it. So all is well. With regard to us, I do not at present see any danger either on one side or the other. You have need of a steady guide, and one that knows you well. If my brother had not given Mrs. Gausson that fatal advice, 'to keep from me,' she would not have fallen into the hands of others.²

I am glad Richd. Taylor is of use.³ He will be more and more so, if he continues simple of heart, speaks explicitly of full redemption, and exhorts believers to accept it *now*. The same rule it will be well for you to observe in conversation with all that are in earnest! Peace be with your spirit!

My dear sister, adieu!

To Miss Bosanquet, At Gildersome Hall,
Near Leeds.

To Mrs. Marston

CHESTER, *April 1, 1770.*

MY DEAR SISTER,—As I had not time to converse with you as I would at Worcester, I was exceedingly glad to see you at Wednesbury.⁴ It was the very thing I desired. And surely our Lord will withhold from us no manner of thing that is good. I am glad that you can both speak and write to me freely; it may often be of service to you, especially if God

¹ See letter of June 12, 1759.

² See letter of Sept. 25, 1757.

³ Manager of Miss Bosanquet's estate in Yorkshire.

⁴ Wesley had been at Worcester on March 14 and 15, and at Wednesbury on the 21st. See letters of March 16 and Aug. 11.

should suffer you to be assaulted by strong and uncommon temptations. I should not wonder if this were to be the case : though perhaps it never will ; especially if you continue simple—if, when you are assaulted by that wicked one, you do not reason with him, but just look up for help, hanging upon Him that has washed you in His own blood. Do you now find power to 'rejoice evermore' ? Can you 'pray without ceasing' ? Is your heart to Him, though without a voice ? And do you 'in everything give thanks' ? Is your whole desire to Him ? And do you still find an inward witness that He has cleansed your heart ? Stand fast, then, in that glorious liberty where-with Christ has made you free !—I am, dear Molly,

Your affectionate brother.

I expect to be in Glasgow about the 17th of this month.

To Mrs. Bennis

WHITEHAVEN, April 12, 1770.

DEAR SISTER,—If two or three letters have miscarried, all will not ; so I am determined to write again. How does the work of God go on at Limerick ? Does the select society meet constantly ? And do you speak freely to each other ? What preachers are with you now ?¹ Do you converse frankly and openly with them without any shyness or reserve ? Do you find your own soul prosper ? Do you hold fast what God has given you ? Do you give Him all your heart ? And do you find the witness of this abiding with you ? One who is now in the house with me has not lost that witness one moment for these ten years.² Why should you lose it any more ? Are not the gifts of God without repentance ? Is He not willing to give always what He gives once ? Lay hold, lay hold on all the promises.—I am

Your affectionate brother.

To Mrs. Barton

ARBROATH, May 8, 1770.

MY DEAR SISTER,—Two things are certain : the one, that it is possible to lose even the pure love of God ; the other, that it

¹ The *Minutes* for 1769 give: Limerick. See letter of June 13.
² 'Feb. 1.—Let Thomas Taylor go to Limerick.' He was stationed at Cork, and Richard Bourke at Assistant there ?

is not necessary, it is not unavoidable—it may be lost, but it may be kept. Accordingly we have some in every part of the kingdom who have never been moved from their steadfastness. And from this moment you need never be moved: His grace is sufficient for you. But you must continue to grow if you continue to stand; for no one can stand still. And is it not your Lord's will concerning you that you should daily receive a fresh increase of love? And see that you labour so much the more to comfort the feeble-minded, to support the weak, to confirm the wavering, and recover them that are out of the way. In June I hope to see you. Peace be with your spirits! —I am
Your affectionate brother.

To Richard Bourke

Richard Bourke, who 'united the wisdom and calmness of age with the simplicity of childhood,' spent the year at Limerick, Waterford, and Cork. 'The *Minutes* of 1769 speak of many inconveniences arising from the present mode of providing for preachers' wives.

EDINBURGH, May 12, 1770.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I doubt not your going into Waterford Circuit was for good. It is well the house at Kilkenny is at length getting forward. But the General Collection, out of which I propose to assist our brethren, is not brought in until the Conference; and I myself seldom have any money beforehand. I live, as I may say, from hand to mouth.

As to the preachers, I think it very hard if Ireland cannot allow a maintenance to the preachers in Ireland. But, indeed, your case is peculiar. Exclusive of what they are to allow for your wife, I will allot her five pounds (English) for you.—I am
Yours affectionately.

Endorsed in another hand:

Received the contents from Miss Mary Holland, June 11, 1771.

To Thomas Robinson

The original of this letter was preserved by Thomas Robinson Allan, whose mother was a daughter of Thomas Robinson, with his note: 'A letter of Mr. Wesley's which I found among some papers which had belonged either to my grandfather Thomas or to his brother William

Robinson.' Thomas died in February 1815; William on September 3, 1819, aged ninety-one. Their father was a merchant and shipowner at Bridlington, and had a farm at Helderthorp, a mile from Bridlington Quay, which Thomas, who had been a hardware merchant in Sheffield, afterwards occupied. William went to sea with their ships, but settled as a merchant in North Shields, and afterwards removed to Bridlington. See *Methodist Magazine*, 1819, p. 738; 1826, pp. 289, 361.

NEWCASTLE, *May 22, 1770.*

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I hope to be at Scarborough on Monday, June 18, and on Wednesday the 20th at Hull. If you can show me how to take Burlington¹ in my way to Hull on the 20th, I shall be glad to call upon you. Perhaps one of you will meet me at Scarborough.—I am

Your affectionate brother.

To Mrs. Bennis

On May 20, 1770, Mrs. Bennis wrote from Waterford, where she was visiting her daughter: 'Brother Saunderson is now in Limerick, the select band meet regular, and a few have lately been added to it. I have conversed freely with Brother Saunderson, and do now correspond with him (he seems athirst for sanctification); but I think I discern self in all I do and say, and this discourages my forwardness in speaking to others, and generally fills me with other distress. Brother Bourke is on this circuit. The people here go on at a poor rate; nor do I think it otherwise until they have a stationed preacher. They desired me to mention this, and would thank you to think of them.' She had spoken plainly to Hugh Saunderson whilst he was in Limerick; but ventured to write on December 4, 1771: 'Your youth, your natural propensity to gaiety and sprightliness, your unmarried state, and the pride of your own heart, will insensibly incline you to little fopperies in gesture and dress and little niceties about yourself; which will hurt your own soul, lessen your usefulness, and make you ridiculous to others, if not guarded against.' See headings to letters of April 24, 1769, and June 8, 1773.

YARM, *June 13, 1770.*

MY DEAR SISTER,—Just now we have many persons all over England that are exactly in the state you describe. They were some time since renewed in love, and did then rejoice evermore; but after a few years, months, or weeks, they were moved from their steadfastness; yet several of these have within a few months recovered all they had lost, and some

¹ Bridlington.

with increase, being far more established than ever they were before. And why may it not be so with you? The rather because you do not deny or doubt of the work which God did work in you, and that by simple faith. Surely you should be every day expecting the same free gift; and He will not deceive your hope.

But how is this with respect to Waterford? ¹ They would, and they would not: I sent two preachers to that circuit; why did they not keep them? W. L.— wrote word that there was neither employment nor maintenance for two, and therefore wished leave to return to England. Let me hear more from you on this matter.

If you can guard Brother Saunderson against pride and the applause of well-meaning people, he will be a happy man and an useful labourer. I hope Brother M.— has not grown cold. Stir up the gift of God which is in you—I am, my dear sister,

Your affectionate brother.

To Mary Bishop

LONDON, June 20, 1770.

DEAR MISS BISHOP,—At present you are exactly in your place; and I trust no temptation, inward or outward, shall ever induce you to depart from the work, to which God has called you. You must expect to be pushed to both extremes by turns—self-confidence and too much diffidence. But it is certain the former is the more dangerous of the two; and you need all the power of God to save you from it. And He will save you to the uttermost, provided you still retain the sense of your poverty and helplessness.

It is a good prayer,

Show me, as my soul can bear,
The depth of inbred sin!

And just so He will deal with you; for He remembers that you are but dust. But you should not wait to be *thus* and *thus* convinced in order to be renewed in love. No: pray now for all the mind which was in Christ; and you shall have more and more conviction as it pleases Him. Mr. Spencer ²

¹ See letter of July 27.

² See letters of Sept. 13, 1769, and Oct. 12, 1771.

and Glynne are of excellent spirits, notwithstanding their opinion. I hardly know their fellows. Love is all we want ; let this fill our hearts, and it is enough. Peace be with your spirit,—I am
Your affectionate brother.

To George Merryweather

YORK, June 24, 1770.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—Mr. Augustus Toplady I know well. But I do not fight with chimney-sweepers. He is too dirty a writer for me to meddle with. I should only foul my fingers. I read his title-page, and troubled myself no farther. I leave him to Mr. Sellon. He cannot be in better hands.¹

As long as you are seeking and expecting to love God with all your heart, so long your soul will live.—I am
Your affectionate brother.

To Miss March

DAWGREN, July 6, 1770.

When things are viewed at a distance, one would be apt to imagine that no degree of sorrow could be found in an heart that rejoices evermore ; that no right temper could be wanting, much less any degree of a wrong temper subsist, in a soul that is filled with love. And yet I am in doubt whether there be any soul clothed with flesh and blood which enjoys every right temper and in which is no degree of any wrong one, suppose of ill-judged zeal, or more or less affection for some person than that person really deserves. When we say, ' This is a natural, necessary consequence of the soul's union with a corruptible body,' the assertion is by no means clear till we add, ' because of the weakness of understanding which results from this union ' ; admitting this, the case is plain. There is so close a connexion between right judgement and right tempers as well as right practice, that the latter cannot easily subsist without the former. Some wrong temper, at least in a small degree, almost necessarily follows from wrong judgement : I apprehend when many say, ' Sin must remain while the body remains,' this is what they mean, though they cannot make it out.

¹ See letter of Feb. 21 to Walter Sellon.

You say, 'My silence usually proceeds from my views and thoughts of myself as a Christian.' Bishop Fénelon¹ says, 'Simplicity is that grace which frees the soul from all unnecessary reflections upon itself.' See here one sort of simplicity which you want ! When I speak or write to you, I have you before my eyes, but, generally speaking, I do not think of myself at all. I do not think whether I am wise or foolish, knowing or ignorant ; but I see you aiming at glory and immortality, and say just what I hope may direct your goings in the way and prevent your being weary or faint in your mind. Our Lord will order all things well for Sister Thornton.² What can hurt those that trust in Him ?

To Mrs. Bennis

In answer to Wesley's letter of June 13 Mrs. Bennis told him on July 8 : 'I believe Brother L—— met with trials in Waterford ; the people are poor, and think the expense of a preacher's horse (and family) more than they can well bear ; but if it were possible to let them have a single preacher resident in the city, or even to exchange monthly with the circuit preacher (without throwing any of the expense on them), I think it might answer a good end. As yet the circuit is best able to bear expense ; indeed, I feel much for the city Society, a handful of poor simple souls that need every support and encouragement. Dear sir, I hope you will not think me presumptuous in dictating, but I find my soul knit to these poor sheep.' She added : 'Sister Ann S—— is lately married to Brother L—— of Clonmel ; Brother Bourke and I made up this match, and I think it is the Lord's doing ; she is as usual all alive to God, and I trust will be the means of saving his soul. Brother Bourke, at my request, has taken Clonmel into the circuit, and doubt not but there will be good done there ; but as this has caused an entire alteration in the circuit from the former plan, I have to request your forgiveness for my officiousness ; if you disapprove, it can be re-altered.'

ASHBY, July 27, 1770.

DEAR SISTER,—Will you ever find in yourself anything but unfitness ? Otherwise your salvation would be of works, not of grace. But you are frequently sick of a bad disease—evil reasoning ; which hinders both your holiness and happiness. You want the true Christian simplicity, which is indeed the

¹ Archbishop of Cambria, 1695–1715.

² See letters of Aug. 12, 1769, and April 14, 1771, to Miss March.

highest wisdom. Nothing is more clear, according to the plain Bible account, than sanctification, pure love reigning in the heart and life. And nothing is more plain than the necessity of this in order to feel happiness here and hereafter. Check all reasoning concerning these first principles, else you will exceedingly darken your soul; and go on denying yourself, and taking up your cross, until you

sink into perfection's height,
The depth of humble love.

If the preachers on Waterford Circuit had punctually adhered to the plan which I fixed, the horse would have been no burthen; but the misfortune is every dunce is wiser than me. However, at your desire I will send a second preacher into the circuit after Conference; but the preachers must change regularly. It would never do to let one man sit down for six months with a small Society; he would soon preach himself and them as lifeless as stones. Your alteration of the circuit so as to take in poor, dead Clonmel I much approve, and hope Sister L——¹ will be made a blessing to the few there. I rejoice at Sisters P—— and B——'s happy release.² Is not this worth living for?

Still draw near to the fountain by simple faith, and take all you want; but be not slothful in your Lord's vineyard.—My dear sister, Yours affectionately.

To Rebecca Yeoman

Miss Yeoman was living in the Orphan House at Newcastle. She afterwards married Mr. Gair (not Gains, as printed in the *Works*), and died at Newcastle in 1827. She was a member of the Methodist Society seventy years. This letter is an answer to one she wrote to Wesley on July 20 telling him: 'I long to feel my soul all on fire to be dissolved in love, but I have not yet the victory over unbelief. . . . I feel much liberty in my bands. . . . Since you were here there has been a little shyness between Jane Johnson and me. Being both singers, I often, when in the room together, strove not to stand near her: the reason

¹ See letter of June 13

² Mrs. Bennis had told him that both died triumphantly.

was, the hardness of her voice with my own hurt my head. But when going wrong with the tune, I would give her some signal; yet this she could not bear. There was also a stubbornness of temper, a mimicking of fine speaking, and other things, which wrought such prejudice in me as almost destroyed all the love that subsisted between us. I found I was hurting my own soul and wounding my sister. I was told that she was coming no more to the singing on my account. I am now convinced that I was more in fault than she, and thought I would go to her and own my fault, and endeavour in the Lord to love her as I ought, and persuade her back to the singing. O dear sir, you must forgive me in this. I am determined to look less at the failings of others, as I am not wanting in them myself. . . . Jenny Scott, whom you admitted into the band, and I are very helpful to each other. Sister Hall and Sister Strologer, with one or two more, are the only companions I have. See *Christian Miscellany*, 1846, p. 276; and letters of September 2, 1769, and February 5, 1772.

LONDON, August 4, 1770.

MY DEAR SISTER,—I was glad to hear from you; and especially to hear that you are still athirst for God. O beware of setting up any idol in your heart! Give all to Him; for He is worthy. You did exceeding right in going to Jane Johnson. There is no end of shyness if we stand aloof from each other. In this case we have only to overcome evil with good; and they are wisest that yield first. Promises of that kind are of no force. The sooner they are broken the better. You should take Molly Strologer in to board. Oh self-will! How few have conquered it! I believe it is a good providence for your account: she can pay but few visits. She fears God and wishes to save her soul; and the visiting those that are otherwise-minded will not profit her: she wants nothing but Christ. Surely you may tell anything to, my dear sister,
Your affectionate brother.

To George Merryweather

Wesley was in London at the Conference, which met on the day he wrote this letter. James Oddie was appointed as supernumerary at Yarm. Nelson, one of the noblest of Wesley's preachers, died in 1774. John Murlin (who went to London) became a preacher in 1754, died at High Wycombe in 1799, and was buried in Wesley's grave. He was so deeply affected with his message that he was called 'The Weeping Prophet.' See Atmore's *Memorial*, pp. 288-91; *Wesley's Veterans*, il. 160-1.

LONDON, August 7, 1770.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I have the credit of stationing the preachers. But many of them go where they *will* go for all me. For instance, I have marked down James Oddie and John Nelson for Yarm Circuit the ensuing year. Yet I am not certain that either of them will come. They can give twenty reasons for going elsewhere. Mr. Murlin *says* he must be in London. 'Tis certain he has a mind to be there. Therefore so it must be: for you know a man of fortune is master of his own notions.—I am, with love to Sister Merryweather and Mr. Waldy,¹

Your affectionate brother.

To Mrs. Marston

Mrs. Marston told Wesley on July 26 that for some time past she had found 'a more deep, solid, and abiding happiness in God than ever,' but had been 'variously tried both from within and without. I should be glad if you would inform me which is the most excellent way to walk in, and what are the chief hindrances which I am likely to be exposed to.' See *Arminian Magazine*, 1784, pp. 332-3; and letter of April 1.

LONDON, August 11, 1770.

MY DEAR SISTER,—I thought it long since I heard from you, and wanted to know how your soul prospered. Undoubtedly as long as you are in the body you will come short of what you would be, and you will see more and more of your numberless defects and the imperfection of your best actions and tempers. Yet all this need not hinder your rejoicing evermore and in everything giving thanks. Heaviness you may sometimes feel; but you never need come into darkness. Beware of supposing darkness, that is unbelief, to be better than the light of faith. To suppose this is one of the gross errors of Popery. 'He that followeth me,' says our Lord, 'shall not walk in darkness.' That you are tempted a thousand ways will do you no hurt. In all these things you shall be more than conqueror. I hope the select society¹ meets constantly and that you speak freely to each other. Go on humbly and steadily, denying yourselves and taking up your cross daily.

¹ See letter of Jan. 24, 1760.

society, see the letter to Vincent

² For the origin of the select Parronet in Dec. 1748, sect. VIII. 1-4.

Walk in the light as He is in the light, in lowliness, in meekness, in resignation. Then He will surely sanctify you throughout in spirit, soul, and body. To hear from you is always a pleasure to, my dear sister, Your affectionate brother.

I am going to Bristol.

To Ann Bolton

BRISTOL, August 12, 1770.

MY DEAR SISTER,—‘He that feareth God,’ says the Apostle, ‘and worketh righteousness,’ though but in a low degree, is accepted of Him; more especially when such an one trusts not in his own righteousness but in the atoning blood. I cannot doubt at all but this is your case; though you have not that joy in the Holy Ghost to which you are called, because your faith is weak and only as a grain of mustard seed. Yet the Lord has done great things for you already: He has preserved you even in the dangerous season, even

In freshest pride of life and bloom of years,

from ten thousand snares to which a young woman of a pleasing form and behaviour and not an ill temper would naturally be exposed, and to which your own heart would surely have yielded had you not been preserved by His gracious power. He has given you resignation in pain and sickness. He has made you more than conqueror, even a gainer thereby. And have not you abundant reason to praise Him, to put your whole trust in Him, and firmly to expect all His great and precious promises?

The spirit of your last letter engages me much. I dearly love seriousness and sweetness mixed together. Go on, my dear Nancy, in the same path, and you will be nearer and nearer to
Your affectionate brother.

To James Freeman

BRISTOL, August 19, 1770.

DEAR JEMMY,—It is lost labour. It will not do. It is vain for any man to attempt it, to make me think any ill of

James Freeman¹ or Tho. Garrett.² I know them too well. I did hear reports of that kind; but I regarded them not. I would fain hope that Mr. Townsend³ will behave better in Dublin than he did in Edinburgh. However, he will do little hurt, if you stand fast in one mind, striving together for the hope of the gospel.—I am, dear Jemmy,

Your affectionate brother.

Letter addressed to
Mrs. Jane Freeman, Near the Linen
Hall, In Lisburn, Ireland.

To Mrs. Marston

ST. IVES, August 26, 1770.

MY DEAR SISTER,—Your last gave me a particular satisfaction, because I was jealous over you. I was afraid lest you, like some others, should have received that dangerous opinion that we must sometimes be in darkness. Wherever you are, oppose this, and encourage all who now walk in the light to expect not only the continuance but the increase of it unto the perfect day. Certain it is that, unless we grieve the Holy Spirit, He will never take away what He has given. On the contrary, He will add to it continually, till we come to the measure of the full stature of Christ.

I am glad the select society meets constantly. See that you speak freely to each other. And do not speak of your joys and comforts only; this is well-pleasing to flesh and blood; but speak also of your sorrows and weaknesses and temptations; this is well-pleasing to God, and will be a means of knitting you together by a bond that shall never be broken.

I hope you lose no opportunity of speaking a word for God, either to them that know Him or them that do not. Why should you lose any time? Time is short. Work your work betimes! To-day receive more grace and use it! Peace be with your spirit!—I am, my dear sister,

Your affectionate brother.

¹ See letter of June 7, 1762.

² Thomas Garrett, a native of Holland, was one of the oldest members in Dublin. He died in 1776. See Crookshank's *Methodism*

in Ireland, i. 123, 303.

³ Rector of Pewsey. See letter of Aug. 1-3, 1767. He preached against Arminianism.

To Richard Locke

Locke was Surveyor of the parish of Burnham, which lies among the sandhills between Bristol and Weston-super-Mare. See *W.H.S.* vii. 44-5; letter of October 4, 1770; and for Wesley's advice on reading, letters of September 27, 1730, February 18 and March 14, 1756, and June 1764.

BRISTOL, September 14, 1770.

Milton justly supposes that if ever angelic minds reasoned on 'freewill entire, foreknowledge absolute,' they would 'find no end, in wandering mazes lost.'¹ How much less can a human mind reconcile them! Men have no line to fathom such a depth. We may, however, rest in this:

Yet my foreknowledge causes not their fault,
Which had no less been certain unforeknown.²

I believe you will find some light on the head by reading that little tract *Predestination Calmly Considered*.³

The illustrators, Mr. Harwood,⁴ Leibnitz, Clark, Montesquieu, and above all that wretched man Voltaire, would only unhinge and perplex your mind. Hall, Scot, Sharp, Whitby,⁵ and Fleetwood are good writers; so are Locke, Hooper, and Mosheim in their several ways, but far less useful than Baxter and Law. Dr. South, Knight, and Taylor are some of the finest writers in the English tongue—if you mean Dr. James Knight of St. Sepulchre's.

But I believe the best way for you would be to read only a few select authors. Then (mixing reading with prayer) you would not only find good desires, but they would be brought to good effect.—I am Your servant for Christ's sake.

To Mr. Richard Locke, At Burnham,
Near Bridgewater.

¹ *Paradise Lost*, ii. 560-1.

² *Ibid.*, iii. 118-19:

'Foreknowledge had no influence on their fault,
Which had no less proved certain unforeknown.'

³ Published by Wesley in 1752. See *Works*, x. 204-59.

⁴ Edward Harwood, D.D. (1729-94), Presbyterian minister at Bristol 1765. His *Introduction to New Testament Studies* gained him his degree in 1768.

⁵ Daniel Whitby, D.D. (1638-1726), Prebendary of Salisbury; a voluminous theological writer.

To Miss March

BRISTOL, September 13, 1770.

To use the grace given is the certain way to obtain more grace. To use all the faith you have will bring an increase of faith. But this word is of very wide extent : it takes in the full exercise of every talent wherewith we are entrusted. This comprises the whole compass both of inward and outward religion. That you may be able steadily and effectually to attend to this you have need of that prayer, ' Give me understanding, that I may keep Thy law ; yea, that I may keep it with my whole heart.' This is to ' make the best of life,' which cannot be done without growing in grace. I believe it would help you to read and consider the sermon on Self-Denial in the fourth volume,¹ and that on Universal Conscientiousness in the *Christian Library*.

A sense of wants and weaknesses, with various trials and temptations, will do you no real hurt, though they occasion heaviness for a time and abate your joy in the Lord. It is wrong so to attend to this as to weaken your faith ; and yet in the general it is not wrong ' to form your estimate of the state of your soul from your sensations '—not, indeed, from these alone, but from these in conjunction with your words and actions. It is true we cannot judge of ourselves by the measure of our joy, the most variable of all our sensations, and frequently depending in a great degree on the state of our blood and spirits. But if you take love, joy, peace, meekness, gentleness, and resignation together, I know no surer rule whereby to judge of your state to Godward.

What is the difference between ' the frame of my mind and the state of my soul ' ? Is there the difference of an hair's breadth ? I will not affirm it. If there be any at all, perhaps it is this : the frame may mean a single, transient sensation ; the state, a more complicated and lasting sensation, something which we habitually feel. By frame some may mean fleeting passions ; by state, rooted tempers. But I do not know that we have any authority to use the terms thus or to distinguish one from the other. He whose mind is in a good frame is certainly a good man as long as it so continues. I would

¹ See *Works*, vi. 103-14.

therefore no more require you to cease from judging of your state by your frame of mind than I would require you to cease from breathing.

Unless you deal very closely with those committed to your care, you will not give an account of them with joy. Advices and admonitions at a distance will do little harm or good. To those who give in to dress you might read or recommend the *Advice to the Methodists* on that head. It would be proper to go to the root of the matter once or twice; then to let it sleep, and after a few weeks try again. A Methodist using fine or gay apparel must suffer loss in her soul, although she may retain a little life; but she never will attain an high degree either of holiness or happiness.¹

To Joseph Thompson

Joseph Thompson, then Assistant at York, entered the itinerancy in 1759, and died at Barnard Castle in 1808. 'He was a man of sterling integrity, and a powerful preacher. His last words were, "I am nothing, but Christ is all—all is in Him and from Him, to whom be glory for ever."'

BRISTOL, September 23, 1770.

DEAR JOSEPH,—You are in the right. The most proper time for making the division is in the Quarter Day. I can confide in your prudence as well as impartiality in greater things than these. Be diligent in the books everywhere and exact in every point of discipline.—I am, dear Joseph,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Richard Locke

BRISTOL, October 4, 1770.

Your last gave me a good deal of satisfaction. I am glad your mind is more settled,¹ and hope you will not rest till you are not only almost but altogether a Christian.

I have always observed that where there is a cheerful, clean, convenient house for preaching, there will not want hearers. It would therefore be well if such an one could be built at

¹ See *Works*, xi. 466-77; and letter of Feb. 26, 1776.

² See letter of Sept. 14.

Highbridge. What you purpose giving towards it is considerable. If Mr. Mason¹ judges the rest of the money could be raised in the neighbourhood, the sooner it were done the better. I wish you all happiness; and am Your affectionate brother.

To Joseph Benson

The Conference at London in August had adopted some Doctrinal Minutes which gave great offence to Calvinistic Methodists. The Countess of Huntingdon declared that whoever did not wholly disavow them must quit her college. Joseph Benson defended them.

BRISTOL, *October 5, 1770.*

DEAR JOSEPH,—You need no apology for your writing; the more frequently and freely you write, the better. I cannot doubt but your neighbour means well; but he is a thorough enthusiast, and has hardly one clear conception of anything, natural or spiritual. Mr. Keard, from Aberdeen, and Mr. Wootton (our new writing-master, a man of an excellent spirit) are at Kingswood. But does Mr. J—— know the price?—sixteen pounds a year. Does he know the rules of the school? Again: of what age are the children? I will take none that is above nine years old: now especially, because I will not have our children corrupted; nine of whom, together with our three maid servants, have just now experienced a gracious visitation, and are rejoicing in a pardoning God.²

I am glad you had the courage to speak your mind on so critical an occasion. At all hazards do so still, only with all possible tenderness and respect. She is much devoted to God and has a thousand valuable and amiable qualities. There is no great fear that I should be prejudiced against one whom I have intimately known for these thirty years.³ And I know what is in man; therefore I make large allowance for human weaknesses. But what you say is exactly the state of the case. They are 'jealous of their authority.' Truly there is no cause:

¹ John Mason, Assistant in Devonshire. He was extensively read, especially in botany, and natural history in general. He died on March 27, 1810.

² Wesley says, 'Fifteen of the boys gave me their names; being resolved, they said, to serve God.' See *Journal*, v. 388-92.

³ The Countess of Huntingdon.

*Longe mea discrepat illi et vox et ratio.*¹ I fear and shun, not desire, authority of any kind. Only when God lays that burthen upon me, I bear it for His and the people's sake.

'Child,' said my father to me when I was young, 'you think to carry everything by dint of argument. But you will find by-and-by how very little is ever done in the world by clear reason.'² Very little indeed! It is true of almost all men, except so far as we are taught of God,—

Against experience we believe,
We argue against demonstration;
Pleased while our reason we deceive,
And set our judgement by our passion.

Passion and prejudice govern the world, only under the name of reason. It is our part, by religion and reason joined, to counteract them all we can. It is yours in particular to do all that in you lies to soften the prejudices of those that are round about you and to calm the passions from which they spring. Blessed are the peace-makers!

You judge rightly: perfect love and Christian liberty are the very same thing; and those two expressions are equally proper, being equally scriptural. 'Nay, how can they and you mean the same thing? They say you insist on holiness in the creature, on good tempers, and sin destroyed.' Most surely. And what is Christian liberty but another word for holiness? And where is this liberty or holiness if it is not in the creature? Holiness is the love of God and man, or the mind which was in Christ. Now, I trust, the love of God is shed abroad in your heart by the Holy Ghost which is given unto you. And if you are holy, is not that mind in you which was also in Christ Jesus?

And are not the love of God and our neighbour good tempers? And, so far as these reign in the soul, are not the opposite tempers, worldly-mindedness, malice, cruelty, revengefulness, destroyed? Indeed, the unclean spirit, though driven out, may return and enter again; nevertheless he was driven

¹ Horace's *Satires*, l. vi. 92-3:

² See Clarke's *Wesley Family*, ii.

'My language and judgement are far different from that.'

out. I use the word 'destroyed' because St. Paul does; 'suspended' I cannot find in my Bible. 'But they say you do not consider this as the consequence of the power of Christ dwelling in us.' Then what will they not say? My very words are: 'None feel their need of Christ like these; none so entirely depend upon Him. For Christ does not give light to the soul separate from, but in and with, Himself. Hence His words are equally true of all men in whatever state of grace they are: "As the branch cannot bear fruit of itself, except it abide in the vine; no more can ye, except ye abide in Me: without" (or separate from) "Me ye can do nothing." For our perfection is not like that of a tree, which flourishes by the sap derived from its own root; but like that of a branch, which, united to the vine, bears fruit, but severed from it is "dried up and withered."'

At length *veris vincor*¹: I am constrained to believe (what I would not for a long time) these are not the objections of judgement, but of passion; they do not spring from the head, but the heart. Whatever I say, it will be all one. They will find fault because I say it. There is implicit envy at my power (so called), and a jealousy rising therefrom. Hence prejudice in a thousand forms; hence objections springing up like mushrooms. And, while those causes remain, they will spring up, whatever I can do or say. However, keep thyself pure; and then there need be no strangeness between you and, dear Joseph,

Your affectionate brother.

To Christopher Hopper

Hopper was Assistant at Bradford with George Wadsworth, who had been admitted on trial that Conference. Robert Roberts was stationed at Birstall: see letter of September 3, 1763.

LONDON, October 13, 1770.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—You are quite right. If a man preach like an angel, he will do little good without exact discipline. I am glad honest William Hodgson has been of use; and hope you have made him and his brother friends. I will trust you

¹ 'I am conquered by the truth.'

for letting any place be six or eight weeks without preaching. Let this evil be removed, and the congregations will increase on Wednesdays as well as Sundays. Pray warn your young man continually (and yourself), 'Not too long or too loud!' I am right glad honest R. Roberts has preached at the Cross. 'Go thou and do likewise.' I leave both the vicar and the curate in your hands. I have no concern with them. I let them drop. Be strong in the Lord and in the power of His might!—I am, with love to Sister Hopper,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Matthew Lowes

Lowes was at Newcastle, suffering from the effects of two severe fevers and rheumatism. His boy had evidently shared in the revival at Kingswood. See letter of March 6, 1759, to him.

Andrew Wilson (1718-92), M.D. Edin. 1749, was the only son of the parish minister of Maxton, Roxburghshire. He began his professional life in Newcastle about 1764, and afterwards (before 1777) was physician to the Medical Asylum, London. In 1774 he published a tract *On the Moving Powers in the Circulation of the Blood*. Wesley had his eye on Wilson, and read it immediately. See *Dictionary of National Biography*; *Journal*, vi. 28, 147, 222.

LONDON, October 13, 1770.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—Health you shall have, if health be best: if not, sickness will be a greater blessing. I am glad you have Dr. Wilson near. A more skilful man, I suppose, is not in England. If you should continue weak (as I did from November to March), good is the will of the Lord. You are not a superannuated preacher; but you are a supernumerary. I believe one of your boys is rejoicing in the love of God.—I am, with love to Sister Lowes, dear Matthew,

Your affectionate brother.

To Mrs. Crosby

BEDFORD, October 26, 1770.

MY DEAR SISTER,—I congratulate you both upon your sickness and your recovery from it. Do not all things work together for good to them that love God?

Now redeem the little uncertain time that is given you;

perhaps fifteen years, perhaps not so many months. Deal very faithfully and freely with my dear M. Bosanquet and with
Your affectionate brother.

To Mrs. Barton

NORWICH, *November 5, 1770.*

MY DEAR SISTER,—For many years I had a kind of scruple with regard to praying for temporal things. But three or four years ago I was throughly persuaded that scruple was unnecessary. Being then straitened much, I made it matter of prayer; and I had an immediate answer. It is true we can only ask outward blessings with reserve, 'If this is best; if it be Thy will.' 'And in this manner we may certainly plead the promise, 'All these things shall be added to you.'

I hope the little debates which were some time since in the Society at Beverley are at an end, and that you all now continue in love and bear one another's burthens. You had for a long time an hard part to act between the contending parties; but as God preserved you from anger and from a party spirit, you suffered no loss thereby. Beware of suffering loss from another quarter, from worldly care. This is a dangerous enemy. You had need steadily to cast your care on Him that careth for you. To Him I commit you and yours; and am
Your affectionate brother.

To Mrs. Jane Barton, in Norwood,
Beverley, Yorkshire. North Post.

To Mary Bishop

NORWICH, *November 5, 1770.*

MY DEAR MISS BISHOP,—I am glad you had such success in your labour of love. In all things you shall reap if you faint not. And the promise is, 'They shall run and not be weary; they shall walk and not faint.' I hope the building is begun,¹ and will be finished as soon as possible. What temper are your neighbours in? Do they bear with you? And do you confirm your love toward them? How does our little Society prosper? Are you all united in love? And are you all aware

¹ See letter of Nov. 27.

of that bane of love, tale-bearing and evil-speaking? Are the congregations as large as they have been for some time? Herein we may well say, What hath God wrought! See, I ask you many questions, because I have a mind you should say a great deal to me. How does your own soul prosper? Do you retain that little spark of faith? Are you going forward, and have you as strong a desire as ever to increase with all the increase of God?

See the Lord, thy Keeper, stand,
Omnipotently near!
Lo, He holds thee by thy hand,
And banishes thy fear!

O trust Him, love Him, and praise Him! And for His sake
love, my dear Miss Bishop, Your affectionate brother.

To Miss Bishop, Near the Countess
of Huntingdon's Chapel, In Bath.

To Ann Bolton

LONDON, November 16, 1770.

MY DEAR SISTER,—To see even the superscription of a letter from *you* always gives me pleasure. I am glad you are still waiting for the kingdom of God: although as yet you are rather in the state of a servant than of a child. But it is a blessed thing to be even a servant of God! You shall never have cause to be ashamed of His service. What I peculiarly advise is, that you will never omit private duties, whatever hurry you may be in, and however dull and dry your soul may be: still they shall not be without a blessing. And therein you will receive power against that temptation, which to your tender spirit may be the most dangerous of any.

On Sunday I am to preach a funeral sermon for that blessed man Mr. Whitefield at the Tabernacle and at Tottenham Court Chapel.¹

If it is an help or comfort to you, write often to, my dear
Nancy, Your affectionate brother.

¹ See next letter.

To Mrs. Woodhouse

The three preachers were John Ellis (who was Assistant in Lincolnshire West), Isaac Waldron, and William Ellis. Waldron was the colleague of John Pawson and John Allen at Wednesbury in 1768, when they 'planted the gospel in fourteen new places.' See *Wesley's Veterans*, iv. 41-2; *W.H.S.* x. 154-5.

This letter was written on the Sunday when Wesley preached Whitefield's funeral sermon. He had retired to Lewisham on Monday the 12th to write it. At Tottenham Court Road in the morning 'an immense multitude was gathered together from all quarters of the town.' The time fixed for the service at the Tabernacle was half-past five; but the place was quite filled at three, so Wesley began at four. 'At first the noise was exceeding great; but it ceased when I began to speak; and my voice was again so strengthened that all who were within could hear, unless an accidental noise hindered here or there for a few moments.' At the request of the trustees Wesley preached the sermon at the Greenwich Tabernacle the following Friday; 'but neither would this house contain the congregation. Those who could not get in made some noise at first; but in a little while all were silent.' See *Journal*, v. 396-7; and Wesley's last letter to Whitefield, on February 21.

LONDON, November 18, 1770.

MY DEAR SISTER,—It always gives me pleasure to hear from you, and to know that your soul prospers; so does the work of God in various places, and I hope in Lincolnshire. It certainly will if Mr. Ellis is exact in discipline. It is sure none is a member of a *Methodist* Society that has not a ticket. This is a necessary thing; but it is only a small one. The great point is to conform to the Bible *method* of salvation—to have the mind which was in Christ, and to walk as Christ walked. I hope all your three preachers insist upon this, which is the very essence of Christian perfection. And why should not my dear friend, in spite of a thousand temptations, experience this every day?

This morning I am to preach Mr. Whitefield's funeral sermon at the chapel in Tottenham Court Road and at the Tabernacle in the evening. It is true it will be impossible, humanly speaking, for *my* voice to fill either of those places; especially if it is as full as a beehive, and consequently as hot as an oven. But nothing is impossible with God. Let us trust Him, and He will do all things well!—I am, my dear sister,

Your affectionate brother.

To Mrs. Woodhouse, Owston Ferry.

To Samuel Bardsley

Bardsley became an itinerant in 1768. He was attracted to a pious young lady, Mary Charlton. She was not strong, and had no money. He had the consent of Alexander Mather, but John Pawson opposed the marriage. Bardsley died a bachelor on August 19, 1818, after a devoted ministry, the oldest preacher in the Connexion.

LONDON, November 24, 1770.

DEAR SAMMY,—According to your account the very same difficulty subsists to this day. Your mother is not willing; and I told you before, this is in my judgement an insuperable bar. I am fully persuaded that a parent has in this case a negative voice.

Therefore, while matters continue thus, I do not see that you can go any farther. Your affectionate brother.

To Mary Bishop

LONDON, November 27, 1770.

MY DEAR SISTER,—Let them remember to make the aisles on the side of the room,¹ and to place the forms in the *middle crossways*, with a rail running across from the pulpit downward, to part the men from the women. And I particularly desire there may be no pews and no backs to the forms.

I could not advise our people to hear Mr. Shirley,² but still less to hear the Moravians. Their words are smoother than oil, but yet they are very swords. I advise them by all means to go to church. Those that leave the Church will soon leave *us*.

I know not that you have anything to do with fear. Your continual prayer should be for faith and love. I admired an holy man in France who, considering the state of one who was full of doubts and fears, forbade him to think of *his sins* at all, and ordered him to think only of the love of God in Christ. The fruit was, all his fears vanished away and he lived and died in the triumph of faith.

Faith is sight—that is, spiritual sight: and it is light, and not darkness; so that the famous Popish phrase, ‘The darkness of faith,’ is a contradiction in terms. O beware of all that

¹ See letter of Nov. 5 to her.

letter of Jan. 27, to John White-

² The Hon. Walter Shirley. See head.

talk or write in that unscriptural manner, or they will perplex if not destroy you. I cannot find in my Bible any such sin as *legality*. Truly we have been often afraid where no fear was. I am not half *legal* enough, not enough *under the law* of love. Sometimes there is painful conviction of sin preparatory to full sanctification; sometimes a conviction that has far more pleasure than pain, being mixed with joyful expectation. Always there should be a gradual growth in grace, which *need* never be intermitted from the time we are justified. Don't wait, therefore, for pain or anything else, but simply for all-conquering faith. The more freely you write, the more satisfaction you will give to, my dear Molly,

Yours affectionately.

PS.—I should think she¹ would not be so unwise as to give any copy of that letter.

To Miss Bishop, Near the Countess
of Huntingdon's Chapel, In Bath.

To Walter Churchey

Churchey was a lawyer at Brecon, and a poet. There is a footnote in another hand about continuing Methodism at the Hay.

LONDON, November 29, 1770.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—You have done well in showing your respect to the memory of that blessed man. His works shall follow him, and his name will be had in remembrance unto many generations, were it only for that excellent institution the Orphan House in Georgia.

I understand from our common friend, Mr. Bold,² that your situation is critical indeed. But what have Mr. Thomas and you to do but to continue instant in prayer? Then, suppose that your eye is single, that you simply pursue the glory of God in the good of souls, He will from time to time clear up all difficulties and make plain the way before your face.—I am

Your affectionate brother.

To Mr. Walter Churchey,
Near the Hay, Brecon.

¹ Lady Huntingdon. See letter of March 8, 1771.

² See letter of May 6, 1774. to Charles Wesley.

To Joseph Benson

Wesley wrote a letter of warning and advice to the Countess of Huntingdon on December 28. The letter refers to the funeral sermon for Whitefield, which he preached on November 18. Charles Hardy and Robert Keen had been trustees and managers of Whitefield's chapels in London, and were two of his four executors to whom he left mourning-rings. Torial Joss, the captain of a coasting vessel, was born near Aberdeen. He became one of Whitefield's assistants in 1766, and was a popular and awakening preacher. See Tyerman's *Whitefield*, ii. 501-2; and letter of February 21 to Whitefield.

LONDON, November 30, 1770.

DEAR JOSEPH,—For several years I had been deeply convinced that I had not done my duty with regard to that valuable woman; that I had not told her what I was throughly assured no one else would dare to do, and what I knew she would bear from no other person, but possibly might bear from me. But, being unwilling to give her pain, I put it off from time to time. At length I did not dare to delay any longer, lest death should call one of us hence. So I at once delivered my own soul, by telling her all that was in my heart. It was my business, my proper business, so to do, as none else either could or would do it. Neither did I take at all too much upon me; I know the office of a Christian minister. If she is not profited, it is her own fault, not mine; I have done my duty. I do not know there is one charge in that letter which was either unjust, unimportant, or aggravated, any more than that against the doggerel hymns which are equally an insult upon poetry and common sense.

We had a good time both at the Tabernacle and Tottenham Court Chapel. The congregations were immense. Perhaps not a third part could come within hearing; and they were more quiet than could well have been expected. The sermon will be published on Monday and sent down to Bristol. Mr. Keen and Hardy, his executors, have, I apprehend, the whole and sole disposal of the Tabernacle, Tottenham Court Chapel, and all the other houses which were occupied by Mr. Whitefield. The Chapel and Tabernacle are supplied by Mr. Joss and Brooksbank, and Mr. Neale administers the sacrament there.

I find no such sin as legality in the Bible: the very use

of the term speaks an Antinomian. I defy all liberty but liberty to love and serve God, and fear no bondage but bondage to sin. Sift that text to the bottom, and it will do the business of poor H—— and all his disciples: 'God sent His own Son in the flesh, that the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled in us.' *Justitia legis, justitia legalis!*¹ Here is legality indeed!

I am glad you come a little nearer the good old Emperor's advice, *Τὴν τῶν βιβλίων δίψαν βλέπε.*² That thirst is the symptom of an evil disease; and *crescit indulgens sibi dirus hydrops.*³ What is the real value of a thing but the price it will bear in eternity? Let no study swallow up or entrench upon the hours of private prayer. *Nil tanti.*⁴ Simplify both religion and every part of learning as much as possible. Be all alive to God, and you will be useful to men!—I am, dear Joseph,
Your affectionate brother.

To Mrs. Marston

LONDON, December 14, 1770.

MY DEAR SISTER,—If I live till spring, and should have a clear, pressing call, I am as ready to embark for America⁵ as for Ireland. All places are alike to me; I am attached to none in particular. Wherever the work of our Lord is to be carried on, that is my place for to-day. And we live only for to-day; it is not our part to take thought for to-morrow.

You expect to fight your way through. But I think the preachers understand you and can receive your report; and so do most of your sisters. What forces, then, can Satan raise up against you? You can speak to me without reserve; for you know I love you much.

Abundance of deficiencies must remain as long as the soul remains in this house of clay. So long the corruptible

¹ 'The righteousness of the law is legal righteousness.'

² Marcus Aurelius' *Meditations*, II. sect. 3: 'Throw away that thirst for books.' See letter of March 14, 1756.

³ Horace's *Odes*, II. II. 13: 'His

own indulgence makes the dreadful dropsy grow.'

⁴ 'Nothing is of so much importance.'

⁵ See letters of Feb. 21, 1770 (to Whitefield), and July 13, 1771 (to Miss March).

body will more or less darken and press down the soul. But still your heart may be all love, and love is the fulfilling of our law. Still you may rejoice evermore; you may pray without ceasing and in everything give thanks. Peace be multiplied unto you!—I am, dear Molly, Your affectionate brother.

To Ann Bolton

SEVENOAKS, December 15, 1770.

MY DEAR SISTER,—It is true there is a danger, and that continually, of thinking too much of yourself. But there is another danger to which *you* are more immediately exposed: thinking too little of the grace of God which is given you. Instantly resist all reasoning on that head, whether you are in a state of acceptance. As surely as you are in the body hold this fast, by His free almighty grace; and then

Expect His fullness to receive
And grace to answer grace.

It might be of use to you to read again with much prayer the sermon on The Repentance of Believers, which will show you just where you are now, and The Scripture Way of Salvation.¹ In one sense faith is all you want. If thou canst believe, are not all things possible to him that believeth? What may you not receive *to-day*? at this hour? at this very moment?

Your affectionate brother.

To Christopher Hopper

'That good young man' was probably a brother of Rowland Hill, who wrote to Wesley from Hawkestone Park on October 24, 1768. He had met Wesley at Mrs. Glynne's in Shrewsbury, and says, 'Your Christian advice to persevere in the ways of godliness gave me great encouragement.' See *Arminian Magazine*, 1782, p. 552; *W.H.S.* iv. 218-19.

LONDON, December 21, 1770.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—We are sure God is wise in all His ways and gracious in all His works. But many times the reasons of them are past finding out. We can only say, 'It is the Lord; let Him do what seemeth Him good.'

¹ See *Works*, v. 156-70, vi. 43-54.

I wish that good young man Mr. Hill could be prevailed upon to cast in his lot among us. He is upright of heart, and bids very fair to be an useful labourer in our Lord's vineyard.— I am, with love to Sister Hopper,
Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Joseph Benson

LONDON, December 28, 1770.

DEAR JOSEPH,—What a blessing it is that we can speak freely to each other without either disguise or reserve! So long as we are able to do this we may grow wiser and better every day.

One point I advise you to hold fast, and let neither men nor devils tear it from you. You are a child of God; you are justified freely through the redemption which is in Christ Jesus. Your sins are forgiven! Cast not away that confidence, which hath great recompense of reward.

Now, can any be justified but by faith? None can. Therefore you are a believer; you have faith in Christ; you know the Lord; you can say, 'My Lord and my God.' And whoever denies this may as well deny that the sun shines at noonday.

Yet still ten thousand lusts remain,
And vex your soul, absolved from sin;
Still rebel nature strives to reign,
And you are all unclean, unclean!

This is equally clear and undeniable. And this is not only your experience, but the experience of a thousand believers beside, who yet are sure of God's favour as of their own existence. To cut off all doubt on this head, I beg you to give another serious reading to those two sermons *Sin in Believers* and *The Repentance of Believers*.¹

'But is there no help? Is there no deliverance, no salvation from this inbred enemy?' Surely there is; else many great and precious promises must fall to the ground. 'I will sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye shall be clean; from all your filthiness and from all your idols will I cleanse you.' 'I will circumcise thy heart' (from all sin), 'to love the

¹ *Works*, v. 144-70.

Lord thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul.' This I term sanctification (which is both an instantaneous and a gradual work), or perfection, the being perfected in love, filled with love, which still admits of a thousand degrees. But I have no time to throw away in contending for words, especially where the thing is allowed. And you allow the whole thing which I contend for—an entire deliverance from sin, a recovery of the whole image of God, the loving God with all our heart, soul, and strength. And you believe God is able to give you this—yea, to give it you in an instant. You trust He will. O hold fast this also—this blessed hope, which He has wrought in your heart! And with all zeal and diligence confirm the brethren, (1) in holding fast that whereto they have attained—namely, the remission of all their sins by faith in a bleeding Lord; (2) in expecting a second change, whereby they shall be saved from all sin and perfected in love.

If they like to call this 'receiving the Holy Ghost,' they may: only the phrase in that sense is not scriptural and not quite proper; for they all 'received the Holy Ghost' when they were justified. God then 'sent forth the Spirit of His Son into their hearts, crying, Abba, Father.'

O Joseph, keep close to the Bible both as to sentiment and expression! Then there will never be any material difference between you and
Your affectionate brother.

This morning I have calmly and coolly read over my letter to Lady Huntingdon.¹ I still believe every line of it is true. And I am assured I spoke the truth in love. It is great pity any who wish her well should skin over the wounds which are there searched. As long as she resents that office of true esteem her grace can be but small!

To Ann Bolton

LONDON, *December 29, 1770.*

MY DEAR SISTER,—You did well to write without delay; it may be a means of strengthening you. To confess the work of God is one of the appointed ways of retaining whatever He has wrought. That you are assaulted on every side is a good

¹ See letter of Nov. 30.

sign : so much the more will you cry to the strong for strength ;
so much more will you

Hang upon His arm and feel
Your utter helplessness.

I am glad of your interviews just at this time with my dear Hannah Ball. Nothing could be more providential ; at this season particularly you stand in need of every help. And God has favoured her with a considerable measure of the wisdom that cometh from above. It is your wisdom to suppress to the uttermost of your power all unprofitable reasoning ; to abide simple before God, crying, ' Lord, what I know not teach Thou me.' Now you may profit by Jenny Cooper's *Letters* and the *Plain Account of Christian Perfection*. But you need to be nursed like a little child. Therefore write soon and freely to

Your affectionate brother.

To Ann Foard

LONDON, December 29, 1770.

MY DEAR Sister,—When we had an opportunity of spending a day or two together, you convinced me that you fear and love God and desire to enjoy all His promises. And I found you less prejudiced than I expected against the doctrine of Christian Perfection. I only want you to experience this—to be ' all faith, all gentleness, all love.' Labour to be wise and yet simple ! to steer between the extremes of neglecting to cultivate your understanding, which is right, and *leaning* to it, which is fatally wrong. And be free and open with, my dear Nancy,

Your affectionate brother.

To Joseph Benson

When Benson found it necessary to resign his position at Trevecca, he went to stay with his friend Walter Churchey near Brecon, whence he sent Wesley an account of what had happened. He had already written to John Fletcher, who replied on the same date as Wesley. Fletcher asked for further particulars, wrote to Lady Huntingdon, and visited Trevecca, where he found prejudice so strong that he resigned his position as President of the College. See next letter.

LONDON, *January 7, 1771.*

DEAR JOSEPH,—I am surprised at nothing. When persons are governed by passion rather than reason, we can expect little good. I cannot see that there was anything blameable in your behaviour. You could not do or say less with a clear conscience. I suppose you have given Mr. Fletcher a plain account of what has passed ; although he will hardly be able to set things right. Which way do you think to steer your course now ? You are welcome to stay at Kingswood till you are better provided for.

I shall write for Mr. Mather¹ to go into Brecknockshire. You may always be sure of any service which is in the power of, dear Joseph, Your affectionate brother.

To Mr. Jos. Benson, At Mr. Churchey's,
Near the Hay, Brecon.

To John Fletcher

Walter Churchey wrote to John Fletcher about the work at the Hay, where Joseph Benson had been preaching since he left Lady Huntingdon's College at Trevecca. Her students had preached Calvinistic doctrine at the Hay. Her ladyship thought an attempt was being made to introduce Wesley's preachers instead of her students, and she forbade them to preach there any more. Churchey sent a letter to Wesley, who forwarded it to Fletcher with this explanatory note. See the previous and following letters.

January 16, 1771.

DEAR SIR,—Mr. Churchey enclosed this letter to me, doubting whether it was proper to send it you or no. I judged it very proper, and so send it without delay. You have need of much wisdom, courage, and patience. Write a line if you have not quite forgot

Your affectionate friend and brother.

*To Joseph Benson*LONDON, *January 21, 1771.*

DEAR JOSEPH,—It was of their own mere motion that the students, when I was in Wales, desired me to come and spend a little time with them. I had no thought or desire so to do,

¹ Alexander Mather, then Assistant in the Bristol Circuit. See *Wesley's Veterans*, ii. 107.

having work enough upon my hands. When Mr. Ireland¹ asked me why I did not go thither in August,¹ I answered, 'Because my Lady had written to me to the contrary.' But I do not remember that I showed him her letter; I believe I did not.

I know not why you should not keep the rest of your terms at Oxford and take a Bachelor's degree. Only if you should be pressed in spirit to give yourself up to the work of God sooner, I think you must follow your own conscience. Write quite freely to, dear Joseph, Your affectionate brother.

To Hannah Ball

Miss Ball tells Wesley on December 16, 1770: 'Since Mr. Furz has been here my soul has been built up in God. . . . The children meet twice a week, every Sunday and Monday. They are a wild little company, but seem willing to be instructed. I labour among them, earnestly desiring to promote the interest of the Church of Christ.'

LONDON, *January 24, 1771.*

MY DEAR SISTER,—The sure way is,

By doing and bearing the will of our Lord,
We still are preparing to meet our reward,²

Go on steadily doing and suffering the holy and acceptable will of God. It pleases Him sometimes to let us sow much seed before there is any visible fruit. But frequently much grows upon a sudden, at a time and in a manner which we least expected. So God confounds human wisdom, and constrains him that glorieth to glory in the Lord.

I am glad the providence of God led you to Wallingford, were it only for the sake of poor Miss Hartly.⁴ She departed from us for a season that we might receive her again for ever. This should be an encouragement to you to labour with other backsliders. No one is ruined while he is out of hell.—I am, my dear sister, Your affectionate brother.

To Miss Ball, At Mr. Ball's, Laceman,
In High Wycombe.

¹ See letters of Oct. 23 and Nov. 4, 1750.

² He was in Bristol from Aug. 13 to 20.

³ See *Postical Works of J. and C. Wesley*, v. 427.

⁴ See letter of Aug. 3 to Miss March.

To Lady Maxwell

Lady Glenorchy had hired a disused Roman Catholic chapel, which was opened on March 7, 1770. Wesley's preachers were allowed to use it one night in the week. Richard De Courcy, an Irish Methodist of an ancient family educated at Trinity College, Dublin, was now a strong Calvinist, and became minister in February 1771. A few weeks later Lady Glenorchy 'dismissed Mr. Wesley's preachers from my chapel,' because all of them did not preach what she considered pure doctrine. A great change had taken place since her letter to Wesley on May 29, 1770. De Courcy wrote Wesley on February 9 from 'Mr. M'Nab's chamber [at Newcastle], with whom and Mr. Hanby I find great fellowship of spirit.' He was spending the week-end with them, and was to set out on Monday for Edinburgh, where 'Lady Glenorchy is particularly anxious for my speedy arrival.' See *Arminian Magazine*, 1784, pp. 278-9; *Life and Times of the Countess of Huntingdon*, ii. 156-8; and letter of February 17, 1770.

LONDON, January 24, 1771.

MY DEAR LADY,—Although Mr. M'Nab¹ is quite clear as to justification by faith and is in general a sound and good preacher, yet I fear he is not clear of blame in this. He is too warm and impatient of contradiction; otherwise he must be lost to all common sense to preach against final perseverance in Scotland. From the first hour that I entered the kingdom it was a sacred rule with me never to preach on any controverted point—at least, *not in a controversial way*. Any one may see that this is only to put a sword into our enemies' hands. It is the direct way to increase all their prejudices and to make all our labours fruitless.

You will shortly have a trial of another kind. Mr. De Courcy purposes to set out for Edinburgh in a few days. He was from a child a member of one of our Societies in the South of Ireland. There he received remission of sins, and was for some time groaning for full redemption. But when he came to Dublin,² the Philistines were upon him and soon prevailed over him. Quickly he was convinced that 'there is no perfection,' and that '*all things depend on absolute, unchangeable decrees.*' At first he was exceedingly warm upon these heads; now he is far more calm. His natural temper,

¹ The preacher then stationed at Glasgow.

² Passing through Trinity College.

I think, is good : he is open, friendly, and generous. He has also a good understanding, and is not unacquainted with learning, though not deeply versed therein. He has no disagreeable person, a pleasing address, and is a lively as well as a sensible preacher. Now, when you add to this that he is quite new and very young, you may judge how he will be admired and caressed ! ' Surely such a preacher as this never was in Edinburgh before ! Mr. Whitefield himself was not to compare with him ! What an angel of a man ! ' Now, how will a raw, inexperienced youth be able to encounter this ? If there be not the greatest of miracles to preserve him, will it not turn his brain ? And may he not then do far more hurt than either Mr. Whitefield or Mr. Townsend¹ did ? Will he not prevent your friend from ' going on to perfection,' or thinking of any such thing ? Nay, may he not shake you also ? He would, but that the God whom you serve is able to deliver you. At present, indeed, he is in an exceedingly loving spirit. But will that continue long ? There will be danger on the one hand if it does ; there will be danger on the other if it does not. It does not appear that any great change has been wrought in our neighbours by Mr. Whitefield's death. He had fixed the prejudice so deep that even he himself was not able to remove it ; yet our congregations have increased exceedingly and the work of God increases on every side. I am glad you use more exercise. It is good for both body and soul.

As soon as Mr. De Courcy is come, I shall be glad to hear how the prospect opens.² You will then need a larger share of the wisdom from above ; and I trust you will write with all openness to, my dear Lady, Your ever affectionate servant.

To Philothea Briggs

LONDON, *January 25, 1771.*

MY DEAR PHILLY,—As you desire a few directions with regard to the improvement of your mind, I will set down just what occur to me at present. Only, as my business is great

¹ See letters of Aug. 1-3, 1767, and Aug. 19, 1770.

² See letter of Feb. 26 to her.

and my time is short, I cannot stay to explain them at large.

All the knowledge you want is comprised in one book—the Bible. When you understand this, you will know enough. I advise you, therefore, to begin every day (before or after private prayer) with reading a portion more or less of the Old or New Testament, or of both if you have time, together with the *Notes*, which may lead you by the hand into suitable meditation. After breakfast you may read in order the volumes of *Sermons* and the other practical books which we have published, more or less at a time (as other business permits) with meditation and prayer. Young, Milton, and the *Moral and Sacred Poems* you may read chiefly in the afternoons.

Whatever you write, you should write in the forenoons. But learn to write sloping, not leaning upon your breast.

Take care never to read or write too long a time. That is not conducive either to bodily or spiritual health.

If I can be of use to you in anything else, tell me; you know you may speak freely to, my dear Philly,

Yours affectionately.

To Thomas Wride

Thomas Wride, a native of Salisbury, who in the *Minutes* of 1769 'remains on trial,' was in 1770 appointed Assistant at Whitehaven. A long letter of remonstrance against his employment as a preacher was sent to Wesley by 'a member of the Church of England' at Sarum on October 18, 1770, in which it is stated that the preachers at Sarum had put him out of Society 'as a person not fit for a Christian Society,' and that he had been 'very remarkable here and in London for laziness and running into debt.' He had offered himself as a preacher, and been sent by Wesley to Devonshire, where 'the Methodists of all the principal places in that circuit would not let him preach at all. Since that Mr. Wesley (not willing to lose so honourable a servant!) sent him to Rochdale in Lancashire, and now to Whitehaven.' Wride travelled at Grimsby, and Mr. George Stampe used to hear many queer stories from the older members about his doings and his quaintness and mimicry in the pulpit. He had gifts, and showed no lack of energy and zeal. He used to mend the clocks of his friends, and a skilful set of drawings for the construction of a timepiece has been preserved among his papers. He also devised an ingenious arrangement of the fire-irons to form an alarm-clock. He dabbled in medicine, and used some strange prescriptions.

LONDON, February 14, 1771.

DEAR TOMMY,—If we live till August, the matter of David Evans¹ must be thoroughly inquired into. I do not see that you could do anything more with regard to Longtown.

The providence of God has remarkably interposed in behalf of the poor people at Whitehaven. I am in hopes there will be more peace among them, and more life than has been for some time.

Now, Tommy, you have good encouragement to stir up the gift of God that is in you. Labour to be steadily serious, to be weighty in conversation, and to walk humbly and closely with God.—I am

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Mary Bishop

LONDON, February 16, 1771.

MY DEAR SISTER,—Never be afraid of being troublesome. That would not be the case, were you to write every week.

You look *inward* too much and *upward* too little.

Christ is ready to impart
Life to all, for life who sigh ;
In thy mouth and in thy heart
The word is ever nigh.

Encourage yourself to trust Him ; that is your point : then He will do all things well.

Legality, with most that use that term, really means tenderness of conscience. There is no propriety in the word if one would take it for seeking justification by works. Considering, therefore, how hard it is to fix the meaning of that odd term, and how dreadfully it has been abused, I think it highly advisable for all the Methodists to lay it quite aside.

If he could find any other doctrine which he thought was peculiarly mine, Mr. Shirley would be as angry at it as he is at Christian Perfection. But it is all well : we are to go forward, whoever goes back or turns aside. I hope your class

¹ David Evans was preacher on provided for. He ceased from trial at Haworth. Sister Evans is velling in 1776. among the preachers' wives to be

goes on well, and that you are not weary of well doing. The Lord is at hand.—I am, my dear sister,

Your affectionate brother.

To Walter Churchey

LONDON, February 21, 1771.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I am glad Mr. Benson and you had an opportunity of conversing freely with Mr. Fletcher, and that he has dealt so faithfully with my Lady. Perhaps it may have a good effect. At least, he has delivered his own soul, whether she will hear or whether she will forbear.¹

Entire sanctification, or Christian perfection, is neither more nor less than pure love—love expelling sin and governing both the heart and life of a child of God. The Refiner's fire purges out all that is contrary to love, and that many times by a pleasing smart. Leave all this to Him that does all things well and that loves you better than you do yourself.—I am, with love to Brother Thomas, Your affectionate brother.

To the Editor of 'Lloyd's Evening Post'

The *Gospel Magazine* in April reviewed Sellon's *Answer to Elisha Coles*, which it called 'a mite of reprobate silver, cast into the *Foundery*, and coming out thence with the impress of that pride, self-righteousness, and self-sufficiency natural to men in their fallen, unrenewed state.' In a later month Wesley's *Minutes* of 1770 are attacked.

LONDON, February 26, 1771.

SIR,—The editor of a monthly publication pompously called the *Gospel Magazine*, Mr. Romaine, has violently fallen upon one and another who did not knowingly give him any provocation. And whereas in other magazines the accused has liberty to answer for himself, it is not so here: this gentleman will publish only the charge, but not the defence. What can a person thus injuriously treated do? To publish pamphlets on every head would not answer the end; for the answer would not come into near so many hands as the objections. Is there, then, a better way than to appeal to candid men in

¹ See letter of Jan. 7.

one of the public papers? By which means the antidote will operate both as widely and as speedily as the poison. This method, therefore, I take at last, after delaying as long as I could with innocence.

In that magazine for last month there is a warm attack upon my sermon on the death of Mr. Whitefield.

The first charge is against the text: 'Let me die the death of the righteous.' 'How improper,' says Mr. Romaine, 'to apply the words of a mad prophet to so holy a man as Mr. Whitefield!' 'Improper'! See how doctors differ! I conceive nothing can possibly be more proper. If Mr. Romaine did indeed tell his congregation, some of whom disliking his attacking my poor text before, 'Let who will be vexed, I do not care; I will not justify Balaam while I live'; yet others imagine nothing could be more suitable than for Balaam junior to use the words of his forefather; especially as he did not apply them to Mr. Whitefield, but to himself. Surely a poor reprobate may without offence wish to die like one of the elect. I dare say every one understood me to mean this the moment he heard the text; if not, the very hymn I sung showed to whom I applied the words,—

O that without a lingering groan
I might the welcome word receive,
My body with my charge lay down,
And cease at once to work and live!

But the main attack is on the sermon itself, wherein I am charged with asserting a gross falsehood in the face of God and the congregation, and that knowing it to be such—namely, 'That the grand fundamental doctrines which Mr. Whitefield everywhere preached were those of the New Birth and Justification by Faith.' 'No,' says Mr. Romaine; 'not at all: the grand fundamental doctrines he everywhere preached were the Everlasting Covenant between the Father and the Son and Absolute Predestination flowing therefrom.'

I join issue on this head. Whether the doctrines of the Eternal Covenant and Absolute Predestination are the grand fundamental doctrines of Christianity or not, I affirm again (x) that Mr. Whitefield did not everywhere preach these;

(2) that he did everywhere preach the New Birth and Justification by Faith.

1. He did not everywhere preach the Eternal Covenant and Absolute Predestination. I never heard him utter a sentence on one or the other. Yea, all the times he preached in West Street Chapel and in our other chapels throughout England he did not preach those doctrines at all—no, not in a single paragraph; which, by-the-by, is a demonstration that he did not think them the fundamental doctrines of Christianity.

2. Both in West Street Chapel and all our other chapels throughout England he did preach the necessity of the new birth and justification by faith as clearly as he has done in his two volumes of printed sermons; therefore all I have asserted is true, and provable by ten thousand witnesses.

Nay, says Mr. Romaine, 'Mr. Whitefield everywhere insisted on other fundamental doctrines, from the foundation of which the new birth and justification take their rise, with which they are inseparably connected: these are the everlasting covenant which was entered into by the Holy Trinity, and God the Father's everlasting, unchangeable election of sinners' (in virtue of which a fiftieth part of mankind shall be saved, do what they will; and the other forty-nine parts shall be damned, do what they can);—'these doctrines are not of a less essential nature than either Regeneration or Justification. No, by no means; they are to the full equally essential to the glory of God. Yea, there is an inseparable connexion between them. This is a most essential, a most fundamental point.' (*Gospel Magazine*, p. 41.)

If so, then every one who does not hold it must perish everlastingly. If, as you here assert, he cannot be justified, then he cannot be saved. If, as you say, he cannot be born again, 'he cannot see the kingdom of God.'

After asserting this, can Mr. Romaine ever take the name of catholic love into his mouth? Is not this the very opposite to it? the height and depth of bigotry? Does this spirit do honour to his opinion? Can we conceive anything more horrid? Is it not enough to make a person of humanity shudder? yea, to make his blood run cold? I will not here

enter into the merits of the cause ; I need not. It is done to my hands. The whole doctrine of Predestination is thoroughly discussed in those three tracts lately printed—*An Answer to the Eleven Letters commonly ascribed to Mr. Hervey, Arguments against General Redemption considered*, and *An Answer to Elisha Coles*.¹ Till these are seriously and solidly refuted, I have no more to say on that head. But this I must aver, that the excluding all from salvation who do not believe the Horrible Decree is a most shocking insult on all mankind, on common sense, and common humanity.—I am, &c.

To Lady Maxwell

LONDON, February 26, 1771.

MY DEAR LADY,—I cannot but think the chief reason of the little good done by our preachers at Edinburgh is the opposition which has been made by the ministers of Edinburgh as well as by the false brethren from England. These steeled the hearts of the people against all the good impressions which might otherwise have been made, so that the same preachers by whom God has constantly wrought, not only in various parts of England but likewise in the northern parts of Scotland, were in Edinburgh only not useless. They felt a damp upon their own spirits ; they had not their usual liberty of speech ; and the word they spoke seemed to rebound upon them, and not to sink into the hearts of the hearers. At my first coming I usually find something of this myself : but the second or third time of preaching it is gone ; and I feel, greater is He that is with us than all the powers of earth and hell.

If any one could show you by plain scripture and reason a more excellent way than that you have received, you certainly would do well to receive it ; and I trust I should do the same. But I think it will not be easy for any one to show us either that Christ did not die for all or that He is not willing as well as able to cleanse from all sin even in the present world. If your steady adherence to these great truths be termed bigotry, yet you have no need to be ashamed. You are reproached for Christ's sake, and the Spirit of glory and of Christ shall rest upon you. Perhaps our Lord may use you to soften

¹ See Green's *Bibliography*, No. 227 ; and letter of Dec. 30, 1769.

some of the harsh spirits and to preserve Lady Glenorchy¹ or Mr. De Courcy from being hurt by them. I hope to hear from you (on whom I can depend) a frequent account of what is done near you. After you have suffered awhile, may God stablish, strengthen, settle you!—I am, my dear Lady,

Your very affectionate servant.

I expect to be at Chester on Saturday fortnight, and a week or two after in Dublin.

I have laid up your late direction so safe that I cannot find it.

To the Lady Maxwell, (late) In
Wariston's Close, Edinburgh.

To Mary Bishop

BRISTOL, *March 8, 1771.*

DEAR MISS BISHOP,—The advice which Mr. Mather gave you was good; and, indeed, the very best that could be given. Bear your cross, and it will bear *you*; but still deal faithfully with your sisters. And warn them all, both together and singly, of that snare into which they have so often fallen. If need be, Mr. Mather too must speak to them and enlarge upon the same head.

In praying with the children, you have only to ask for those things which you are sensible they most want, and that in the most plain, artless, and simple language which you can devise.

You will have other trials when that well-meaning (though not always well-judging) woman² comes to Bath. If she continues to show scraps of my letters, I shall be obliged to give you a copy of the whole. Be humble, zealous, active.—
I am, my dear Miss Bishop, Your affectionate brother.

PS.—On Monday I am to set out towards Dublin. A letter directed thither will be sent to me in any part of the kingdom.

To Miss Bishop, In Bath.

¹ She gave up all connexion with Wesley's preachers shortly after De Courcy's arrival. See letter of Jan. 24.

² See letters of Nov. 27, 1770, and May 27, 1771.

To Joseph Benson

Benson had left Trevecca, and was soon to leave Oxford. Fletcher's discovery was his doctrine of 'Receiving the Holy Ghost,' which Wesley thought unscriptural and prejudicial to the spread of the truth. Wesley held that it was improper to separate the work of sanctification from justification, and that all who were justified had received the Holy Spirit. Benson had expressed Fletcher's view, though not altogether approving it. He was leaning towards the doctrine of Ultimate Universal Salvation, which he thought by no means contrary to Scripture. His son, in the manuscript *Life*, i. 217, says that 'he had a simple spirit, seeking after truth, but his ideas were confused.'

BRISTOL, March 9, 1771.

DEAR JOSEPH,—I must write a few lines, though I can ill spare time. You seem to be providentially thrust out into the harvest. But consider what you do. Read the *Minutes* of the Conference, and see whether you can conform thereto. Likewise think whether you can abstain from speaking of Universal Salvation and Mr. Fletcher's late discovery. The Methodists in general could not bear this. It would create huge debate and confusion. I wish you would read over that sermon in the first volume on The Spirit of Bondage and of Adoption.¹ *Invenio te corde simplicem, as the Count speaks, sed turbatis ideis.*²

My love to Mr. Hallward.—I am, dear Joseph,

Yours affectionately.

To Joseph Benson

Benson thought that Wesley regarded his views as a disqualification for associating himself more closely with Methodism, and had written to ask if this was so; hence this reply. From a letter Fletcher wrote on March 22, he seems to have wished to have Benson as his curate.

CHESTER, March 16, 1771.

DEAR JOSEPH,—No, I do not forbid your being connected with us. I believe Providence calls you to it. I only warn you of what would lessen your usefulness. On that subject I never suffer myself to *reason*. I should quickly reason myself into a Deist, perhaps into an Atheist. I am glad you do not lay stress upon it. We have better matters to employ our thoughts.

¹ *Works*, v. 98-111.

but troubled in your ideas.' See

² 'I found thee simple in heart, *Journal*, ii. 488.

A babe in Christ (of whom I know thousands) has the witness *sometimes*. A young man (in St. John's sense) has it continually. I believe one that is *perfected in love*, or *filled with the Holy Ghost*, may be properly termed a *father*. This we must press both babes and young men to aspire after—yea, to expect. And why not now? I wish you would give another reading to the *Plain Account of Christian Perfection*.—
I am, dear Joseph, Your affectionate brother.

PS.—While I am in Ireland you need only direct to Dublin. I am afraid that smooth words have prevailed over Mr. Fletcher and persuaded him all the fault was on your side. He promised to write to me from Wales, but I have not had one line.

To Mr. Benson, in Edmund Hall,
Oxon.

To Elizabeth Briggs

Elizabeth Briggs was the daughter of William Briggs, of the Customs House, London, and of Elizabeth Perronet, of Shoreham. This letter is printed twice in the *Works*. It is given in full as No. 803 (xiii. 92-3) to E. B.; and as No. 540 (xii. 461) to Miss Briggs, beginning, 'You have great reason.' The original was given to Dr. William Nast by a lady who is not remembered. Dr. Nast also had a brief Note from Charles Wesley to Miss Briggs. She afterwards married the Rev. Peard Dickinson, M.A., one of Wesley's clerical helpers, who had been her grandfather's curate at Shoreham. She died at Walthamstow in 1822, aged seventy-one. See letter of June 19, 1785.

CHESTER, March 17, 1771.

MY DEAR BETSY,—You do well to break through that needless fear. Love me more, and fear me less; then you will prove,

Love, like the grave, makes all distinctions vain.¹

You have great reason to praise Him who hath done great things for you already. What you now want is to come boldly to the throne of grace, that the hunger and thirst after His full image which God has given you may be satisfied. Full salvation is nigh, even at the door. Only believe, and it is yours.

¹ 'Love, like death, hath all destroyed.' See *Postical Works of J. and C. Wesley*, i. 362; also letter of Feb. 15, 1769.

It is a great blessing that at *your* years you are preserved from seeking happiness in any creature. You need not, seeing Christ is yours. O cleave to Him with all your heart!—I am,
my dear Betsy, Yours affectionately.

To Mary Stokes

Miss Stokes, the daughter of Joseph and Mary Stokes, of Bristol, joined the Quakers meeting in the Friars in the city. In 1777 she married Robert Dudley, of Clonmel, where Wesley met her on April 22, 1778. She was an intimate friend of Miss Elizabeth Johnson, of Bristol; and was buried at Bunhill Fields, London, in 1823. See *Journal*, vi. 185; *Life of Mary Dudley* (1825); and letter of August 10, 1772, to her.

CHESTER, *March 17, 1771.*

DEAR MISS STOKES,—I almost wonder, Have I found another Jenny Cooper? ¹ I take knowledge of her spirit in you. I doubt not God has begun a good work in your heart. He has given you a taste of the powers of the world to come. He has delivered you from the vain expectation of finding happiness in the things of earth; and I trust you will be entangled no more in that snare. You know where true joys are to be found. Now stand fast in that beginning of liberty wherewith Christ has made you free. Yet do not stand still. This is only the dawn of day: the Sun of Righteousness will rise upon you in quite another manner than you have hitherto experienced. And who knows how soon? Is He not near? Are not all things now ready? What hinders you from receiving Him now? 'If thou canst believe.' Here is all the bar: only unbelief keeps out the mighty blessing! How many things have you been enabled to overcome since I saw you in the great garden? But do not leave my poor Molly Jones behind,—not that you can stay for her,—but bring her on with you. I have much hopes that nothing will stop Sally James or Miss Flower.² O bear one another's burthens! Then shall you be not almost but altogether Christians! Then shall you fulfil the joy of, my dear Miss Stokes, Yours affectionately.

While I am in Ireland you need only direct to Dublin.

¹ See letter of Sept. 11, 1765.

Charles Wesley. See letters of

² Mr. Stokes and Captain and Mrs. James were intimate friends of

Feb. 11, 1772, and Nov. 29, 1774.

To John Fletcher

Fletcher wrote from Madeley on March 18, addressing his letter to Wesley 'At the Octagone, Chester.' He told him of his late visit to Trevecca, where he saw that the college was no longer his place, 'as Calvinism strongly prevailed.' He therefore told Lady Huntingdon that he resigned the place of Superintendent. He had defended Wesley's last *Minutes*. Lady Huntingdon was going to write to ask Wesley to explain them, 'that she and the college may see you are not an enemy to grace'; and Fletcher begs Wesley 'to give them all the satisfaction you can.'

PARKGATE, *March 22, 1771.*

I always did for between these thirty and forty years clearly assert the total fall of man and his utter inability to do any good of himself; the absolute necessity of the grace and Spirit of God to raise even a good thought or desire in our hearts; the Lord's rewarding no work and accepting of none but so far as they proceed from His preventing, convincing, and converting grace through the Beloved; the blood and righteousness of Christ being the sole meritorious cause of our salvation. Who is there in England that has asserted these things more strongly and steadily than I have done?

To Joseph Pilmoor

Robert Williams had sold his horse to pay his debts, and set off to join his friend Ashton, whom he had persuaded to go to America. Ashton paid the expenses of the voyage. The friends landed in New York before Boardman and Pilmoor. Williams became the Apostle of Methodism in Virginia, and died on September 26, 1775. John King also arrived in 1769, and was the pioneer of Methodism in Baltimore. Boardman arrived in America with Pilmoor on October 24, 1769, and on November 4 wrote Wesley from New York: 'Our house contains about seventeen hundred people. About a third part of those who attend get in; the rest are glad to hear without. There appears such a willingness in the Americans to hear the word as I never saw before.' Pilmoor also wrote from Philadelphia: 'I have preached several times, and the people flock to hear in multitudes.' When trouble arose with the Mother Country, he and Boardman returned to England. He travelled in various circuits; but in 1785 became minister of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Philadelphia. He was an Irishman, educated by Wesley at Kingswood; and his old fervour characterized him to the end. Asbury notes that he was still preaching three times a Sunday in March 1814, when he was Rector of St. Paul's, Philadelphia,

DUBLIN, *March 27, 1771.*

DEAR JOSEPH,—I cannot find your letter high or low, so that at present I can only answer it by guess. There are some of our friends here who bitterly condemn both you and Richard Boardman. This they do in consequence of a letter from one of their correspondents at New York, who asserts, 'That the preaching-houses there and at Philadelphia were settled in the manner of the Methodists; but that one or both of you destroyed the first writings and procured others to be drawn, wherein the houses are made over to yourselves.' I could not tell how to answer the charge. Send me the plain state of the case, that I may know what to say. I think the matter must be greatly misrepresented. For where are the persons I can confide in, for disinterested men, men of a single eye, if Richard Boardman and Joseph Pilmoor are not such? What is become of Robert Williams? Where is he now? And what is he doing? Are he and John King of a teachable spirit? Do they act in conjunction with you? Still, I complain of you all for writing too seldom. Surely it would not hurt you were you to write once a month. O beware of every degree of sloth or indolence! Be good soldiers of Jesus Christ, and send a circumstantial account of all your proceedings to, dear Joseph,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Mr. Pilmoor, At Mr. Lupton's,
Merchant, In New York.

To Philothea Briggs

Miss Briggs writes to Wesley on March 24: 'About a month ago I became acquainted with Miss Bolton, who encouraged me to be in earnest.' On March 20, 'when my aunt came, she told me what the Lord had done for her.' See next letter, and that of April 14 to Elizabeth Briggs.

DUBLIN, *March 30, 1771.*

MY DEAR PHILLY,—So poor, tempted, disconsolate Nancy Bolton was sent to London for *your* sake also! She was sent to you among others to quicken your expectations of the great salvation. And what is it our Lord calls you to now? Whereunto thou hast attained hold fast! You *may* undoubtedly lose what God has given; but you never *need*. Is not His grace

sufficient for you? Is not His strength made perfect in weakness? Indeed, you shall pass through the fire; but lean upon Him, and the flames shall not kindle upon you. You shall go through the waters; but keep hold on Him, and the floods shall not run over you. Suffer all, and conquer all.

In every temptation He keeps you to prove
His utmost salvation, His fullness of love!

Be exceeding wary in your conversation, that it may be worthy of the gospel of Christ. Let not the liveliness of your spirit lead you into levity; cheerful seriousness is the point you are to aim at. And be willing to suffer with Him, that you may reign with Him. Deny yourself, take up your cross daily, and follow Him.—My dear Philly, I am

Yours affectionately.

While I am in Ireland you need only direct to Dublin.

To Miss Phil. Briggs, At Miss March's,
In Worship Street, Moorfields, London.

To Damaris Perronet

Miss Perronet wrote from Shoreham on March 16 about Miss Bolton's visit and her testimony as to the way God had blessed her. This had stirred her up to seek deliverance from sin. 'Jesus answered, "I will, be thou clean," and immediately I felt a mighty change through all my soul.' See *Arminian Magazine*, 1784, p. 445; and letter of April 15 to Ann Bolton.

DUBLIN, March 30, 1771.

I do not wonder you should find such a nearness to Miss Bolton. She is an amiable young woman. When she was with us last, I marked her every word and almost every meaning; but I could find nothing to reprove. There was in all her actions sanctity and love. God sent her to you in an acceptable time. She came with a good message, and blessed is she that believed; for there shall be a performance of those things which were spoken unto her. He will water you every moment, and on this depends the continuance of the great salvation. It will surely continue if you watch and pray; and yet not without temptation. I expect temptations will come about you

Thick as autumnal leaves that strew the vales.

But what are temptations to you? He giveth occasions of fighting that you may conquer. If there is no fight, there is no victory. There is no general rule whereby we can always determine whether a thought come from a good or an evil spirit; but on all particular occasions we may plead that promise, 'If a man be willing to do My will, he shall know of the doctrine,' or suggestion, by the light then given, 'whether it be of God.'

Your affectionate brother.

The following three undated letters to Miss Perronet may here be inserted:—

I am sensible you have many trials, not only such as are grievous to flesh and blood, but such as oppose those desires which are not from nature but the Spirit of God; and if you chose for yourself, you ought not to choose the situation you are now in. If you did, it would be a great hurt to your soul. It would hinder the work of God in you. But you do not choose for yourself; God chooses for you: and He cannot err; so that you may safely say,—

I'll trust my great Physician's skill:
What He prescribes can ne'er be ill.

It is true so it may seem to us, because we are dim-sighted and dull of understanding; but in this case, too, we may apply His word, 'Blessed are they who have not seen, and yet have believed.' O believe, and feel Him near! Believe, and experience that blessedness. He calls you into a stormy path; but did He not Himself tread it before you? And does He not go with you through the fire, so that you are not burned, neither can the flames kindle upon you? Lie, then, as clay in the Potter's hand, that He may stamp you with all His image. Be still, and know that He is God—your God, your love, your all. Be as a little child before Him. The word of God to them of old, 'Speak to the children of Israel, that they go forward,' is undoubtedly spoken to you. Horses, and chariots, and armies, and mountains, and seas cannot hinder you; for God is on your side. You have Him with you who has all power in heaven. O trust Him, and you shall praise Him! And do not fail to remember in your prayers

Your affectionate brother.

By-and-by you shall have the abiding witness of His Spirit, and He will shine upon His own work ; and why not now ? Ask, and it shall be given you. The Lord is at hand ; and He cannot deny Himself. Your trials, you know, are all chosen by God. It is the cup which your Father has given you ; and He does and will bless it as long as He is pleased to give it. Just when it is best He will take it away and give you outward fellowship with His children. Continue in private prayer, in spite of all coldness and wanderings, and you shall soon pray without ceasing.

Your affectionate brother.

That remarkable sinking of spirits did not necessarily imply any preceding unfaithfulness. It might possibly be owing to the body. At such a season you have nothing to do but simply to give yourself up into the hands of God. Tell Him, ' Lord, I am Thine. I will be Thine. I desire to be Thine alone for ever. Thou shalt answer for me. Keep Thou Thine own ; and let me do or suffer just as seemeth Thee good.' What can hurt us if our eye be single ? Look forward ! Holiness and heaven are before you. You have no need to determine whether your heart is or is not made new till the witness speaks within you and puts it beyond all doubt. You are led in a rough way : it is a safe one. A more smooth way would be more dangerous. Your earnestly desiring the most excellent means of grace is neither sin nor infirmity. It is right to say, ' My soul hath a desire and longing to enter into the courts of the house of my God.' Read the 84th Psalm, and try if your heart answers to it. At present exercise all the faith you have, and it will be increased day by day.

Your affectionate brother.

To Mary Stokes

DUBLIN, April 4, 1771.

MY DEAR MISS STOKES,—There is a sweetness and friendliness in your spirit which is exceeding agreeable to me. And you have an openness withal which makes it the more pleasing. Let nothing rob you of this ;—although you cannot retain it without a good deal of resolution ; for the example of all the world is against you, even of the religious world, which

is full of closeness and reserve, if not of disguise also. How will you do then to retain that artless simplicity which almost every one disclaims? Nay, this is not all; you must likewise expect to be yourself deceived more or less. You will believe persons to be sincere who will abuse your confidence, who will say much and mean nothing. 'But let not my dear maid copy after them; let them have all the artifice to themselves. Still let not mercy or truth forsake you, but write them upon the table of your heart. Only know to whom you speak, and then you cannot be too free. Open the window in your breast. I pray never be afraid of writing too large letters: you must not measure yours by mine; for I have a little more business than you.

Your weakness and tenderness of constitution, without great care, may prove a snare to you. Some allowance must be made on that account; but the danger is of making too much. Steer the middle way. So far as you are able, rejoice to endure hardship, as a good soldier of Jesus Christ; and deny yourself every pleasure which you are not divinely conscious prepares you for taking pleasure in God. I am glad you can converse freely with Sally Flower. Let her not lose her rising in the morning. Surely she and you together might overrule Molly Jones's Irish reason for not meeting, 'I said I would not.' I feel much for poor Sally James. Perhaps she will outrun many of you by-and-by.—
My dear Miss Stokes, Your affectionate brother.

To Elizabeth Briggs

Miss Briggs was keeping the house of her grandfather, the Rev. Vincent Perronet, at Shoreham, and had recently paid a visit to London, which she tells Wesley on March 9 was 'an unspeakable blessing to me. Ever since, I have enjoyed a sense of the presence of God.' She adds, 'I seem as weak as helpless infancy.' See *Arminian Magazine*, 1784, p. 390; and letters of January 25 and March 30.

ATHLONE, April 14, 1771.

MY DEAR BETSY,—You may be assured that I am always well pleased to hear from you and that I shall never think your letters too long. Always tell me whatever is in your

heart, and the more freely the better. Otherwise it would be hardly possible to give you the advice you may want from time to time. As soon as you had your armour on, it was fit that it should be proved ; so God prepared for you the occasions of fighting, that you might conquer and might know both your own weakness and His strength. Each day will bring just temptation enough and power enough to conquer it ; and, as one says, 'temptations, with distinct deliverances from them, avail much.' The unction of the Holy One is given to believers for this very end—to enable them to distinguish (which otherwise would be impossible) between sin and temptation. And this you will do, not by any general rule, but by listening to Him on all particular occasions and by your consulting with those that have experience in the ways of God. Undoubtedly both you and Philothea and my dear Miss Perronet are now more particularly called to speak for God. In so doing you must expect to meet with many things which are not pleasing to flesh and blood. But all is well. So much the more will you be conformed to the death of Christ. Go on in His name and in the power of His might. Suffer and conquer all things.—I am, my dear Betsy,

Yours affectionately.

To Miss March

ATHLONE, April 14, 1771.

Whatever comes from you is agreeable to me ; your letters always give me pleasure, but none more than the last, which brings the welcome news of the revival of the work of God among you. You will encourage I—— T——¹ to send me a circumstantial account of God's dealings with her soul. Mr. Norris observes that no part of history is so profitable as that which relates to the great changes in states and kingdoms ; and it is certain no part of Christian history is so profitable as that which relates to great changes wrought in our souls : these, therefore, should be carefully noticed and treasured up for the encouragement of our brethren.

¹ Miss Thornton, of London, the intimate friend of John Fletcher. See *Bulmer's Memoirs of Mrs. Eliza- both Mortimer*, p. 115 ; and letters of July 6, 1770, and Dec. 18, 1780.

I am glad you have at length broke through those evil reasonings which so long held you down and prevented you from acknowledging the things which were freely given to you of God. Always remember the essence of Christian holiness is simplicity and purity; one design, one desire—entire devotion to God. But this admits of a thousand degrees and variations, and certainly it will be proved by a thousand temptations; but in all these things you shall be more than conqueror.

It takes God (so to speak) abundance of pains to hide pride from man; and you are in more danger of it than many, were it only on account of outward advantages. Happy are you if you use those for that single end, to be outwardly and inwardly devoted to God, and that more entirely than you could be in different circumstances. I have just been conversing with that excellent woman Molly Penington¹: what a mystery that one of such gifts and such grace should be fixed in a place where she is almost useless! So much the more thankful you may be who have opportunity of employing every talent which God hath given you. If you would retain the talent of health, sleep early and rise early.

To Ann Bolton

TULLAMORE, April 15, 1771.

MY DEAR SISTER,—You are a little unkind. Why do you not send me, as I desired, a particular account of all that concerns you? Where you are? How you are in soul and in body? Do you stand fast in that glorious liberty wherewith Christ has made you free? Has He bruised the reasoning devil under your feet and taught you simply to hang upon Him? Are you not ashamed to confess Him before men? Are you bold, are you active in His cause? Where have you been and what have you done since you left that lovely family at Shoreham²? You *did* love *me* a little. Do you still? Do you think of me sometimes? If so, do not delay writing. Let me be an helper of your joy. And I pray take care of

¹ See letter of May 30.

² The Perronets. See letter of March 30 to Damaris Perronet.

your health. In this respect I am often jealous over you. I think you never will neglect your soul ; but I am afraid lest you should neglect your body. And you know not how great pain anything befalling *you* gives to, my dear Nancy,

Your ever affectionate brother.

To Mrs. Pywell

Sarah Pywell replied from Stenton on January 17, 1772, ' after a long season ' : ' My faith is strengthened daily and hourly. . . . I feel nothing contrary to pure love. But when I am evil spoken of, I am kept in perfect peace.' See *Arminian Magazine*, 1785, pp. 115-16; and letter of January 22, 1772.

KILKENNY, April 23, 1771.

MY DEAR SISTER,—I hardly knew whether you were dead or alive, having not heard from you for so long a season. Yesterday I received yours of March 28, and am glad to hear you are not moved from your steadfastness. Certainly it is not the will of our Lord that you should ; His gifts are without repentance. Do you find no decay in faith ? Do you as clearly as ever see Him who is invisible ? Is your hope as lively as at first ? Do you still taste of the powers of the world to come ? And can you say in as strong a sense as ever,

I nothing want beneath, above,
Happy in a Saviour's love ?

Do you feel no anger at any time ? no pride ? no will but what is subordinate to the will of God ? And have you the witness in yourself that all your ways please Him ? Then expect to see greater things than these, for there is no end of His goodness ; and do not forget, my dear sister,

Your affectionate brother.

To Mr. —

BANDON, May 1, 1771.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—The case being so, I do not see how you could act otherwise than you did. If he had been thoroughly penitent, it would have been proper to show all possible lenity. But as his heart does not seem to be at all broken, you could not have any fellowship with him.

Spare no pains with regard to the Yearly Collection.—I am
Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Ann Bolton

BANDON, *May 2, 1771.*

MY DEAR SISTER,—I wanted much to know how your soul prospered. I could not doubt but the god of this world, the enemy of all righteousness, would use every means to move you from your steadfastness. Blessed be God, you are not moved ! that all his labour has been in vain ! Hitherto hath God helped you ; and, fear not, He will help you to the end. He gives you health as a token for good ; He can trust you with it while you give Him your heart. And O stand fast in the glorious liberty wherewith He has made you free ! You are not called to desire suffering. Innocent nature is averse from pain ; only, as soon as His will appears, yours is to sink down before it. Hark ! what does He say to you now ? ‘ Lovest thou Me more than these ? ’ more than these,—

Wealth, honour, pleasure, or what else
This short-enduring world can give ?

Then ‘ feed My lambs,’ carry the little ones in thy bosom, gently lead those that are great with young.

Be not weary of well doing ; in due time thou shalt reap if thou faint not, &c. &c.

Yours most affectionately.

To Philothea Briggs

BANDON, *May 2, 1771.*

MY DEAR PHILLY,—There is no fear I should forget you ; I love you too well for that, and therefore love to hear from you, especially at this critical time, when all the powers of hell are engaged against you. But let them come about you like bees, they shall be extinct as the fire among the thorns. Tempted you are, and will be ; otherwise you could not know your own weakness and the strength of your Master. But all temptations will work together for good ; all are for your profit, that you may be partaker of His holiness. You may always have an evidence both of God’s love to you and of yours to Him. And at some times the former may be more clear, at other times the latter. It is enough if, in one case or the other, you simply stay your soul upon Him. Sister Harper’s is the

ordinary experience of those who are renewed in love.¹ Sister Jackson's² experience is quite *extraordinary*, and what very few of them have yet attained.

There is a danger of every believer's mistaking the voice of the enemy or of their own imagination for the voice of God. And you can distinguish one from the other, not by any written rule, but only by *the unction of the Holy One*. This only teaches *Christian prudence*, consistent with simplicity and godly sincerity.

The four volumes of *Sermons*, the *Appeals*, the *Notes*, and the *Extracts* from Mr. Law's Works and from Dr. Young, might best suit you now : meddle with nothing that does not suit your present temper. When you feel you are led to it, write verses ; do not bury your talent in the earth. Meet with them that meet on a Friday, and speak in God's name without fear or shame.

The general rule, 'not to correspond but with those who have both grace and understanding,' admits of several exceptions, in favour of a few who want one of them or the other or both.³ While I am in Ireland you may direct to me at Dublin. Be not afraid of writing too long letters. The longer the more agreeable to, my dear Philly, Yours affectionately.

To Miss Phil. Briggs, At Miss March's,
In Worship Street, Moorfields, London.

To Christopher Hopper

CORK, May 5, 1771.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—The work is to be delivered in weekly and monthly numbers ; but it is of most use to have portable volumes.⁴ I have corrected as much as will make nine or ten out of the thirty volumes. All the verse works I have corrected in conjunction with the preachers, and left the corrected

¹ Charles Wesley met Mrs. Harper at Mr. Sims's on July 2, 1738 ; and as they sang, 'Who for me, for me hath died,' 'she burst out into tears and outcries, "I believe, I believe!" and sunk down. She continued, and increased in the assurance of faith, full of peace and joy and love.' Wesley printed an ex-

tract from her Journal in 1769. See C. Wesley's *Journal*, i. 115.

² See letter of March 26, 1770.

³ See letter of May 28.

⁴ The first collected edition of *Wesley's Works*, published in thirty-two 12mo vols. 1771-4. See Green's *Bibliography*, No. 276.

copy at London. If I live to finish the correction of my own works, I shall then revise the *Christian Library*. If ever you should spend a twelvemonth in this kingdom, you would not repent of your labour. Here is a people ready prepared for the Lord.—I am, with love to Sister Hopper,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Mrs. Marston

CORK, May 6, 1771.

MY DEAR SISTER,—I am always pleased to hear from you, and expect to hear nothing but good. Conflicts and various exercises of soul are permitted; these also are for good. If Satan has desired to have you to sift you as wheat, this likewise is for your profit; you will be purified in the fire, not consumed, and strengthened unto all longsuffering with joyfulness. Does Mr. Clough¹ or any other of the preachers speak against perfection or give occasion to them that trouble you? You would do well to speak to any one that does, that you may come to a better understanding. So far as in you lies, let not the good that is in you be evil spoken of. But beware lest the unkind usage of your brethren betray you into any kind of guile or false prudence. Still let all your conversation be in simplicity and godly sincerity. Be plain, open, downright, without disguise. Do you always see God and feel His love? Do you pray without ceasing and in everything give thanks? I hope you do not forget to pray for, my dear Molly,

Your affectionate brother.

To Mrs. Bennis

Mrs. Bennis wrote on May 7: 'Since you left this, Brother Christian has preached regularly; his heart seems earnest for the work and people of God. The day you left town I met the women's bands; the Lord did wonderfully bless us together, and I find my heart closely united to them. Last Monday I went to the rooms, but none of them came. I do find it a heavy cross; yet by the grace of God I shall take it up.' Christian was converted at Waterford in 1770, and in 1772 was Assistant at Athlone. He held Calvinistic views, and retired about 1775. See letter of October 28.

¹ James Clough was then stationed in the Staffordshire Circuit. He began to travel in 1760, and after ten or twelve years settled at Leicester, where he died about 1795.

LIMERICK, May 15, 1771.

MY DEAR SISTER,—Whenever there is a dependence, though frequently secret and unobserved, on any outward thing, it is the mercy of God which disappoints us of our hope, that we may be more sensibly convinced, 'Neither is he that planteth anything, nor he that watereth, but God that giveth the increase.'

From time to time you must find many difficulties and perplexities that none but God can clear. But can He clear them? That is enough. Then He surely will. This is the very use of that anointing which we have from God. It is to teach us of all things, to clear up a thousand doubts and perplexities which no human wisdom could do. This was given you in the case of your child; and when that came, temptation spake not again. This is never more needful than with regard to anger; because there is an anger which is not sinful, a disgust at sin which is often attended with much commotion of the animal spirits: and I doubt whether we can well distinguish this from sinful anger but by that light from heaven.

I really hope John Christian will do well: within these two years he is improved exceedingly.

If our sisters miss you any more, there is but one way—you must go or send after them. Be not idle; neither give way to voluntary humility. You were not sent to Waterford for nothing, but to 'strengthen the things that remain.'

It would be a strange thing if I should pass a day without praying for you. By this means at least we may reach each other; and there may be a still increasing union between you and
Your affectionate brother.

To George L. Fleury

Wesley was in Waterford in June 1769. The Rev. George L. Fleury, who became Archdeacon of Waterford two years later, attacked him from the cathedral pulpit. Wesley was present, and sent one of his preachers next morning to suggest an exchange of letters. This Fleury declined. If anything was to be said against his sermon, he wished it to be done in public. Hence this letter. Wesley says, 'I had much rather it had been done privately.' Fleury regretted in after years this attack on Methodism, and said, 'I was but a novice and a green-horn then.' See Crookshank's *Methodism in Ireland*, i. 245.

'I labour for peace: but when I speak thereof, they make themselves ready for battle.'—Ps. cxx. 7.

LIMERICK, May 18, 1771.

REVEREND SIR,—1. In June 1769 I spent two or three days at Waterford. As soon as my back was turned, you valiantly attacked me, I suppose both morning and afternoon. Hearing, when I was there two or three weeks ago, that you designed me the same favour, I waited upon you at the cathedral on Sunday, April 28. You was as good as your word: you drew the sword, and in effect threw away the scabbard. You made a furious attack on a large body of people, of whom you knew just nothing. Blind and bold, you laid about you *without fear or wit, without any regard either to truth, justice, or mercy.* And thus you entertained both morning and evening a large congregation who came to hear 'the words of eternal life.'

2. Not having leisure myself, I desired Mr. Bourke to wait upon you the next morning. He proposed our writing to each other. You said, 'No; if anything can be said against my sermons, I expect it shall be printed: let it be done in a public, not a private way.' I did not desire this; I had much rather it had been done privately. But, since you will have it so, I submit.

3. Your text was, 'I know this, that after my departure shall grievous wolves enter in among you, not sparing the flock. Also of your own selves shall men arise, speaking perverse things, to draw away disciples after them.' (Acts xx. 29-30.) Having shown that St. Paul foresaw these false teachers, you undertake to show, (1) the mischiefs which they occasioned; (2) the character of them, and how nearly this concerns a set of men called Methodists. (First Sermon, pp. 1-4.)

4. Against these false teachers, you observe, St. Paul warned the Corinthians, Galatians, Colossians, and Hebrews (pages 5-8). Very true; but what is this to the point? Oh, much more than some are aware of! The insinuation was all along just as if you had said: 'I beseech you, my dear hearers, mark the titles he gives to these grievous wolves, false apostles, deceitful workers, and apply them to the Methodist teachers. There I give them a deadly thrust.'

5. 'These are well styled by Christ "ravens wolves," by St. Paul "grievous wolves," from the mischiefs they do, rending the Church of Christ, and perverting the true sense of the gospel for their own private ends. They ever did, and to this day do, pretend to extraordinary inspiration.' (Page 8.)

Round assertions! Let us consider them one by one. (1) 'These are styled by Christ "ravens wolves," by St. Paul "grievous wolves."' True; but how does it appear that these names are applicable to the Methodists? Why, they 'rend the Church of Christ.' What is the Church of Christ? According to our Article, a Church is 'a company of faithful people,' of true believers, who have 'the mind that was in Christ,' and 'walk as Christ walked.' Who, then, are the Church of Christ in Waterford? Point them out, sir, if you know them; and then be pleased to show how the Methodists rend this Church of Christ. You may as justly say they rend the walls or the steeple of the cathedral church. 'However, they pervert the true sense of the gospel for their own private ends.' Wherein do they pervert the true sense of the gospel? I have published *Notes* both on the Gospels and the other Scriptures. But wherein do those *Notes* pervert the sense? None has yet attempted to show. 'But for what private ends should I pervert it? for ease or honour? Then I should be sadly disappointed. Or for money? This is the silliest tale of all. You may easily know, if you are willing to know it, that I did not leave Waterford without being some pounds lighter than I was when I came thither.

6. 'But they pretend to extraordinary inspiration.' They do not: they expressly disclaim it. I have declared an hundred times, I suppose ten times in print, that I pretend to no other inspiration than that which is common to all real Christians, without which no one can be a Christian at all. 'They denounce hell and damnation to all that reject their pretences' (page 9). This is another charge; but it is as groundless as the former, it is without all shadow of truth. You may as well say the Methodists denounce hell and damnation to all that reject Mahometanism. As groundless, as senselessly, shamelessly false, is the assertion following: 'To reject their ecstasies and fanatic pretences to revelation is cried up as a

crime of the blackest dye.' It cannot be that we should count it a crime to reject what we do not pretend to at all. But I pretend to no ecstasies of any kind, nor to any other kind of revelation than you yourself, yea, and every Christian enjoys, unless he is 'without God in the world.'

7. 'These grievous wolves pretended to greater mortification and self-denial than the Apostles themselves' (page 11). This discovery is spick-and-span new: I never heard of it before. But pray, sir, where did you find it? I think not in the canonical Scriptures. I doubt you had it from some apocryphal writer. 'Thus also do the modern false teachers.' I know not any that do. Indeed, I have read of some such among the Mahometan Dervises and among the Indian Brahmins. But I doubt whether any of these outlandish creatures have been yet imported into Great Britain or Ireland.

8. 'They pretend to know the mind of Christ better than His Apostles' (page 12). Certainly the Methodists do not: this is another sad mistake, not to say slander. 'However, better than their successors do.' That is another question. If you rank yourself among their successors, as undoubtedly you do, I will not deny that some of these poor, despised people, though not acting in a public character, do know the mind of Christ—that is, the meaning of the Scripture—better than you do yet. But perhaps, when ten years more are gone over your head, you may know it as well as they.

9. You conclude this sermon, 'Let us not be led away by those who represent the comfortable religion of Christ as a path covered over with thorns' (page 14). This cap does not fit me. I appeal to all that have heard me at Waterford or elsewhere whether I represent religion as an uncomfortable thing. No, sir; both in preaching and writing I represent it as far more comfortable than you do or are able to do. 'But you represent us as lovers of pleasure more than lovers of God.' If any do this, I doubt they touch a sore spot; I am afraid the shoe pinches. 'They affirm pleasure in general to be unlawful, grounding it on, "They that are in the flesh cannot please God"' (page 15). Wrong, top and bottom. Did we hold the conclusion, we should never infer it from such premises. But we do not hold it: we no more affirm pleasure in general to be

unlawful than eating and drinking. This is another invention of your own brain which never entered into our thoughts. It is really curious when you add, 'This is bringing men "after the principles of the world, and not after Christ."' What, the affirming that pleasure is unlawful? Is this 'after the principles of the world'? Was ever text so unhappily applied?

10. So much for your first sermon: wherein, though you do not seem to want goodwill, yet you are marvellously barren of invention; having only retailed two or three old, threadbare objections which have been answered twenty times over. You begin the second, 'I shall now consider some of their many absurd doctrines: the first of which is "the pretending to be divinely inspired"' (Second Sermon, p. 1). An odd doctrine enough. 'And called in an extraordinary manner to preach the word of God' (pages 2-4).

This is all harping upon the same string—the grand objection of lay preachers. We have it again and again, ten, twenty times over. I shall answer it once for all. Not by anything new—that is utterly needless; but barely by repeating the answer which convinced a serious clergyman many years ago.¹

11. 'But why do you not prove your mission by miracles?' This likewise you repeat over and over. But I have not leisure to answer the same stale objection an hundred times. I therefore give this also the same answer which I gave many years ago:

12. 'What is it you would have us prove by miracles? that the doctrines we preach are true? This is not the way to prove that. We prove the doctrines we preach by Scripture and reason. Is it (1) That A B was for many years without God in the world, a common swearer, a drunkard, a Sabbath-breaker? Or (2) That he is not so now? Or (3) That he continued so till he heard us preach, and from that time was another man? Not so. The proper way to prove these facts is 'by the testimony of competent witnesses; and these witnesses are ready whenever required to give full evidence of them. Or would you have it proved by miracles (4) That this was not done by our own power or holiness? that

¹ See letter of May 4, 1748.

God only is able to raise the dead, those who are dead in trespasses and sins? Nay, if you "hear not Moses and the Prophets" and Apostles on this head, neither will you believe "though one rose from the dead." It is therefore utterly unreasonable and absurd to require or expect the proof of miracles in questions of such a kind as are always decided by proofs of quite another nature.' ¹

If you will take the trouble of reading that little tract, you will find more upon the same head.

13. If you say, 'But those who lay claim to extraordinary inspiration and revelation ought to prove that claim by miracles,' we allow it. But this is not our case. We lay claim to no such thing. The Apostles did lay claim to extraordinary inspiration, and accordingly proved their claim by miracles. And their blessed Master claimed to be Lord of all, the eternal Son of God. Well, therefore, might He be expected to 'do the works which no other man did,' especially as He came to put an end to that dispensation which all men knew to be of God. See, then, how idly and impertinently you require the Methodists to work miracles 'because Christ and His Apostles did.'

14. You proceed: 'They pretend to be as free from sin as Jesus Christ' (page 6). You bring three proofs of this: (1) 'Mr. Wesley, in his answer to a divine of our Church, says, "Jesus Christ stands as our regeneration, to help us to the same holy, undefiled nature which He Himself had; and if this very life and identical nature is not propagated and derived on us, He is not our Saviour"' (page 7). When I heard you read these words, I listened and studied, and could not imagine where you got them. I knew they were not mine: I use no such queer language; but did not then recollect that they are Mr. Law's words in his Answer to Dr. Trapp, an extract from which I have published.² But be they whose they will, they by no means imply that we are to be 'as righteous as Christ was,' but that we are to be (which St. Peter likewise affirms) 'partakers of the divine nature.' (2) 'A

¹ *A Farther Appeal*, Part III. See *Works*, viii. 233-4.

² Joseph Trapp, D.D., preached four sermons, mainly against Law's

Serious Call, in 1739. Wesley published an extract from Law's Answer in 1748. See Green's *Bibliography*, No. 118.

preacher of yours declared he was as free from sin as Christ ever was.' I did not hear him declare it: pray did you? If not, how do you know he declared it at all? Nay, but 'another declared he believed it was impossible for one whom he named to sin, for the Spirit of God dwelt in him bodily' (page 8). Pray, sir, did you hear this yourself? Else the testimony is nothing worth. Hearsay evidence will not be admitted by any court in the kingdom.

What you say of that good man Mr. Whitefield, now with God, I leave with Mr. H——'s remark: 'I admire your prudence, though not your generosity; for it is much safer to cudgel a dead man than a living one.'

15. You next descant upon 'the disorders which the spirit of enthusiasm created in the last age.' Very likely it might; but, blessed be God, that is nothing at all to us. For He hath given us, not the spirit of enthusiasm, but of love and of a sound mind. In the following page you quaintly compare your hearers to sheep and yourself and friends to the dogs in the fable, and seem much afraid lest the silly sheep should be 'persuaded to give you up to these ravening wolves.' Nay, should you not rather be ranked with the sheep than the dogs? For your teeth are not so sharp as razors.

16. 'Another fundamental error of the Methodists is the asserting that laymen may preach—yea, the most ignorant and illiterate of them, provided they have the inward call of the Spirit' (page 11).

The former part of this objection we had before. The latter is a total mistake. They do not allow the 'most ignorant' men to preach whatever 'inward call' they pretend to. Among them none are allowed to be stated preachers but such as (1) are truly alive to God, such as experience the 'faith that worketh by love,' such as love God and all mankind; (2) such as have a competent knowledge of the Word of God and of the work of God in the souls of men; (3) such as have given proof that they are called of God by converting sinners from the error of their ways. And to show whether they have these qualifications or no, they are a year, sometimes more, upon trial. Now, I pray, what is the common examination either for deacon's or priest's orders to this?

17. 'But no ambassador can act without a commission from his King; consequently no preacher without a commission from God' (page 11). This is a tender point; but you constrain me to speak. I ask, then, Is he commissioned from God to preach the gospel who does not know the gospel? who knows little more of the Bible than of the Koran? I fear not. But if so, what are many of our brethren? Sent of man, but not of God!

'However, these laymen are not sent of God to preach; for does not St. Paul say, "No man taketh this honour to himself but he that is called of God, as was Aaron"?' (Page 13.) Another text most unhappily applied; for Aaron did not preach at all. But if these men are not sent of God, how comes God to confirm their word by convincing and converting sinners? He confirms the word of His messenger, but of none else. Therefore, if God owns their word, it is plain that God has sent them.

'But the earth opened and swallowed up those intruders into the priestly office, Korah, Dathan, and Abiram' (page 14). Such an intruder are you if you convert no sinners to God. Take heed lest a deeper pit swallow you up!

18. 'But the Church of Rome has sent out preachers among us, such as Thomas Heath, a Jesuit; and Faithful Commin,¹ a Dominican friar' (pages 16-17). And what do you infer from hence? that my brother, who was thought a student of Christ Church in Oxford, was really a Jesuit? and that, while I passed for a Fellow of Lincoln College, I was in fact a Dominican friar? Even to hint at such absurdities as these is an insult on common sense.

19. We have now done with the argumentative part of your sermons, and come to the exhortation: "'Mark them that cause divisions and offences among you; for they serve not the Lord, but their own bellies" (page 18). Who 'serve their own bellies'? the Methodists, or —? Alas, how terribly might this be retorted! "'And by fair speeches deceive the hearts of the simple.'" Deceive them into what? into the knowledge and love of God! the loving their neighbour

¹ See letter in Dec. 1751, sect. 46, to Bishop Lavington.

as themselves! the walking in justice, mercy, and truth! the doing to all as they would be done to! *Felices errore suo!*¹ Would to God all the people of Waterford, rich and poor, yea, all the men, women, and children in the three kingdoms, may be thus deceived!

20. 'Do not credit those who tell you that we must judge of our regeneration by sensible impulses, impressions, ardours, and ecstasies' (page 19). Who tells them so? Not I; not Mr. Bourke; not any in connexion with me. Sir, you yourself either do or ought to know the contrary. Whether, therefore, these are or are not 'signs of the Spirit' (page 20) see you to it; it is nothing to me, any more than whether the Spirit does or does not 'show itself in groanings and sighings, in fits and starts.' I never affirmed it did; and when you represent me as so doing, you are a sinner against God and me and your own soul.

21. If you should see good to write anything more about the Methodists, I beg you would first learn who and what they are. Be so kind as at least to read over my Journals, and the *Appeals to Men of Reason and Religion*. Then you will no longer 'run' thus 'uncertainly,' or 'fight as one that beateth the air.' But I would rather hope you will not fight at all. For whom would you fight with? If you will fight, it must be with your friends; for such we really are. We wish all the same happiness to you which we wish to our own souls. We desire no worse for you than that you may 'present' yourself 'a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable to God'; that you may watch over the souls committed to your charge as he 'that must give account'; and that in the end you may receive 'the crown which the Lord, the righteous Judge, will give to all that love His appearing!'—So prays, reverend sir,
Your affectionate brother.

To Mary Bishop

GALWAY, May 27, 1771.

MY DEAR SISTER,—Perhaps we may see a new accomplishment of Solomon's words, 'He that reproveth a man shall after-

¹ 'Happy in their error.'

ward find more favour than he who flattereth with his tongue.' But, be that as it may, I have done my duty ; I could no otherwise have delivered my own soul. And no offence at all would have been given thereby had not pride stifled both religion and generosity.¹ But the letter is now out of date ; it is mentioned no more : there is a more plausible occasion found—namely, those eight terrible propositions which conclude the *Minutes* of our Conference.² At the instance of some who were sadly frightened thereby, I have revised them over and over ; I have considered them in every point of view ; and truly, the more I consider them, the more I like them, the more fully I am convinced, not only that they are true, agreeable both to Scripture and to sound experience, but that they contain truths of the deepest importance, and such as ought to be continually inculcated by those who would be pure from the blood of all men.

Joseph Benson is a good man and a good preacher. But he is by no means clear in his judgement. The imagination which he has borrowed from another good man, ' that he is not a believer who has any sin remaining in him,' is not only an error, but a very dangerous one, of which I have seen fatal effects. Herein we divided from the Germans near thirty years ago ; and the falseness and absurdity of it is shown in the Second Journal and in my sermon on that subject.³

Your experience reminds me of these lines :

So many tender joys and woes
Have o'er my quivering soul had power !
Plain life with heightening passions rose,
The boast or burthen of an hour.⁴

They who *feel* less, certainly suffer less ; but the more we suffer, the more we may improve ; the more obedience, the more holiness, we may learn by the things we suffer. So that, upon the whole, I do not know if the insensible ones have the advantage over us.

¹ See letter of March 8.

² The *Minutes* for 1770, which gave occasion to Fletcher to write his *Checks to Antinomianism*.

³ The Lord our Righteousness. See *Works*, v. 234-46.

⁴ Gambold, in *Poetical Works of J. and C. Wesley*, i. 8.

If you wrote more than once in three months, it would not be amiss. Few are more tenderly concerned for you than, my dear Miss Bishop, Your affectionate brother.

PS.—You need only direct to Dr. C——.

To Miss Bishop, Near Lady Huntingdon's Chapel, In Bath.

To Philothea Briggs

GALWAY, May 28, 1771.

MY DEAR PHILLY,—Your concern is with the present moment ; your business is to live to-day. In every sense let the morrow take thought for the things of itself. It is true the full assurance of hope excludes all doubt of our final salvation ; but it does not and cannot continue any longer than we walk closely with God. And it does not include any assurance of our future behaviour ; neither do I know any word in all the Bible which gives us any authority to look for a testimony of this kind. But just so far you may certainly go with regard to the present moment,—

I want the witness, Lord,
That all I do is right,
According to Thy will and word,
Well-pleasing in Thy sight.

Seriously and steadily, my dear maid, aim at this, and you will not be disappointed of your hope.

With regard to the impression you speak of, I am in doubt whether it be not a temptation from the enemy. It may occasion many wrong tempers ; it may feed both pride and uncharitableness. And the Bible gives us no authority to think ill of any one, but from plain, undeniable, overt acts.

In the *Thoughts upon a Single Life*¹ you have what has been my deliberate judgement for many years. I have not yet seen any reason to alter it, though I have heard abundance of objections. I do not know whether your particular case² be an exception to the general rule. It is true your temper is both lively and unstable, and your passions are naturally strong,

¹ Published in 1765. See *Works*, xl. 456-63.

² See letter of May 2 to her.

But that is not much : the grace of God can totally subdue the most stubborn nature. So far, then, you may certainly go. You may now devote yourself to God soul and body in your present state, and resolve never to alter it without strong and urgent reasons. Of the weight of those reasons likewise, not yourself but your most spiritual friends should judge.

To Thomas Mason

Stephen Proctor was the Assistant at Castlebar, and had evidently talked to Wesley about Mason's ideas of matrimony. Molly Penington was the daughter of one of Wesley's devoted preachers, who died in 1767 at Athlone. She was converted as a girl of fourteen under John Bredin's ministry ; and married in 1785 Joseph Burgess, a Methodist Quartermaster, who became one of Wesley's preachers in 1790. Their son, the Rev. W. Penington Burgess, M.A., wrote *Wesleyan Hymnology*. Mason and How were probably leaders or local preachers. See *Journal*, vi. 407 ; *W.H.S.* v. 192 ; and letters of September 21, 1764, and June 25, 1771.

CASTLEBAR, *May 30, 1771.*

DEAR TOMMY,—A conversation I had yesterday with Brother Proctor determined me to write immediately. The person at Birr will not do : not only as she is far too young, little more than a child ; but as she has only little if any Christian experience. You want a woman of middle age, well tried, of good sense, and of deep experience. Such an one in every respect is Molly Penington ; but whether she is willing to marry or no, I cannot tell. If she is, I hardly know her fellow in the kingdom. If I meet with any, I will send you word.

I hope you speak to Jonathan How with all freedom and tell him whatever you think amiss in him, especially encouraging him to press all believers to go on to perfection, and to expect it now ! Peace with all your spirits !—I am, dear Tommy,

Your affectionate brother.

To Mr. Tho. Mason, Shopkeeper,
In Limerick.

To Elizabeth Briggs

CASTLEBAR, *May 31, 1771.*

MY DEAR BETSY,—You judge exceeding right : as yet you are but a little child, just a babe in the pure love of Christ.

As a little child, hang upon Him, and simply expect a supply of all your wants. In this respect reasoning profits you nothing; indeed, it is just opposite to believing, whereby you hearken to the inward voice, which says, 'Open thy mouth wide, and I will fill it.' Undoubtedly it would be a cross to you to declare what God has done for your soul; nay, and afterwards Satan would accuse you on the account, telling you, 'You did it out of pride.' Yea, and some of your sisters would blame you, and perhaps put the same construction upon it. Nevertheless, if you do it with a single eye, it will be well pleasing to God.

Your letters will be always agreeable to, my dear Betsy,
Yours affectionately.

To Miss March

CASTLEBAR, May 31, 1771.

The dealings of God with man are infinitely varied, and cannot be confined to any general rule; both in justification and sanctification He often acts in a manner we cannot account for.

There cannot be a more proper phrase than that you used, and I well understand your meaning; yet it is sure you are a transgressor still—namely, of the perfect, Adamic law. But though it be true all sin is a transgression of this law, yet it is by no means true on the other hand (though we have so often taken it for granted) that all transgressions of this law are sin: no, not at all—only all voluntary transgressions of it; none else are sins against the gospel law.

Although we have 'faith's abiding impression, realizing things to come'; yet as long as we are in the body we have but an imperfect, shadowy knowledge of the things of eternity. For now we only see them in a glass, a mirror, which gives us no more than a shadow of them; therefore we see them darkly, or in a riddle, as St. Paul speaks. The whole invisible world is as yet a riddle to us; and it seems to be in this sense that some writers speak so much of the night or darkness of faith—namely, when opposed to sight; that is, to the view of things which we shall have when the veil of flesh and blood is removed.

Those reasonings concerning the measure of holiness (a curious, not useful question) are not inconsistent with pure love, but they tend to damp it; and were you to pursue them far, they would lead you into unbelief.

What you feel is certainly a degree of anger, but not of sinful anger. There ought to be in us (as there was in our Lord) not barely a perception in the understanding that this or that is evil, but also an emotion of mind, a sensation or passion suitable thereto. This anger at sin, accompanied with love and compassion to the sinner, is so far from being itself a sin, that it is rather a duty. St. Paul's word is, 'not easily provoked' to any paroxysm of anger: neither are you; nevertheless, I suppose there is in you, when you feel a proper anger at sin, an hurrying motion of the blood and spirits, which is an imperfection, and will be done away.

To Ann Bolton

ROOSEY, June 8, 1771.

Woman, remember the faith! It is given to you to believe in the name of the Son of God! Nay, and also to suffer with Him, to drink a little of the cup which He drank of. O beware that you are not weary or faint in your mind! See what blessings are reserved in store for you? What if God sees good to permit for a little season that Satan should sift you as wheat? Still you have a Friend before the throne above; and He hath prayed for you that your faith fail not. You shall lose nothing in the furnace but your dross; you shall be purified, not consumed. I cannot tell you how near you have been to me ever since I heard of your present visitation. And why should you not expect that He who loves you a thousand times more than I do will heal both soul and body together? Look for Him! He is not far off! Come, Lord Jesus! Come quickly.—I am Your affectionate brother.

To Duncan Wright

LONDONDERRY, June 11, 1771.

DEAR DUNCAN,—You ought to speak largely and strongly against Antinomianism in all its branches. And you would do well when occasion is to read to any congregation and enforce

the three sermons on the Law.¹ Let us be open and downright both in public and private, and it will succeed best.

The work of God will never stand still for want of money so long as He has the hearts of all men in His hand. You should all use your best endeavours with regard to the Yearly Subscription. Scotland especially has found the benefit of it.

I should not advise our brother Hamilton to *give up* his business. It is a talent God has entrusted him with. But it would be wise to *contract* it, that he may have more leisure for business of greater importance. See that you strongly and explicitly exhort the believers to go on to perfection!—I am,
 dear Duncan, Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Mr. Duncan Wright, Edinburgh.

To Mary Bosanquet

This letter is addressed to Miss Bosanquet in Nightingale's *Portraiture*, p. 454; in Myles's *Chronological History*, p. 99; and in Tyerman's *Wesley*, iii. 112, who quotes from the manuscript letter. In Taft's *Holy Women* it is directed to Mrs. Crosby. It so appears in the *Works*; but the next letter, of the same date, is to her.

LONDONDERRY, June 13, 1771.

MY DEAR SISTER,—I think the strength of the cause rests there—on your having an *extraordinary* call. So I am persuaded has every one of our lay preachers; otherwise I could not countenance his preaching at all. It is plain to me that the whole work of God termed Methodism is an extraordinary dispensation of His providence. Therefore I do not wonder if several things occur therein which do not fall under the ordinary rules of discipline. St. Paul's ordinary rule was, 'I permit not a woman to speak in the congregation.' Yet in extraordinary cases he made a few exceptions; at Corinth in particular.—I am, my dear sister,

Your affectionate brother.

To Mrs. Crosby

LONDONDERRY, June 13, 1771.

MY DEAR SISTER,—Reading a chapter or part of one and making short observations may be as useful as any way of

¹ See *Works*, v. 433-66.

speaking. I doubt whether at *that particular time* it was advisable for you to go to Huddersfield. But it is past. All that you can do now (if you have not done it already) is to write lovingly to Mr. A——¹ and simply inform him of those facts, concerning which he was misinformed before. It is not improbable he may then see things clearer; but if he do not, you will have delivered your own soul. And whatever farther is said of you is *your* cross. Bear *it*, and it will bear *you*.—
I am, my dear sister, Your affectionate brother.

To Ann Bolton

LONDON,² June 15, 1771.

MY DEAR SISTER,—A letter from you is always welcome; but never more so than now, as this is the time wherein it seems good to our Lord to try you as by fire. Fear nothing; only believe. He is with you in the fire so that the flames shall not kindle upon you. O how will you praise Him by-and-by for His wise and gracious visitation! He is purging away all your dross, that you may be a vessel meet for the Master's use. Happy are they that do His will, and happier still they that suffer it. But, whatever you suffer, cast not away that confidence which hath great recompense of reward. In order to keep it, do not reason, but simply look up to Him that loves you. Tell Him as a little child all your wants. Look up, and your suit is made: He hears the cry of your heart. And tell all that troubles you to Yours affectionately.

To the Countess of Huntingdon

LONDON, June 19, 1771.

MY DEAR LADY,—Many years since, I saw that 'without holiness no man shall see the Lord.' I began following after it, and inciting all with whom I had any intercourse to do the same. Ten years after, God gave me a clearer view than I had before of the way how to attain this—namely, by faith in the Son of God. And immediately I declared to all, 'We are saved from sin, we are made holy, by faith.' This I testified in

¹ John Atlay was stationed at when he wrote this and the next
Bristol.

² Wesley was in Londonderry

letter. See *Journal*, v. 419ⁿ.

private, in public, in print ; and God confirmed it by a thousand witnesses. I have continued to declare this for above thirty years, and God hath continued to confirm the word of His grace. But during this time wellnigh all the religious world hath set themselves in array against me, and among the rest many of my own children, following the example of one of my eldest sons, Mr. Whitefield. Their general cry has been, ' He is unsound in the faith ; he preaches another gospel ! ' I answer, Whether it be the same which they preach or not, it is the same which I have preached for above thirty years. This may easily appear from what I have published during that whole term. I instance only in three sermons : that on Salvation by Faith, printed in the year 1738 ; that on The Lord our Righteousness, printed a few years since ; and that on Mr. Whitefield's funeral, printed only some months ago.¹ But it is said, ' Oh, but you printed ten lines in August last which contradict all your other writings ! ' ² Be not so sure of this. It is probable, at least, that I understand my own meaning as well as you do ; and that meaning I have yet again declared in the sermon last referred to. By that interpret those ten lines, and you will understand them better ; although I should think that any one might see even without this help that the lines in question do not refer to the condition of obtaining, but of continuing in, the favour of God. But whether the sentiment contained in those lines be right or wrong, and whether it be well or ill expressed, the gospel which I now preach God does still confirm by new witnesses in every place ; perhaps never so much in this kingdom as within these last three months. Now, I argue from glaring, undeniable fact ; God cannot bear witness to a lie. The gospel, therefore, which He confirms must be true in substance. There may be opinions maintained at the same time which are not exactly true ; and who can be secure from these ? Perhaps I thought myself so once : when I was much younger than I am now, I thought myself almost infallible ; but I bless God I know myself better now.

To be short : such as I am, I love you well. You have one

¹ See *Works*, v. 7-16, 234-46 ; 1770 : ' Who of us is now accepted of God ? &c.'

² *Minutes of the Bristol Conference*,

of the first places in my esteem and affection. And you once had some regard for me. But it cannot continue if it depends upon my seeing with your eyes or on my being in no mistake. What, if I was in as many as Mr. Law himself? If you were, I should love you still, provided your heart was still right with God. My dear friend, you seem not to have well learned yet the meaning of those words, which I desire to have continually written on my heart, 'Whosoever doeth the will of My Father which is in heaven, the same is My brother and sister and mother.'—I am, my dear Lady, Your affectionate.

To Thomas Wride

Wride was Assistant at Whitehaven, with Joseph Garnet (a native of Barnard Castle who died in 1773) as his colleague. Richard Seed (whose obituary in 1805 describes him as 'an old, well-known preacher') was Assistant at Haworth. £12 12s. 11d. is given for Whitehaven in 1770, and £5 in 1771. Littledale was probably a steward there. For Colbeck, see letter of August 26, 1748.

ARMAGH, *June 23, 1771.*

DEAR TOMMY,—I said before, we will pay the five pounds to Brother Littledale at the Conference. If T. Colbeck had done as I ordered, it would have been paid long ago. Then also we will make up what Brother Garnet wants. If he desires it, he may come to the Conference in your stead. If not, send your account of things by R. Seed. Will not the Yearly Subscription pay both those debts? If there be an overplus, it may lessen the debt on Whitehaven house.

I desire that neither any preacher of ours nor any member of our Society would on any pretence go to an Anabaptist meeting. It is the way to destroy the Society. This we have experienced over and over. Let all that were of the Church keep to the Church.—I am, dear Tommy,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Mrs. Hall

CLONMAIN, *June 24, 1771.*

DEAR PATTY,—You may boldly say, 'Health I shall have if health be best'; although in a natural way we are not to expect much of it when we are got on the wrong side sixty.

So much the more surprising is it that I find more health at sixty-eight than I did at eight-and-twenty. I have far less pain, less sickness at stomach, and fewer bodily infirmities. So that I have a good hope I shall not live to be useless, but rather

My body with my charge lay down,
And cease at once to work and live.

It signifies very little whether the time we creep about upon the earth be a little longer or shorter. Only let us see to that,—

Be they many or few,
My days are *His* due,
And they all are devoted to Him!

It seems my sister Harper¹ will go out just as a lamp for want of oil. Well, let you and I live *to-day*.—I am, dear Patty,
Your ever affectionate friend and Brother.

To Miss March

COCKHILL, IRELAND, June 25, 1771.

Undoubtedly the reward which is purchased for us by the blood of the covenant will be proportioned to what we are (through grace), what we do, and what we suffer. Whatever, therefore, prevents our doing good prevents our receiving so full a reward; and what can countervail that loss? It is certainly right that we should bear one another's burthens; that we should weep with them that weep, and for them that weep not for themselves. 'When Jesus saw them weeping, He troubled Himself.' He willingly sustained that emotion; He voluntarily suffered that sorrow; and it is good for us to tread in His steps. 'But how far?' Just so far as does not disqualify us for any other part of our duty; so far as softens, not unnerves, the mind, as makes us more, not less, zealous of good works.

Undoubtedly there are various kinds and various degrees of communion with God. We cannot confine it to one only;

¹ Mrs. Harper died this year in her eightieth year. See letter of June 30, 1743.

it may take in the exercise of every affection, either single or variously mixed together ; and may run through all our outward employments. The most desirable prayer is that where we can quite pour out our soul and freely talk with God. But it is not this alone which is acceptable to Him. ' I love one,' said an holy man, ' that perseveres in dry duty.' Beware of thinking even this is labour lost. God does much work in the heart even at those seasons.

And when the soul, sighing to be approved,
Says, ' Could I love,' and stops, God writeth, ' Loved !'

And yet the comfort is that you need not rest here : you may go on until all your heart is love ; till you ' rejoice evermore, pray without ceasing, and in everything give thanks.' You know this is the will of God concerning you in Christ Jesus.

I think Molly Penington¹ enjoys this, and grows in grace continually. So do two or three more members in this Society. But they sadly want more searching preachers, and those that would help them forward by explaining the deep things of God.

Peace be with your spirit.

To Several Preachers and Friends

The Hon. and Rev. Walter Shirley had sent out a circular inviting those who disapproved of the Doctrinal Minutes of 1770 to meet in Bristol and go in a body to the Conference and insist upon a formal recantation of them. Wesley drew up and printed a clear account of the doctrines set forth in the *Minutes*. This he sent to his preachers and friends. At the head of this copy, which was addressed ' To Miss Bishop, Near Lady Huntingdon's Chapel, Bath,' he wrote the note dated July 20.

DUBLIN, July 10, 1771.

DEAR SIR,—You desired my farther thoughts on those propositions which close the *Minutes* of our last Conference.

' We have leaned too much toward Calvinism.'

' 1. With regard to *man's faithfulness*. Our Lord Himself taught us to use the expression ; and we ought never to be ashamed of it. We ought steadily to assert it, on His author-

¹ See letters of May 30, 1771, and Sept. 16, 1780.

ity, that if a man is not *faithful in the unrighteous mammon* God will not *give him the true riches.*'

I think nothing farther need be said on this, as it is grounded on the express Word of God.

' 2. With regard to *working for life.* This also our Lord has expressly commanded us. "*Labour*" (*literally work*) "*for the meat that endureth to everlasting life.*" And, in fact, every believer *works for* as well as *from* life.'

' Every believer ': of such only the proposition speaks. And who can doubt it ?

' 3. We have received it as a maxim that " a man is to do nothing *in order to* justification." Nothing can be more false. Whoever desires to find favour with God should "*cease from evil and learn to do well.*" Whoever repents should "*do works meet for repentance.*" And if this is not *in order to* find favour, what does he do them for ? '

And who can deny one line of this if he allows the Bible to be true ?

Thus far, then, here is no ground for this marvellous outcry. Here is no heresy, but the words of truth and soberness.

' Review the whole affair.

' 1. Who of us is *now* accepted of God ? ' (I mean, who is now in His favour ? The question does not refer to the *gaining* the favour of God, but the *being* therein, at any given point of time.) ' He that now believes in Christ with a loving and obedient heart.'

Well, and who can deny this ? Who can find any fault either with the sentiment or the expression ?

' 2. But who among those that never heard of Christ ? He that " feareth God and worketh righteousness " according to the light he has.' The very words of St. Peter ¹: '*Of a truth I perceive God is no respecter of persons : but in every nation he that feareth God and worketh righteousness is accepted with Him*' (*δεκτός αὐτῷ ἔστιν*), is in a state of acceptance.

Disprove this who can.

' 3. Is this the same with *he that is sincere* ? Nearly, if not quite.'

So I think. But I contend not for a word. You may either take it or leave it.

'4. Is not this salvation by works? Not by the *merit* of works, but by works as a *condition*.'

By salvation I here mean final salvation. And who can deny that both inward good works (loving God and our neighbour) and outward good works (keeping His commandments) are a condition of this? What is this more or less than '*Without holiness no man shall see the Lord*'?

'5. What have we, then, been disputing about these thirty years? I am afraid *about words*.' That is, so far as we have been disputing (as I did with Dr. Church) whether works be a *condition* of salvation—yea, or of justification, suppose you take that term as our Lord does (Matt. xii. 37), where (speaking of the Last Day) He says, '*By thy words thou shalt be justified*.' With justification as it means our first acceptance with God this proposition has nothing to do.

'Tis true thirty years ago I was very angry with Bishop Bull, that great light of the Christian Church, because in his *Harmonica Apostolica* he distinguishes our first from our final justification, and affirms both inward and outward good works to be the condition of the latter, though not the former.

'6. As to *merit* itself, of which we have been so dreadfully afraid, we are rewarded *according to our works*—yea, *because of our works*. How does this differ from *for the sake of our works*? And how differs this from *secundum merita operum*? as our works deserve? Can you split this hair? I doubt I cannot.'

I follow after truth; and wherever I find it, I not only embrace it, but own it in the face of the sun. If any will show me this is not the truth, I will retract it. But let us consider it part by part. (1) 'We were dreadfully afraid of the word *merit*.' None can deny this. (2) 'We are rewarded (at the Last Day) *according to our works*.' Neither can this be denied. (3) '*Yea, because of our works*.' Witness Abraham, the grand pattern of believers: 'Because thou hast done this thing, . . . in blessing I will bless thee' (Gen. xxii. 16-17). (4) 'How differs this from *secundum merita operum*? as our works deserve?' I say again, I cannot split this hair. Who-

ever can has my free leave. And afterwards let him split his throat with crying out, 'Oh dreadful heresy!'

'7. The grand objection to one of the preceding propositions is drawn from matter of fact. God does in fact justify those who by their own confession neither *feared God* nor *wrought righteousness*. Is not this an exception to the general rule? It is a doubt if God makes any exception at all.'

But methinks I would rather answer, We are sliding away from our question, which is not, how we *gain*, but how *retain* the favour of God.

'8. Does not talking of a justified or a sanctified *state* tend to mislead men? almost naturally leading them to trust in what was done in one moment? Whereas we are every hour and every moment pleasing or displeasing to God *according to our works*, according to the whole of our inward tempers and our outward behaviour.'

Perhaps the former part of this sentence is a little too strong. Instead of *almost naturally* I would say *very frequently*. But the latter contains a truth of the deepest importance, and one that cannot be too much inculcated. Every hour God is more or less pleased with us according to the whole of our inward and outward behaviour.

If any candid person desires it, I am ready to explain myself more largely on any of the preceding heads.—I am

Your affectionate servant.

To Robert Costerdine

Robert Costerdine and William Linnell were together in Cheshire South. At the Conference of 1771 Costerdine became Assistant in Staffordshire. Linnell went to Whitehaven, and ceased to travel in 1773.

DUBLIN, July 11, 1771.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—If you send the accounts of the money, number of people, and other circumstances, it will be sufficient for Brother Linnell to come; for the circuit should not be left vacant. If you judge it best, divide the money in the manner you mention. I believe you will be either in Chester or Liverpool Circuit. Be all alive, and do all you can for a good Master.—I am

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To *Philothea Briggs*

DUBLIN, July 13, 1771.

MY DEAR PHILLY,—Truth and falsehood, and so right and wrong tempers, are often divided by an almost imperceptible line. It is the more difficult to distinguish right and wrong tempers or passions, because in several instances the same motion of the blood and animal spirits will attend both one and the other. Therefore in many cases we cannot distinguish them but by the unction of the Holy One. In the case you mention all self-complacency or self-approbation is not pride. Certainly there may be self-approbation which is not sin, though it must occasion a degree of pleasure. 'This is our rejoicing, even the testimony of our conscience toward God.' And this joy is neither better nor worse for being accompanied with a natural motion of the blood and spirits. Equally natural and equally innocent is the joy which we receive from being approved of those we love. But in all these instances there is need of the utmost care, lest we slide from innocent joy or self-approbation into that which is not innocent, into pride (thinking of ourselves more highly than we ought to think), or vanity, a desire of praise; for 'thin partitions do their bounds divide.'¹

Certes, I have for many days
Sent my poetic herd to graze.²

In youth it is almost natural to write verses, especially at leisure times. But I have no leisure time; my every hour is constantly and fully employed.

You have no business to *begin* any dispute with your young acquaintance. If she begin with *you*, say but little, till you carry her *Predestination Calmly Considered*, and desire her to give it a calm and serious reading. *That* book is such an hotch-potch as I have seldom seen, and is brimful of Antinomianism (as are all Mr. Romaine's writings³). I advise

¹ Dryden's *Absalom and Achitophel*,
i. 163 :

'Great wits are sure to madness near
allied,
And thin partitions do their bounds
divide.'

² Prior's *Evle Robert's Mice* :

'Certes, I have those many days
Sent myne poetic herd to graze.'

³ See Tyerman's *Wesley*, ii. 534.

you to think and speak as little about it as possible. Here and there he blunders upon the truth, as in the sentence which she quoted.

I remember nothing particular in the sealing of that letter. In about ten days I expect to embark for England. Be all in earnest! and always speak without reserve to, my dear Philly,

Yours affectionately.

To Miss Philly Briggs, At Mr. Barker's,
In Sevenoaks, Kent.

To Miss March

DUBLIN, July 13, 1771.

As long as we dwell in an house of clay it is liable to affect the mind; sometimes by dulling or darkening the understanding, and sometimes more directly by damping and depressing the soul and sinking it into distress and heaviness. In this state doubt or fear of one kind or another will naturally arise. And the prince of this world, who well knows whereof we are made, will not fail to improve the occasion, in order to disturb, though he cannot pollute, the heart which God hath cleansed from all unrighteousness.

I rejoice with you concerning poor Martin Madan.¹ Persons who are eminently dutiful to their parents hardly ever fail of receiving a reward even in the present world.

My call to America is not yet clear.² I have no business there as long as they can do without me. At present I am a debtor to the people of England and Ireland, and especially to them that believe.

You have a delicate part to act with regard to Philly.³ There are so many great defects in her natural temper that a deal of grace will be required to make her altogether a Christian; neither will grace shine in her as it would in others. You have need carefully to encourage what is of God in her and tenderly to reprove what is of nature. I am afraid for P—— D——,⁴ lest she should be less zealous of good works than she was formerly. I doubt she has at present little encouragement thereto.

¹ See reference to his mother in Tyerman's *Wesley*, ii. 284.

² See letters of Dec. 14, 1770, and Aug. 14, 1771 (to Philothea Briggs).

³ See previous letter and that of Sept. 13.

⁴ Damaris Perronet.

In the 13th of [the First of] Corinthians you have the height and depth of genuine perfection ; and it is observable St. Paul speaks all along of the love of our neighbour, flowing indeed from the love of God. Mr. De Renty is an excellent pattern of this. But many things in his fellowship with God will not be explained till the Holy Spirit explains them by writing them on your heart. That darkness which often clouds your understanding I take to be quite preternatural. I believe the spirit of darkness spreads a mist over your mind, so far as he is permitted ; and that the best remedy is simply to look up to God, and the cloud will flee away at His presence.—I am, &c.

To Mrs. Bennis

Mrs. Bennis told Wesley on July 7 that she had talked with Brother Christian, who preached at Waterford. He held Election, but not Reprobation, and that ' God is willing to save all, and that those whom He saves cannot finally fall. This doctrine, he says, brings great comfort to his soul ; but as it might not have the same effect on others, he does not advance it, lest any should rest in it.' See letter of May 15.

She reported that ' Mr. Thompson comes on Sundays to hear, and is at times so affected as to run out of the house,' but that he kept close to his ' former Antinomian intimates.' He had, however, been to ' a general class-meeting for the first time these six months ; he seems in earnest ; the Lord grant him steadiness and resolution.'

DUBLIN, July 20, 1771.

MY DEAR SISTER,—I am much pleased to hear so good an account of John Christian. If I was resolved to understand all God's dispensations, I should embrace his opinion ; because it in a manner accounts for some things which otherwise are unaccountable. But this I do not expect ; I am content to understand exceeding little while I am in the body. What He does I know not now ; it is enough that I shall know hereafter. Our business now is to love and obey ; knowledge is reserved for eternity. My chief objection to Milton's doctrine of Election is that I cannot reconcile it to the words of St. Peter, which manifestly refer to the eternal state of men : ' God is no respecter of persons.' Now, how can we allow this, if we believe He places one man, as it were, suspended between heaven and hell, while He fixes another, ere ever he is born, under an absolute impossibility of missing heaven ?

I am well pleased you see some reason to hope well of Mr. Thompson. Speak closely to him. He has a strong, cultivated understanding, and would make a shining Christian. If he continues serious, he will not long be pleased with his former company; they will grow tasteless, nay irksome.

It is not material whether this or that infirmity or defect be consistent with this or that gift of God. Without reasoning about this, it is your part simply to spread all your wants before Him who loves you; and He will richly supply them all!

Your ever affectionate brother.

To Mary Bishop

DUBLIN, July 20, 1771.

MY DEAR SISTER,—For your own satisfaction I send you this¹; but I wish you would not show it before the Conference. If the Calvinists do not or will not understand me, I understand myself. And I do not contradict anything which I have written within these thirty years. *You* understand me right, and express more at large the very thing I mean. I know not that any one could express it more justly in the same number of words. Poor Mr. Shirley's triumph will be short. Peace be with your spirit!—My dear sister, adieu!

To Miss Bishop, Near Lady Huntingdon's Chapel, Bath.

To his Brother Charles

KINGSWOOD, August 3, 1771.

DEAR BROTHER,—I will not throw away T. Rankin on the people of London. He shall go where they know the value of him.²

We cannot put out what we never put in. I do not use the word *merit*.³ *I never did. I never did, neither do now, contend for the use of it. But I ask you or any other a plain question; and do not cry 'Murder,' but give me an answer: What is the difference between merere and 'to deserve'?* or between 'deserving' and *meritum*? I say still, I cannot tell. Can *you*? Can Mr. Shirley? or any man living? In asking this question,

¹ See letter of July 20.

now went to Cornwall West.

² Rankin had been in London; he

³ See sect. 6 in letter of July 20.

I neither plead for merit nor against it. I have nothing to do with it. I have declared a thousand times there is no goodness in man till he is justified; no merit either before or after: that is, taking the word in its proper sense; for in a loose sense *meritorious* means no more than *rewardable*.

As to Reprobation, seeing they have drawn the sword, I throw away the scabbard. I send you a specimen. *Let fifteen hundred of them be printed as soon as you please.*¹

Nothing was ever yet expended out of the Yearly Subscription without being immediately set down by the secretary. I never took a shilling from that fund yet. What you advise with regard to our behaviour toward opposers exactly agrees with my sentiments.

My wife, I find, is on the high ropes still. I am full of business, as you may suppose. So adieu!

To Miss March

KINGSWOOD, August 3, 1771.

How wise are all the ways of God! And although in many instances they are past finding out, yet we may even now discern the designs of His providence.

The *Appendix to the Philosophy*² and the *Trinity Hymns*, I hope, will settle you on that important point. It is a striking remark of Bishop Browne's that we are not required to 'believe any mystery' in the matter. The mystery does not lie in the fact 'These Three are One,' but in the manner the accounting how they are one. But with this I have nothing to do. I believe the fact. As to the manner (wherein the whole mystery lies) I believe nothing about it. The quaint device of styling them three offices rather than persons gives up the whole doctrine.

There is scarcely any word of so extensive a sense as 'wisdom.' It frequently means the whole of religion. And, indeed, no one can be termed throughly wise until he is altogether a

¹ *A Defence of the Minutes of Conference (1770) relating to Calvinism.* See Green's *Bibliography*, No. 273; and letters of July 10 and 20.

² The third volume of *A Compen-*

dium of Natural Philosophy forms an Appendix to the several sections of the previous volumes. See Green's *Bibliography*, No. 265; and for *Hymns on the Trinity (1767)*, No. 246.

Christian. To devote all our thoughts and actions to God, this is our highest wisdom ; and so far as we inwardly or outwardly swerve from this, we walk as fools, not as wise. In order to be all devoted to the Lord, even those who are renewed in love still need the unction of the Holy One, to teach them in all circumstances the most excellent way, and to enable them so to watch and pray that they may continually walk therein. It seems my time for writing either on this or other subjects is pretty well over ; only I am ready to add a word now and then if Providence so require.

Persons are in one sense delivered from unbelief when they are enabled to believe always, when they have 'faith's abiding impression, realizing things to come.' For they can then no longer be termed unbelievers. When this is given in a very glorious manner, so that they are filled with faith and are not able to doubt even for a moment, it is natural for them to say 'they are saved from all unbelief.' The soul that is all light (as Lopez, when he said, 'All is midday now') may affirm, 'I am saved from all darkness.' And is not this the will of the Lord concerning you? Undoubtedly it is. Fear not then ; reason not : only look up. Is He not nigh, even at the door? He is nigh that justifieth ; He is nigh that sanctifieth ; He is nigh that supplies all your wants ! Take more out of His fullness, that you may love Him more, praise Him more, and serve Him better. It is desirable to glorify God, like Mr. De Renty or Haliburton, in death as well as in life. I am sorry for poor Miss H[artly].¹ It is a mysterious providence.

To Samuel Bardsley

Everett, in his *Methodism in Sheffield*, p. 241, says : 'One of the most artless and touching monuments of filial affection and respect might have been raised to the memory of this good man. . . . The tender solicitude which he manifested for the salvation of his mother is almost inexpressible.' See letter of January 29, 1773, where Wesley sends a 'little draft' for his mother.

BRISTOL, August 5, 1771.

DEAR SAMMY,—I had intended you for a more distant circuit, where I believe you would have been exceeding useful.

¹ See letters of Jan. 24 and Aug. 14 to Hannah Ball.

But we can hardly show tenderness enough to an aged parent. Therefore, for your mother's sake, I will alter my design, and appoint you for the Derbyshire Circuit, which you know borders on that of Manchester.

Take care to walk closely with God and to exhort others so to do. Be instant in season and out of season. Encourage all to expect salvation *now*!—I am

Your affectionate brother.

To Mr. Samuel Bardsley, At Mr. James Walker's, In Sheffield.

To John Hallam

BRISTOL, August 10, 1771.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—Mr. Olivers¹ is able and willing to instruct you more particularly as to any doubts than I can do by letter.

I advise you do not on any account stay from those that love God. Meantime you may see many who neither love nor fear Him in their own houses, either single or more of them together.

If any refrain from our preaching because you do not go to it, it is a good reason why you should. Meantime do all the good you can to all. Any of the practical books which we have published might be of use to yourself and give you a farther opportunity of being useful to others.²

Perhaps it might answer your design if you taught school six or seven hours a day.—I am

Your affectionate brother.

To John Hallam, At Castle Donnington.

To Hannah Ball

Misa Ball writes on February 25, 1772: 'I exceedingly rejoice that my sister Ann has obtained the love that casteth out fear which hath torment. Her very face bespoke her happiness of mind and the praises of God. I felt a solid joy rest on my own soul. By the conversation I this day had with my mother, I cannot doubt her enjoying the liberty of the children of God.' See *Memoir*, p. 100.

¹ Thomas Olivers was Assistant in Derbyshire.

² See letter to Samuel Bardsley on Jan. 29, 1773: 'John Hallam is a good man, though a queer one; I am in hopes he will do good.'

BRECKNOCK, August 14, 1771.

MY DEAR SISTER,—I am glad you remain at Wycombe. That is undoubtedly your place : you have there a large field of action to exercise all the grace and gifts which God has given you. See that you be zealous for God. Redeem the time, and in due time you shall reap if you faint not.

The great point is to retain what we have received. You have need by every possible means to watch over your sister ¹ and your mother, lest they lose what God has wrought. Hardly three in five of those that are either justified or sanctified keep the gift of God a year to an end. So much the more exhort them to watch and pray that they enter not into temptation. I love you the better because you love dear Miss Hartly.² Peace be with your spirits !—I am

Your affectionate brother.

To Philothea Briggs

THE HAY, August 14, 1771.

MY DEAR PHILLY,—If you find any comfort or help thereby, write on, without any reasoning about the matter. As yet you need take no thought about my going to America³ ; I have some more business to do in Europe. The various thoughts and suggestions you mention are just such as any person of a lively imagination may expect. Satan, too, very well knows whereof we are made, and always attacks us on the weak side. But these and a thousand clouds passing over your mind prove nothing as to the state of your heart : see that this be devoted to Him, and it is enough. You have given it Him ; stand to your gift. However, then, your imagination may be affected, you will have the testimony of a good conscience toward God. Not but that you may plead that promise, 'The peace of God shall keep your hearts and *minds* through Christ Jesus.' As the former word takes in all your passions, so does the latter all the workings of your reason and imagination. Pray, therefore, and look for the answer of your prayer. It shall come, and not tarry ! You did well to give up that little idol. You may fast on Fridays by somewhat lessening the quantity

¹ Miss Ann Ball, who continued the Sunday School after Hannah's death.

² See letter of Aug. 3 to Miss March.

³ See letters of July 13, 1771 (to Miss March), and Feb. 1, 1772.

of your breakfast or dinner. Do Miss Lambert all the good you can. Peace be with all your spirits!—I am, my dear Philly,
Yours affectionately.

I shall soon be at Bristol.

To Miss Phil. Briggs, At Shoreham,
Near Sevenoaks, Kent.

To the Countess of Huntingdon

This letter is wrongly dated in *Works*, xii. 462; see Whitehead's *Wesley*, ii. 349. Lady Huntingdon had written a letter which was delivered to Wesley in Bristol on August 5, on the evening before the Conference met. It was read to the Conference by Shirley on the 8th. See *Journal*, v. 425; Tyerman's *Wesley*, iii. 98-9; Telford's *Wesley*, pp. 286-90.

NEAR THE HAY, August 14, 1771.

MY DEAR LADY,—When I received the former letter from your Ladyship, I did not know how to answer; and I judged, not only that silence would be the best answer, but also that with which your Ladyship would be best pleased. When I received your Ladyship's of the 2nd instant, I immediately saw that it required an answer; only I waited till the hurry of the Conference was over that I might do nothing rashly. I know your Ladyship would not 'servilely deny the truth.' I think neither would I; especially that great truth Justification by Faith, which Mr. Law indeed flatly denies (and yet Mr. Law was a child of God), but for which I have given up all my worldly hopes, my friends, my reputation—yea, for which I have so often hazarded my life, and by the grace of God will do again. 'The principles established in the *Minutes*' I apprehend to be no way contrary to this, or to that faith, that consistent plan of doctrine, which was once delivered to the saints. I believe, whoever calmly considers Mr. Fletcher's Letters¹ will be convinced of this. I fear, therefore, 'zeal against those principles' is no less than zeal against the truth and against the honour of our Lord. 'The preservation of *His* honour appears so sacred' to me, and has done for above these forty years, that I have counted, and do count, all things loss in comparison of it.

¹ Five Letters to the Hon. and Rev. Tyerman's *Wesley's Designated Successor*, p. 192.
Walter Shirley, which formed the *First Check to Antinomianism*. See

But till Mr. Fletcher's printed letters are answered, I must think everything spoke against those *Minutes* is totally destructive of His honour, and a palpable affront to Him both as our Prophet and Priest, but more especially as the King of His people. Those letters (which therefore could not be suppressed without betraying the honour of our Lord) largely prove that the *Minutes* lay no other foundation than that which is laid in Scripture, and which I have been laying, and teaching others to lay, for between thirty and forty years. Indeed, it would be amazing that God should at this day prosper my labours as much if not more than ever, by converting as well as convincing sinners, if I was 'establishing another foundation, repugnant to the whole plan of man's salvation under the new covenant of grace, as well as the clear meaning of our Established Church and all other Protestant Churches.' This is a charge indeed! But I plead, Not guilty. And till it is proved upon me, I must subscribe myself, my dear Lady,

Your Ladyship's truly affectionate but much injured
servant.

To Ann Bolton

PEMBROKE, August 25, 1771.

MY DEAR SISTER,—Now you make me amends. Your affectionate letter gave me unspeakable satisfaction. I am glad you have been with Sister Iles. She is a jewel. Is she going to be married or not? I am glad likewise that you have better health; surely He will withhold from you no good thing! But I cannot tell you how glad I am that your love is not grown cold. Perhaps our wise Lord may sometimes make that love a balance against the temptations you speak of. You certainly have need to watch in all things; otherwise you would suffer loss. And you have need to be always active and zealous for God, forgetting yourself and simply following Him. But one caution I would give my dear friend. Do not spend too much time *at once* in any company. An hour at a time is generally enough; and if we spend more, it is less useful. O how I long for patience to have its perfect work in you, that you may be perfect in Him, and lacking nothing! I will pardon your past delay only on one condition, that you quickly write again. Let not your works of mercy rob you

of time for private prayer ; and fail not then especially to remember, my dear Nancy, Yours affectionately.

To Mrs. Savage

BRISTOL, August 31, 1771.

MY DEAR SISTER,—Right precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of His saints ! And I believe many of the blessings which we receive are in answer to their dying prayers. It is well if the great change be wrought in a soul even a little before it leaves the body. But how much more desirable it is that it should be wrought long before, that we may long glorify Him with our body and with our spirit ! O exhort all whom you have access to not to delay the time of embracing all the great and precious promises ! Frankly tell all those that are simple of heart what He has done for your soul ; and then urge,

May not every sinner find
The grace which found out me ?

If Mr. Fletcher has time to call upon you, he will surely bring a blessing with him. He is a man full of faith. Be free with Sister Brisco,¹ who brings this.—My dear sister, adieu !

To Mary Bishop

BRISTOL, September 1, 1771.

MY DEAR SISTER,—I hope to see you at Bath on Tuesday, and to preach about six in the evening. I choose to preach early that I may have time to meet the Society after preaching.

Concessions made in the chapel at Bath would not quench the flame kindled over the three kingdoms.² Mr. Fletcher's Letters may do this in some measure ; but the antidote cannot spread so fast as the poison. However, the Lord reigneth, and consequently all these things shall work together for the increase of His kingdom.

Certainly simple faith is the very thing you want, that faith which lives upon Christ from moment to moment. I believe that sermon The Scripture Way of Salvation³ might at this

¹ Her husband, Thomas Brisco, had been in Devonshire, but was this Conference appointed to Wiltshire North.

² As to the 1770 *Minutes*.

³ See *Works*, vi. 43-54.

time be particularly useful to you. It is a great thing to seize and improve the *very now*. What a blessing you may receive at this instant ! Behold the Lamb of God !—I am, dear Miss Bishop,

Your affectionate brother.

To Thomas Wride

BRISTOL, September 7, 1771.

DEAR TOMMY,—The preachers appointed¹ for Whitehaven Circuit are John Mason and William Linnell. Jos. Garnet is appointed for Sheffield ; and Thomas Wride Assistant in the Armagh Circuit. Many of the people there are much alive. Probably you may cross over to Newry, which brings you just to the spot.

Let Brother Mason and Linnell follow the blow at Keswick. I am glad to hear so good an account of John M'Combe.²

Be zealous, serious, active ! Then you will save your own soul and them that hear you !—I am

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Philothea Briggs

KINGSWOOD, September 13, 1771.

MY DEAR PHILLY,—Your present weakness will, I hope, be an unspeakable blessing. You was in danger of having more sail than ballast, more liveliness of imagination than solid wisdom. But it seems God is correcting this defect, and giving you more steadiness of mind.³ You now see and feel what is the real worth of this poor, perishable world, and how little real happiness is to be found in all things under the sun.

Meantime you are to use all probable means of recovering and confirming your health. Taking many medicines, indeed, is not a probable means : I would in no wise advise this.⁴ But what complaint have you ? I always thought you had firm and vigorous health. Perhaps I may direct you to some

¹ The Conference met at Bristol on Aug. 6, when these appointments were made.

² For John M'Combe's escape from a pit on fire, near Whitehaven in 1759, 'burned from head to foot,

but rejoicing and praising God,' see *Journal*, iv. 314.

³ See letters of July 13, 1771, and April 12, 1772, to her.

⁴ See letter of Oct. 6.

little rules of common sense which will be of service to you. It is right to pour out our whole soul before Him that careth for us. But it is good likewise to unbosom ourselves to a friend in whom we can confide. This also is an appointed means which it generally pleases God to bless. Whenever, therefore, you have opportunity, speak all that is in your heart to, my dear Philly,

Yours affectionately.

To Miss Phil. Briggs, At Miss March's,
In Worship Street, Moorfields, London.

To Ann Bolton

BRISTOL, *September 16, 1771.*

Nancy, Nancy! Why do you forget your friends? Why do you tempt me to be angry? I tell you again you will lose your labour: I can't be angry at *you*. You are marvellously slow in writing. Come, I hope you will make me amends (if you are well) by a long letter. I purpose, if God permit, to be at Wallingford on Monday, October 14; at Witney on Wednesday and Thursday; at High Wycombe on Friday; and at London on Saturday. Do not delay to write. I want to hear how you are and what you are doing, as well as how the work of God goes on at Witney and elsewhere? And how go on Brother Jaquis and his wife?

Peace be multiplied upon you!—My dear Nancy, adieu!

To Mrs. Savage

John Ellis was Assistant in Gloucestershire. He had great power in prayer and in exhortation. He opened the new chapel in Worcester on Christmas Day 1771, and died on January 5, when most of the Methodists went into mourning.

In the *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine* for 1826, p. 818, this letter is dated September 29.

BRISTOL, *September 19, 1771.*

MY DEAR SISTER,—A report was spread abroad of my coming to Broadmarston and several other places; but I know not what was the occasion of it. I am now expected in the southern parts of the kingdom, and my course has been for several years as fixed as that of the sun.

Mr. Ellis is a steady, experienced man, and a sound preacher.

Wherever he is the work of our Lord prospers in his hand ; and the more so as he is a lover of discipline, without which the best preaching is of little use. I advise you to speak to him as freely as possible, and he will be made profitable to your soul. Your late trials were intended to give you a deeper sense of your poverty and helplessness. But see that you cast not away that confidence which hath great recompense of reward. Cleave to Him with your whole heart, and all is well.—I am, my dear sister, Your affectionate brother.

To Christopher Hopper

Hopper went to Newcastle in August 1771, and laboured there for two years 'among my dear friends and countrymen, whom I love for the truth's sake.' Hanson, who was now at Bradford, travelled for twenty-two years, and spent his last twenty at his native place, Horbury, near Wakefield. He was 'a plain, honest, faithful, zealous man,' and died on October 18, 1804. See *Wesley's Veterans*, i. 148 ; and letter of October 13.

BRISTOL, September 22, 1771.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—You and I differ a little in our judgement. I take Yarm Circuit to be a very comfortable one. But I see an evil growing among us : preachers *claim* to be two years together in the same round, because it has been suffered sometimes ; but if it be so, I must suffer it no more. Every preacher shall change every year ; unless they will leave it to *my* judgement to make an exception now and then when I may see sufficient cause. However, for the present, if Thomas Hanson is willing, you may change circuits with him. To a request which I did not approve of silence was the mildest answer. Nevertheless I had rather *you* had been at Leeds. I believe you would have done more good. But others had spoke first. Pray let them not be beforehand with you, if we live to another year.—I am, with love to Sister Hopper, Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Mr. C. Hopper, Yarm.

To Hannah Ball

The *Memoir* of Miss Ball, p. 98, says : 'Miss Ball writes to Mr. Wesley, requesting an exposition of Ephesians iv. 30 ; which elicited the following reply.'

PORTSMOUTH, October 4, 1771.

MY DEAR SISTER,—The being 'sealed by the Spirit' in the full sense of the word I take to imply two things: first, the receiving the whole image of God, the whole mind which was in Christ, as the wax receives the whole impression of the seal when it is strongly and properly applied; secondly, the full assurance of hope, or a clear and permanent confidence of being with God in glory. Either of these may be given (and sometimes is, though not frequently) separate from the other. When both are joined together, then I believe they constitute that seal of the Spirit. But even this admits of various degrees. A degree of it, I trust, you have. Watch and pray! Do and suffer the whole will of Him that calleth you; and He will supply whatever is wanting.—I am, my dear sister,

Your affectionate brother.

To *Philothea Briggs*

LONDON, October 6, 1771.

MY DEAR PHILLY,—I commend you for not meddling with medicines,¹ except some of those simple ones in the *Primitive Physick*. Perhaps youth, with abstinence from tea and whatever else you feel hurts you, may restore your health. And, while it continues, this weakness may be of excellent use by weaning you from the love of present things.

The first *Appeal* is a complete treatise of itself independent on the rest. This, therefore, may be given to any one without the others, which makes the expense easy. But to your friend you might give or lend them all. And if she has sense enough to read them impartially, she will learn to speak and write without ambiguity, just according to common sense. You may tell her, 'If you was doing those works, thinking to *merit* salvation thereby, you was quite wrong. But if you was doing them because they are the *appointed way* wherein we wait for free salvation, you was quite right.' But you need only send her Mr. Fletcher's Letters, and they will clear up the point sufficiently.—I always am, dear Philly,

Yours affectionately.

¹ See letter of Sept. 13.

To Joseph Benson

'Mr. Benson's mind was soon again brought under a cloud, which must chiefly be attributed to the erroneous views he at this time was led to entertain as to receiving the fullness of the Spirit. Mr. Wesley,' says the manuscript *Life*, i. 246, 'encouraged him by a few lines.' After leaving Oxford, Benson spent some time in the neighbourhood of Bristol, and then laboured for two or three months in Wiltshire, where Fletcher told him, 'your faith had a lift' (*ibid.* p. 248). In August 1771 he was appointed to the London Circuit, where he was popular. 'Now,' says Fletcher, 'temptations return to show you the need of that full assurance which nothing can give but the baptism, nothing can keep but the indwelling God.'

LONDON, October 11, 1771.

DEAR JOSEPH,—Here, in this very point, is your mistake. You was as *really* a believer when you came to Kingswood as you are now. Five-and-thirty years since, hearing that wise man Mr. Spangenberg describe the fruits of faith, I immediately cried out, 'If this be so, I have *no* faith.' He replied, 'Habes fidem, sed exiguam.' This was then *your* case too. It is not strange that you are seldom satisfied by my letters; for I use few words, and you are not to be satisfied but by many. You want me to *think for you*. That is not my design. I would only *help you to think*.—I am, dear Joseph,

Yours affectionately.

To John Fletcher

LONDON, October 12, 1771.

DEAR SIR,—Returning from Bedfordshire this evening, I received your two letters and the bill. I do not propose saying anything to Mr. Shirley, at least not for the present. I am glad mine came too late to prevent your writing me the Sixth Letter, which I trust will be as useful as the others have been. Certainly it is possible to reconcile meekness, yea and kindness, with the utmost plainness of speech. But this will infallibly be termed bitterness by those who do not receive it in love. Their returning us hatred for goodwill is the cross we are called to bear.

I can hardly believe what he says of Mr. Spencer,¹ whose

¹ See letter of June 20, 1770.

love, I verily think, is without dissimulation. But Calvinism I know to be a deadly enemy to all Christian tempers.

Peace be with your spirit !—I am, dear sir,

Ever yours.

To Christopher Hopper

LONDON, October 13, 1771.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—Methodist preachers cannot have always accommodations fit for gentlemen. But let us look upon David Brainerd, and praise God for what we have. In the general, Yarm Circuit is one of the best in England.¹ The living souls make us ample amends for the inconvenient houses.

I am persuaded, wherever the Assistant is earnest in the matter and has a little address and patience, the weekly contribution will answer the end. Difficulties we must expect ; but by the help of God you will conquer them. If Tommy Hanson and you live till May, you may change again.—I am, with love to Sister Hopper,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Philothea Briggs

WITNEY, October 16, 1771.

MY DEAR PHILLY,—It is no fault to be grieved at the unkindness of those we love : only it may go to an excess ; so that we have need to watch in this, as in all things, seeing the life of man is a temptation upon earth. And it is no fault not to grieve for the censure we must often meet with for following our own conscience. Of those little ones you cannot be too tender or too careful ; and as you are frequently with them alone, you may teach them many important lessons as they are able to bear them. But it requires immense patience ; for you must tell them the same thing ten times over, or you do nothing.²

An higher degree of that peace which may well be said to pass all understanding will keep, not only your heart, but all *the workings of your mind* (as the word properly signifies),

¹ See letter of Sept. 22.

See Stevenson's *Wesley Family*, p.

² Compare his mother's patience. 169.

both of your reason and imagination, from all irregular sallies. This peace will increase as your faith increases; one always keeps pace with the other. So that on this account also your continual prayer should be, 'Lord, increase my faith!' A continual desire is a continual prayer—that is, in a low sense of the word; for there is a far higher sense, such an open intercourse with God, such a close, uninterrupted communion with Him, as Gregory Lopez experienced, and not a few of our brethren and sisters now alive. One of them (a daughter of sorrow for a long time) was talking with me this morning. This you also should aspire after; as you know, He with whom we have to do is no respecter of persons.

If you are writing any verses, I will give you a subject. Give me a picture of yourself: what you are at present (as you have already told me in prose), and what you wish to be. You may write in four-lined stanzas, such as those of the 'Elegy wrote in the Churchyard.'

The more free you are with me the more welcome. You never yet was troublesome (and I am persuaded you never will be) to, my dear Philly, Yours affectionately.

To Robert Costerdine

LONDON, October 25, 1771.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—Do what you can, and you do enough. No debt is properly included but that which was contracted three years ago. However, in such cases as that of Birmingham we may make an exception.¹ You are in the right to stop all who would tell you any stories of past things. Tell them, 'Now is the day of salvation,' and strongly exhort them to embrace it. Recommend the books wherever you go. Meet the children, and visit from house to house.—I am, dear Robert, Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Mrs. Bennis

William Collins was the newly-appointed preacher. Mrs. Bennis wrote on October 15: 'Mr. Collins has arrived. We do not doubt his

¹ Costerdine was Assistant in Staffordshire. Birmingham received £12 at the Conference of 1772.

abilities and good qualities ; but we are rather cast down by having another married preacher with a young family sent to us before we could recruit our finances. We owe now a heavy debt, and the weekly collections are not equal to the weekly expenses. . . . Could we not have a single preacher at least every other year till we are out of debt ?' On April 28, 1773, Wesley found such congregations at Bandon as had not been seen there 'for twenty years, and the Society was near doubled within a twelvemonth. So had God blessed the labours of William Collins ! Another proof that, at present, a prophet is not without honour even in his own country.' He died in 1797. See *Journal*, v. 504 ; Crookshank's *Methodism in Ireland*, i. 274.

Mrs. Bennis told Christian on March 29, 1772, that she did not see how he could find his 'mind clear to require or accept a travelling station among the Methodists while you hold any opinion contrary to our professed doctrines.'

RYE, October 28, 1771.

MY DEAR SISTER,—It is no wonder that finite cannot measure infinite, that man cannot comprehend the ways of God. There always will be something incomprehensible, something like Himself, in all His dispensations. We must therefore be content to be ignorant until eternity opens our understanding, particularly with regard to the reasons of His acting thus or thus. These we shall be acquainted with when in Abraham's bosom.

As thinking is the act of an embodied spirit, playing upon a set of material keys, it is not strange that the soul can make but ill music when her instrument is out of tune. This is frequently the case with you ; and the trouble and anxiety you then feel are a natural effect of the disordered machine, which proportionably disorders the mind. But this is not all : as long as you have to wrestle, not only with flesh and blood, but with principalities and powers, wise as well as powerful, will they not serve themselves of every bodily weakness to increase the distress of the soul ? But let them do as they may ; let our frail bodies concur with subtle and malicious spirits : yet see that you cast not away your confidence, which hath great recompense of reward. 'Be strong in the Lord and in the power of His might.' Whereunto you have attained hold fast ; and when you feel the roughest and strongest assault, when the enemy comes in like a flood, do not reason, do not (in one sense) fight with him, but sink down in the presence of your Lord, and

simply look up, telling Him, ' Lord, I cannot help myself ; I have neither wisdom nor strength for this war ; but I am Thine, I am all Thine : undertake for me ; let none pluck me out of Thine hands. Keep that safe which is committed to Thee, and preserve it unto that day.'

I am in great hopes, if we live until another Conference, John Christian will be useful as a travelling preacher : so would J—— M——¹ if he had courage to break through. However, I am pleased he exercises himself a little : encourage him. I wish you would lend Mrs. Dawson² the *Appeals* : take them from the book-room, and present them to her in my name. Go yourself ; for I wish you to be acquainted with her. I believe they will satisfy her about the Church. She halts just as I did many years ago. Be not shy towards Brother Collins : he is an upright man. Sister L—— is already doing good in Clonmel.³ Do you correspond with her ?

Your affectionate.

To Isaac Twycross

Twycross was one of the masters at Kingswood in 1770-2. He was ordained deacon on June 24, 1781, and priest by the Bishop of Chichester at his palace in December. He was licensed as Lecturer of St. Edmund the King on October 11, 1786, and as Curate of St. Leonard's, Shore-ditch, on March 21, 1792, at £60 a year.

Rvb, October 29, 1771.

DEAR ISAAC,—Nothing is fixed as yet. But whatever God calls you to He will fit you for. Not, indeed, without a good measure of reproach ; but so much the better. Reproach for doing our duty is an unspeakable blessing.—I am

Your affectionate brother.

To Isaac Twycross, At Kingswood School.

To Philothea Briggs

LONDON, November 3, 1771.

DEAR PHILLY,—I am always well pleased to see and hear from you. I answer you, more or less fully, as I have time.

¹ Evidently a local preacher in Limerick.

² See letter of March 31, 1772.

³ See letter of July 27, 1770.

Neither do I know how to advise Nancy Greenwood ; although I think he is free to marry.

Rollin was a pious man and a fine historian. If you read one volume, you would feel whether it enlivened or deadened your soul. The same trial you may make as to serious poetry. Very probably this would enliven your soul ; and certainly the volumes of Philosophy *may*, as Galen entitles his description of the human body, 'An Hymn to the Creator.' Temporal business need not interrupt your communion with God, though it varies the manner of it.

It is certain every promise has a condition ; yet that does not make the promise of none effect, but by the promise you are encouraged and enabled to fulfil the condition. You might like it better were there no condition ; but that would not answer the design of Him that makes it. It is certain there are times of nearer access to God, and that it nearly imports us to improve those precious seasons. But we may find plausible objections against this, and indeed against anything. The more free you are with me, the more you oblige, my dear Philly,
Yours affectionately.

To Ann Bolton

LYNN, November 7, 1771.

MY DEAR SISTER,—At length I have snatched an hour to repeat to you in writing the advices which I gave you before.¹ (1) Keep that safe which God has given you ; never let slip any blessing which you have received. Regard none who tell you, 'You *must* lose it.' No ; you never need lose one degree of love. (2) You never will, provided you are a careful steward of the manifold gifts of God. To *him that hath*—that is, uses what he hath—it shall be given still, and that more abundantly. Therefore (3) Use your every grace. Stir up the gift of God that is in you. Be zealous ! Be active ! Spare no one. Speak for God wherever you are. But meantime (4) Be humble ; let all that mind be in you which was in Christ Jesus. And be clothed with humility. Pray that you may always feel that you are nothing, less than nothing, and vanity. In this

¹ He had been at Witney on Oct. 15 and 16.

spirit speak and do everything, giving all the glory to Him that reigns in your heart by faith.

Last night I was reading some advices of a French author, part of which may be of use to you. Only observe, he is writing to one that had living faith, but was not perfected in love.

'How can I distinguish pride from temptation to pride?' 'It is extremely difficult to distinguish these, and still more so to lay down rules for doing it. Our eyes cannot penetrate the ground of our hearts. Pride and vanity are natural to us; and for this reason nothing is more constantly at hand, nothing less observed, than their effects. The grand rule is to sound sincerely the ground of our hearts when we are not in the hurry of temptation. For if, on inquiry, we find that it loves obscurity and silence; that it dreads applause and distinction; that it esteems the virtue of others and excuses their faults with mildness; that it easily pardons injuries; that it fears contempt less and less; that it sees a falsehood and baseness in pride and a true nobleness and greatness in humility; that it knows and reveres the inestimable riches of the cross and the humiliations of Jesus Christ; that it fears the lustre of those virtues which are admired by men and loves those that are more secret; that it draws comfort even from its own defects through the abasement which they occasion; and that it prefers any degree of compunction before all the light in the world;—then you may trust that all the motions you feel tending to pride or vanity, whether they are sudden or are thrust against you for some time, are not sin, but temptation. And then it may be the best to turn from and despise them, instead of giving them weight, by fixing your attention upon them.'

I want a particular account both of your inward and outward health. Tell me how you are and what you are doing; withhold nothing from

Your affectionate friend and brother.

Write soon, or come: write and come.

To Mary Stokes

LYNN, November 9, 1771.

MY DEAR SISTER,—How glad should I be could I be of any service to one I so tenderly regard! You have an heart suscep-

tible of friendship ; and shall it not be a blessing to you, a means of increasing every holy temper, and perhaps of guarding you against some of the dangerous temptations which are incident to youth ?

Shall I give you a few advices ? (1) Keep that safe which God has given ; never let slip any blessing you have received. Regard none who tell you, ' You must lose it.' No ; you may have more or less of joy—this depends upon a thousand circumstances ; but you never need lose one degree of love. (2) You never will if you are a careful steward of the manifold gifts of God. To him that hath—that is, uses what he hath—it shall be given still, and that more abundantly. Therefore (3) Use your every grace. Stir up the gift of God that is in you. Be zealous, be active, according to your strength. Speak for God wherever you are. But meantime (4) Be humble ! Let all that mind be in you which was in Christ Jesus. Pray for the whole spirit of humility, that you may still feel you are nothing, and may feel those words,

All might, all majesty, all praise,
All glory be to Christ my Lord !

I am accustomed to remember a few of my friends about ten o'clock in the morning : I must take you in among them, on condition you will likewise remember me at that time. I never shall think your letters too long.—My dear Molly,
Your affectionately.

To Matthew Lowes

Lowes made and sold a valuable balsam. The Conference of 1770 had decided that preachers who engaged in trade should be excluded from the brotherhood. Lowes had retired in 1771, and was settled at Newcastle, supporting his family by his sale of balsam. It attained great celebrity, and was known by his name as late as 1857. See *Laycock's Great Haworth Round*, pp. 296-7.

NORWICH, November 10, 1771.

DEAR MATTHEW,—I am glad you was able to do so much. You should do all you can, otherwise want of exercise will not lessen but increase your disorder. It may be travelling a little may restore your strength, though as yet you are not able to

travel much. Certainly there is no objection to your making balsam while you are not considered as a travelling preacher.—I am, with love to Sister Lowes,

Your affectionate brother.

To John Valton

Valton was in delicate health. Wesley published in 1769 an extract of Dr. Tissot's *Advice to People in General*, which he regarded as 'one of the most useful books of the kind which has appeared in the present century.' See Green's *Bibliography*, No. 255.

NORWICH, November 12, 1771.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—Many of our brethren have begun to assist their neighbours on the principles of the *Primitive Physick*. At first they prescribed only *simple* things, and God gave a blessing to their labours. But they seldom continued as they began; they grew more and more *complex* in their prescriptions. Beware of this; keep to the simple scheme. One thing will almost always do better than two.

I think there is a small tract of the kind you mention among those given away by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. If so, I can easily abridge it into a penny pamphlet. Dr. Tissot wrote for Swiss constitutions: we must make allowance for English, which are generally less robust.

In every place there is a remarkable blessing attending the meetings for prayer. A revival of the work of God is generally the consequence of them. The most prevailing fault among the Methodists is to be *too outward* in religion. We are continually forgetting that the kingdom of God is *within us*, and that our fundamental principle is, We are saved *by faith*, producing all *inward* holiness, not by works, by any externals whatever.—I am

Your affectionate brother.

To Mr. John Valton, At Furfleet.

To Mary Bishop

LONDON, November 20, 1771.

MY DEAR SISTER,—What if even before this letter comes to your hands our Lord should come to your heart? Is He not nigh? Is He not now knocking at the door? What do

you say? 'Come in, my Lord, come in.' Are you not ready? Are you not a mere sinner? a sinner stripped of all? Therefore all is ready for you. Fear not; only believe. Now believe, and enter into rest. How gracious is it in the kind Physician to humble you and prove you and show you what is in your heart! Now let Christ and love alone be there.

Sister Janes's experience is clear and scriptural¹: I hope she does not let go anything that God has given her. I don't know anything of Mr. Morgan's Sermons²: some in Dublin think he is married, and some not. I hope the preachers at the chapel now let you alone and follow after peace. Mr. Fletcher's Letters³ have done much good here, and have given a deadly wound to Antinomianism.—I am, my dear Miss Bishop,

Yours affectionately.

To Samuel Bardsley

LONDON, November 24, 1771.

DEAR SAMMY,—It is a great blessing that your fellow labourers and you are all of one mind.⁴ When that is so, the work of the Lord will prosper in your hands. It will go on widening as well as deepening while you draw in one yoke. If you desire it should deepen in believers, continually exhort them to go on unto perfection, steadily to use all the grace they have received, and every moment to expect full salvation. The *Plain Account of Christian Perfection* you should read yourself more than once, and recommend it to all that are groaning for full redemption.—I am

Your affectionate brother.

To Mrs. Bennis

CANTERBURY, December 3, 1771.

MY DEAR SISTER,—I did believe Brother Collins⁵ would be of use to you and you may be of use to him: speak to each

¹ Thomas Janes was one of the Bristol preachers in 1770. See letter of Dec. 26 to Mary Stokes.

² James Morgan, who wrote the *Life of Thomas Walsh*, published *The Crucified Jesus*, considered in three discourses.

³ The *First Check to Antinomianism* had just appeared in the form of five letters.

⁴ He was in Derbyshire Circuit with Thomas Olivers and David Evans.

⁵ See letter of Oct. 28.

other without reserve, and then you will seldom meet in vain. Thrust him out to visit the whole Society (not only those that can give him meat and drink) from house to house, according to the plan laid down in the *Minutes* of Conference: then he will soon see the fruit of his labour. I hope he is not ashamed to preach full salvation receivable now by faith. This is the word which God will always bless, and which the devil peculiarly hates; therefore he is constantly stirring up both his own children and the weak children of God against it.

All that God has already given you hold fast. But expect to see greater things than these.

Your affectionate brother.

To Hannah Ball

Samuel Wells was Assistant in the Oxfordshire Circuit. He was a native of Cheltenham, who became a preacher in 1770, and died in 1780. He was 'remarkably zealous for God, . . . and a strenuous exhorter of believers to go on to perfection.' See Atmore's *Memorial*, pp. 449-52.

LONDON, December 9, 1771.

MY DEAR SISTER,—It always gives me pleasure to hear that you are not removed from the hope of the gospel. It is no wonder if, as your desires increase after the whole image of God, so your temptations, particularly from that enemy of all righteousness, should increase also. I trust Mr. Wells will be made a blessing to you and to many,—especially if he visits from house to house; not only those with whom he eats or drinks, but all the Society from one end of the town to the other. Forward him by all means in this labour of love, though many difficulties will attend it. But what are crosses and difficulties to those who experience the living power of faith divine? You can do all things through Christ strengthening you, however grievous to flesh and blood. Now let the return of health be a blessing to you. Spend and be spent for a good Master.—I am, my dear sister,

Your affectionate brother.

To Thomas Simpson

Thomas Simpson, M.A., became Head Master at Kingswood in 1770. Wesley was greatly pleased with the spirit and behaviour of the children under his care in October 1787. See *Journal*, vii. 332.

CHATHAM, December 12, 1771.

DEAR TOMMY,—I make no doubt at all but God will give you strength according to your day.

I found John Glascock¹ in want of everything; I sent him to Kingswood, that he might want nothing. But, since he is neither thankful to God nor man, send him back again as soon as you please.

Whenever we can find a young man that can and will conscientiously observe the rules of the house, you shall have him directly. Is the young man of Coleford such an one? If so, take him without delay.—I am, dear Tommy,

Your affectionate brother.

To Mr. Thomas Simpson, Kingswood.

To S. L——

The Rev. S. L——, of Scilly, had consulted John Floyd, then a preacher in Cornwall West, as to the work in Scilly, and on October 14 acknowledges a letter from Wesley, whom he asks to send a preacher to help him there. He tells Wesley that if he could not succeed in getting some changes made he would think 'of quitting the place as soon as possible, when I shall be most extremely glad to have the honour of conversing with you.' See *Arminian Magazine*, 1784, pp. 667-9.

LEWISHAM, December 14, 1771.

DEAR BROTHER,—For some time I have been in doubt whether it was best for me to write or to leave you to your own reflections. But at length love turns the scale. I cannot be silent any longer without being wanting in affection. I will therefore state the case as impartially as I can; and may God give you a right judgement in all things!

It has pleased God to entrust you with several talents—a measure of His grace, of natural understanding, improved by reading and conversation, and a tolerable utterance. And what are you doing with these talents? You are wellnigh burying them in the earth. A dispensation of the gospel is committed to you; and yet you preach not the gospel, or but

¹ Is this John Glascock who was 1782-3? He may have come from converted at the school in April Cardiff. See letter of May 13, 1764, 1768, and became a preacher in

now and then, instead of continually stirring up the gift of God that is in you. Is this inactivity, this losing so many precious opportunities, owing to any temporal views? Do you expect to get more money by delay? I hope not. Do you want to avoid labour, shame, or censure? I would fain think better things of you. Surely you have not so learned Christ!

But you have promised, not indeed to man, but before God, that you will not leave the Church. What do you mean by this? What ideas do you affix to that confused expression? In what sense can the officiating at West Street or Spitalfields Chapels (both of them consecrated places, if that avails anything) be called leaving the Church? Does Mr. Dodd, one of the King's chaplains, leave the Church by officiating at Charlotte Street Chapel? although this was never consecrated yet, neither is under any Episcopal jurisdiction.

But if you had made that promise ten times, still I ask, Would it not be 'more honoured in the breach than in the observance'? For what was it you promised? To wait for dead men's shoes? Was not this a foolish promise? To bury your talent in the earth? Was not this a sinful promise? To incur the woe of not preaching the gospel? Is not this both foolish and sinful? 'But you do not intend to stand in the vineyard all the day idle. You will but wait a while longer.' Well, how long will you be as a dumb dog? twenty years? or ten? or one and a half? If you have a lease of your life, well. But what if you are called in one year to give an account of your stewardship? O live to-day! Do all the good you can while it is called to-day! Now stir up the gift of God which is in you! Now save as many souls as you can; and do all you can to ease the labour and prolong the life of

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To James Hutton

On December 21 Wesley met James Hutton, whom he had not seen for twenty-five years. Their hearts were quite open, and they conversed as in 1738, when they were together in Fetter Lane. See *Journal*, v. 441; and for Francis Okeley, the Moravian minister at Bedford, letter of October 4, 1758.

December 26, 1771.

DEAR JAMES,—It really seems the time is come when our Lord will roll away our reproach, and Ephraim shall no more vex Judah, nor Judah vex Ephraim.

Frank Okeley and you, with my brother and me, so many at least, are lovers of peace. After having seen above half a century of years, we are sick of strife and contention. If we do not yet think alike, we may at least love alike. And, indeed, unity of affection is a good step forward toward unity of judgement. We need not despair of getting farther by-and-by: the right hand of the Lord bringeth mighty things to pass. Nothing will be wanting that is in the power of, dear James,

Your old friend and brother.

To Mr. Hutton, At Lindsey House,
Chelsea.

To Mary Stokes

John Pawson was now Assistant in Bristol. His autobiography is in *Wesley's Veterans*, iv. 1-121. He was President of the Conference in 1793, and died on March 19, 1806, in his sixty-ninth year. Adam Clarke calls him 'this heavenly man.' He was one of the noblest and most trusted of Wesley's helpers.

Thomas Janes had been in Bristol the previous year, and had now settled as pastor of a Nonconformist chapel there. Atmore says, 'He was an able preacher, and had something peculiarly pleasing in his manner and address.' He died in 1773.

LONDON, December 26, 1771.

MY DEAR SISTER,—Sanctified crosses are blessings indeed; and when it is best, our Lord will remove them. A peculiar kind of watching, to which you are now called, is against the suggestions of that wicked one who would persuade you to deny or undervalue the grace of God which is in you. Beware of mistaking his voice for the voice of the Holy One. Do justice to Him that lives and reigns in you, and acknowledge His work with thankfulness. There is no pride in doing this: it is only giving Him His due, rendering Him the glory of His own graces. But in order to this you stand in continual need of the unction, to abide with you and teach you of all things. So shall you never lose anything of what God has given; neither the blessing itself nor the witness of it. Nay, rather you shall sink deeper and deeper into His love; you shall go on from faith

to faith ; and patience shall have its perfect work, until you are perfect and entire, wanting nothing.

Cannot poor Molly Jones discern the difference between John Pawson and T. Janes ? ¹ In Tommy's conversation there is nothing solid or weighty, as neither was there in his preaching. Therefore neither religion nor sound reason would lead one to admit either one or the other. It is only free, open love, however shy she may be, whereby you can make any impression upon her. And love, seconded with prayer, will persuade.

Do you not find as much life in your soul as ever ? Can you still give God all your heart ? Do you find as much of the spirit of prayer and the same zeal for God ? Go on, in His name and in the power of His might, trampling yours and His enemies under your feet.—My dear Molly,

Your affectionate brother.

To Ann Bolton

LONDON, December 28, 1771.

I hope this affliction will be a great blessing to your brother. Lose no time in encouraging him to turn to God in earnest. Do you feel as much life in your soul as ever ? Are you as happy as you were ? Do you find as much of the spirit of prayer ? And are you as active for God as when I saw you ? Is your heart whole with Him, free from idols ? I am jealous over you. I was in many fears, occasioned by your long silence. I want you to be gaining ground every hour. I love Mr. Hallward² ; but do not let him proselyte you to his opinion. Write soon to

Your affectionate brother.

¹ See letter in Jan. 1772 to Miss Stokes.

² See letter of March 9, 1771.

A QUIETER INTERVAL

JANUARY 5, 1772, TO DECEMBER 31, 1773

PRINCIPAL EVENTS

1772. *Friends provide Wesley with a carriage.*
Apr. 28. Presented with the Freedom of Perth.
Aug. 14. Meets Howell Harris at Trevecca.
Fletcher's Third and Fourth Check to Antinomianism published.
Wesley issues vols. xi.-xvi. of his Works. Controversial writings of the Hills and Toplady.
- 1773, *Jan. Proposals to John Fletcher.*
Mar. Wesley lets Shadford loose on America.
Mar. 14. Replies to Sir Richard Hill's Farrago Double-Distilled.
Dec. Boston Tea Riots.
Vols. xvii.-xxv. of Wesley's Works published.

The years 1772 and 1773 are not marked by any outstanding events. Wesley pursued his work with unflagging zeal. He writes to his brother on March 25, 1772: 'Oh what a thing it is to have curam animarum! You and I are called to this; to save souls from death, to watch over them as those that must give account!' 'I am ashamed,' he adds, 'of my indolence and inactivity.' That was the spirit of the veteran evangelist.

The number of letters to Methodist women shows how they turned to him for counsel not only in spiritual things but in the concerns of their daily life. His anxiety about the health and well-being of Nancy Bolton comes out strongly in several letters to her at this time. It must be remembered also that such devoted women as Mrs. Bennis and Hannah Ball were used as means to stir up and guide his preachers in many parts of their teaching and work.

The letters to Christopher Hopper, Joseph Benson, and Thomas Wride show how vigilant was Wesley's oversight of the work in the three kingdoms; and the important letter of December 4, 1773, to Thomas Rankin, who had gone to take charge in America, is perhaps the most sage and significant in the correspondence of this period. The renewal of intercourse with his old friend and convert James Hutton is a happy feature; and one sees Wesley's pleasant irony at the expense of Peter Jaco in the letter of October 7, 1773, which suggests that a camel or an elephant would be necessary for such an itinerant.

A QUIETER INTERVAL

JANUARY 5 TO DECEMBER 9, 1772

To Philothea Briggs

LONDON, *January 5, 1772.*

MY DEAR PHILLY,—It is not always a defect to mind one thing at a time. And an aptness so to do, to employ the whole vigour of the mind on the thing in hand, may answer excellent purposes. Only you have need to be exceeding wary, lest the thing you pursue be wrong. First, be well assured not only that it is good but that it is the best thing for you at that time ; and then, whatsoever your hand findeth to do, do it with your might. But you have all things in one, the whole of religion contracted to a point, in that word, ‘*Walk in love*, as Christ also loved us and gave Himself for us.’ All is contained in humble, gentle, patient love. Is not this, so to speak, a divine contrivance to assist the narrowness of our minds, the scantiness of our understanding ? Every right temper, and then all right words and actions, naturally branch out of love. In effect, therefore, you want nothing but this—to be filled with the faith that worketh by love.

You take no liberties that are not agreeable to, my dear Philly,

Yours affectionately.

To James Hutton

LEWISHAM, *January 10, 1772.*

DEAR JAMES,—Little journeys hither and thither have for these two or three weeks taken up much of my time. You know I am a busy kind of mortal ; however, I am always glad to see my old friends. But most of them have taken their flight from hence, and are lodged in Abraham’s bosom. I expect to be at West Street Chapel house on Monday, between

eleven and twelve. Wishing you every gospel blessing; I remain, dear James,

Yours affectionately.

The Foundery.

I had wrote before I received yours.

To Mr. Hutton, At Lindsey House,
Chelsea.

To Robert Costerdine

LONDON, *January 18, 1772.*

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I am glad you see the fruit of your labour. As to Bilston,¹ if you can do no good there, you will do well to bestow the time elsewhere. I hope (if God prolong my life and health) to be at Broadmarston¹ on Friday, March 13; on Saturday at Birmingham; on Sunday at Wednesbury; on Monday, 16th, where you please; on Tuesday, at five or six in the evening, at Wolverhampton; and on Wednesday, the 18th, at Newcastle (noon); Burslem, six in the evening.—I am

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Mrs. Pywell

Mrs. Pywell replied on February 28: 'I am always sensible of the presence of God, which is never interrupted by company or hurry of business, though I am often much exposed to both. . . . I sometimes find lowness of spirits, which I think came upon me first by grief, occasioned by a brother and sister leaving the good ways of God.' See letter of April 23, 1771.

NEAR LONDON, *January 22, 1772.*

MY DEAR SISTER,—You have given me a clear and satisfactory answer to the questions which I proposed, and I rejoice over you for the grace of God which is in you. May He increase it more and more! How should I rejoice to see you and to talk with you more particularly on these heads! I hope that may be in spring; but before then you can tell me,—Are you always sensible of the presence of God? Is not that sense ever interrupted by company or by hurry of business? Do you pray without ceasing? Is your heart lifted up, whatever your hands are employed in? Do you

¹ Costerdine was now Assistant till the 14th, and Birmingham on the 16th. See *Journal*, v. 448.

² He did not get to Broadmarston

rejoice evermore? Are you always happy? always more or less enjoying God? Do you never fret? never so grieve at anything as to interrupt your happiness? Do you never find lowness of spirits? Are you enabled in everything to give thanks? I ask you many questions, because I want you to write freely and particularly to, dear Sally,

Your affectionate brother.

To Mrs. Sarah Pywell, At Mr. Wilson's, In Stenton. To be left at the White Lion in Derby.

To John Mason

LONDON, January 26, 1772.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—Two old members recovered I make more account of than three new ones. I love to see backsliders return. I was afraid there was no more place for us in Workington.¹ Scarce any one came to hear. It is well the people are now of a better mind. You cannot expect to do good at Carlisle till you either procure a more comfortable place or preach in the open air. For many years Cockermonth has been the same, and will be till you can preach abroad.

You will observe the letter which I desired Brother Mather² to write to you concerning the books; and make all the haste which the nature of the thing will admit. I shall endeavour to see you in summer; and am

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Ann Bolton

LONDON, January 29, 1772.

Nancy, Nancy! What is the matter? Not a line yet! Are you trying whether I can be angry at you? Or are you fallen into your old temptation, and so care not whether I am pleased or displeas'd? You give me concern. I have many fears concerning you. Tell me without delay how your soul prospers. Adieu!

To Miss Bolton, At Mr. Bolton's, Brewer, In Witney, Oxon.

¹ Mason was now Assistant and Carlisle.

at Whitehaven, which Circuit included Workington, Cockermonth, ² Alexander Mather was in London. See letter of Feb. 27, 1773.

To the Society Pro Fide et Christianismo

LONDON, January 31, 1772.

GENTLEMEN,—I cannot but praise God for putting it into your hearts boldly to lift up a standard against the iniquity which has overspread the world, even the Christian world, as a flood. This is, indeed, one of the noblest and most important designs which can enter into the soul of man. Meantime permit me to remind you that the difficulties attending it will be in proportion to the importance of it. For the prince of this world will fight with all his power that his kingdom may not be delivered up. But is not He that is with you greater than he that is in the world? The Lord of Hosts is with you; the God of Jacob is your refuge.

I return you my sincerest thanks for doing me the honour of admitting me into your number, and shall greatly rejoice if it should ever be in my power any way to forward your excellent design.¹ Wishing you all success therein, I remain, gentlemen, Your unworthy brother and willing servant.

To Mary Stokes

[About January 1772.]

MY DEAR SISTER,—In order to speak for God, you must not confer with flesh and blood, or you will never begin. You should vehemently resist the reasoning devil, who will never want arguments for your silence. Indeed, naturally all the passions justify themselves: so do fear and shame in particular. In this case, therefore, the simple, child-like boldness of faith is peculiarly necessary. And when you have broke through and made the beginning, then prudence has its office—that is, Christian (not worldly) prudence, springing from the unction of the Holy One, and teaching you how far and in what manner to speak, according to a thousand various circumstances.

You do not yet see the day dawn with regard to those who are near and dear to you. But you must not hence infer that it never will. The prayer that goeth not out of

¹ See letters of Jan. 30, 1770, and Dec. 23, 1775.

feigned lips will not fall to the ground; but 'though it seem to tarry long, true and faithful is His word.'

I am glad Miss Williams comes a little nearer to us. Do the same good office to Molly Jones.¹ She professes to love you; if she really does, press on, and you will prevail. Does not Tommy Janes hurt her? He is lively and good-natured, but has no liking either to the doctrine or discipline of the Methodists. Such a person is just calculated for weakening all that is right and strengthening all that is wrong in her. If you speak to Mr. Pawson concerning the preaching at the Hall on Sunday evening, I believe it may be continued. Only it could not be by the travelling preachers; they are otherwise engaged.

Yours affectionately.

To Walter Sellon

LONDON, February 1, 1772.

DEAR WALTER,—You do not understand your information right. Observe, 'I am going to America to turn bishop.'² You are to understand it *in sensu composito*.³ I am not to be a bishop till I am in America. While I am in Europe, therefore, you have nothing to fear. But as soon as ever you hear of my being landed at Philadelphia, it will be time for your apprehensions to revive. It is true some of our preachers would not have me stay so long; but I keep my old rule, *Festina lente*.⁴—I am, dear Walter,

Your affectionate brother.

To Rebecca Yeoman

LONDON, February 5, 1772.

MY DEAR SISTER,—As far as I understand, you are now properly in the wilderness state. I advise you to read over that sermon in the fourth volume,⁵ and examine yourself thereby. If you find out the cause of heaviness or darkness, you are more than half-way to the cure.

If Jenny Johnson⁶ is thoroughly sensible of her fault,

¹ See letter of Dec. 26, 1771, to Miss Stokes.

² See letter of Aug. 14, 1771, to Philothea Briggs.

³ 'In the sense agreed.'

⁴ 'Make haste slowly.'

⁵ See *Works*, vi. 77-91.

⁶ See letter of Aug. 4, 1770.

you may trust her ; if not, she should not meet in band. As your mind is tender and easily moved, you may readily fall into inordinate affection ; if you do, that will quickly darken your soul. But watch and pray, and you shall not enter into temptation.

If it please God to continue my life and strength, I expect to come through Scotland in April and May, so as to reach Newcastle about the beginning of June¹; but who knows whether we may not before then take a longer journey ? Our wisdom is to live to-day.—I am, dear Becky,

Your affectionate brother.

To Lady Maxwell

LONDON, February 8, 1772.

MY DEAR LADY,—I commend you for meddling with points of controversy as little as possible. It is abundantly easier to lose our love in that rough field than to find truth. This consideration has made me exceedingly thankful to God for giving me a respite from polemical labours. I am glad He has given to others both the power and the will to answer them that trouble me ; so that I may not always be forced to hold my weapons in one hand while I am building with the other. I rejoice likewise not only in the abilities but in the temper of Mr. Fletcher. He writes as he lives. I cannot say that I know such another clergyman in England or Ireland. He is all fire ; but it is the fire of love. His writings, like his constant conversation, breathe nothing else to those who read him with an impartial eye. And although Mr. Shirley scruples not to charge him with using subtilty and metaphysical distinctions, yet he abundantly clears himself of this charge in the *Second Check to Antinomianism*.² Such the last letters are styled, and with great propriety ; for such they have really been. They have given a considerable check to those who were everywhere making void the law through faith ; setting 'the righteousness of Christ' in opposition to the law of Christ, and teaching that 'without holiness any man may see the Lord.'

¹ He arrived on May 25.

² '*A Second Check to Antinomianism* ; occasioned by a Late

Narrative, in three letters to the Hon. and Rev. Author' (Walter Shirley), was published at the end of 1771.

Notwithstanding both outward and inward trials, I trust you are still on the borders of perfect love. For the Lord is nigh!

See the Lord thy Keeper stand
Omnipotently near!
Lo! He holds thee by thy hand,
And banishes thy fear!

You have no need of fear. Hope unto the end! Are not all things possible to him that believeth? Dare to believe! Seize a blessing now! The Lord increase your faith! In this prayer I know you join with, my dear Lady,
Your ever affectionate servant.

To Mary Stokes

LONDON, February 11, 1772.

MY DEAR SISTER,—I am glad you have had an opportunity of spending a little time with that lovely company. The day I leave Bristol (Monday, March 9) I hope to be at Stroud myself.¹ You are not sent thither for nothing, but in order to do as well as to receive good: and that not to one family only, or to those four of your acquaintance; nay, but you have a message from God (you and Ally Eden² too) to all the women in the Society. Set aside all evil shame, all modesty, falsely so called. Go from house to house; deal faithfully with them all; warn every one; exhort every one. God will everywhere give you a word to speak, and His blessing therewith. Be you herein a follower of Nancy Bolton, as she is of Christ.

In doing and bearing the will of our Lord,
We still are preparing to meet our reward.

I have great hope for Sally James.³ In the company which commonly surrounds her, it is best to use reserve. And

¹ See *Journal*, v. 448.

² Miss Ally Eden, the daughter of Henry Eden, of Broadmarston. She wrote Wesley about Christian perfection on Aug. 27. John Pawson calls it 'one of the most amiable

families I had ever known.' See *Journal*, v. 251; *Wesley's Veterans*, iv. 42; and letter of Dec. 12, 1773.

³ See letters of March 17, 1771, and May 1, 1772, to Miss Stokes.

this is apt to form an habit, which it is not easy to conquer, even with those she loves well ; but I trust she will conquer this and every enemy. Perhaps we shall soon rejoice with her. It is good that you may be emptied, that you may be filled. But how is this that you have never given me an hour's pain since I was first acquainted with you ? Do you intend to be always going forward, without standing still, or going backward at all ? The good Lord enable you so to do, and all those that are with you ! 'So fulfil the joy of

Yours affectionately.

To Hannah Ball

Miss Ball wrote to Wesley on February 19 : ' I feel more power to live for God than ever. I believe He has given me the full assurance of hope ; a confidence of receiving all His promises. . . . Blessed be God, His work prospers in this place.' See *Memoir*, p. 102.

LONDON, *February 21, 1772.*

MY DEAR SISTER,—You have indeed reason to be thankful that God has at length turned the captivity of His people ; and your preachers¹ have good encouragement to be zealous for God, since they see the fruit of their labours. On Monday se'night I expect one of them at least will meet me at Newbury. How happy you are who have none of those dissensions which have torn that poor Society in pieces ! Pray that you may all continue of one mind, striving together for the hope of the gospel, and inviting all to press after full salvation.—My dear sister,

Your ever affectionate brother.

To Mrs. Barton

LONDON, *February 21, 1772.*

MY DEAR SISTER,—I believe you will never willingly give me pain. You will give me pleasure as long as you are pressing on to the mark, ready to do and patient to suffer the whole will of God. You cannot be separated from the people till you are removed into Abraham's bosom. In order to make your continuance with them the easier, I hope

¹ Samuel Wells and William Barker.

Mr. Thompson has now fixed the class as I directed. He is a good preacher and a good man; though liable to mistake, or he would be more than man.¹

Can you still give God your whole heart? Is He always present with you? Have these trials weakened or strengthened your faith? Have you a clear evidence that you are saved from sin? See that you strengthen each other's hands and press on to the mark together!—I am, my dear Jenny,

Your affectionate brother.

To Mrs. Woodhouse

LONDON, February 25, 1772.

MY DEAR SISTER,—I do not understand how it should be that your Society decreases. If only two or three of you are zealous for God, certainly it will increase. Thomas Rankin and William Ellis go on well.² I trust William has recovered his ground.

John Ellis called the family at Worcester to prayer, went up into his chamber, and died.³ So he has his desire; he was troublesome to no one, and went home in the height of his usefulness. If you should hear that I was gone after him, you would be enabled to say, 'Good is the will of the Lord!' Press forward to the mark! All things then will 'work together for good.'—I am, my dear sister,

Your affectionate brother.

To Christopher Hopper

LEWISHAM, February 26, 1772.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—When Mr. Shirley (or rather Lady H.) published that wonderful circular letter,⁴ it was little imagined that it would be the occasion of establishing those very doctrines which it was intended to destroy. So different were God's thoughts from men's thoughts! T. Olivers was

¹ Joseph Thompson was Assistant at Hull.

² Then in Cornwall West.

³ Ellis was Assistant in Gloucestershire. While reading at Worcester he fell from his chair, 'and expired

without the pomp of dying' on Jan. 5, 1772. See *Atmore's Memorial*, p. 119.

⁴ See Tyerman's *Wesley*, iii. 93-4. The letter led to Fletcher's *Chechs*.

more afraid than hurt.¹ We all agree in this: 'By thy words thou shalt be justified' (in the last day); 'and by thy words' (yea, and works) 'thou shalt be condemned.'

April 6 I hope to be at Manchester; and thence to go by Whitehaven to Glasgow, Perth, and Aberdeen. My Welsh church has a fine air, but no land or money belonging to it. Peace be with you and yours!—I am

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Mr. Christopher Hopper,
In Bradford, Yorkshire.

To Miss Sparrow

Miss Sparrow seems to have been the daughter of Samuel Sparrow: see next letter, and that of July 2 ('you and yours'). His Diary shows that on February 21, 1783, Wesley took the 'coach with Sister Sparrow, &c.'; and on July 31, 1785, he married her to someone whose name does not appear. See *Journal*, vi. 392, vii. 101.

LEWISHAM, February 26, 1772.

MY DEAR SISTER,—From the whole of your account it appears plain beyond all reasonable doubt that you have tasted once and again of the pure love of God. Why, then, did you not abide therein? It was your own infirmity. You was moved from your steadfastness by those evil reasonings, which I am of opinion were chiefly diabolical. What you seem to want above all things is simplicity, the spirit of a little child. Look, and take it from Him that knows you! Take this and whatsoever else you stand in need of. Do you say 'you need a guide'? Why will you not accept of *me*? Do you know any that loves you better? All the advices I would give you now centre in one—Now, to-day, look unto Jesus! Is He not waiting to be gracious? Give Him your heart! And if you love me, speak all you think to, my dear sister,

Yours affectionately.

To Samuel Sparrow

This is the first of four letters, given as an Appendix to *Essays and Dialogues, Moral and Religious* (Chesterfield, 1782): a small

¹ Olivers took a prominent part in the controversy with Toplady and others.

octavo volume containing Selections from Sparrow's papers, and a Memorial Sermon by Dr. Kippis preached in Princes Street Chapel, Westminster, on July 21, 1776. Sparrow was the author of *Family Prayers, and Moral Essays in Prose and Verse*, by a Merchant (London, 1769). A copy which he sent to Wesley led to this correspondence. See *W.H.S.* v. 85-6

LEWISHAM, February 26, 1772.

SIR,—I have read with pleasure your ingenious book, which contains many just and noble sentiments, expressed in easy and proper language. I observe only two points in which we do not quite think alike. One of these is expressly treated of in that tract which reduces us to that clear dilemma, 'Either Jesus Christ was God or He was not an honest man.' The other is largely considered in the book of which I now desire your acceptance. Wishing you all happiness in this life and in a better, I remain, dear sir,

Your affectionate servant.

To Ann Bolton

On February 13, 1772, Miss Bolton tells him: 'Since I wrote last seven have received a clear witness that the blood of Jesus hath cleansed them from all sin; who now rejoice evermore, pray without ceasing, and in everything give thanks. . . . Within these last four days five have received a clear sense of God's pardoning love. The hearts of our exhorters are much enlarged. With regard to myself, I am more established in the grace of God since He has brought others to enjoy like precious faith.' See *Arminian Magazine*, 1785, p. 277.

LONDON, February 29, 1772.

MY DEAR SISTER,—All your letters are exceedingly pleasing to me and give me a peculiar satisfaction; but your last in particular. I know not how to repress the emotion I felt when I read it. I rejoice over others, but over *you* above all. How unspeakably near are you to me! Since the time that I mourned with you at London and was a partaker of your sorrow, you have given me more and more excuse to rejoice over you; though now and then with a jealous fear lest in anything you should suffer loss or be slackened in running the race set before you.

I shall not ride any long journeys on horseback.¹ But you must needs meet me either at Stroud or Broadmarston;

¹ See letter of March 4.

else I shall almost think you do not love me. On Monday, March 9, I hope to be at Stroud; the Saturday following at Broadmarston. How do you know whether you shall see me any more in the body?

My dear Nancy, my friend, adieu!

To Mary Bishop

LONDON, *March 1, 1772.*

MY DEAR MISS BISHOP,—That your every hour is crowded with employment I account no common blessing. The more employment the better, since you are not doing your own will, but the will of Him that sent you. I cannot see that it is by any means His will for you to quit your present situation. But I observe one sentence in your letter on which you and I may explain a little. On Tuesday morning at ten I am (if God permit) to preach at The Devizes. About two I have appointed T. Lewis from Bristol to meet me at the Pelican in Bath, where I should be glad to see *you*, were it only for two or three minutes.—I am, my dear Miss Bishop,

Your affectionate brother.

To Mary Bosanquet

In 1771 a stumbling horse threw Wesley forward on the pommel of his saddle, and in January 1774 a hydrocele was removed. On February 21, 1772, he met his friends, who had begun a subscription to provide a carriage, as he could not ride on horseback so well since his accident. See *Journal*, vi. 8; and letter of February 29.

BRISTOL, *March 4, 1772.*

MY DEAR SISTER,—I believe my last letter took away a good part of your apprehensions. All the inconvenience I find (from a little bruise) is that I am advised to ride as much in a carriage as I can and as little on horseback. I take your offer exceeding kindly; and am, my dear friend,

Ever yours.

To Miss Bosanquet, At Morley
Common, Near Leeds.

To Penelope Newman

In answer to this letter Miss Newman gives Wesley on August 23 an account of her conversion and her receiving the witness of full sanctification in 1769. Her work in Cheltenham was undertaken

with new zeal 'soon after I came from Bristol.' Probably it was then that Wesley talked with her. She kept a bookshop in Cheltenham, and was converted during one of Wesley's visits. She afterwards devoted herself wholly to the work of God, became a teacher, and visited adjacent towns and villages, where she gave public exhortations. Her mother was converted under her preaching, and also Jonathan Coussins, who became a preacher in 1780, and whom she married in October 1782. See *Magazine*, 1785, pp. 434-7; 1786, pp. 171-2; 1806, p. 289.

NEAR BRISTOL, March 6, 1772.

MY DEAR SISTER,—You are called to do all you can for God. How little is that all! Therefore by all means meet that other class, and it will be a blessing to your own soul.

When I talked with you last, God had given you to enjoy a clear deliverance from inbred sin. I hope you do not find any return of that dead[ness], though doubtless you will find numberless temptations. Yet beware you cast not away that confidence which hath great recompense of reward. You need never more feel pride, anger, or any other evil temper. The Lord loveth you, and His grace is sufficient for you. Ask, and receive, that your joy may be full.—I am, my dear sister,

Yours affectionately.

To his Brother Charles

BIRMINGHAM, March 17, 1772.

DEAR BROTHER,—The more you are at the Foundery the better. It is a good spirit which rules in that Society.¹

You have done exactly right with regard to T. Maxfield. For the present my hope of him is lost.²

I am to-day to meet Mr. Fletcher at Bilbrook.³ Part of the *Third Check* is printing. The rest I have ready. In this he draws the sword and throws away the scabbard.

¹ Charles Wesley came to live in Marylebone in May 1771.

² He had had a disappointing interview with Maxfield on Feb. 25.

³ Wesley writes in the *Journal*, v. 449: 'Partly in a chaise, partly on horseback, I made a shift to get

to Bilbrook; and, after preaching, to Wolverhampton.' Fletcher told the Dublin Society in March that he had sent his *Third Check* to press. See *Wesley's Designated Successor*, p. 222.

Yet I doubt not they will forgive him all if he will but promise—to write no more.

J. Rouquet helped me at Bristol.¹ I neither saw nor heard anything of G. Stonehouse. Jane Jenkins is in a right spirit; affliction has done her good. Mrs. Reeves I had no time for.

I feared Sister Marriott would not recover.² Mr. Blackwell's heart is truly softened; but why is she afraid to receive the Lord's supper?³

If Mr. F. does come, it will be for good. It does not follow, 'You felt nothing; therefore neither did your hearers.' In haste. Adieu.

To John Mason

LONDON, *March 22, 1772.*

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I hope Mr. Wagner⁴ and you are upon good terms. He is an amiable man, and would be exceeding useful were it not for ill advisers. When there is occasion, talk to him freely. He has a friendly heart.

It is of great use to meet the leaders of the bands in Liverpool.⁵ This should never be neglected. I am inclined to think the best time for it would be from two to three on Sunday in the afternoon. Then you might set an example to the Society by going to church immediately after. This is of no small importance. For whoever leaves the Church will leave the Methodists.

Everywhere strongly and explicitly preach perfection. Then your word will profit.—I am

Your affectionate friend and brother.

¹ From March 3 to 9 Wesley had spent a 'few comfortable days' in Bristol. Mrs. Jenkins was one of the members there. It was probably Mrs. Reeves's husband, who died on Sept. 21, 1778. See *C. Wesley's Journal*, ii. 270, 275.

² Mrs. Marriott was among the first twelve to join the Foundery Society in 1739, and her husband was one of its earliest members.

³ Wesley visited Mrs. Blackwell

at Lewisham on Feb. 26. She died the following month. See letter of April 26.

⁴ Wagner writes to him about a packet from Liverpool to Dublin in March 1778, and Wesley seems to have stayed with him at Liverpool in 1786. See *Journal*, vi. 182, vii. 154d.

⁵ Mason had evidently moved from Whitehaven to Liverpool.

To Philothea Briggs

LIVERPOOL, March 23, 1772.

If useless words or thoughts spring from evil tempers, they are properly evil, otherwise not; but still they are contrary to the *Adamic law*: yet not to the law of love; therefore there is no condemnation for them, but they are matter of humiliation before God. So are those (seemingly) unbelieving thoughts; although they are not *your own*, and you may boldly say, 'Go, go, thou unclean spirit; thou shalt answer for these, and not I.'

To Ann Bolton

CONGLETON, March 25, 1772.

MY DEAR SISTER,—The more I reflect on what you said concerning that *emptiness*, the more I am inclined to think that lovely woman Betsy Johnson¹ has met with some of those that are called 'Mystic writers' who abound among the Roman Catholics. These are perpetually talking of 'self-emptiness, self-inanition, self-annihilation,' and the like: all very near akin to 'self-contradiction,' as a good man used to say. Indeed, we allow that one cannot take too much care to hide pride from man. And I am many times ready to tremble *lest you* should slide into it again, and lest I myself should lead you into it while I tell you (as my manner is) just the thought that rises in my heart.

My Nancy, does not this hurt you? Be as artless with *me* as I am with *you*. But though we can never be too humble, though we can never abase ourselves too much before the God of love; yet I cannot approve of recommending humanity by the use of these expressions. My first objection to them is that they are unscriptural. Now, you and I are bigots to the Bible. We think the Bible language is like Goliath's sword, that 'there is none like it.' But they are dangerous too: they almost naturally lead us to deny the gifts of God. Nay, and to make a kind of merit of it; to imagine we honour Him by undervaluing what He has done. Let it not be so with you. Acknowledge all His work while you render Him all His glory.

Yours affectionately.

¹ Elizabeth Johnson. See letter of Dec. 15, 1763.

To his Brother Charles

CONGLETON, March 25, 1772.

DEAR BROTHER,—Giles Ball (as Oliver¹ said) *was* a good man once! I hope we have no more of the sort. There is still a famous one in Bristol. Now I see why he *could* not join us. Poor Mr. B.!² I used to conceive better things of him.

I find almost all our preachers in every circuit have done with Christian perfection. They say they believe it; but they never preach it, or not once in a quarter. What is to be done? Shall we let it drop, or make a point of it?

Oh what a thing it is to have *curam animarum!*³ You and I are called to this; to save souls from death, to watch over them as those that must give account! If our office implied no more than preaching a few times in a week, I could play with it; so might *you*. But how small a part of our duty (yours as well as mine) is this! God says to you as well as me, 'Do *all thou canst*, be it more or less, to save the souls for whom My Son has died.' Let this voice be ever sounding in our ears; then shall we give up our account with joy. *Eia, age; rumpe moras!*⁴ I am ashamed of my indolence and inactivity. The good Lord help us both! Adieu!
"Ἐπρωσθε."⁵

To Mrs. Bennis

On March 17 Mrs. Bennis told Wesley that she had 'had some opportunities of conversing with Mrs. Dawson: in her I see what I have often thought, that God has His hidden ones unknown to the world even among the rich and great. And surely she is one of them: she has living faith; and a tender feeling of her corruptions, but cannot yet comprehend a total deliverance from them. But oh my ignorance! What shall I do with her?' She also reported: 'Mr. T——, of Waterford, seems now in earnest; I had two letters from him. He has bought an horse for Brother Christian and sent him out in the circuit. He has joined the Society, and prays at the prayer-meeting. God does graciously throw in a rich person here and there to bear the needful expenses of His poor followers.' See letters of October 28, 1771, and June 16, 1772.

¹ Oliver Cromwell said on his death-bed, 'I am safe, for I know that I was once in grace.' See Morley's *Cromwell*, p. 486.

² See letter of April 26.

³ 'The care of souls.'

⁴ See letter of Feb. 28, 1766, to him.

⁵ 'Farewell.'

LIVERPOOL, March 31, 1772.

MY DEAR SISTER,—You did well to break through and converse with Mrs. Dawson. There is no doubt but she has living faith; but, not having opportunity to converse with believers, she cannot express herself with that clearness that our friends do: cultivate the acquaintance. Now, lay before her by way of promise the whole Christian salvation; she will quickly see the desirableness of it. You may then lend her the *Plain Account of Christian Perfection*. She will not be frightened but rather encouraged at hearing it is possible to attain what her heart longs for. While you are thus feeding God's lambs, He will lead you into rich pastures.

I do not wonder you should meet with trials: it is by these your faith is made perfect. You will find many things both in your heart and in your life contrary to the perfection of the Adamic law; but it does not follow that they are contrary to the law of love. Let this fill your heart, and it is enough. Still continue active for God. Remember, a talent is entrusted to you; see that you improve it. He does not like a slothful steward. Your affectionate brother.

To Samuel Bardsley

BOLTON, April 3, 1772.

DEAR SAMMY,—I am glad you are got into your circuit again.¹ Now put forth all your strength. Never be ashamed of the old Methodist doctrine. Press all believers to go on to perfection. Insist everywhere on the second blessing as receivable in a moment, and receivable now, by simple faith. Read again the *Plain Account of Christian Perfection*. And strive always to converse in a plain, unaffected manner.—I am, dear Sammy, Yours affectionately.

To Philothea Briggs

WHITEHAVEN, April 12, 1772.

Your affections were apt to be too impetuous, and sometimes uneven too; but nature yields to healing grace, which

¹ Bardsley was now in the Derbyshire Circuit.

I trust has made you both more calm and more steady.¹ And what will it not make you if you persevere? All that is amiable, holy and happy! Already He that loves you gives you a taste of what He has prepared for you. Let patience have its perfect work, and you shall be perfect and entire, lacking nothing. See that you make the best of life! The time is short!

To his Brother Charles

PERTH, April 26, 1772.

DEAR BROTHER,—I meant Mr. Buller.² I have not been at Leeds; so I can give you no account of the matter.

I find by long experience it comes exactly to the same point, to tell men they shall be saved from all sin when they die; or to tell them it may be a year hence, or a week hence, or any time but *now*. Our word does not profit, either as to justification or sanctification, unless we can bring them to expect the blessing *while we speak*.

I hope Fox³ is in peace. But he had no business there. I suppose the madman was another of the name. I am glad you have done justice to Mrs. Blackwell's⁴ memory.

I do not believe either Brother Wildman or any other spoke those words. I cannot believe it at all, unless you or Brother Mather heard them. Many tell you tales of that sort which are not true at all.

Your business as well as mine is to save souls. When we took priests' orders, we undertook to make it our *one business*. I think every day lost which is not (mainly at least) employed in this thing. *Sum totius in illo*.⁵

I am glad you are to be at Bristol soon. To whom shall I leave my papers and letters?⁶ I am quite at a loss. I think Mr. Fletcher is the best that occurs now. Adieu!

¹ See letter of Sept. 13, 1771.

² See letter of March 25.

³ John Fox, of London. See *Journal*, v. 5.

⁴ She died on March 27. Charles had written some memorial verses, which are given in his *Journal*, ii. 383-9.

⁵ Horace's *Satires*, i. ix. 2 (*Totus in illis*): 'I am entirely occupied with it.'

⁶ He finally left, by will, Feb. 20, 1789, all his MSS. to Thomas Coke, Dr. Whitehead, and Henry Moors, to be burned or published as they see good.'

To Mary Stokes

ABERDEEN, May 1, 1772.

MY DEAR SISTER,—Sally James¹ is a letter in my debt. I have had but one letter from her since I left Bristol: and that I answered almost as soon as I received it. I a little wondered at not hearing from you; but as I know both the constancy and tenderness of your affection, there was no danger of my imputing it to ingratitude.

I think your present exercise, though it is one of the most trying, is one of the most profitable which a good providence could prepare for you. And it will probably be one means of plucking a brand out of the burning, of saving a soul alive. Oh what would not one do, what would not one suffer, for this glorious end! You certainly have good reason to hope; for any that feels himself a sinner will hardly perish, more especially if he sees where to look for help and is willing to give up every plea beside.

You are never to put repentance and faith asunder; the knowledge of your emptiness and His fullness.

Naked, and blind, and poor, and bare,
You still your want of all things find.

But at the same instant (such is the mystery of Christian experience) you can say,

Jesus, I all things have in Thee!

Our blessed Lord carries on His work in our souls by giving us either to do or to suffer. Hitherto you are led most in the latter of these ways. I expect, when you have more to do for Him, you shall suffer less. Every morning and frequently in the day you are very near to, my dear sister,

Your affectionate brother.

To Philothea Briggs

LEITH, NEAR EDINBURGH, May 13, 1772.

MY DEAR PHILLY,—To set the state of perfection too high is the surest way to drive it out of the world. The substance of that *test* I believe I have seen; and I judge it not con-

¹ See letters of Feb. 11 and Sept. 20.

sistent with humanity, I mean with the state of an human soul, as long as it is united to a corruptible body. Do not puzzle yourself any more with these nice inquiries; but, in order to resettle your judgement, give another deliberate reading to the *Farther Thoughts* or the *Plain Account of Christian Perfection*. He that long ago gave you to taste of His pardoning love gave you afterwards a taste of His pure love. Whereunto you have attained hold fast; never cast it away through a voluntary humility. But see that you do not rest there. Comparatively, forget the things that are behind. Reach forward! This one thing do: press on to the prize of your high calling. I expect to be at Newcastle on the 25th instant, and to stay twenty days in or near it.

I remember Nicholas Sewell well, and have seen many of his poetical compositions. He was bred a Quaker, but when I knew him was stark, staring mad. I wish my brother would print his verses; but he grows more and more backward.

You and I must be content with doing what good we can, and no more. Yet I love you for *desiring* to do more; only with resignation.—I am, my dear Philly,

Yours affectionately.

To Miss Phil. Briggs, At Mr. Barker's,
In Sevenoaks, Kent.

To Alexander Clark

Clark was a leader in the Dublin Society. Wesley wrote on August 10 to warn him of unfriendly feeling towards the preachers and as to whether one preacher could do the work in Dublin.

EDINBURGH, May 19, 1772.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—Brother Kidd is not only an honest, upright man, but I think a diligent one too. I am glad he is willing to share with you the trouble of being Book Steward. It is a good thought. But by all means print catalogues and send them all over the kingdom. I do not see any impropriety in allowing the nine pounds; the Assistant may pay you this out of the weekly subscription. The Rules of Stewards you have in the *Plain Account of the People called Methodists*.¹

¹ See letter in Dec. 1748, sect. IX. 3, to Vincent Perronet.

Remember one of them is, 'Expect no thanks from man.' If ever you forget this, you will be apt to grow weary and faint in your mind. Remember likewise that a steward is to tell the preacher of anything he thinks wrong. In my private judgement I think one preacher enough for the New Room and the Gravel Walk too. I should dance and sing if I had no more labour *than* that. But I have letter upon letter to the contrary. However, let our brethren meet and consult together, and I presume I shall hardly object to whatever they shall agree upon. Whenever the Gravel Walk house is settled like our other houses, I shall be willing that all the weekly subscription be given toward clearing it of debt. Have patience, and all will be well.—I am, dear Alleck,

Your affectionate brother.

To Mr. Alex. Clark, The New Room,
Dublin. Per Portpatrick.

To Ann Bolton

Miss Bolton had said on May 15: 'I have thought, suppose I am speaking to one newly justified, who feels the love of God shed abroad in his heart, and who has no desire contrary to the will of God, whether it would be expedient to exhort such a one to hold fast what he has attained, and to tell him he never need feel evil more?' See *Arminian Magazine*, 1785, pp. 224-5; and letter of July 1 to her.

LONDONDERRY, May 27. 1772.

Do *you* find as much inward life as ever? as close and steady communion with God? Do you rejoice evermore? In what sense do you pray without ceasing? Is your peace constant and unshaken? Does nothing ruffle you? Do you feel no anger? no pride? no will of your own contrary to the will of God? Do you feel no bent to backsliding in your heart? You may find and indeed expect temptations innumerable, even to seek happiness in this or that creature. But is every fiery dart repelled, so as to have no place in *you*?

With regard to your question, it is only (in other words), Is there any sin in a believer? or, Are we not sanctified throughout when we are justified? You have a full answer to this question, which has perplexed so many upright souls,

in those two sermons wrote expressly on the head, The Repentance of Believers and Sin in Believers.¹ Read them carefully, and I believe you will want nothing more to confirm you in the truth. Nevertheless you do well in exhorting all that are justified to hold fast all they have received. And it is certain they need never lose either their love or peace or power till they are fully sanctified.

Your affectionate brother.

To Hannah Ball

Miss Ball wrote to Wesley on May 12, telling him that after her late sickness 'Mr. Wells called on me: our conversation was of a more general character than I desired. After a time, he seemed to intimate that he thought I was not what he expected to find me. I was tempted to despair while he talked with me. . . . Since then, though I have walked more in the spirit of true religion, yet I feel the need I have of being watered every moment, and of using all the means of grace, as ever. See letter of February 21 to her.

SUNDERLAND, May 30, 1772.

MY DEAR SISTER,—Do you not remember that fine remark in the *Christian Instructions*, 'Nothing is more profitable to the soul than to be censured for a good action which we have done with a single eye'?² Mr. H[artly], then, may have profited you more than you thought. Oh, it is a blessed thing to suffer in a good cause! I was never more struck than with a picture of a man lying upon straw with this inscription, 'The true effigy of Francis Xavier, the apostle of the Indies, forsaken of all men, and dying in a cottage.' Here was a martyrdom, I had almost said, more glorious than that of St. Paul or St. Peter! O woman, remember the faith! Happy are you to whom it is given both to do and to suffer the will of God! It is by this means that He will confirm your soul against too great sensibility. It is then only too great when it hurts the body or unfits you for some part of your duty. Otherwise it is a blessed thing to sorrow after a godly sort.

Whatever you read in the *Life* of Mr. De Renty and

¹ See *Works*, v. 144-70.

sect. 208. See Green's *Bibliography*,

² *Christian Reflections*, from the No. 295.

French, in *Works* (1773 ed.), p. 211.

Gregory Lopez or the *Experience* of E. J. is for you. Christ is ready! all is ready! Take it by simple faith!—I am, my dear sister,
Your affectionate brother.

To Ann Foard

NEWCASTLE, June 7, 1772.

MY DEAR SISTER,—Do I flatter myself in judging of you by myself? Am I mistaken in thinking we *feel* alike? I believe we do: I believe in this your heart is as mine. But if so, it is not so easy for you to part. Indeed, I judged before, this was only a sudden start, arising from a misapprehension of my meaning. That was really the case. I did not, could not compare one I so tenderly love (with a love of esteem as well as complacency) with him: only with regard to one circumstance. Well, now you have made me amends for the pain you gave me before. And see that you make me farther amends by swiftly advancing in lowliness, in meekness, in gentleness towards all men. So fulfil the joy of, my dear Nancy,
Yours affectionately.

To Miss Foard, In Blackman Street, No. 86,
Southwark, London.

To Mrs. Bennis

Mrs. Bennis reports on May 26 that Mrs. Dawson's husband and children had been ill. But 'this affliction has been made a blessing to her; she is now preparing to go to the salt water.' God had sent a blessing by Mr. Christian to the Society, which was in 'a happy, prosperous condition.' This had been helped by James Glassbrook, of Cork, whose 'deportment has gained him the hearts of all; and his manner of enforcing holiness makes it desirable even to its opponents.' She continues: 'That sower of discord, James Deaves, is expected here! May God frustrate his coming, or the evil which I dread from his visit. His conduct to Brothers Glassbrook and Horner, of Waterford, was so inconsistent, and I saw such mischief likely to proceed from it, that at my instance they lay the whole before you (which I now enclose). In cases which so materially affect the Church of Christ, and the evils resulting from which you may prevent, the wounding your feelings must be a secondary matter! God knows I would not wound them by this or any other disagreeable information, did I not think it much more a breach of duty to screen these circumstances from you.' Deaves had been stationed in Limerick in 1767, and retired in 1768. See letters of March 31 and November 3.

YARM, June 16, 1772.

MY DEAR SISTER,—As often as you can I hope you will converse with Mrs. Dawson, as her heart is much united to you ; and when you are at a distance from each other, you may converse by letters. And I believe you are particularly called to be useful to those whom the riches or the grandeur of this world keep at a distance from the pure word of God.

When you are at Waterford, see that you be not idle there. You should gather up and meet a band immediately. If you would meet a class too, it would be so much the better : you know, the more labour the more blessing.

You did well to send me the last enclosure ; it is absolutely needful that I should be acquainted with all such matters ; the contrary would be false delicacy.

Mr. Goodwin is a valuable young man ; he has much grace and a good understanding. I have wrote to Mr. Glassbrook and the leaders, if James Deaves should come to Limerick in the same spirit wherein he has been for some time, to take care that he do no mischief. If he should proceed in that impetuous manner, we shall be obliged to take harsher measures. This I should be sorry for ; one would not cut off a limb while there is any hope of recovering it. I expect John Christian will be an useful labourer ; he has a zeal according to knowledge.

Nothing is sin, strictly speaking, but a voluntary transgression of a known law of God. Therefore every voluntary breach of the law of love is sin ; and nothing else, if we speak properly. To strain the matter farther is only to make way for Calvinism. There may be ten thousand wandering thoughts and forgetful intervals without any breach of love, though not without transgressing the Adamic law. But Calvinists would fain confound these together. Let love fill your heart, and it is enough !—I am, dear sister,

Your affectionate brother.

To Mary Stokes

YARM, June 16, 1772.

MY DEAR SISTER,—That remedy mentioned in the *Primitive Physick* (the manna dissolved in a decoction of senna)

hardly ever fails to relieve in the severest bilious colic within twelve or fourteen minutes. Warm lemonade (so stupid are they who forbid acids in these cases) frequently gives ease in half a minute." And I have known this to take place in such inveterate complaints as would yield to no other remedy.

We are sure the means which our blessed Lord uses to conform us to His image are (all circumstances considered) the very best ; for He cannot but do all things well : therefore, whenever it pleases Him to send affliction, then affliction is best. Yet we must not imagine He is tied down to this, or that He cannot give any degree of holiness without it. We have reason to believe from the earliest records that St. Paul suffered a thousand times more than St. John. And yet one can hardly doubt but St. John was as holy as he or any of the Apostles. Therefore stand ready for whatsoever our Lord shall send ; but do not require Him to send you affliction. Perhaps He will take another way ; He will overpower your whole soul with peace and joy and love ; and thereby work in you a fuller conformity to Himself than you ever experienced yet. You have ; hold fast there.

All's alike to me, so I
In my Lord may live and die.

—I am

Yours affectionately.

To Philothea Briggs

WHITBY, Saturday, June 20, 1772.

MY DEAR PHILLY,—About this day se'nnight. I expect to be at York ; this day fortnight at Keighley, Yorkshire ; this day three weeks at Leeds ; and the two following Saturdays at Epworth, near Thorne, Yorkshire.

I like you should think as I think, because it is a token that you love me ; and every proof of this gives me a very sensible pleasure. Love me, if you can, as long as I live.

It is of admirable use to bear the weaknesses, nay and even faults, of the real children of God. And the temptations to anger which rise herefrom are often more profitable than any other. Yet surely for the present they are not joyous but grievous ; afterwards comes the peaceable fruit. You

shall have exactly as much pain and as much disappointment as will be most for your profit, and just sufficient to

Keep you dead to all below,
Only Christ resolved to know.

Never make it matter of reasoning that you have not either a larger or a smaller share of suffering. You shall have exactly what is best both as to kind, degree, and time. Oh what a blessing is it to be in His hand who 'doeth all things well'!

Of all gossiping, religious gossiping is the worst; it adds hypocrisy to uncharitableness, and effectually does the work of the devil in the name of the Lord. The leaders in every Society may do much towards driving it out from among the Methodists. Let them in the band or class observe (1) 'Now we are to talk of *no absent persons*, but simply of God and our own souls'; (2) 'Let the rule of our conversation here be the rule of all our conversation. Let us observe it (unless in some necessarily exempt cases) at all times and in all places.' If this be frequently inculcated, it will have an excellent effect.

Instead of giving a caution once, as to a grown person, you must give it to a child ten times. By this means you may keep a sensible child from an *improper* familiarity with servants. Cautions should also be given frequently and earnestly to the servants themselves¹; and they will not always be thrown away if they have either grace or sense.

To Thomas Wride

Smith, the fourth preacher at Enniskillen, had probably been betrayed into some imprudent conduct. In 1772 he was set free from circuit work to travel through Ireland as a general missionary, and in 1774 was attacked on his way to Charlemont and died from his injuries. A wonderful account of his success as a missionary is given in Crookshank's *Methodism in Ireland*, i. 141, 191-9.

Wride was Assistant at Armagh. Thomas Dixon (who was at Athlone) entered the itinerancy in 1769, became a supernumerary in 1804, and died in 1820. John Wittam (born at Sutton, Yorks, where he died in 1818) was converted under William Grimshaw; he became a preacher in 1767, and was now at Newry. The Conference was held at Leeds on August 4.

¹ See letter of Oct. 16, 1771.

OTLEY, June 30, 1772.

DEAR TOMMY,—How poor John Smith has lost himself and given occasion to the enemy to blaspheme! I do not see that he can any longer remain with us as a travelling preacher. It seems his best way would be quietly to return to his business.

Tho. Dixon or Jo. Wittam may bring over your accounts to the Conference. Be exact in everything!—I am, dear Tommy,
Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Ann Bolton

OTLEY, July 1, 1772.

MY DEAR SISTER,—At last I have found, what I had almost despaired of, an occasion of blaming you. You simple one! A blister! Why not a red-hot iron? It would have taken off your skin sooner. I hope you tried a treacle-plaster first. Otherwise I can only say you are not as wise as Solomon.

I am exceeding jealous over you lest you should go one step too far to the right hand or to the left. You are my glory and joy (though you are nothing), and I want you to be exactly right in all things. I am not content that anything should be wrong about you either in your temper or words or actions. And I bless God I generally have my desire over you: you are in good measure what I would have you to be. I do not observe anything to reprove in the account which you now give me. Go on! Watch in all things! Be zealous for God! Continue instant in prayer! And the God of peace Himself shall sanctify you wholly and preserve you blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ!

I believe you have been in one danger which you was not sensible of. You seemed a little inclined to that new opinion which lately sprung up among you—that we are (properly) *sanctified* when we are justified. You did not observe that this strikes at the root of perfection; it leaves no room for it at all. If we are never sanctified in any other sense than we are sanctified then, Christian perfection has no being. Consider the sermon on the Repentance of Believers, and you will see this clearly. O may God give you to have a right judgement in all things, and evermore to rejoice in His holy comfort! If you love me, be not slow in writing to, my dear Nancy,
Your affectionate brother.

To Miss March

OTLEY, July 1, 1772.

It is lost time to consider whether you write well or ill ; you speak from the heart, and that is enough. Unbelief is either total, the absence of faith ; or partial, the want of more faith. In the latter sense every believer may complain of unbelief, unless when he is filled with faith and the Holy Ghost. Then it is all midday. Yet even then we may pray, ' Lord, increase our faith.'

We learn to think by reading and meditating on what we read, by conversing with sensible people, and by everything that improves the heart. Since purity of heart (as Mr. Norris observes) both clears the medium through which we see and strengthens the faculty, mechanical rules avail little unless one had opportunity of learning the elements of logic ; but it is a miserable task to learn them without an instructor.

Entire resignation implies entire love. Give Him your will, and you give Him your heart.

You need not be at all careful in that matter, whether you apply directly to one Person or the other, seeing He and the Father are one. Pray just as you are led, without reasoning, in all simplicity. Be a little child hanging on Him that loves you.

To Samuel Sparrow

NEAR LEEDS, July 2, 1772.

DEAR SIR,—I have delayed answering your favour from time to time, hoping for leisure to answer it at large. But when that leisure will come I cannot tell ; for in the summer months I am almost continually in motion. So I will delay no longer, but write a little as I can, though not as I would.

I incline to think that when you engaged in business, though you had no leisure for reading polemical writers, you had leisure to converse with those who ridiculed the doctrines which you till then believed, and perhaps of hearing a preacher who disbelieved them, and talked largely against human authority, bodies of divinity, systems of doctrine, and compiling of creeds. These declamations

would certainly make an impression upon an unexperienced mind, especially when confirmed by frequent descants upon the errors of translators; although I really believe our English translation, with all its faults, is the best translation of the Bible now in the world. When you had heard a good deal of this kind, then was the time to offer you such arguments as the cause afforded; which, to a mind so prepared, would naturally appear as so many demonstrations. And it is no wonder at all that, by lending you a few books and properly commenting upon them, those new apostles should confirm you in the sentiments which they had so artfully infused.

To the questions which you propose, I answer:—

1. I really think that if an hundred or an hundred thousand sincere, honest (I add humble, modest, self-diffident) men were with attention and care to read over the New Testament, uninfluenced by any but the Holy Spirit, nine in ten of them at least, if not every one, would discover that the Son of God was 'adorable' and one God with the Father; and would be immediately led to 'honour Him, even as they honoured the Father'; which would be gross, undeniable idolatry, unless He and the Father are one.

2. The doctrine of Original Sin is surely more humbling to man than the opposite; and I know not what honour we can pay to God if we think man came out of His hands in the condition wherein he is now. I beg of you, sir, to consider the fact. Give a fair, impartial reading to that account of mankind in their present state which is contained in the book on Original Sin. It is no play of imagination, but plain, clear fact. We see it with our eyes and hear it with our ears daily. Heathens, Turks, Jews, Christians, of every nation, are such men as are there described. Such are the tempers, such the manners, of lords, gentlemen, clergymen, in England, as well as of tradesmen and the low vulgar. No man in his senses can deny it; and none can account for it but upon the supposition of original sin.

O sir, how important a thing is this! Can you refuse to worship Him whom 'all the angels of God worship'? But if you do worship one that is not the supreme God, you are

an idolater! Commending you and yours to His care, I
am, dear sir, Your affectionate servant,

To Hannah Ball

Miss Ball wrote to Wesley on July 1, 'in consequence of doubts having arisen in her mind as to her experience, and requesting an interpretation of Revelation iii. 12.'

BRADFORD, July 7, 1772.

MY DEAR SISTER,—From what has lately occurred you may learn a good lesson—not to build your faith on a single text of Scripture, and much less on a particular sense of it. Whether this text be interpreted in one or the other way, the work of God in your soul is the same. Beware, therefore, of supposing that you are mistaken in the substance of your experience because you may be mistaken with regard to the meaning of a particular scripture. Pray; and observe that God Himself may, and frequently does, apply a scripture to the heart (either in justifying or sanctifying a soul) in what is not its direct meaning. Allowing, then, that the passage mentioned directly refers to heaven, yet this would be no manner of proof that you were deceived as to that work of God which was wrought in your soul when it was applied to you in another meaning.—My dear sister, adieu!

To Miss Ball, At Mr. Ball's, Laceman,
In High Wycombe, Bucks.

To John Bredin

This letter is addressed to Thomas Taylor, who was Bredin's colleague in Manchester. Bredin was a Roman Catholic schoolmaster at Tullyvin, who died in 1819 after fifty years in the itinerancy. He was appointed to Yarm at this Conference, and in 1773 to Aberdeen. Wesley calls him 'a weak brother'; but he proved a zealous and useful preacher. See Crookshank's *Methodism in Ireland*, i. 337; and letter of March 12, 1775.

DEWSBURY, July 10, 1772.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—If Brother Taylor speaks for you at the Conference, it will be the same as if you was present yourself. If I can I will contrive that you may be in a circuit which will give you convenience for bathing in the sea, though a river is as good.—I am Your affectionate brother.

To Mr. T. Taylor, At the Preaching-
house, In Manchester.

To his Brother Charles

Richard Hill, eldest brother of Rowland Hill, published *A Review of all the Doctrines taught by the Rev. Mr. John Wesley*. A copy was presented to Wesley on July 11, when he wrote in his *Journal*, v. 476, 'This is the third time he has fallen upon me without fear or wit.' The Conference met at Leeds on August 4. See Green's *Anti-Methodist Publications*, No. 449; Tyerman's *Wesley's Designated Successor*, p. 234.

Mark Davis, a well-educated person of a respectable Dublin family, became one of Wesley's preachers in 1756. He ceased from travelling in 1769, and probably entered the Church of England. Wesley would have welcomed him back if means could have been provided. He visited his 'old friend' on January 5, 1790. See *Journal*, iv. 275n., viii. 36; Crookshank's *Methodism in Ireland*, i. 108; and letter of May 30, 1773.

Dr. William Boyce, organist of the Chapel Royal, was master to Charles Wesley jun. John Wesley 'enriched' his nephew with Boyce's three volumes of cathedral music. When he died in 1779 Charles Wesley wrote some memorial verses, which are given in his *Journal*, ii. 410:

Thy generous, good, and upright heart,
Which sighed for a celestial lyre,
Was tuned on earth to bear a part
Symphonious with the heavenly choir,
Where Handel strikes the warbling strings
And plausive angels clap their wings.

DEWSBURY, July 10, 1772.

DEAR BROTHER,—If I can meet with Mr. Hill's book at Leeds to-morrow, perhaps I may *write a little* before the Conference. I am glad Mr. Davis¹ has been with you; but he must not assist you for nothing. If he *joins heart and hand*, he should have seventy pounds a year.

My journeys lie thus, if God permit: Mon. Aug. 10, Sheffield; Tuesd. Burslem; Wedn. Salop; Friday, The Hay; Sat. 15, Brecon; Tues. 18, Haverfordwest; Tues. 25, Swansea; Sat. Aug. 30, Bristol; Mon. Sept. 1, Cullompton; Sat. 13, at Bristol again. I am able to stir a little still. Indeed, I find myself no worse in any respect.

In these fifty years I do not remember to have seen such

¹ Charles Wesley wrote from Bristol to Joseph Benson, 'I have lately here' (Manuscript *Life of Benson*, i. 281).
fall. . . . Mr. Davis has been useful here' (Manuscript *Life of Benson*, i. 281).

a change. She is now *χαπρῶν πλᾶ, tota merum mel*¹! Finding fault with nobody, but well pleased with every person and thing!

I believe, if you had applied warm treacle to the bruised parts, you would have been well in eight-and-forty hours. Let us work to-day! The night cometh!

A little you will pick out of Dr. Boyce's *fine music* for the use of our plain people.

My sister Kezzy was born about *March* 1710; therefore you could not be born later than December 1708: consequently, if you live till December 1772, you will enter your sixty-fifth year.²

Peace be with you and yours! Adieu!

To Joseph Thompson

EPWORTH, July 18, 1772.

DEAR JOSEPH,—That Michael³ is not overcharged with wisdom is certain. But I do not know that he is a mischief-maker. It is your part to insist upon his keeping his round; to press the Yearly Collection in every place; and to see that all our rules be observed, whoever praises or blames. You have only to commend yourself to every man's conscience in the sight of God. . . .

Whoever among us undertakes to baptize a child is *ipso facto* excluded from our Connexion.—I am

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Mrs. Savage

GRIMSBY, July 22, 1772.

MY DEAR SISTER,—It is easy to see the difference between those two things, sinfulness and helplessness. The former you need feel no more; the latter you will feel as long as you live. And, indeed, the nearer you draw to God, the more

¹ Probably his wife: 'One full of graces, honey quite unmixed.'

² 'Or, according to Sister Pat's account, my sixty-second.—C.W.' Sister Pat (Mrs. Hall) was wrong. The real date was December 1707. See Telford's *Charles Wesley*, pp.18-20.

³ Thompson was in Hull. Michael Fenwick was hospitably entertained by a gentleman at Bridlington for 'some years previous to his death' in 1797. See Atmore's *Memorial*, p. 124.

sensible of it you will be. But beware this does not bring you into the least doubt of what God has done for your soul. And beware it does not make you a jot the less forward to speak of it with all simplicity. Do you still feel an entire deliverance from pride, anger, and every desire that does not centre in God? Do you trust Him both with soul and body? Have you learned to cast all your care upon Him? Are you always happy in Him? In what sense do you pray without ceasing? Expect all the promises!—I am, my dear sister,

Your affectionate brother.

In about a fortnight I am to be at Mr. Glynne's, Shrewsbury.¹

To Philothea Briggs

LEWISHAM, July 23, 1772.

At many times our advances in the race that is set before us are clear and perceptible; at other times they are no more perceptible (at least to ourselves) than the growth of a tree. At any time you may pray—

Strength and comfort from Thy word
Imperceptibly supply.

And when you perceive nothing, it does not follow that the work of God stands still in your soul; especially while your desire is unto Him, and while you choose Him for your portion. He does not leave you to yourself, though it may seem so to your apprehension.

To Alexander Clark

WAKEFIELD, August 1, 1772.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—The five pounds which I am willing to add to poor Grace Ellis's legacy (provided it will do her good) I do not charge to the Conference: I give it her myself. Whatever Brother Hall's *advances* will be repaid. You may

¹ Edward Glynne's mother was cousin to Lord Hereford, and wrote to him in defence of the Methodists. See *Journal*, iv. 491; *Wesley's Veterans*, i. 219-22; *W.H.S.* iv.

² William Hall was a trustee of Whitefriar Street Chapel, Dublin. Grace Ellis was probably an inmate of the Widows' Alms Houses there.

be assured we shall take no money from Ireland. With faith and patience we shall do well!—I am

Your affectionate brother.

To Mr. Alex. Clark, At the New Room, in Dublin.

To Henry Eames

LEEDS, August 3, 1772.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—It is a great blessing that God has looked upon you in a strange land,¹ and given you food to eat and raiment to put on, but a still greater that He has given you to eat of that bread which the world knoweth not of. You have likewise the invaluable advantage of companions on the way. I suppose you gladly entered the Society as soon as one was formed, and that you never willingly neglect any opportunity of meeting your brethren. Whatever your hand findeth to do do it with your might. Beware of spiritual sloth; beware of carelessness and listlessness of spirit. 'The kingdom of heaven suffereth violence.' See that you are one of those violent ones that 'take it by force.'—I am

Your affectionate brother.

To John Mason

John Mason was assistant in Liverpool; Jeremiah Robertshaw was at Whitehaven.

LEEDS, August 8, 1772.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—A blessing will always attend preaching abroad. In Liverpool Circuit, practise it as much as possible.

Mr. Robertshaw is both a sound and a lively man. Wherever he is, they want to have him stay longer. Be all-alive and all in earnest!—I am

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Jane Salkeld

Jane Salkeld, to whom this letter is addressed at Blackdean, was a schoolmistress in Weardale; of whose work among the children

¹ Eames had emigrated to America. See letter of July 15, 1789, to him.

Wesley gives an extended account in the *Journal*. Forty-three children had been gathered in, and thirty of them 'are rejoicing in the love of God. The chief instrument God has used among these is Jane Salkeld, a schoolmistress, a young woman that is a pattern to all that believe.' She sent Wesley a beautiful account of her religious experience. She married Mr. Rodham, whose son sent a copy of the letter to the *Wesleyan* on April 18, 1846. See *Journal*, v. 464-72; *Arminian Magazine*, 1785, p. 335.

LEEDS, August 9, 1772.

MY DEAR SISTER,—From the first time I conversed with you I loved you; and you know

Love, like death, makes all distinctions void.¹

I want you to hold fast all that you have already received, and to receive more and more. The lot is fallen upon you in a fair ground. See that you still cleave to Him by simple faith. I hope my dear little maidens Peggy and Sally are not moved from their steadfastness. Exhort all the little ones that believe to make haste and not delay the time of receiving the second blessing; and be not backward to declare what God has done for your soul to any that truly fear Him.

I hope you do not feel any decay; you are to sink deeper into His love, and rise higher into His likeness. And do not use any reserve to, my dear Jenny,

Your affectionate brother.

PS.—You may at any time direct to me in London.

To Alexander Clark

This spirited defence of the preachers shows Wesley's pride in them and his care for their welfare. Peter Jaco was the new preacher in Dublin. Patrick Geoghegan was a trustee of the Widows' Alms Houses adjoining Whitefriar Street Chapel. He did not approve the strict views as to doctrine and discipline, and made unwarranted charges against the treasurer of the Alms Houses. See Crookshank's *Methodism in Ireland*, i. 239, 312-13; compare letter of May 19.

SHEFFIELD, August 10, 1772.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—Now the hurry of Conference is over, I get a little time to write. When I chose you to be Steward in Dublin, you both loved and esteemed your

¹ See letter of Feb. 15, 1769.

preachers ; but I find you have now drunk in the whole spirit of Pat. Geoghegan. O beware ! You are exceedingly deceived. By this time I should be some judge of man ; and if I am, all England and Ireland cannot afford such a body of men, number for number, for sense and true experience both of men and things, as the body of Methodist preachers. Our leaders in London, Bristol, and Dublin are by no means weak men. I would not be ashamed to compare them with a like number of tradesmen in every part of the three kingdoms. But I assure you they are no more than children compared to the preachers in Conference, as you would be thoroughly convinced could you but have the opportunity of spending one day among them. Mr. Jaco will make a fair trial whether he can supply Dublin alone ; if he cannot, he shall have another to help, for he must not kill himself to save charges. But I dare not stint him to £20 a year. He will waste nothing ; but he must want nothing. You will make his stay among you in every respect as comfortable as you can.—I am Your affectionate brother.

To Mary Stokes

SHEFFIELD, August 10, 1772.

MY DEAR SISTER,—Having finished for the present my business at Leeds,¹ I am come thus far on my journey to Bristol. But I must take Haverfordwest in the way thither ; so that I do not expect to be there till the 30th instant. How many blessings may you receive in the meantime, provided you seek them in the good old way wherein you received the Lord Jesus Christ ! So walk in Him still. Beware of striking into new paths ! of being wise above that is written ! Perhaps we may find sweetness in the beginning ; but it would be bitterness in the latter end. O my sister, my friend, I am afraid for you ! I doubt you are stepping out of the way. When you enter into your closet and shut the door and pray to your Father who seeth in secret, then is the time to groan to Him who reads the heart the unutterable prayer. But to be silent in the congregation of His people is wholly

¹ Where the Conference met on the 4th.

new, and therefore wholly wrong. A silent meeting was never heard of in the Church of Christ for sixteen hundred years. I entreat you to read over with much prayer that little tract *A Letter to a Quaker*.¹ I fear you are on the brink of a precipice, and you know it not. The enemy has put on his angel's face, and you take him for a friend. Retire immediately! Go not near the tents of those dead, formal men called Quakers! Keep close to your class, to your band, to your old teachers; they have the words of eternal life! Have any of them offended you? Has any stumbling-block been laid in your way? Hide nothing from, my dear Molly,
Yours in true affection.

Ten days hence I expect to be at Haverfordwest.

To Mary Bishop

PEMBROKE, August 22, 1772.

DEAR MISS BISHOP,—Such a degree of sickness or pain as does not affect the understanding I have often found to be a great help. It is an admirable help against levity as well as against foolish desires; and nothing more directly tends to teach us that great lesson, to write upon our heart, 'Not as I will, but as Thou wilt.'

Mr. Baxter well observes (or, indeed, Archbishop Usher, to whom he refers, had done before him), 'that whoever attempt to profit children will find need of all the understanding God has given them.' But, indeed, natural understanding will go but a little way. It is a peculiar gift of God. I believe He has given you a measure of it already, and you may ask and expect an increase of it. Our dear sisters at Publow² enjoy it in as high a degree as any young women I know.

It certainly must be an inordinate affection which creates so many jealousies and misunderstandings. I should think it would be absolutely needful, the very next time that you observe anything of that kind, to come to a full explanation

¹ See letters of Feb. 10, 1748, and March 17, 1771 (to her).

² Mrs. Owen and her daughters. See letter of Nov. 22, 1769.

with the parties concerned ; to tell them calmly and roundly, ' I must and I will choose for myself whom I will converse with, and when and how ; and if any one of you take upon you to be offended at me on this account, you will make it necessary for me to be more shy and reserved to you than ever I was before.' If you steadily take up this cross, if you speak thus once or twice in the band or class in a cool but peremptory manner, I am much inclined to think it will save both you and others a good deal of uneasiness.

When you see those ladies (with whom I have no acquaintance), you would do well to speak exceeding plain. I am afraid they are still entire strangers to the religion of the heart.

On Saturday, the 29th instant, I hope to be at Bristol, and on the Wednesday evening following at Bath. Let notice be given of this.—I am, dear Miss Bishop,

Your affectionate brother.

To his Niece Sarah Wesley

Charles Wesley's daughter was thirteen, and her uncle was anxious that she should have such a friend as Miss Bolton.

This letter was presented by the descendants of the Rev. Barnabas Shaw to the Cape Town Circuit in 1897.

CARDIFF, August 28, 1772.

Excuse me, my dear Sally, if I do not stay so long, if I write a line before I come to Bristol, and remember the condition you are in. Write to Nancy Bolton without delay. You gave me much satisfaction when I was with you both yesterday and the day before. And yet I felt a good deal of pain for you, lest you should lose the desires which God has given you, surrounded as you are with those who hardly consider whether there is any God or devil. Oh what a strange, unaccountable creature is man while he is following his own imaginations !

Is this silly, laughing, trifling animal born for eternity ? Is this he that was made an incorruptible picture of the God of glory ? he that was born to live with angels and archangels and all the company of heaven ? And is it thus that he is preparing to meet Him that is coming in the clouds of heaven ? What a fool, what a blockhead, what a madman is he that

forgets the very end of his creation! Look upon such in this and no other view, however lively, good-natured, well-bred, and choose you your better part! Be a reasonable creature! Be a Christian! Be wise now and happy for ever! —My dear Sally, adieu.

To Mrs. Bennis

Mrs. Bennis wrote on August 8 from Waterford: 'This Society is increased in number and grace since I was last here; I do meet a band and a class. We all speak with freedom. I love the people, and I believe they love me. There are three preachers in the circuit, and all have work enough. James Deaves is now in Limerick, but as yet quiet. Why did you not write to himself also?' See letter of June 16 to her.

BRISTOL, August 31, 1772.

MY DEAR SISTER,—My health is not worse, but rather better. Your account of the Society in Waterford is pleasing. Continue to exercise your talent amongst them, and you will be a gainer by it. You need not dispute or reason about the name which belongs to the state you are in. You know what you have; be thankful for it. You know what you want—zeal, liveliness, stability, deliverance from wandering imaginations; well, then, ask, and they shall be given. The way into the holiest is open through the blood of Jesus. You have free access through Him.

To Him your every want
In instant prayer display;
Pray always, pray and never faint,
Pray, without ceasing pray!

See, help while yet you ask is given!—I am, dear sister,
Your affectionate brother.

To Philothea Briggs

BRISTOL, August 31, 1772.

MY DEAR PHILLY,—None are or can be saved but those who are by faith made inwardly and outwardly holy. But this holy faith is the gift of God; and He is never straitened for time. He can as easily give this faith in a moment as in a thousand years. He frequently does give it on a death-

bed, in answer to the prayer of believers, but rarely if ever to those who had continued unholy upon the presumption that He would save them *at last*. But if He did, what unspeakable losers must they be! Could grief be in heaven, they would grieve to eternity! seeing every one there must receive *his own* reward according to *his own labour*.

And *he* will perplex you more than enough if you listen to his sallies of imagination: 'Every one has some pursuit; *therefore* a man cannot be always in communion with God.' I deny the consequence. While Mr. De Renty was serving the poor he was in constant communion with God. So was Gregory Lopez while he was writing books. 'At first, indeed,' as Lopez observed, 'large manifestations from God were apt to suspend the exercise of his senses as well as of his understanding. But after some time they made no difference at all, but left him the full exercise both of his understanding and senses.' I remember a much later instance of the same kind: an old clergyman¹ told me, some years since, 'I asked Mr. Boehm (Chaplain to Prince George of Denmark), "Sir, when you are in such an hurry of business, surrounded with a crowd of people, hearing one and dictating to another at the same time, does it not interrupt your mental prayer?" He answered immediately, "All that hurry no more hinders my communion with God than if I was all the time sitting alone in my study or kneeling at the altar."' No business, therefore, of any kind, no conversation, need hinder one that is strong in faith from rejoicing evermore, praying without ceasing, and in everything giving thanks. Follow after this, and you will surely attain it.—I am, my dear Philly,

Yours affectionately.

To Miss Phil. Briggs, At Miss March's,
In Worship Street, Moorfields, London.

To Mrs. Turner

Wesley says on Tuesday, September 12, 1780, 'At the invitation of that excellent woman, Mrs. Turner, I preached about noon in her chapel in Trowbridge. As most of the hearers were Dissenters, I

¹ Mr. Fraser, Chaplain to St. George's Hospital. Wesley read the *Sermons* in 1776. See *Journal*, i. 175d, vi. 98; and letter of Dec. 10, 1777. *Life* of Boehm in Georgia, and his 1777.

did not expect to do much good. However, I have done my duty : God will look to the event.' Joanna Turner was a daughter of John Cook, clothier. One of her nieces married Dr. Adam Clarke, and another married Joseph Butterworth, M.P. In her early days she was 'the ringleader in all the vain amusements of the town.' She wrote to Wesley : 'I am not, my dear sir, one of your Society ; nor do I see in all things as you do. But I dare not think lightly of you on that account.' She died on December 24, 1784, in her fifty-third year ; and her husband sent Wesley a Memoir of her by Mary Wells. See *Journal*, vi. 294 ; *Arminian Magazine*, 1798, p. 47 ; *W.H.S.* iv. 57-9.

THE DEVIZES, September 18, 1772.

MY DEAR SISTER,—You have prevented me. I had designed to write to *you* if you had not wrote to *me*. I take knowledge of your spirit. 'Love without dissimulation is easy to be discerned.' I am the more pleased to find this in you, because you are acquainted with many whose love does not abound, who are not so kindly affectioned to those who do not exactly subscribe to their opinions. They do not seem sufficiently to consider that the kingdom of God is not opinions (how right so ever they be), but righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost. I love you for being of a more excellent spirit. My soul takes acquaintance with you. Shall we for opinions destroy the work of God, or give up love, the very badge of our profession ? Nay, by this shall men know that we belong to the Lover of Souls, to Him who loved us and gave Himself for us.

Many years ago, when my son (as he styled himself for several years) Mr. Whitefield declared war against me, several asked, and that over and over, 'When will you answer Mr. Whitefield's book ?' I answered, 'Never. You have heard the cry, Whitefield against Wesley ; but you shall never hear, Wesley against Whitefield.' I have been ever since a follower after peace ; and when Mr. Hill so violently attacked me in the famous *Paris Conversation*,¹ I was as a man that heard not and in whose mouth were no reproofs. When he

¹ *A Conversation between Richard Hill, Esq., the Rev. Mr. Madan, and Father Walsh, Superior of a Convent of Benedictine Monks at Paris, held in the said Convent, July 13, 1771.*

... Relative to some Doctrinal Minutes advanced by the Rev. Mr. John Wealey, &c. 1772. See Green's *Anti-Methodist Publications*, No. 437.

fell upon me again in his *Five Letters*,¹ I still made no reply ; nay, I chose not to read it, for fear I should be tempted to return evil for evil. When he assaulted me a third time more vehemently than ever in his *Review*,² I still determined to answer nothing. But it was not long before one of my friends sent me word that I could no longer be silent and be innocent ; it being my bounden duty as a public person not to let the good that was in me be evil spoken of, but, according to the direction of the Apostle, to give a reason of the hope that is in me, only with meekness and fear. I was convinced. I did not dare to be silent any longer, and I have accordingly answered the questions he proposed to me and removed those objections which otherwise would have turned the lame out of the way.³ I wish I may have done it with the inimitable sweetness and gentleness that Mr. Fletcher has done. His letters (as vilely as they have been misrepresented) breathe the very spirit of the gospel. You might read them, to learn how to return good for evil, to bless them that curse you. O beware that no bitter spirits infuse bitterness into *you* ! Keep all the love that God has given you ! and never rest till all your heart is love ! Peace be with your spirits !—I am, my dear sister, Your affectionate brother.

To Mrs. Turner, Grocer,
In Trowbridge.

To Ann Bolton

BRISTOL, September 20, 1772.

MY DEAR SISTER,—You have no time to lose, unless you would throw away your life, which you have no authority to do. You should have had no blister⁴ had I been near you. I judge your case to be chiefly rheumatical. Change of air is likely to do you more good than an hundred medicines. Come away, come away. Set out the very day after you

¹ *Five Letters to Rev. Mr. Fletcher*, 1771.

² Fletcher's *Second Check to Antinomianism* called forth Hill's *A Review of all the Doctrines taught by the Rev. Mr. John Wesley*, 1772. See Green's *Bibliography*, No. 283 ; and

letter of July 10 to his brother.

³ *Some Remarks on Mr. Hill's Review of all the Doctrines taught by Mr. Wesley*, which is dated Sept. 9, 1772.

⁴ See letter of July 1 to her.

receive this. You may come first to me in the Horsefair ; and if need be, I can show you to Sally James.¹ I need not tell you how welcome you will be to, my dear Nancy,

Yours affectionately.

To Miss Bolton, In Witney,
Oxfordshire.

Francis Asbury says in his *Journal* on October 10, 1772 : ' I received a letter from Mr. Wesley, in which he required a strict attention to discipline ; and appointed me to act as Assistant.' The letter is not known.

To *Philothea Briggs*

October 19, 1772.

The difference between temptation and sin is generally plain enough to all that are simple of heart ; but in some exempt cases it is not plain : there we want the unction of the Holy One. Voluntary humility, calling every defect a sin, is not well-pleasing to God. Sin, properly speaking, is neither more nor less than ' a voluntary transgression of a known law of God.'

To *Penelope Newman*

WYCOMBE, October 23, 1772.

MY DEAR SISTER,—I am glad to hear that you found benefit by your little journey to Bristol. I did not doubt but the conversation of those experienced Christians would be of service to you, and would enable you to be of more service to the little flock at Cheltenham. In one point only our friends at Bristol have been once and again in some danger. They have been in danger of being a little hurt by reading those that are called Mystic authors.² These (Madame Guyon in particular) have abundance of excellent sayings. They have many fine and elegant observations ; but in the meantime they are immeasurably wise above that is written. They continually *refine* upon plain Christianity. But to *refine* religion is to spoil it. It is the most simple thing that can be conceived : it is only humble, gentle, patient love. It is nothing less and nothing more than this ; as it

¹ See letters of May 1, 1772, and Nov. 29, 1774 (to Sarah James).

² For Mysticism, see next letter.

is described in the 13th chapter of the [First Epistle to the] Corinthians. O keep to this! Aim at nothing higher, at nothing else! Let your heart continually burn with humble love.

If you have an opportunity to be electrified, that would remove the pain in your eye, should it return. I am glad my dear sisters did not suffer in your absence. This is another token that your journey was pleasing to God. I was much delighted, when I saw you, with your artless, simple love; and love you the more on that account. As freely as you would talk to me if we were together, so freely write to, my dear Penny,

Yours affectionately.

From time to time you should tell me just what God works in you and by you.

To Ann Bolton

October 25, 1772.

MY DEAR SISTER,—The subject on which we were lately talking requires to be a little farther explained. You cannot imagine what trouble I have had for many years to prevent our friends from *refining* upon religion. Therefore I have industriously guarded them from meddling with the Mystic writers, as they are usually called; because these are the most artful refiners of it that ever appeared in the Christian world, and the most bewitching. There is something like enchantment in them. When you get into them, you know not how to get out. Some of the chief of these, though in different ways, are Jacob Behmen and Madame Guyon. My dear friend, come not into their secret; keep in the plain, open Bible way. Aim at nothing higher, nothing deeper, than the religion described at large in our Lord's Sermon upon the Mount, and briefly summed up by St. Paul in the 13th chapter [of the First Epistle] to the Corinthians. I long to have you more and more deeply penetrated by humble, gentle, patient love. Believe me, you can find nothing higher than this till mortality is swallowed up of life. All the high-sounding or mysterious expressions used by that class of writers either mean no more than this or they mean wrong. O beware of them! Leave them off before they are meddled with.

I had much satisfaction in your company when I saw you last. Be more and more filled with humble love.

Yours most affectionately.

To Mrs. Bennis

This letter appeared in Wesley's *Works*, but with variations from the original as preserved at the Iliff School of Theology, Denver, Colorado, which are of special interest. Great liberties were taken with some letters when preparing them for the *Works*, as is shown in the series sent to Mary Bishop, and names were often omitted whilst those concerned were alive.

Mrs. Bennis writes on October 18: 'I left the Waterford Society in a prosperous situation; but have found *this* in a decline and in confusion: the sower of tares has got amongst them. Oh how is it that the followers of Christ cannot speak and think and act in love? . . . I have had some late opportunities of Mrs. Dawson, and think her in a happy state.'

They took Wesley's advice about Captain Webb. Mrs. Bennis says on December 1: 'Our Society is once more readjusted; we all seem to be in love and in earnest. Captain Webb's visit has proved a blessing; our house was not large enough for the congregations; many outward hearers seem under awakenings. If we could now have a succession of strange preachers from the neighbouring circuits, perhaps poor Limerick might once more raise its head.' See letter of March 2, 1773, to Joseph Benson.

COLCHESTER, *November 3, 1772.*

DEAR SISTER,—Your time was well bestowed at Waterford. Many, I doubt not, will remember it with thankfulness. But why this want of discipline in Limerick? Whenever this is dropped, all is confusion: see that it be immediately restored.

I should have been glad if you had prevailed on Captain Webb to pay me a visit in Limerick: he is a man of fire, and the power of God constantly accompanies his word.

Poor Sister Harrison! I did not expect her to die in triumph. But we must leave her to her own Master. It seems to me that Mrs. Dawson gains ground. And I [love] her two lovely children. At every opportunity you would do well to speak a little to all three.

Speak a little to as many as you can; go among them, to their houses; speak in love, and discord will vanish. It is hardly possible for you to comfort or strengthen others without some comfort returning into your own bosom.

It is highly probable I shall visit Ireland in the spring, though I am almost a disabled soldier. I am forbid to ride, and am obliged to travel mostly in a carriage.¹

Whom do you think proper to succeed the present preachers at Limerick and Waterford ?²

You have need to stir up the gift of God that is in you. Light will spring up. Why not now ? Is not the Lord at hand ?—I am, my dear sister, Your affectionate brother.

To Mary Bishop

COLCHESTER, November 4, 1772.

MY DEAR SISTER,—I see more and more clearly there is no other way of preserving peace with our contentious brethren but by war—nay, by ‘carrying the war into Italy,’ into their own quarters. We do nothing, we spend our strength in vain, while we are acting only on the defensive. So long they will never be afraid of us ; for they have nothing to lose. But when with gentleness and yet with vigour and firmness we show all the horror of their opinions, while with calmness and yet with all earnestness we paint the whole absurdity and blasphemy of Reprobation, pinning them down, whether they will or no, to that point, they will soon be sick of the war. They will themselves desire peace, and count it a favour when it is granted them. But we must *build* with one hand while we fight with the other. And this is the great work : not only to bring souls to believe in Christ, but to build them up in our most holy faith. How grievously are they mistaken (as are wellnigh the whole body of modern Calvinists) who imagine that as soon as the children are born they need take no more care of them ! We do not find it so. The chief care then begins. And if we see this in a true light, we may well cry out, even the wisest men on earth, ‘Who is sufficient for these things ?’ In a thousand circumstances general rules avail little and our natural light is quickly at an end. So that we have nothing to depend upon but the anointing of the Holy One ; and this

¹ See letter of Aug. 31 to her.

² Edward Slater was at Limerick. Jonathan Hern from Cork succeeded him. James Glassbrook and Francis

Wrigley were at Waterford ; John Murray and Michael M'Donald followed them.

will indeed teach us of all things. The same you need with regard to your little ones, that you may train them up in the way wherein they should go. And herein you have continual need of patience; for you will frequently see little fruit of all your labour. But leave that with Him. The success is His. The work only is yours. Your point is this,—Work your work betimes, and in *His* time He will give you a full reward.—I am, my dear sister,

Yours affectionately.

To Miss Bishop, Near the Cross Bath,
In Bath.

To his Brother Charles

COLCHESTER, November 4, 1772.

DEAR BROTHER,—Nay, there was some ground for that report; for I did *dream* that I was robbed. True, it was twenty years ago; but you know that is all one.

The connexion is well proved in the *Fourth Check*.¹ Mr. Knox's Letter is ready for the press. But give your dear friends a little time to chew upon Mr. Fletcher; else you may overload their stomach. There is no danger of my writing anything yet. I have just made my tour through Oxfordshire, Bedfordshire, Northamptonshire, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex; but Kent, Sussex, and Hertfordshire still remain to be visited. Only the visitation of the classes (a fortnight's work, which begins on Monday) must come between.

I have an *exceeding loving letter* from James Rouquet in answer to my plain one. So if it did him no good (but possibly it might), at least it did him no harm. If we *duly join* faith and works in all our preaching, we shall not fail of a blessing. But of all preaching, what is usually called gospel preaching is the most useless, if not the most mischievous; a dull, yea or lively, harangue on the sufferings of Christ or salvation by faith without strongly inculcating holiness. I see more and more that this naturally tends to drive holiness out of the world.

Peace be with your spirits! Adieu!

¹ Fletcher's *Fourth Check* was finished on Nov. 15, 1772, and published that year.

To Thomas Wride

COLCHESTER, November 5, 1772.

DEAR TOMMY,—You was in the right. Let the allotment for the wives of the preachers (at least for the present) stand as it did before.

It seems to me that the alteration made in the travelling-plan by Brother M'Nab is wise and well grounded. I advise you to adhere thereto till you see some good reason to the contrary. *You* are the Assistant,¹ not Brother Pepper: you *need* suffer none to ride over your head. Only be *mild*! I require John Murray to follow the same plan. If he does not, I will let him drop at once.

I suspect *the hives* to be what we call the *nettle rash*. I know nothing that helps it but rubbing the part with *parsley*.—I am, dear Tommy,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Philothea Briggs

LONDON, November 22, 1772.

There are a thousand instances wherein it is not possible literally to make restitution. All that we can advise in the case you mention is (1) Let him that stole steal no more, let him be from this hour rigorously just; (2) let him be a faithful steward of the mammon of unrighteousness, restoring all he can to God in the poor.

To Francis Wolfe

LONDON, November 22, 1772.

DEAR FRANCIS,—At what place are the fifty-four pounds (old debt) due, and at what places the three hundred and sixty-three?²

You should speak plainly and freely to Brother Seed.³ Before his illness I am afraid he had lost much ground. He should receive this stroke as a call from God, and for the time to come live as he did when he travelled first.

Let both of you strongly exhort the believers everywhere

¹ Wride was at Newry, with John Murray as one of his colleagues. Alexander M'Nab was at Londonderry. See letter of Dec. 16 to Wride.

² Wolfe (who ceased to travel in 1782) was now Assistant in Gloucestershire.

³ See letter of June 23, 1771.

to 'go on to perfection'; otherwise they cannot keep what they have.—I am, with love to Sister Wolfe,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Mr. Wolfe, at Mr. King's,
In Stroud, Gloucestershire.

To Ann Bolton

LONDON, November 28, 1772.

MY DEAR SISTER,—I have some business too; but I know not what business would be able to hinder my writing to *you*. But, whether you think of me or no, I shall hardly be angry at you. Too much attention to business (with the natural consequence of it), too little exercise in the open air, you may expect will always bring back your headache. Therefore you should never intermit your riding. It is not even worldly prudence; for one fit of sickness would take up more time than an hundred little rides. If, therefore, you would preserve yourself fit for business, to waive all other considerations, in every fair day which this season of the year affords you should snatch an hour for riding.

Sammy Wells will always be useful, for he can take advice. But how is it with Billy Brammah¹? Does he follow the advice I gave him concerning screaming and the use of spirituous liquors? If not, he will grow old before his time, he will both lessen and shorten his own usefulness. Drop a word whenever you find an opportunity. He is upright of heart. He enjoys a good deal of the grace of God, but with a touch of enthusiasm.

Nay, Nancy, I designed to have wrote but one page. But I know not how, when I am talking with *you*, though only by letter, I can hardly break off. But, indeed, as yet I have not touched on what I chiefly intended. I see plainly that you are exposed to two dangers of entirely opposite natures. The one is (that which now assaults some of our friends in the West) refining upon religion,² aiming at something more sublime than plain, simple love producing lowliness, meekness,

¹ Samuel Wells and William Brammah were the preachers in Oxfordshire. See letter of Feb. 18, 1773.

² See letters of Oct. 25 and Dec. 5.

and resignation. The other is an abatement of zeal for doing good. I am a little jealous over you in this. Last year I warned you much on this very account. Did you follow that advice to let

No fair occasion pass unheeded by?¹

If you leaned a little toward an extreme (which I do not know), beware of gradually sliding into the other extreme! The good Lord guide you every moment! Do you find constant power over the old enemy, inordinate affection? I pray do not stay another month before you write to, my dear Nancy,

Your affectionate brother.

To Miss Bolton, In Witney,
Oxfordshire.

To —

LONDON, December 1772.

So far God has brought you already. You do believe He is able and willing to save you. You believe He is willing to save you now. The additional faith that He does save you is still wanting, and this is peculiarly His own gift. Expect it every moment, in every ordinance, in prayer, in hearing, in conversation, in the Lord's Supper, in reading, perhaps in reading this letter. Look up! All is ready; why not now? Only believe, and yours is heaven.²

To *Philothea Briggs*

LEWISHAM, December 3, 1772.

MY DEAR PHILLY,—You are yourself a living witness of this religion. But it is only in a low degree. I grant you are only just beginning to be a disciple of Jesus Christ. It is an unspeakable blessing that He shows you this in so clear and strong a light. And undoubtedly He is able to make *you* just as serious as Miss March or Nancy Bolton; and yet this is consistent with much cheerfulness. You shall have more or less of reproach, as He chooses. Your part is to leave all in His hands, who orders all things well. You might very properly have said, 'Sir, I have no connexion with these. They are to answer for themselves.' Read the *Short History*

¹ See his brother Samuel's poem 'On the Death of Mr. William Morgan of Christ Church,' in *Journal*, i. 104; and letter of Jan. 15, 1773, to Miss Bolton.

² This letter is at the end of a volume of James Oddie's sermons in MS.

of *Methodism*,¹ and you see it plain. Go straight forward, and you shall be all a Christian! I expect that you will be more and more a comfort to, my dear Philly,

Yours affectionately.

To Ann Bolton

LONDON, December 5, 1772.

MY DEAR SISTER,—I know not that ever you asked me a question which I did not readily answer. I never heard any one mention anything concerning you on that account; but I myself was jealous over you.² Perhaps I shall find faults in you that others do not; for I survey you on every side. I mark your every motion and temper, because I long for you to be without spot or blemish.

What I have seen in London occasioned the first caution I gave you. George Bell, William Green,³ and many others, then full of love, were favoured with extraordinary revelations and manifestations from God. But by this very thing Satan beguiled them from the simplicity that is in Christ. By insensible degrees they were led to value these extraordinary gifts more than the ordinary grace of God; and I could not convince them that a grain of humble love was better than all these gifts put together. This, my dear friend, was what made me fear for you. This makes me remind you again and again. Faith and hope are glorious gifts, and so is every ray of eternity let into the soul. But still these are but means; the end of all, and the greatest of all, is love. May the Lord just now pour it into your heart as He never has done before.

By all means spend an hour every other day in the labour of love, even though you cannot help them as you would. Commending you to Him who is able to make you perfect in every good word and work, I am

Yours affectionately.

To the Editor of 'Lloyd's Evening Post'

The long war and the poor harvests had caused much scarcity, and prices had risen to such an extent as to cause acute distress.

¹ See *Works*, viii. 347-51; Green's *Bibliography*, No. 229.

² See letter of Nov. 28.

³ See *Journal*, iii. 265, iv. 94;

C. Wesley's Journal, i. 429; and letter of Nov. 26, 1762, sect. 1. 6, to Bishop Warburton.

Wesley spent part of December 31 in prayer, 'being greatly embarrassed by the necessities of the poor.' At Lewisham on January 20, 1773, he revised and enlarged this letter and published it as a pamphlet. The same letter was sent to the *Leeds Mercury* on December 29. See *Journal*, v. 495; and letter of January 21, 1773.

DOVER, December 9, 1772.

SIR,—Many excellent things have been lately published concerning the *present scarcity of provisions*. And many causes have been assigned for it; but is not something wanting in most of those publications? One writer assigns one cause, another one or two more, and strongly insists upon them. But who has assigned all the causes that manifestly concur to produce this melancholy effect? at the same time pointing out how each particular cause affects the price of each particular sort of provision?

I would willingly offer to candid and benevolent men a few hints on this important subject, proposing a few questions, and adding to each what seems to be the plain and direct answer.

I. 1. I ask first, Why are thousands of people starving, perishing for want, in every part of England? The fact I know: I have seen it with my eyes in every corner of the land. I have known those who could only afford to eat a little coarse food every other day. I have known one picking up stinking sprats from a dunghill and carrying them home for herself and her children. I have known another gathering the bones which the dogs had left in the streets and making broth of them to prolong a wretched life. Such is the case at this day of multitudes of people in a land flowing, as it were, with milk and honey, abounding with all the necessaries, the conveniences, the superfluities of life!

Now, why is this? Why have all these nothing to eat? Because they have nothing to do. They have no meat because they have no work.

2. But why have they no work? Why are so many thousand people in London, in Bristol, in Norwich, in every county from one end of England to the other, utterly destitute of employment?

Because the persons who used to employ them cannot

afford to do it any longer. Many who employed fifty men now scarce employ ten. Those who employed twenty now employ one or none at all. They cannot, as they have no vent for their goods, food now bearing so high a price that the generality of people are hardly able to buy anything else.

3. But to descend from generals to particulars. Why is breadcorn so dear? Because such immense quantities of it are continually consumed by *distilling*. Indeed, an eminent distiller near London hearing this, warmly replied, 'Nay, my partner and I generally distil *but a thousand quarters* of corn a week.' Perhaps so. Suppose five-and-twenty distillers in and near the town consume each only the same quantity. Here are five-and-twenty thousand quarters a week—that is, above twelve hundred and fifty thousand quarters a year—consumed in and about London! Add the distillers throughout England, and have we not reason to believe that half of the wheat produced in the kingdom is every year consumed, not by so harmless a way as throwing it into the sea, but by converting it into deadly poison—poison that naturally destroys, not only the strength and life, but also the morals of our countrymen!

'Well, but this brings in a large revenue to the King.' Is this an equivalent for the lives of his subjects? Would His Majesty sell an hundred thousand of his subjects yearly to Algiers for four hundred thousand pounds? Surely no. Will he, then, sell them for that sum to be butchered by their own countrymen? 'But otherwise the swine for the Navy cannot be fed.' Not unless they are fed with human flesh? not unless they are fatted with human blood? O tell it not in Constantinople that the English raise the royal revenue by selling the blood and flesh of their countrymen!

4. But why are oats so dear? Because there are four times the horses kept (to speak within compass), for coaches and chaises in particular, than were some years ago. Unless, therefore, four times the oats grew now as grew then, they cannot be at the same price. If only twice as much is produced (which perhaps is near the truth), the price will naturally be double to what it was.

As the dearness of grain of one kind will naturally raise

the price of another, so whatever causes the dearness of wheat and oats must raise the price of barley too. To account, therefore, for the dearness of this we need only remember what has been observed above, although some particular causes may concur in producing the same effect.

5. Why are beef and mutton so dear? Because most of the considerable farmers, particularly in the northern counties, who used to breed large numbers of sheep or horned cattle, and frequently both, no longer trouble themselves with either sheep or cows or oxen, as they can turn their land to far better account by breeding horses alone. Such is the demand, not only for coach- and chaise-horses, which are bought and destroyed in incredible numbers; but much more for bred horses, which are yearly exported by hundreds, yea thousands, to France.

6. But why are pork, poultry, and eggs so dear? Because of the monopolizing of farms, as mischievous a monopoly as was ever yet introduced into these kingdoms. The land which was formerly divided among ten or twenty little farmers and enabled them comfortably to provide for their families is now generally engrossed by one great farmer. One man farms an estate of a thousand a year, which formerly maintained ten or twenty. Every one of these little farmers kept a few swine, with some quantity of poultry; and, having little money, was glad to send his bacon, or pork, or fowls and eggs, to market continually. Hence the markets were plentifully served, and plenty created cheapness; but at present the great, the gentlemen farmers, are above attending to these little things. They breed no poultry or swine unless for their own use; consequently they send none to market. Hence it is not strange if two or three of these living near a market town occasion such a scarcity of these things by preventing the former supply that the price of them will be double or treble to what it was before. Hence (to instance in a small article) in the same town, where within my memory eggs were sold eight or ten a penny, they are now sold six or eight a groat.

Another cause why beef, mutton, pork, and all kinds of victuals are so dear is *luxury*. What can stand against this?

Will it not waste and destroy all that nature and art can produce? If a person of quality will boil down three dozen of neat's tongues to make two or three quarts of soup (and so proportionably in other things), what wonder if provisions fail? Only look into the kitchens of the great, the nobility, and gentry, almost without exception (considering withal that the toe of the peasant treads upon the heel of the courtier), and when you have observed the amazing waste which is made there, you will no longer wonder at the scarcity, and consequently dearness, of the things which they use so much art to destroy.

7. But why is land so dear? Because on all these accounts gentlemen cannot live as they have been accustomed to do, without increasing their income, which most of them cannot do but by raising their rents. The farmer, paying an higher rent for his land, must have an higher price for the produce of it. This again tends to raise the price of land. And so the wheel goes round.

8. But why is it that not only provisions and land but wellnigh everything else is so dear? Because of the enormous taxes which are laid on almost everything that can be named. Not only abundant taxes are raised from earth and fire and water, but in England the ingenious statesmen have found a way to tax the very light! Only one element remains, and surely some man of honour will ere long contrive to tax this also. For how long shall the saucy air blow in the face of a gentleman, nay a lord, without paying for it?

9. But why are the taxes so high? Because of the national debt. They must be while this continues. I have heard that the national expense in the time of peace was sixty years ago three millions a year. Now the bare interest of the public debt amounts to above four millions. To raise which, with the other expenses of government, those taxes are absolutely necessary.

II. Here is the evil. But where is the remedy? Perhaps it exceeds all the wisdom of man to tell. But it may not be amiss to offer a few hints even on this delicate subject.

1. What remedy is there for this sore evil? Many thousand poor people are starving. Find them work, and

you will find them meat. They will then earn and eat their own bread.

2. But how shall their masters give them work without ruining themselves? Procure vent for it, and it will not hurt their masters to give them as much work as they can do; and this will be done by sinking the price of provisions, for then people will have money to buy other things too.

3. But how can the price of *wheat* be reduced? By prohibiting for ever that bane of health, that destroyer of strength, of life, and of virtue, *distilling*. Perhaps this alone will answer the whole design. If anything more be needful, may not all starch be made of rice, and the importation of this as well as of wheat be encouraged?

4. How can the price of *oats* be reduced? By reducing the number of horses. And may not this be effectually done (1) by laying a tax of ten pounds on every horse exported to France, (2) by laying an additional tax on gentlemen's carriages. Not so much for every wheel (barefaced, shameless partiality!), but ten pounds yearly for every horse. And these two taxes alone would nearly supply as much as is now given for leave to poison His Majesty's liege subjects.

5. How can the price of *beef* and *mutton* be reduced? By increasing the breed of sheep and horned cattle. And this would be increased sevenfold if the price of horses was reduced, which it surely would be half in half by the method above mentioned.

6. How can the price of *pork* and *poultry* be reduced? First, by letting no farms of above an hundred pounds a year. Secondly, by repressing luxury, either by example, by laws, or both.

7. How may the price of *land* be reduced? By all the methods above named, all which tend to lessen the expense of housekeeping; but especially the last, restraining luxury, which is the grand source of poverty.

8. How may the *taxes* be reduced? By discharging half the national debt, and so saving at least two millions a year.

How this can be done the wisdom of the great council of the land can best determine.—I am, sir,

Your humble servant.

CONTROVERSIAL NATIONAL

- I. To DR. RUTHERFORTH, in reply to his *Four Charges to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Essex.*
- II. To a FRIEND, on 'The Present State of Public Affairs.'

CONTROVERSIAL NATIONAL

I

TO DR. RUTHERFORTH

Thomas Rutherford (1712-71) was Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge 1745, and Archdeacon of Essex 1752. In 1763 he published *Four Charges to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Essex*. The first three are against the Methodists, who 'pretend to be the genuine sons of the Church of England: they adopt the language and opinions of the conventicle; for they maintain that every believer, provided he has the gift of utterance, is qualified to preach, and that human learning is rather an impediment than otherwise.' See Tyerman's *Wesley*, ii. 490-1; Green's *Anti-Methodist Publications*, No. 343.

MANCHESTER, March 28, 1768.

REVEREND SIR,—I. 1. Your charges, published five years ago, I did not see till yesterday. In the fourth I am unconcerned. The three former I purpose now to consider; and I do it the more cheerfully, because they are wrote with such seriousness as becomes the importance of the subject and with less tartness than I am accustomed to expect from opponents of every kind.

2. But, before I enter on the subject, suffer me to remove a stumbling-block or two out of the way. You frequently charge me with evasion; and others have brought the same charge. The plain case is this: I have wrote on various heads, and always as clearly as I could. Yet many have misunderstood my words and raised abundance of objections. I answered them by explaining myself, showing what I did not mean and what I did. One and another of the objectors stretched his throat, and cried out, 'Evasion! Evasion!' And what does all this outcry amount to? Why, exactly thus much: they imagined they had tied me so fast that it was impossible for me to escape. But presently the cobwebs were swept away, and I was quite at liberty. And I bless God I can unravel truth and falsehood, although artfully twisted together. Of such evasion I am not ashamed. Let them be ashamed who constrain me to use it.

3. You charge me likewise, and that more than once or twice, with maintaining contradictions. I answer: (1) If all my senti-

ments were compared together, from the year 1725 to 1768, there would be truth in the charge; for during the latter part of this period I have relinquished several of my former sentiments. (2) During these last thirty years I may have varied in some of my sentiments or expressions without observing it. (3) I will not undertake to defend all the expressions which I have occasionally used during this time, but must desire men of candour to make allowance for those

Quas aut incuria fudit,
Aut humana parum cavit natura.¹

(4) It is not strange if among these inaccurate expressions there are some seeming contradictions, especially considering I was answering so many different objectors, frequently attacking me at once, and one pushing this way, another that, with all the violence they were able. Nevertheless (5) I believe there will be found few if any real contradictions in what I have published for near thirty years.

4. I come now to your particular objections. I begin with the subject of your third charge—assurances; because what I have to say upon this head will be comprised in few words. Some are fond of the expression: I am not; I hardly ever use it. But I will simply declare (having neither leisure nor inclination to draw the saw of controversy concerning it) what are my present sentiments with regard to the thing which is usually meant thereby.

I believe a few, but very few, Christians have an assurance from God of everlasting salvation; and that is the thing which the Apostle terms the plerophory or full assurance of hope.

I believe more have such an assurance of being now in the favour of God as excludes all doubt and fear. And this, if I do not mistake, the Apostle means by the plerophory or full assurance of faith.

I believe a consciousness of being in the favour of God (which I do not term plerophory, or full assurance, since it is frequently weakened, nay perhaps interrupted, by returns of doubt or fear) is the common privilege of Christians fearing God and working righteousness.

Yet I do not affirm there are no exceptions to this general rule. Possibly some may be in the favour of God, and yet go mourning all the day long. But I believe this is usually owing either to disorder of body or ignorance of the gospel promises.

¹ See Horace's *Ars Poetica*, ll. 352-3. Maculae, or blemishes, 'due either to carelessness or human nature too little guarded against.'

Therefore I have not for many years thought a consciousness of acceptance to be essential to justifying faith.

And after I have thus explained myself once for all, I think without any evasion or ambiguity, I am sure without any self-contradiction, I hope all reasonable men will be satisfied. And whoever will still dispute with me on this head must do it for disputing's sake.

II. 1. In your first charge you undertake to prove that 'Christianity does not reject the aid of human learning' (page 1).

Mr. B[erridge] thinks it does. But I am not accountable for him, from whom in this I totally differ. Yet you certainly include me when you say, 'These new reformers maintain that every believer who has the gift of utterance is qualified to preach the gospel' (page 2). I never maintained this. On many occasions I have maintained quite the contrary. I never said, 'Human learning is an impediment to a divine, which will keep him from the knowledge of the truth' (page 3). When, therefore, you say, 'The contempt with which these men treat human learning' (ibid.), you do me much injustice; as likewise when you say, 'They agree that human learning is of no use at all to a preacher of the gospel.' I do not agree with any who speak thus. Yet you cite my own writings to prove it: *Farther Appeal*, Part III, 106.¹ If I say any such thing either there or anywhere else, let me bear the blame for ever.

2. For my deliberate thoughts on human learning, I appeal to my *Serious Address to the Clergy*.² I there lay down *ex professo* the qualifications, the learning in particular, which (as I apprehend) every clergyman who can have ought to have. And if any who are educated at the University have it not, they are inexcusable before God and man.

To put this matter beyond dispute, I appeal to something more than words. Can any man seriously think I despise learning who has ever heard of the school at Kingswood? especially if he knows with how much care and expense and labour I have kept it on foot for these twenty years? Let him but read the rules of Kingswood School, and he will urge this objection no more.

3. But you 'employ illiterate preachers.' I cannot answer this better than by transcribing the very page to which you refer:

'It will easily be observed that I do not depreciate learning of

¹ See *Works*, viii. 219-21.

² See *Works*, x. 480-500; Green's *Bibliography*, No. 175.

any kind. The knowledge of the languages is a valuable talent ; so is the knowledge of the arts and sciences. Both the one and the other may be employed to the glory of God and the good of men. But yet I ask, Where hath God declared in His Word that He cannot or will not make use of men that have it not ? Has Moses or any of the Prophets affirmed this ? or our Lord or any of His Apostles ? You are sensible all these are against you. You know the Apostles themselves, all except St. Paul, were *ἄνδρες ἀγράμματοι καὶ ἰδιῶται*, common, unphilosophical, unlettered men.'

4. Suffer me to add that paragraph, from which you strangely infer that I hold learning to be of 'no use at all to a preacher' :—

'I am bold to affirm that these unlettered men have help from God for that great work, the saving souls from death ; seeing He hath enabled, and doth enable them still, to turn many to righteousness. Thus hath He destroyed the wisdom of the wise, and brought to naught the understanding of the prudent. When they imagined they had effectually shut the door, and blocked up every passage whereby any help could come to two or three preachers weak in body as well as soul, who they might reasonably believe would, humanly speaking, wear themselves out in a short time—when they had gained their point by securing, as they supposed, all the men of learning in the nation, He that sitteth in heaven laughed them to scorn and came upon them by a way they thought not of. Out of the stones He raised up those who should beget children to Abraham. We had no more foresight of this than you ; nay, we had the deepest prejudices against it, until we could not but own that God gave wisdom from above to these unlearned and ignorant men, so that the work of the Lord prospered in their hand and sinners were daily converted to God

'Indeed, in the one thing which they profess to know they are not ignorant men. I trust there is not one of them who is not able to go through such an examination in substantial, practical, experimental divinity as few of our candidates for Holy Orders even in the University (I speak it with sorrow and shame and in tender love) are able to do. But oh, what manner of examination do most of those candidates go through ! And what proof are the testimonials commonly brought (as solemn as the form is wherein they run) either of the piety or knowledge of those to whom are entrusted those sheep which God hath purchased with His own blood ?'

5. Yet you cite this very paragraph to prove that I 'intimate the help which these illiterate men receive from God is such as will enable them to preach Christ's gospel without reading the

Scriptures' (page 9); adding, 'St. Paul's command to Timothy is a sufficient confutation of this groundless or rather impious pretence.' I cannot conceive how you could imagine those words to intimate any such thing. Be this pretence whose it will, it is none of mine; it never entered into my thoughts.

6. But 'there are in the Scriptures "things hard to be understood." And is every unlettered mechanic able to explain them?' (Page 11.) No, surely. But may we not likewise ask, Is every clergyman able to explain them? You will not affirm it. However, 'they are the safest guides who from their childhood have known the Holy Scriptures, and have diligently and faithfully made use of all the helps to understand them which a liberal education has put into their hands, who have given attendance to reading, have meditated on those things, and have given themselves wholly to them' (page 11).

Certainly these are the safest guides. But how many, sir, do you know of these? Suppose there are thirty thousand clergymen in England, can you vouch this for ten thousand of them? I remember his late Grace of Canterbury (I mean Archbishop Potter) was occasionally saying that, on searching the records, he could find only three hundred of the clergy who stood out against Popery in Queen Mary's reign. Do you think the other twenty-nine thousand seven hundred were 'the safest guides'? I hope, indeed, things are mended now. I see no reason to doubt but there are among the present clergy a far greater number both of learned and pious men. And yet I fear we cannot count many thousands now that answer your strong description. May our good Lord increase their number, how many soever they be!

7. Now I beg leave to ask a question in my turn. Which do you think is the safest guide—a cursing, swearing, drinking clergyman (that such there are you know), or a tradesman, who has in fact 'from his childhood known the Holy Scriptures,' and has for five years (to say no more) faithfully and diligently made use of all the helps which the English tongue has put into his hands, who has given attendance to reading, has meditated on these things, and given himself wholly to them? Can any reasonable man doubt one moment which of these is the safest guide?

Certainly 'those who want these qualifications,' who do not give attendance to reading, who do not meditate on those things, yea and give themselves wholly to them, are ignorant and unstable men in a very bad sense of the words. And let them understand philosophy ever so well, and be ever such critics in Greek and

Hebrew, 'they will pervert the Scriptures when they pretend to interpret them' (page 12), and that not only to their own destruction.

8. But 'many of these strolling preachers are so ignorant as not to know that the Scriptures were not written in their mother tongue' (page 8). Indeed they are not: whoever gave you that information abused your credulity. Most of the travelling preachers in connexion with me are not ignorant men. As I observed before, they know all which they profess to know. The languages they do not profess to know; yet some of them understand them well. Philosophy they do not profess to know; yet some of them tolerably understand this also. They understand both one and the other better than great part of my pupils at the University did: and yet these were not inferior to their fellow collegians of the same standing (which I could not but know, having daily intercourse with all the undergraduates, either as Greek Lecturer or Moderator); nor were these inferior to the undergraduates of other colleges.

9. You conclude this charge. For 'those whose minds are not stored with useful literature the wisdom of the public has provided such guides as are both able and willing to show them the right way' (page 13). Would to God it had! But is it really so? Is there such a guide in every parish in England? Are, then, all the rectors, vicars, and curates therein 'both able and willing' to guide all their parishioners to heaven? Do not both you and I and all the world know that this is not the case? Are there not many who are utterly unable to guide others, having neither learning nor understanding to guide themselves? Are there not more who, if they are able, are not willing, taking no care or thought about it? They eat and drink, and rise up to play,

And leave to tattered crape the drudgery of prayer.

Once more. Are there not too many of those guides 'whom the wisdom of the public has provided,' who are neither able nor willing to guide others in the right way, being equally void of knowledge and piety? Is it, then, 'the duty of the people to continue in the things which they have learned' from these guides? and 'to hold fast the faithful word as they have been taught'? Why, what have they been taught? Just nothing. From these guides they have learned nothing, nor could learn anything, either from their precept or example. And are they 'then only in danger when they do not follow these guides'? If they do follow them,

they must follow them to hell. O sir, why will you constrain me to show the nakedness of the land? I would far rather spread a veil over it. And I heartily wish I may never more be laid under a necessity of touching on this displeasing subject.

10. Upon the whole, what I believe concerning learning, as I have again and again declared, is this: That it is highly expedient for a guide of souls, but not absolutely necessary. What I believe to be absolutely necessary is, a faith unfeigned, the love of God and our neighbour, a burning zeal for the advancement of Christ's kingdom, with an heart and life wholly devoted to God. These I judge to be necessary in the highest degree; and, next to these, a competent knowledge of Scripture, a sound understanding, a tolerable utterance, and a willingness to be as the filth and offscouring of the world.

III. 1. You entitle your second charge, 'An Examination of the Doctrine of the Methodists concerning Inward Feelings.'

I have explained myself so frequently and so largely upon this head already, that I flattered myself I should scarce have occasion to do it any more. But as I am still totally misunderstood and misrepresented, I am under a necessity of doing it yet again.

You state the question thus: 'Have we any reason to believe that the mind has an inward feeling, which will enable it to perceive the ordinary influences of God's Spirit so as to discern from whence they come?' (Page 15.)

I answer: (1) The fruit of His ordinary influences are love, joy, peace, longsuffering, gentleness, meekness. (2) Whoever has these, inwardly feels them; and if he understands his Bible, he discerns from whence they come. Observe, what he inwardly feels is these fruits themselves; whence they come he learns from the Bible.

This is my doctrine concerning inward feelings, and has been for above these forty years. And this is clear to any man of common sense: I appeal to all the world if it is not. Only do not puzzle the cause by a cloud of words, and then lay the blame on me.

2. You state the question again (page 17): 'What I mean to affirm is, that, while the soul is united to such a body, the operations of external things' (say the operations of the Holy Spirit, for of these we are talking, and of these alone) 'upon some one or more of these organs excite no inward feeling.' Nay, nor outward neither. He must be a bold man that will affirm the contrary. If this be all that you mean to affirm, we agree to an hair's breadth.

3. You afterwards open yourself farther: 'The mind in its present situation has no inward sense by which the influence of external causes' (the influence of the Holy Spirit) 'or the causes themselves' (this is quite another question) 'may be felt or discerned. It then only perceives them when they affect the organs of the body, so as to raise a sensation in it by their means.' (Page 22.)

Did ever the most illiterate Methodist talk in such a manner as this? 'The mind then only perceives the influences of the Holy Spirit when they affect the organs of the body'!

If you say, 'I do not mean the Holy Spirit by external causes,' then you mean and say what is nothing to the purpose. For your very title confines you to the influences of the Holy Spirit, and you are, or should be, speaking of nothing else.

4. You go on: 'It is a fundamental principle in the Methodist school that all who come into it must renounce their reason.' Sir, are you awake? Unless you are talking in your sleep, how can you utter so gross an untruth? It is a fundamental principle with us that to renounce reason is to renounce religion, that religion and reason go hand in hand, and that all irrational religion is false religion. I therefore speak quite 'consistently with my own doctrines' when I caution my followers against judging of the spirit by which any one speaks by their own inward feelings; because these, being of a doubtful nature, may come from God, or may not. You add: 'What therefore shall we think of these inward feelings? They cannot be clear perceptions of the cause from which these affections or sentiments are derived.' Who says they are? I never did. You cite the words wherein I say just the contrary. Whom, then, doth your arguing reprove? Do you 'not fight as one that beateth the air'?

5. Mr. Wesley, indeed, 'endeavours to explain away the doctrine of the Methodists concerning inward feelings' (page 25). That is, I plainly tell what I mean by those expressions. My words run thus: 'By feeling, I mean being inwardly conscious of; by the operations of the Spirit, I do not mean the manner in which He operates, but the graces which He operates in a Christian.' And again: 'We believe that love, joy, peace, are inwardly felt, or they have no being; and that men are satisfied they have grace, first by feeling these, and afterwards by their outward actions.'

One might imagine the controversy was now at an end. No; I am not a jot the nearer. For you go on: 'If he and his brethren' (away with 'his brethren'; the point lies between you and me)

' mean no more than this, why do they speak of this matter in such language as makes their disciples pretend to have an inward sense, by which they feel sometimes the power of God, sometimes the Holy Ghost, sometimes Jesus Christ, and by which they can as clearly discern each of these while He acts upon them, as they can discern outward objects by their bodily senses ? ' (Page 26.) So now the matter is out ! But who are the men ? What are their names ? And where do they live ? If you know any who pretend to this, I do not ; but I know they are none of my disciples. They never learned it of me. I have three grains of common sense, whether you believe it or not.

6. But you will pin it upon me whether I will or no, and that by three passages of my own writings. (1) ' Lucy Godshall felt the love of God in an unusual manner.'¹ She did. I mean in an unusual degree. And what will you make of this ? (2) ' When he examined some of his disciples, and they related their " feeling the blood of Christ running upon their arms, or going down their throats, or poured like water upon their breast and heart," did he tell them that these circumstances were all the dreams of an heated imagination ? ' I did ; I told them that these three circumstances, and several others of the same kind, were mere dreams, though some of those which they then related might be otherwise. I will tell you more : I was so disgusted at them for those dreams that I expelled them out of the Society.

The third passage is this : ' We do speak of grace (meaning thereby the power of God, which worketh in us both to will and to do of His good pleasure) that it is as perceptible to the heart while it confirms, refreshes, purifies, and sheds the love of God abroad therein, as sensible objects are to the senses ' (page 27). I do speak thus ; and I mean thereby that the comfort which God administers, not His power distinct from it, the love and purity which He works, not His act of working distinguished from it, are as clearly discernible by the soul as outward objects by the senses. And I never so much as dreamed that any one could find any other meaning in the words.

7. I cannot close this subject of inward feelings without recurring to the twentieth page of your tract. Here you attempt to prove that these preachers confine the influences of God's Holy Spirit to themselves and their followers ; because, say you, ' no one else feels its workings,' none but they and their followers. Observe ;

¹ *Journal*, iii. 44.

it is not I affirm this, but you, that 'none but Methodists feel the workings of the Spirit.' But how will you reconcile this assertion with the seventeenth Article of our Church, which teaches that all 'godly persons feel in themselves the working of the Spirit of Christ mortifying the works of the flesh and drawing up their mind to high and heavenly things'? It is in this sense only that I did and do assert all good men feel the working of the Holy Spirit. If any can prove they do not, I stand condemned; if not, none can condemn me concerning inward feelings.

8. You subjoin some reflections on another subject—bodily emotions of various kinds. Before we reason upon it, let us state the fact. These outward symptoms are not at all times nor in all places; for two or three years they were not constant, but frequent in London, Bristol, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and in a few other places. They sometimes occur still, but not often. And we do not regard whether they occur or not, knowing that the essence of religion, righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost, is quite independent upon them.

Upon this you ask, 'Are these the fruits of the Spirit?' (Page 31.) I answer, No; who ever thought they were? You ask (2), 'Are these the marks whereby we may be assured that they who are thus affected discern its workings?' You answer for me, 'They themselves do not believe it. Nay, Mr. Wesley declares it is his opinion, "Some of these agonies are from the devil"; and makes no doubt but "it was Satan tearing them as they were coming to Christ."' (Page 33.) But if I myself declare thus, what room was there for the preceding questions? Now certainly you must be quite satisfied. No; you are as far from it as ever! You gravely ask, 'What experienced physicians of the soul must these be who are unable to distinguish the influence of the Holy Ghost from the tearing of Satan?' Why, sir, you this instant repeated the very words wherein I do distinguish them. 'But you ascribe the same symptoms sometimes to the one and sometimes to the other.' Indeed, I do not: I always ascribe these symptoms to Satan tearing them.

9. You add in a marginal note, 'Mr. Wesley sometimes denies that he considers these fits as signs of the new birth.' I always deny it, if you mean by signs anything more than something which may accidentally attend it. Yet 'in some of his writings he calls these fallings and roarings by the name of convictions. He says, "Many were wounded deeply; but none were delivered from that painful conviction." "Monday 30th. Two more were in strong

pain, both their souls and bodies, being wellnigh torn asunder." ¹ Very true; but in which of these passages do I 'call fallings and roarings by the name of convictions'? Excuse me; if I cannot distinguish God from the devil, I cannot at least distinguish the soul from the body. For do I ever confound bodily disorders with sorrow or pain of mind?

10. However, 'Mr. Wesley speaks of these at least as outward signs' that the new birth 'is working in those that have them' (page 23). I speak of them as 'outward symptoms which have often accompanied the inward work of God.' A peculiar instance of this I relate in the First Journal, which you are at the pains to transcribe.² And, as you observe, 'there are many instances in the same Journal in which I express myself in the same manner.' But what does all this prove? Just what I said before, and not one jot more: I speak of them as 'outward symptoms which have often accompanied the inward work of God.' Often, I say, not always, not necessarily: they may, or they may not. This work may be without those symptoms, and those symptoms may be without this work.

11. But you say: 'The following account, which he writes to one of his correspondents, will make the matter clear. "I have seen very many persons changed in a moment from the spirit of fear, horror, despair, to the spirit of love, joy, peace; and from sinful desires, till then reigning over them, to a pure desire of doing the will of God. . . . That such a change was then wrought appears not from their shedding tears only or falling into fits or crying out (these are not the fruits or signs whereby I judge), but from the whole tenor of their lives." ³' (Page 33.)

Now, I should really imagine this passage proves quite the contrary of what you intend. Yea, that it is full and decisive. 'But,' say you, 'though he denies these to be the fruits by which he judges that this inward change is wrought, yet he looks upon them as signs that it is working.' Yes, in the sense above explained. While God was inwardly working, these outward signs often appeared—nay, almost daily in Bristol, during the first summer which I spent there.⁴

12. Upon the whole, I declare once for all (and I hope to be troubled no more upon the subject) I look upon some of those

¹ *Journal*, ii. 246-7.

² *Ibid.*, ii. 239-40.

³ *Ibid.*, ii. 202.

⁴ See letters to James Hutton from April 30 to Aug. 24, 1739.

bodily symptoms to have been preternatural or diabolical, and others to have been effects which in some circumstances naturally followed from strong and sudden emotions of mind. Those emotions of mind, whether of fear, sorrow, or joy, I believe were chiefly supernatural, springing from the gracious influences of the Spirit of God which accompanied His word.

13. I believe this is all the answer I need give to the severe accusation you have brought against me ; for which, I trust, men of candour will discern there was not the least foundation. With respect to the first point, despising learning, I am utterly clear. None can bring any proof or shadow of proof that I do not highly esteem it. With regard to the assurance of faith and hope, I have spoken as clearly as I can ; and I trust serious men, who have some experience in religion, will not find much to condemn therein. And with respect to inward feelings, whoever denies them in the sense wherein alone I defend them, must deny all the life and power of religion, and leave nothing but a dead, empty form. For take away the love of God and our neighbour, the peace of God, and joy in the Holy Ghost, or (which comes to the same) deny that they are felt, and what remains but a poor, lifeless shadow ?

14. This is what I do and must contend for. ' I thought you had contended for quite another thing.' If you had only thought so, or only said so in private conversation, it had been of no great consequence. But it was of consequence when you not only brought a false accusation against your brother before so venerable an assembly but also published it to all the world. Surely the first step was enough, and more than enough. Was there nothing more important wherewith to entertain the stewards of the mysteries of God than the mistakes, if they really had been such, of the Methodists, so called ? Had they no enemies more dangerous than these ? Were they not in more imminent danger, if of no outward sin, nothing in their behaviour or conversation unworthy of their calling, yet of neglect, of remissness, of not laying out all their time and care and pains in feeding the sheep which Christ hath purchased with His own blood ? Were none of them in danger of levity, of pride, of passion, of discontent, of covetousness ? Were none of them seeking the praise of men more than the praise of God ? O sir, if this was the case of any of them, I will not say how trifling, how insignificant, but how mischievous to these, how fatal, how destructive must a charge of this kind be | by which they were led, not to examine themselves, to consider either their own hearts or ways, but to criticize on others, on those with whom nine in

ten had no manner of concern ! Surely so solemn an opportunity might be improved to far other purposes ! even to animate every one present to offer up himself a living sacrifice to God, that so he may be ready to be offered upon the sacrifice and service of his faith ; to have one thing only in his eye, to desire to aim at nothing else, not honour, not ease, not money, not preferment, but to save his own soul and them that hear him.—I am, reverend sir,

Your brother and servant for Christ's sake.

II TO A FRIEND

This letter on 'The Present State of Public Affairs' shows how closely Wesley followed the course of events. John Wilkes was returned as Member for Middlesex in 1768, and was shortly after committed to the King's Bench prison. The mob collected around the prison, and six of the rioters were killed and fourteen badly wounded. 'Government persecution' turned Wilkes 'into the champion of popular rights, against an encroaching executive and a House of Commons claiming to override the choice of the Middlesex electors as to the man who should represent them in Parliament' (Trevelyan's *History of England*, p. 548). Trouble was increasing in America, and Lord Chatham was prostrate and unable to take his part in public affairs. The *Correspondence of George the Third*, edited by Sir John Fortescue, shows what burdens rested on the King in this trying year. His Majesty refers (ii. 246-7) to young Allen's being killed in the Wilkes riot at St George's Fields. He tells Lord North: 'Every man that ventures into a riot, whether a party or spectator, is liable to be killed; that the unhappy young man was of the former can be but little doubted.' France bought Corsica from the Genoese in May 1768. There was great excitement; but the King told the Duke of Grafton that he could not think it expedient for that reason 'to begin acts of hostilities against France.' The first of the terrible series of onslaughts against the Government signed 'Junius' appeared on November 21, 1768. Much of the discontent of the time fastened on George III. Wesley tells Lord Dartmouth (in the letter of August 23, 1775) that the bulk of the people were dangerously dissatisfied, and the King himself was 'the object of their anger, contempt, and malice.'

Periculosae plenum opus aleae,
Tractas et incendis per ignes
Suppositos cineri doloso.¹

[December] 1768.

DEAR SIR,—You desire me to give you my thoughts freely on the present state of public affairs. But do you consider? I am no politician; politics lie quite out of my province. Neither

¹ Horace's *Carminum*, ii. i. 6-8: On fires with faithless embers over-
'You treat adventurous, and in- spread.'
cautious tread

have I any acquaintance, at least no intimacy, with any that bear that character. And it is no easy matter to form any judgement concerning things of so complicated a nature. It is the more difficult because, in order to form our judgement, such a multitude of facts should be known, few of which can be known with tolerable exactness by any but those who are eye-witnesses of them. And how few of these will relate what they have seen precisely as it was, without adding, omitting, or altering any circumstance either with or without design ! And may not a slight addition or alteration give a quite different colour to the whole ?

And as we cannot easily know with any accuracy the facts on which we are chiefly to form our judgement ; so much less can we expect to know the various springs of action which gave rise to those facts and on which more than on the bare actions themselves the characters of the actors depend. It is on this account that an old writer advises us to judge nothing before the time, to abstain as far as possible from judging peremptorily either of things or persons till the time comes, when ' the hidden things of darkness,' the facts now concealed, ' will be brought to light,' and the hidden springs of action will be discovered—' the thoughts and intents of ' every human ' heart.'

Perhaps you will say, ' Nay, every Englishman is a politician ; we suck in politics with our mother's milk. It is as natural for us to talk politics as to breathe : we can instruct both the King and his Council. We can in a trice reform the State, point out every blunder of this or that Minister, and tell every step they ought to take to be arbiters of all Europe.'

I grant every cobbler, tinker, porter, and hackney-coachman can do this. But I am not so deep learned : while they are sure of everything, I am in a manner sure of nothing, except of that very little which I see with my own eyes or hear with my own ears. However, since you desire me to tell you what I think, I will do it with all openness. Only please to remember I do not take upon me to dictate either to you or to any one. I only use the privilege of an Englishman to speak my naked thoughts, setting down just what appears to me to be the truth till I have better information.

At present, indeed, I have not much information, having read little upon this head but the public papers : and you know these are mostly on one side ; in them little is to be seen on the other side, and that little is seldom wrote by masterly writers. How few of them have such a pen as Junius !

But, supposing we have ever so much information, how little

can one rely on it! on the information given by either party! For is not one as warm as the other? And who does not know how impossible it is for a man to see things right when he is angry? Does not passion blind the eyes of the understanding as smoke does the bodily eyes? And how little of the truth can we learn from those who see nothing but through a cloud?

This advantage, then, I have over both parties—the being angry at neither. So that if I have a little understanding from nature or experience, it is (in this instance at least) unclouded by passion. I wish the same happiness which I wish to myself to those on one side and on the other. I would not hurt either in the least degree; I would not willingly give them any pain.

I have likewise another advantage, that of having no bias one way or the other. I have no interest depending: I want no man's favour, having no hopes, no fears, from any man, and having no particular attachment of any kind to either of the contending parties.

But am I so weak as to imagine that because I am not angry at them they will not be angry at me? No; I do not imagine any such thing. Probably both will be angry enough; that is, the warm men on both sides, were it only for this—that I am not as warm as themselves. For what is more insufferable to a man in a passion than to see you keep your temper? And is it not a farther provocation that I do not behave as he does to his opponent, that I call him no ill names, that I give him no ill words? I expect, therefore, to be abused on all sides; and cannot be disappointed unless by being treated with common humanity.

This premised, I come to the point, to give you my 'free thoughts on the present state of public affairs,' the causes and consequences of the present commotions. But permit me to remind you that I say nothing peremptorily. I do not take upon me to affirm that things are thus or thus. I just set down my naked thoughts, and that without any art or colouring.

'What, then, do you think is the direct and principal cause of the present public commotions, of the amazing ferment among the people, the general discontent of the nation?' which now rises to an higher degree than it has done in the memory of man; insomuch that I have heard it affirmed with my own ears, 'King George ought to be treated as King Charles was!' Is it the extraordinary bad character of the King? I do not apprehend it is. Certainly, if he is not, as some think, the best Prince in Europe, he is far from being the worst. One not greatly prejudiced in his favour

does not charge him with want of virtue (of this he judges him to have more than enough), but with wanting those royal vices which (with Machiavel and the ingenious Dr. Mandeville¹) he supposes would be public benefits.

'But does he not likewise want understanding?' So it has been boldly affirmed. And it must be acknowledged this charge is supported by facts which cannot be denied. The first is, he believes the Bible; the second, he fears God; the third, he loves the Queen. Now, suppose the first of these, considering the prejudice of education, might consist with some share of understanding, yet how can this be allowed with regard to the second? For although, in the times of ignorance and barbarism men imagined 'the fear of God' was 'the beginning of wisdom,' our enlightened age has discovered it is the end of it, that whenever the fear of God begins wisdom is at an end. And with regard to the third, for a man to love his wife, unless perhaps for a month or two, must argue such utter want of sense as most men of rank are now ashamed of. But, after all, there are some who, allowing the facts, deny the consequence—who still believe, and that after the most accurate inquiry from such as have had the best means of information, that there are few noblemen or gentlemen in the nation (and we have many not inferior to most in Europe) who have either so good a natural understanding or so general a knowledge of all the valuable parts of learning.

'But suppose something might be said for His Majesty's understanding, what can be said in excuse of his bad actions—as, first, his pardoning a murderer?' I really think something may be said on this head also. Can you or I believe that the King knew him to be such? understood him to be a wilful murderer? I am not sure of it at all; neither have you any rational proof, even supposing this to have been the case, which is far from being clear. And if he did not know or believe him to be such, how can he be blamed for pardoning him? Not to have pardoned him in this case would have been inexcusable before God and man.

'But what can be said in excuse of his being governed by his mother and fixing all his measures at Carlton House?' It may be said that if it was so it is past, and so is no matter of present complaint. But who informed you that it was? any eye- and ear-witness? 'Oh, it is in everybody's mouth.' Very well;

¹ Bernard Mandeville (1670?—the *Bees*, or *Private Vices Publico* 1733) published in 1714 *The Fable of Benefits*.

but everybody is nobody: so this proof is no proof at all. And what better proof have you or any man of his fixing any of his measures there? This has been affirmed an hundred times, but never was proved yet. 'Nay, but is it not undeniable fact that he spent hour after hour with her, and especially when he was hard pressed and knew not which way to turn?' And what then? Who loves him better than his parent? And whom has he a right to love better than her? Who is more faithful to him, more steadily desirous of his welfare? And whom can he trust better? Suppose, then, it was true (which is more than any man can prove) that he did consult her on all occasions, and particularly when he was in trouble and perplexity, who can blame him for so doing?

'Well, be this as it may, who can help blaming him for giving so many pensions?' This is a thing which I do not understand, and can therefore neither praise nor blame. Some, indeed, I think are well bestowed on men eminent in their several professions. All I believe are well designed, particularly those given to men who are removed from public employments. Yet I fear some of these are ill bestowed on those who not only fly in the face of their benefactor, but avail themselves of his favours to wound the deeper. 'For were he not in the wrong, these would never turn against him!' What pity they should enjoy them another day after such foul and flagrant ingratitude!

This fault (if it were really such) would argue too great easiness of temper. But this is quite the reverse of what is commonly objected—inflexible stubbornness. 'Nay, what else could occasion the settled disregard of so many petitions and remonstrances, signed by so many thousand hands, and declaring the sense of the nation?' 'The sense of the nation'! Who can imagine this that knows the manner wherein nine in ten, I might say ninety-nine in an hundred, of those petitions are procured? A lord or squire (sometimes two or more) goes or sends his steward round the town where his seat is with a paper, which he tells the honest men is for the good of their King and country. He desires each to set his name or mark to this. And who has the hardiness to gainsay, especially if my Lord keeps open house? Meantime the contents of it they know nothing about.

I was not long since at a town in Kent when one of these petitions was carrying about. I asked one and another, 'Have you signed the petition?' and found none that had refused it. And yet not one single person to whom I spoke had either read it or heard it read.

Now, I would ask any man of common sense what stress is

to be laid on these petitions ; and how they do declare ' the sense of the nation '—nay, of the very persons that have signed them ? What a shocking insult is it, then, on the whole kingdom to palm these petitions upon us of which the very subscribers have not read three lines as the general ' sense of the nation ' !

But suppose they had read all that they have subscribed, what judges are they of these matters ? To put this beyond dispute, let us only propose one case out of a thousand. Step back a few years, and suppose Mr. Pitt at the head of the Administration. Here comes up a petition from Newcastle-upon-Tyne, signed by five hundred hands, begging His Majesty to dismiss that corrupt Minister, who was taking such measures as tended to the utter ruin of the nation. What would Mr. Pitt say to this ? Would he not ask : ' How came these colliers and keelmen to be so well acquainted with affairs of State ? How long have they been judges of public administration ? of naval and military operations ? How came they to understand the propriety or impropriety of the measures I take ? Do they comprehend the balance of Europe ? Do they know the weakness and strength of its several kingdoms, the characters of the Monarchs and their Ministers, the springs of this and that public motion ? Else, why do they take upon them to scan my conduct ? *Ne sutor ultra crepidam !* " Let them mind their own work," keep to their pits and keels, and leave State affairs to me.'

' But surely you do not place the citizens of London on a level with the colliers of Newcastle !' I do not. And yet I suppose they were equally incompetent judges of the measures which Mr. Pitt took. And I doubt they are full as incompetent judges of the measures taken by the present Ministry. To form a tolerable judgement of them requires, not only a good understanding, but more time than common tradesmen can spare, and better information than they can possibly procure. I think, therefore, that the encouraging them to pass their verdict on Ministers of State, yea on King, Lords, and Commons, is not only putting them out of their way, but doing them more mischief than you are aware of.

' But the remonstrance ! Surely the King ought to have paid more regard to the remonstrance of the city of London.' Consider the case. The city had presented a petition which he could by no means approve of, as he judged it was designed not so much to inform him as to inflame his subjects. After he had rejected this, as mildly as could be done, whilst he viewed it in this light, they present a remonstrance to the same effect, and (as he judged)

with the same design. What, then, could he do less than he did? Could he seem to approve what he did not approve? If not, how could he testify his full disapprobation in more inoffensive terms?

As to the idle, shameless tale of his bursting out into laughter at the Magistrates, any who know His Majesty's temper would as soon believe that he spit in their faces or struck them a box on the ear.

His Majesty's character, then, after all the pains which have been taken to make him odious as well as contemptible remains unimpeached; and therefore cannot be in any degree the cause of the present commotions. His whole conduct both in public and private ever since he began his reign, the uniform tenor of his behaviour, the general course both of his words and actions, has been worthy of an Englishman, worthy of a Christian, and worthy of a King.

'Are not, then, the present commotions owing to his having extraordinary bad Ministers? Can you say that his Ministers are as blameless as himself?' I do not say this; I do not think so. But I think they are not one jot worse than those that went before them, nor than any set of Ministers who have been in place for at least thirty years last past. I think they are not a jot worse than their opponents, than those who bawl the loudest against them, either with regard to intellectual or moral abilities, with regard to sense or honesty. Set twenty against twenty or ten against ten, and is there a pin to choose?

'However, are not these commotions owing to the extraordinary bad measures they have taken? Surely you will not attempt to defend all their measures!' No, indeed. I do not defend General Warrants. But I observe: (1) The giving these, be it good or bad, is no extraordinary measure. Has it not been done by all Ministers for many years, and that with little or no objection? (2) This ordinary measure is of exceeding little importance to the nation in general;—so little that it was never before thought worthy to be put into the list of public grievances; so little that it never deserved the hundredth part of the outcry which has been made concerning it.

I do not defend the killing of Mr. Allen. But I would have the fact truly represented. By the best information I can gain, I believe it stands just thus: About that time the mob had been very turbulent. On that day they were likely to be more insolent than ever. It was therefore judged proper to send a party of soldiers to prevent or repress their violence. Their presence did not prevent it; the mob went so far as to throw stones at

the soldiers themselves. One of them hit and wounded a soldier : two or three pursued him ; and fired at one whom, being in the same dress, they supposed to be the same man. But it was not : it was Mr. Allen. Now, though this cannot be excused, yet was it the most horrid villainy that ever was perpetrated ? Surely no. Notwithstanding all the tragical exclamations which have been made concerning it, what is this to the killing a man in cool blood ? And was this never heard of in England ?

I do not defend the measures which have been taken relative to the Middlesex election. But let it be remembered, first, that there was full as much violence on the one side as on the other. Secondly, that a right of expulsion, of putting a Member out of the House, manifestly implies a right of exclusion, of keeping him out ; otherwise that right amounts to just nothing at all. Thirdly, that consequently a Member expelled is incapable of being re-elected, at least during that session ; as incapable as one that is disqualified any other way. It follows, fourthly, that the votes given for this disqualified person are null and void, being in effect given for nobody. Therefore, fifthly, if the other candidate had two hundred votes, he had a majority of two hundred.

Let it be observed farther, if the electors had the liberty of choosing any qualified person, it is absolute nonsense to talk of their being deprived of the liberty of choosing because they were not permitted to choose a person utterly unqualified.

But suppose a single borough or county were deprived of this in a single instance (which undoubtedly is the case whenever a person duly elected does not sit in the House), how is this depriving the good people of England, the nation, of their birthright ? What an insult upon common sense is this wild way of talking ! If Middlesex is wronged (put it so) in this instance, how is Yorkshire or Cumberland affected by it, or twenty counties and forty boroughs besides, much less all the nation ? ‘ Oh, but they may be affected by-and-by.’ Very true ! And the sky may fall !

To see this whole matter in the clearest light, let any one read and consider the speech of Lord Chief Justice Mansfield on a motion made by Lord Chatham ‘ to repeal and rescind the Resolutions of the House of Commons in regard to the expulsion and incapacitation of Mr. Wilkes ’ :—

In this debate, though it has been already spoken to with great eloquence and perspicuity, I cannot content myself with only giving a single vote ; I feel myself under a strong necessity of saying something more. The subject requires it ; and though the hour is late (it being

then near ten o'clock), I shall demand your indulgence while I offer my sentiments on this motion.

I am sure, my Lords, many of you must remember, from your reading and experience, several persons expelled the House of Commons without ever this House once pretending to interfere or call in question by what authority they did so. I remember several myself (here his Lordship quoted several cases); in all which, though most of the candidates were sure to be re-chosen, they never once applied, resting contented with the expulsiatory power of the House as the only self-sufficient, dernier resort of application.

It has been echoed on all sides from the partisans of this motion that the House of Commons acted illegally in accepting Colonel Luttrell, who had but two hundred and ninety-six votes, in preference to Mr. Wilkes, who had one thousand one hundred and forty-three. But this is a mistake of the grossest nature imaginable, and which nothing but the intemperature of people's zeal could possibly transport them to, as Mr. Wilkes had been previously considered by the laws as an unqualified person to represent the people in Parliament: therefore it appears very plainly that Colonel Luttrell had a very great majority, not less than two hundred and ninety-six, Mr. Wilkes being considered as nobody in the eye of the law; consequently Colonel Luttrell had no legal opposition.

In all contested elections, where one of the parties think themselves not legally treated, I should be glad to know to whom it is they resort. Is it to the freeholders of the borough or the county they would represent? Or is it to the people at large? Who cannot see at once the absurdity of such a question? Who so ignorant of our laws that cannot immediately reply and say, 'It is the House of Commons who are the only judges to determine every nicety of the laws of election, and from whom there is no appeal after they have once given their determination'? All the freeholder has to do is to determine on his object by giving him his vote: the ultimate power lies with the House of Commons, who is to judge of his being a legal object of representation in the several branches of his qualifications. This, my Lords, I believe is advancing no new doctrine, nor adding an iota to the privilege of a Member of the House of Commons more than what the constitution long ago has given him; yet here is a cry made in a case that directly applies to what I have been speaking of as if it was illegal, arbitrary, and unprecedented.

I do not remember, my Lords, in either the course of my reading or observation ever to have known an instance of a person's being re-chosen, after being expelled, till the year 1711; then, indeed, my memory serves me with the case of Sir Robert Walpole. He was expelled the House of Commons, and was afterwards re-chosen: but this last event did not take place till the meeting of the next Parliament; and during that interval I find no debate about the illegality

of his expulsion, no interference of the House of Lords, nor any addresses from the public, to decry that measure by a dissolution of Parliament.

Indeed, as for a precedent of one House interfering with the rules, orders, or business of another, my memory does not serve me at present with the recollection of a single one. As to the case of Titus Oates, as mentioned by the noble Lord in my eye (Lord Chatham), he is very much mistaken in regard to the mode: his was a trial in the King's Bench, which, on a writ of error, the House of Commons interfered in, and they had an authority for so doing. A Judge certainly may be mistaken in points of law; the wisest and the best of us may be so at times; and it reflects no discredit, on the contrary it does particular honour, when he finds himself so mistaken, to reverse his own decree. But for one House of Parliament interfering with the business and reversing the resolutions of another, it is not only unprecedented, but unconstitutional to the last degree.

But suppose, my Lords, that this House coincided with this motion; suppose we all agreed *nam. con.* to repeal and rescind the Resolutions of the House of Commons in regard to the expulsion and incapacitation of Mr. Wilkes;—good God! what may be the consequence! The people are violent enough already; and to have the superior branch of legislation join them would be giving such a public encouragement to their proceedings that I almost tremble while I even suppose such a scene of anarchy and confusion.

What, then, can we think of the violent outcry that the nation is oppressed, deprived of that liberty which their ancestors bought with so much treasure and blood, and delivered down through so many generations? Do those who raise this cry believe what they say? If so, are they not under the highest infatuation? seeing that England, from the time of William the Conqueror, yea of Julius Caesar, never enjoyed such liberty, civil and religious, as it does at this day. Nor do we know of any other kingdom or state in Europe or in the world which enjoys the like.

I do not defend the measures which have been taken with regard to America: I doubt whether any man can defend them, either on the foot of law, equity, or prudence. But whose measures were these? If I do not mistake, Mr. George Grenville's. Therefore the whole merit of these measures belongs to him, and not to the present Ministry.

'But is not the general dissatisfaction owing, if not to any of the preceding causes, to the extraordinary bad conduct of the Parliament, particularly the House of Commons?' This is set in so clear a light by a late writer, that I need only transcribe his words:—

The last recess of Parliament was a period filled with unprecedented troubles, and the session opened in the midst of tumults. Ambitious men, with a perseverance uncommon in indolent and luxurious times, rung all the changes of popular noise for the purpose of intimidation. The ignorant, who could not distinguish between real and artificial clamours, were alarmed ; the lovers of their own ease wished to sacrifice the just dignity of the House of Commons to a temporary relief from the grating sound of seditious scurrility.

Hence the friends of the constitution saw the opening of the session with anxiety and apprehension. They were afraid of the timidity of others, and dreaded nothing more than that panic to which popular assemblies as well as armies are sometimes subject. The event has shown that their fears were groundless : the House supported its decisions against the current of popular prejudice ; and, in defending their own judicial rights, secured the most solid part of the liberties of their constituents.

Their firm adherence to their Resolutions was not more noble than their concessions in the matter of their own rights was disinterested and generous. The extensive privileges which in a series of ages had accumulated to the Members of both Houses were certainly inconsistent with the impartial distribution of justice. To sacrifice these privileges was not only diametrically opposite to the idea of self-interest with which some asperse the Legislature, but it has also thrown a greater weight into the scale of public freedom than any other Act passed since the Revolution. And it has reflected honour on the present Administration that a Bill so very favourable to the liberty of the subject was brought in and carried through by them.

The arbitrary manner of determining petitions about elections has been a serious complaint and of long continuance. I shall not deny to Mr. Grenville the merit of bringing in a Bill for remedying this grievance ; but its passing as it did is a certain proof that the pretended influence of Administration over a majority of the House is a mere bugbear held forth for private views by the present Opposition.

During the whole session the House of Lords behaved with that dignity and unalterable firmness which became the first assembly in a great nation. Attacked with impertinent scurrility, they smiled upon rage and treated the ravings of a despotic tribune with contempt. When, with an infamous perversion of his pretended love to freedom, he attempted to extend the control of the Peers to the resolutions of the representatives of the people, they nobly rejected the golden bait, and scorned to raise the dignity of their House upon the ruins of the other. They, in short, throughout the session showed a spirit that disdained to be braved, a magnanimity that diminished their own personal power for the ease and comfort of the inferior subject.

If the conduct of Parliament is in any instance blameable, it is in a lenity that is inconsistent with the vulgar idea of political courage. They have been attacked with scurrility in the Lower House ; in the Upper they have been treated with indecency and disrespect. Their prudence and love for the public peace prevailed over their resentment. They knew that legal punishment is in these times the road to popularity ; and they were unwilling to raise insignificant men into a consequence that might disturb the State.

So far we have gained. We have removed the imaginary causes of the present commotions. It plainly appears they are not owing to the extraordinary badness either of the King, of his Parliament, of his Ministers, or of the measures which they have taken. To what, then, are they owing ? What are the real causes of this amazing ferment among the people ?

Before I say anything on this subject, let me remind you once more that I do not dictate ; I do not take upon me to affirm anything, but simply tell you what I think. I think the first and principal spring of the whole motion is French gold. ' But why do you think so ? ' I will tell you as plainly as I can :—

A person of a complete, uniform character, encumbered with no religion, with no regard to virtue or morality, squanders away all that he has. He applies for a place, but is disappointed. He is throughly exasperated, abuses the Ministry, asperses the King's mother in the grossest manner, is prosecuted (not for this, but other achievements), and retires to France. After some time he suddenly returns to London, sets up for a patriot, and vehemently inveighs against evil counsellors, grievances, and maladministration. The cry spreads ; more and more espouse his cause and second him with all their might. He becomes head of the party ; and not only the vulgar but the world runs after him. He drives on with still increasing numbers, carrying all before him, inflaming the nation more and more, and making their minds evil-affected, in appearance towards the Ministers of State, but in reality towards the King. Now, can any reasonable man believe that the French are ignorant of all this, or that they have no hand at all therein, but are mere unconcerned spectators ? Do they not understand their own interest better ? If they did not kindle the fire, will they not use all means to prevent its going out ? Will they not take care to add fuel to the flame ? Will they not think forty or fifty thousand louis-d'ors well bestowed on so important an occasion ?

I cannot but think this is at least one principal spring of all

the present commotions. But may not other causes likewise concur? As, first, covetousness; a love of English as well as of French gold. Do not many hunger after the lucrative employments which their neighbours enjoy? They had rather have them themselves. And will not those that are hungry naturally cry for food? Secondly, ambition. How many desire honour, perhaps more than they do money itself! and how various are the shapes which they will put on in order to attain it! Thirdly, those who are not so much under the power of these are yet susceptible of pride or envy, and frequently of both together. To these we may, fourthly, add resentment. Many doubtless look upon themselves as injured, were it only on this account, that they are not regarded, yea and recompensed, as their merits or services deserve. Others are angry because they are disappointed; because after all their schemes, which they imagined could not fail of success, they are not able to carry their point.

Now, all these, united by these various motives, some encouraged by good pay in hand (and perhaps by promises of more), others animated by covetousness, by ambition, by envy, pride, and resentment, by every means animate all they have access to. They treat both rich and poor, according to their rank, with all elegance and profuseness. They talk largely and vehemently. They write abundantly, having troops enough in their service. They publish addresses, petitions, remonstrances, directed nominally to the King (otherwise they would not answer the end), but really to the people. Herein their orators make use of all the powers of rhetoric. They bring forth their strong reasons, the very best which the cause will bear. They set them off with all the beauty of language, all the poignancy of wit. They spread their writings in pamphlets, newspapers, magazines, &c., to every corner of the land. They are indefatigable in their work; they never stop to take breath; but as they have tongues and pens at command, when one has done, another begins, and so on and on with a continuance. By this means the flame spreads wider and wider; it runs as fire among the stubble. The madness becomes epidemic, and no medicine hitherto has availed against it. The whole nation sees the State in danger, as they did the Church sixty years ago; and the world now wonders after Mr. Wilkes, as it did then after Dr. Sacheverell.

One means of increasing the ferment is the suffering no contradiction; the hooting at all who labour for peace, and treading them down like dirt; the using them just as they do the King,

without either justice or mercy. If any writes on that head, presently the cry is raised, 'Oh, he only writes for pay!' But if he does, do not those on the other side too? Which are paid best I do not know; but doubtless both are paid, a very few old-fashioned mortals excepted, who, having nothing to hope and nothing to fear, simply consider the good of their country.

'But what do you think the end will be?' It is easy to foresee this. Supposing things to take their natural course they must go from bad to worse.

In stipulam¹ veluti cum flamma furentibus Austris
Incidit, aut rapidus montano flumine torrens . . .
Exiit, oppositasque evicit gurgite moles.²

The people will be inflamed more and more; the torrent will swell higher and higher, till at length it bursts through all opposition and overflows the land. The consequences of these commotions will be (unless an higher hand interpose) exactly the same as those of the like commotions in the last century. First the land will become a field of blood; many thousands of poor Englishmen will sheathe their swords in each other's bowels for the diversion of their good neighbours. Then either a commonwealth will ensue or else a second Cromwell. One must be; but it cannot be determined which, King Wilkes or King Mob.

'But that case is not parallel with this.' It is not in all particulars. In many respects it is widely different. As, first, with regard to the King himself. Few will affirm the character of King Charles, even allowing the account given by Lord Clarendon to be punctually true in every respect, to be as faultless as that of King George. But other passions as well as love are blind. So that when these are raised to a proper height, especially when Junius has thrown a little more of his magic dust into the eyes of the people and convinced them that what are virtues in others are mere vices in him, the good patriots will see no manner of difference between a King George and King Charles or even a Nero.

The case is also widely different, secondly, with regard to the Ministry. King George has no such furious drivers about him as

¹ 'Segetem' in Horace.

² Virgil's *Aeneid*, ii. 304-5, 497
(trs. by Pitt):

'Thus o'er the corn, while furious
winds conspire,

Rolls on a wide-devouring blaze
of fire;

Or some big torrent, from a moun-
tain's river,

Bursts resistless o'er the opposing
mounds.'

poor King Charles had. But a skilful painter may easily add a few features either to one or the other, and by a little colouring make Lord North the very picture of Lord Strafford and Archbishop Cornwallis of Archbishop Laud.

How different likewise is the case, thirdly, with regard to the administration of public affairs! The requiring tonnage and poundage, the imposing ship-money, the prosecutions in the Bishops' Courts, in the High Commission Court, and in the Star Chamber, were real and intolerable grievances. But what is there in the present administration which bears any resemblance to these? Yet if you will view even such an affair as the Middlesex election through Mr. Horne's magnifying glass, it will appear a more enormous instance of oppression than an hundred Star Chambers put together.

The parallel does not hold, fourthly, with regard to the opposers of the King and his Ministry. Is Mr. Burke the same calm, wise, disinterested man that Mr. Hampden was? And where shall we find twenty noblemen and twenty gentlemen (to name no more) on the present Opposition whom any impartial man will set on a level with the same number of those that opposed King Charles and his Ministry?

Nor does the parallel hold, fifthly, in this respect: that was in great measure a contest about religion—at least, about rites and ceremonies and opinions, which many supposed to be religion. But all religion is out of the question now: this is generally allowed, both by the one side and the other, to be so very a trifle that they do not give themselves the least concern about it.

In one circumstance more there is an obvious difference. The Parliament were then the King's enemies: now they are his firmest friends. But, indeed, this difference may easily be removed. Let the King only take Mr. Wilkes's advice and dissolve Parliament. The Parliament of 1640, the first which sat after the troubles began, although many therein were much dissatisfied with the measures which had been taken, yet would never have been prevailed upon to join in the schemes which afterwards prevailed. But when that Parliament was so seasonably dissolved, and a few men, wise in their generation, practising with unwearied industry on the heated spirits of the people, had procured a new Parliament to be chosen after their own heart, then it was not long ere the train took fire and the whole constitution was blown up!

But, notwithstanding the disparity between the present and past times in the preceding respects, yet how surprisingly does the

parallel hold in various particulars! (1) An handful of people laid a scheme, which few would have believed had a man then declared it unto them; though, indeed, it is probable that at the beginning they had no settled scheme at all. (2) These professed great zeal for the good of their country, were vehement contenders for liberty, cried aloud against evil Ministers and the evil measures which they pursued, and were continually declaiming against either real or imaginary grievances. (3) They were soon joined by men eminent for probity as well as for understanding, who undoubtedly *were* what the others *appeared*, lovers of their King and country, and desired nothing but the removal of bad Ministers and the redress of real grievances. (4) The spirits even of these were gradually sharpened and embittered against the King. And they were drawn farther and farther by the art of their leaders, till they had gone so far they knew not how to retreat; yea, till they, passively at least, concurred in those measures which at first their very souls abhorred. (5) Meantime the nation in general was inflamed with all possible diligence, by addresses, petitions, and remonstrances, admirably well devised for the purpose; which were the most effectual libels that could be imagined against the King and Government, and were continually spread throughout the land with all care and assiduity. (6) Among the most inflamed and embittered in all England were the people of London, as the managers had the best opportunity of practising upon them. (7) All this time they professed the highest regard for the King, for his honour as well as safety; an authentic monument whereof we have in the Solemn League and Covenant. And these professions they continued with equal vehemence till within a short time of the cutting off his head!

Now, what man that has the least degree of understanding may not see in the clearest light how surprisingly the parallel holds in all these circumstances?

'But do not you think it is in the power of the King to put an end to all these commotions, by only sending his mother away, changing his Ministers, and dissolving the Parliament?' He may send his mother away; and so he may his wife, if they please to rank her among his evil counsellors. He may put out his present Ministers, and desire the Lord Mayor to put others in their place. He may likewise dissolve the present Parliament (as King Charles did that of 1640), and exchange it for one chosen, animated, and tutored by Mr. Wilkes and his friends. But can you really believe this would mend the matter? would put an end to all these com-

motions? Certainly the sending his mother to the Indies would avail nothing, unless he removed his Ministers too. Nor would the putting out these, yea every man of them, avail anything, unless at the same time he put in every man whom Lord Chatham chose. But neither would this avail, unless he struck the finishing stroke by dissolving the Parliament. Then, indeed, he would be as perfectly safe as the 'sheep that had given up their dogs.'

It would puzzle the wisest man alive to tell what the King can do. What can he do that will still the raging of the sea or the madness of the people? Do you imagine it is in his power to do anything which will please all parties? Can he do anything that will not displease one as much as it will please the other? Shall he drive his mother out of the land? ¹ Will this then please all parties? Nay, will not some be apt to inquire, 'How has she deserved it at his hands?' 'Why, she is an evil counsellor.' How does this appear? Who are the witnesses of it? Indeed, we have read as grave and formal accounts of the conferences at Carlton House as if the relater had stood all the time behind the curtain and taken down the whole matter in shorthand. But what shadow of proof of all this? No more than of the conferences related in *Tristram Shandy*.

'But she is a bad woman.' Who ever said or thought so, even while she was in the flower of her age? From the time she first set foot in England was there a more faultless character in the nation? Nay, was not her whole behaviour as a wife, as a mother, as a mistress, and as a princess, not only blameless, but commendable in the highest degree, till that period of time arrived when it was judged proper, in order to blacken her (supposed) favourite, to asperse her too? And then she was *illud quod dicere nolo*! ² One would think that even the *ignobile vulgus*, 'the beasts of the people,' the lowest, basest herd who wore the human form, would be ashamed of either advancing or crediting so senseless, shameless a tale. Indeed, I can hardly think it is credited by one in an hundred even of those who foul their mouths with repeating it. Let it die and be forgotten! Let it not be remembered that ever any Englishman took so dirty a slander into his mouth.

'However, become what will of his mother, let him put away his bad Ministers.' Suppose they really are bad, do you know where he can find better? Where can he find twenty men, we will not

¹ This was wrote before the Princess Dowager went abroad (Wesley).

² 'What I am not willing to say.'

say of Christian but of Roman integrity? Point them out, men of sound judgement, of clear apprehension, of universal benevolence, lovers of mankind, lovers of their country, lovers of their King; —men attached to no party, but simply pursuing the general good of the nation; not haughty or overbearing, not addicted to passion, not of a revengeful temper; superior to covetousness on the one hand, free from profuseness on the other. I say, show me the men, only this small number; or, rather, show them to His Majesty. Let clear and satisfactory proof be given that this is their character; and if these worthy men are not employed in the place of the unworthy ones, you will then have some reason to stretch your throat against evil Ministers.

‘But if the matter were wholly left to him, would not Lord Chatham immediately employ twenty such?’ That may bear some doubt. It is not certain that he would: perhaps he knows not where to find them. And it is not certain to a demonstration that he would employ them if he did. It is not altogether clear that he is such himself, that he perfectly answers this character. Is he free from pride, from anything haughty in his temper or overbearing in his behaviour? Is he neither passionate nor revengeful? Is it indisputably plain that he is equally clear of covetousness on the one hand and profuseness on the other? Is he steady and uniform in his conduct, always one thing? Is he attached to no party, but determined at all events singly to pursue the general good of the nation? Is he a lover of the King? Is he remarkably grateful to him, from whom he has received no common favours? If not, though he has a strong understanding and a large share of manly eloquence, still it may be doubted whether he and his friends would behave a jot better than the Ministers we have already.

And suppose the King were to dissolve the Parliament, what hope is there of having a better, even though the nation were as quiet and peaceable as it was ten years ago? Are not the present Members generally speaking men of the greatest property in the land? And are they not, the greater part of them at least, as honest and wise as their neighbours? How, then, should we mend ourselves at any time, but especially at such a time as this? If a new Parliament were chose during this epidemic madness, what probability of a better than the present? Have we not all the reason in the world to apprehend it would be a much worse? that it would be the Parliament of 1641 instead of the Parliament of 1640? Why, this is the very thing we want, the very point we are aiming at. Then would Junius and his friends quickly say, ‘Sir King, know

your place! *Es et ipse lignum.*¹ Take your choice! Be King Log, or to the block!

Does it not then appear upon the whole that it is by no means in the power of the King, by any step which he can possibly take, to put a stop to the present commotions; that especially he cannot make concessions without making a bad matter worse; that the way he has taken, the standing his ground, was as wise a method as he could take, and as likely to restore the peace of the nation as any the wit of man could devise? If any is more likely, would it not be vigorously to execute the laws against incendiaries, against those who, by spreading all manner of lies, inflame the people even to madness, to teach them that there is a difference between liberty, which is the glory of Englishmen, and licentiousness, a wanton abuse of liberty, in contempt of all laws, divine and human? Ought they not to feel, if they will not see, that *scandalum regis*, 'scandalizing the King,' is as punishable as *scandalum magnatum*?² that for the future none may dare to slander the King any more than one of his nobles; much less to print and spread that deadly poison among His Majesty's liege subjects? Is not this little less than high treason? Is it not sowing the seeds of rebellion?

It is possible this might restore peace; but one cannot affirm it would. Perhaps God has 'a controversy with the land,' for the general neglect, nay contempt, of all religion. Perhaps He hath said, 'Shall not My soul be avenged on such a nation as this?' And if this be the case, what can avail, unless His anger be turned away from us? Was there ever a time in which there was a louder call for them that fear God to humble themselves before Him? if haply general humiliation and repentance may prevent general destruction!

Yours.

¹ 'You are also a log of wood.'

² 'Scandalizing the nobility.'

