

## Charles Wesley's Manuscript Journal<sup>1</sup> (1736–56)

From the beginning of their voyage to Georgia, both Wesley brothers sent back letters to friends and supporters in England. These letters were filled with information on their physical and spiritual state as well as significant encounters and activities in their ministry. These “journal letters” were public, in the sense that recipients were expected to circulate them to other readers, and they were often read aloud at gatherings of supportive friends. Charles and John continued the practice of sending journal letters to one another after returning to England, as they became immersed in the evangelical revival breaking out in London, Bristol, and beyond. After his marriage to Sarah Gwynne Jr. in 1749, Charles sent her similar journal letters when he was on preaching excursions, though they were not designed to be circulated to others.

Several of CW's formal journal letters survive and are included elsewhere on this site.<sup>2</sup> By the mid-1740s CW tended to copy (or have an assistant accompanying him copy) individual letters into an extended journal narrative covering an entire preaching excursion. He did this in part because he found it helpful to read portions of his manuscript journal to friends, or within the Methodist society meetings.<sup>3</sup> From early on he was also conscious that it might provide a resource for publishing rebuttals to accusations made against him for any of his actions.<sup>4</sup>

The next potential step was to weave the various journal narratives into a single volume. CW undertook this task in the fall of 1755.<sup>5</sup> This was in the immediate aftermath of a debate concerning the status of lay-preachers in connexion with his brother John. In October 1754 Charles Perronet began administering the sacrament to a group of his fellow lay-preachers, and to a Methodist society in the Minories area of London; which in turn spurred four of Perronet's colleagues to officiate the Lord's Supper in societies where they served.<sup>6</sup> When CW first protested this action to his brother, he records that JW responded, “We have in effect ordained already,” and was inclined to have the preachers obtain licenses under the Act of Toleration which the two brothers would sign (JW may have already signed a few), lay on hands (the sign of ordination) as a formal recognition, and let all the preachers administer.<sup>7</sup> CW vigorously rejected this option, and began mustering support to head it off at the next Conference, scheduled

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<sup>1</sup>This document was produced by the Duke Center for Studies in the Wesleyan Tradition under editorial direction of Randy L. Maddox, with the assistance of Aileen F. Maddox. Last updated: October 10, 2024.

<sup>2</sup>See Randy L. Maddox, et al. (eds.), *The Journal Letters and Related Biographical Items of The Rev. Charles Wesley, M.A.*, Enlarged 2nd edn. (Nashville: Kingswood Books, 2023).

<sup>3</sup>Cf. below: Mar. 25, 1736 (1:14); Jan. 7–9, 1737 (1:91); Sept. 11, 1737 (1:103); June 24, 1740 (2:60); and Apr. 12, 1741 (2:92).

<sup>4</sup>See particularly below: Mar. 16, 1739 (1:203).

<sup>5</sup>See CW's letters to Sarah (Gwynne) Wesley, Sept. 12, 1755; Sept. 22, 1755; and Jan. 31, 1756.

<sup>6</sup>See CW to Rev. Walter Sellon, Nov. 29, 1754.

<sup>7</sup>See Luke Tyerman, *The Life and Times of the Rev. John Wesley, M.A., Founder of the Methodists*, 2nd edn. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1872), 2:202, n. 1.

in Leeds in early May 1755. Pushed by this resistance, JW prepared and read a paper at the Leeds Conference that reaffirmed the mission of the Methodist movement, insisting that it need not entail separation from the Church of England (by, for example, ordaining his preachers).<sup>8</sup> While CW was relieved by this outcome, part of his motivation for drawing together his journal letters—which described *his* role in the emerging revival—was surely to have a resource that he could publish if (or *when*) the debate flared up again.

The volume that emerged from CW's labor through the winter of 1755–56 (with a supplement for the fall of 1756) came to be called his "Manuscript Journal," since he did not ultimately publish it himself. It survives as a bound manuscript volume in The Methodist Archive and Research Center (DDCW 10/2). Comparison of the Manuscript Journal with surviving journal letters that served as its source makes clear that CW pruned repetitive or extraneous material—as well as some that was overly personal, confidential, or potentially embarrassing. Charles's sensitivity to the latter concern is evident already in his journal letters where he placed discussion of delicate topics in shorthand that few would be able to read besides JW. Much of this delicate material found in the journal letters is left out of the Manuscript Journal (and when it does remain there, it is left in shorthand!).

Sometime after the initial compilation of the Manuscript Journal, CW returned to it, making scattered corrections (like adding the subject "I" at the beginning of many sentences where it was assumed). This polishing may be what John Fletcher was referring to when he wrote to CW in 1773, "I am glad you transcribe your journal."<sup>9</sup> These instances of change in CW's hand must be distinguished from other corrections and marks in the manuscript made by later editors (particularly those made in pencil).

The first public access to CW's Manuscript Journal came in 1793, when John Whitehead published *Some Account of the Life of the Rev Charles Wesley ... collected from his Private Journal*.<sup>10</sup> Whitehead did not reproduce the entire manuscript. His *Account* was comprised of extended *extracts* from only the *longhand* portions of CW's volume, nothing from the sections in shorthand appears.

Whitehead's *Account* was superseded in 1849, with Thomas Jackson's publication of *The Journal of the Rev. Charles Wesley, M.A.*<sup>11</sup> Jackson reproduced more of the longhand portion of the Manuscript Journal than Whitehead. But he continued to exclude a few sections he judged problematic or unflattering, and he imposed a heavy stylistic hand on Wesley's text. Moreover, the shorthand sections remain absent in Jackson's published version.

Jackson's 1849 *Journal* remained the standard access to CW's Manuscript Journal for over a century and a half. The improvements upon it were limited in number and scope. In 1863 Elijah Hoole published a short account of John and Charles Wesley's time in North America, which included for the first time a proposed expansion of the shorthand portions of the 1736 section of CW's Manuscript Journal.<sup>12</sup> Building on Hoole's identification of the shorthand that

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<sup>8</sup>JW's paper can be found in *Works*, 9:567–80. Cf. the abridgment he published in 1758 titled "Reasons against a Separation from the Church of England," *Works*, 9:334–42.

<sup>9</sup>Fletcher to CW, Aug. 24, 1773.

<sup>10</sup>(London: Couchman, 1793).

<sup>11</sup>... *to which are appended Selections from his Correspondence and Poetry*, 2 vols. (London: Wesleyan-Methodist Book Room, 1849).

<sup>12</sup>Elijah Hoole, *Oglethorpe and the Wesleys in America* (London: R. Needham, 1863).

CW had used, John Telford set out to publish the complete Manuscript Journal in 1910, but finished only the section covering 1736–39.<sup>13</sup>

It was 2008 before scholars and the public gained access to a published edition of *The Manuscript Journal of the Rev. Charles Wesley* that offered expansions of all the shorthand sections in the original.<sup>14</sup> This edition of CW’s Manuscript Journal will be of interest to scholars in particular, as it makes note throughout of what material was omitted (from either longhand or shorthand portions) in earlier published versions. It also notes instances of text that are **struckout** by CW (or later editors) in the manuscript.

The transcription of CW’s Manuscript Journal that follows was prepared fresh from the manuscript volume. The text largely agrees with that of the edition by Kimbrough and Newport published in 2008. However careful readers will find scattered differences, particularly in expansions of CW’s shorthand.<sup>15</sup> There are also some differences in style. In particular, we focus on CW’s final text, including his later editorial changes, but mentioning **struckout** text (in notes) when it is deemed significant. In addition to using double square brackets “[ ]” to mark the beginning and end of text that is expanded from shorthand, we **highlight** this text.<sup>16</sup> This serves as a reminder of two things: 1) that CW treated this material as more confidential; and 2) that expansion of CW’s shorthand necessarily involves varying degrees of interpretation and hypothetical renderings.<sup>17</sup>

A key characteristic of the transcription which follows is extensive annotation of the Manuscript Journal, including notice of journal letters that overlap, correlates in CW’s Sermon Register (available elsewhere on this site), and the like. A list of symbols, abbreviations, and short titles used in the annotations can be found at the end of the transcribed text.

The Manuscript Journal volume bound together three separately numbered sections. The first section runs from CW’s arrival in Georgia (March 1736) to the death of his older brother Samuel Wesley Jr. in November 1739. The second section starts in March 1740 and covers through 1751. These two sections were the focus of CW’s editorial work in the fall of 1755 and early 1756. The last (and much smaller) section covers CW’s last preaching tour in the north of England, September–November 1756. Our transcription indicates the page transitions (in **red** font) through all three sections of the volume.

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<sup>13</sup>John Telford (ed.), *The Journal of the Rev. Charles Wesley, M.A. ... Vol. 1: The early Journal, 1736–39* (London: Robert Cully, 1910).

<sup>14</sup>S T Kimbrough Jr. & Kenneth G. C. Newport (eds.), *The Manuscript Journal of the Rev. Charles Wesley, M.A.*, 2 vols. (Nashville, TN: Kingswood Books, 2008).

<sup>15</sup>I served as General Editor of the Kingswood Book series at the time, and helped shepherd the edition of Kimbrough and Newport to print. But I was not then as adept myself, as I have been forced to become, in reading CW’s shorthand.

<sup>16</sup>The 2008 edn. underlined shorthand expansions.

<sup>17</sup>See Timothy Underhill, “John Byrom’s Shorthand: An Introduction,” *Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society* 104 (2008): 61–91.

Charles Wesley Manuscript Journal, MARC, DDCW 10/2  
1736

[1:1]

Extract of Journal  
1736<sup>1</sup>

**Tuesday, March 9, 1736.** About 3:00 in the afternoon I first set foot on St. Simons Island, and immediately my spirit revived. No sooner did I enter upon my ministry than God gave me, like Saul, another heart.<sup>2</sup> So true is that [remark] of Bishop Hall: “The calling of God never leaves a man unchanged. Neither did God ever employ anyone in his service whom he did not enable to the work he set him, especially those whom he raises up to the supply of his place and the representation of himself.”<sup>3</sup> The people, with Mr. Oglethorpe, were all arrived the day before.<sup>4</sup>

The first who saluted me on my landing was honest Mr. [Benjamin] Ingham, and that with his usual heartiness. Never did I more rejoice at the sight of him, especially when he told me the treatment he has met with for vindicating the Lord’s Day. Such as every minister of Christ must meet with. The people seemed overjoyed to see me. Mr. Oglethorpe in particular received me very kindly.

I spent the afternoon in conference with my parishioners. (With what trembling ought I to call them mine!) At 7:00 we had evening prayers in the open air, at which Mr. Oglethorpe was present. The lesson gave me the fullest direction and greatest encouragement: “Continue instant in prayer, and watch in the same with thanksgiving. Withal praying also for us, that God would open unto us a door of utterance to speak the mystery of Christ, that I may make it manifest as I ought to speak. Walk in wisdom toward them that are [1:2] without, redeeming the time. Let your speech be always [...] seasoned with salt, that ye may know how ye ought to answer every man. [...] Say to Archippus, take heed to the ministry which thou hast received of the Lord, that thou fulfil it.”<sup>5</sup> At 9:00 I returned and lay in the boat.

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<sup>1</sup>CW consistently switches the year at January 1, rather than March 25, even though this New Style dating did not become official until 1752.

<sup>2</sup>See 1 Sam. 10:9.

<sup>3</sup>Joseph Hall (1574–1656), *Contemplations upon the Principle Passages of the Holy Story* (London: Henry Featherstone, 1618), 4:94.

<sup>4</sup>James Edward Oglethorpe (1696–1785) obtained a commission in the British army in 1710, and saw military service in Europe for a few years before returning to oversee his family estate and (from 1722) to serve as MP for Haslemere. His attention was drawn to the terrible conditions in debtors’ prisons. This led to his securing a charter to settle the colony of Georgia in America, partly as an outlet for social misfits. In 1732 Oglethorpe escorted the first 114 settlers to Georgia, and during 1734–35 was recruiting a further contingent, as well as reinforcements and perhaps a replacement for its spiritual leadership—the first minister, Rev. Samuel Quincy, having fallen below expectations. Samuel Wesley Sr. suggested his (recently widowed) son-in-law John Whitelamb; but it was JW and CW who accompanied Oglethorpe back to Georgia, JW as a parish priest and CW as Oglethorpe’s secretary.

<sup>5</sup>Col. 4:2–17.

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**1736**

**Wednesday, March 10.** Between 5:00 and 6:00 in the morning read short prayers to a few at the fire, before Mr. Oglethorpe's tent, in a hard shower of rain. Mr. Oglethorpe had set up a tent for the women near his own. Toward noon I found an opportunity of talking at the tent-door with Mrs. Welch.<sup>6</sup> I laboured to guard her against the cares of the world, and to give herself to God in the Christian sacrifice; but to no purpose. God was pleased not to add weight to my words, therefore they could make no impression.

After dinner I began talking with Mrs. Germain about baptizing her child by immersion. She was much averse to it, though she owned it a strong, healthy child. I then spoke to her husband, who was soon satisfied and brought his wife to be so too.<sup>7</sup>

In the evening I endeavoured to reconcile Mrs. Welch to Mrs. Hawkins,<sup>8</sup> who I assured her bore her no ill will. She replied, "You must not tell me that. Mrs. Hawkins is a very subtle woman. I understand her perfectly. There is a great man in the case, therefore I cannot speak—only that she is exceedingly jealous of me." Company stopped her saying more.

**Thursday, March 11.** At 10:00 this morning I began the full service to about a dozen women whom I had got together, intending to continue it and only to read a few prayers to the men before they went to work. I also expounded the second lesson with some boldness, as I had [1:3] a few times before.

After prayers I met Mrs. Hawkins's maid,<sup>9</sup> in a great passion of tears at being struck by her mistress. She seemed resolved to make away with herself, to escape her Egyptian bondage. With much difficulty I prevailed upon her to return and carried her back to her mistress. Upon my asking Mrs. Hawkins to forgive her she refused me with the utmost roughness, rage, and almost reviling.

Mr. Tackner, whom I talked with next, made me full amends.<sup>10</sup> He was in an excellent temper, resolved to strive, not with his wife, but himself, in putting off the old man and putting on the new.

In the evening I heard the first harsh word from Mr. Oglethorpe, when I asked for something for a poor woman. The next day I was surprised by a rougher answer, in a matter that deserved still greater encouragement. I knew not how to account for his increasing coldness.

My encouragement was the same in speaking with Mrs. Welch, whom I found all storm and tempest. The meek, the teachable Mrs. Welch (that *was* in the ship) was now so wilful, so intractable, so fierce that I could not bear to stay near her. I did not mend myself by stumbling again upon Mr. Oglethorpe, who was with the men, under arms, in expectation of an enemy. I

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<sup>6</sup>John Welch, a carpenter, and his wife Anne were passengers with CW and Oglethorpe on the *Simmonds* (or *Symonds*) to Georgia. See *Georgia Settlers*, 56; and *Simmonds* List.

<sup>7</sup>Joyce Germain's first husband, Michael, died the very day they arrived in Frederica. She had just remarried to Joseph Dalton, who died himself in 1738/39; see *Georgia Settlers*, 70.

<sup>8</sup>Beata (Watkins) Hawkins and her husband Thomas, a surgeon, were also part of the party that had just arrived on the *Simmonds*. See *Georgia Settlers*, 22; and *Simmonds* List.

<sup>9</sup>Catherine Harling was the maid of Beata Hawkins; see *Georgia Settlers*, 22.

<sup>10</sup>Ambrose Tackner, a locksmith, had been baptized by JW (having previously undergone only lay baptism) aboard the *Simmonds*. See *Georgia Settlers*, 53; and *Simmonds* List.

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stayed as long as I could, however,

Unsafe within the wind  
Of such commotion.<sup>11</sup>

But at last the hurricane of his passion drove me away.

**Sunday, March 14.** We had prayers under a great tree. In the epistle I was plainly shown what I ought to be, and what to expect: “Giving no offence in anything, that [1:4] the ministry be not blamed, but in all things approving ourselves as the ministers of God in much patience in afflictions, in necessities, in distresses, in stripes, in imprisonments, in tumults, in labours, in watchings, in fastings; by pureness, by knowledge, by longsuffering, by kindness, by the Holy Ghost, by love unfeigned, by the word of truth, by the power of God, by the armour of righteousness on the right hand and on the left, by honour and dishonour, by evil report and good report; as deceivers, and yet true; as unknown, and yet well known; as dying, and, behold, we live; as chastened, and not killed; as sorrowful, yet always rejoicing; as poor, yet making many rich; as having nothing, and yet possessing all things.”<sup>12</sup>

I preached with boldness on singleness of intention to about twenty people,<sup>13</sup> among whom was Mr. Oglethorpe. Soon after, as he was in Mrs. Hawkins’s hut, a bullet (through the carelessness of one of the people who were exercising today) flew through the wall close by him.

Mrs. Germain now retracted her consent for having her child baptized. However Mrs. Calwell’s I did baptize by trine immersion, before a numerous congregation.<sup>14</sup>

At night I found myself exceeding faint, but had no better bed to go to than the ground, on which I slept very comfortably, before a great fire, and waked the next morning perfectly well.

**Tuesday, March 16,** was wholly spent in writing letters for Mr. Oglethorpe.<sup>15</sup> I would not spend six days more in the same manner for all of Georgia.

**Wednesday, March 17.** Found an opportunity to tell Mrs. Welch the reason why I had not talked with her lately was my despair of doing her any good. She acknowledged herself entirely changed, “but could never tell me the [1:5] cause.” I immediately guessed it, and mentioned my conjecture. She confessed the truth of it. My soul was filled with pity and I prayed God the sin of others might not ruin her.

**Thursday, March 18.** Today Mr. Oglethorpe set out with the Indians, to hunt the buffalo upon the main, and to see the utmost limits of what they claimed. In the afternoon Mrs. Welch discovered to me the whole mystery of iniquity.

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<sup>11</sup>Milton, *Paradise Lost*, vi.309–10.

<sup>12</sup>2 Cor. 6:3–10.

<sup>13</sup>See Matt. 6:22–23. The manuscript text of this sermon, which CW copied from JW, has survived (MARC, MA 1977/608/4). See JW, *Works*, 4:373–77.

<sup>14</sup>John Calwell, a tallow chandler, and Constance (Towgood) Calwell, of Frederica; see *Georgia Settlers*, 8.

<sup>15</sup>At least one such letter has survived; MARC, DDCW 1/5.

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What [[she said was as follows: “Mr. Oglethorpe is a wicked man and a perfect stranger to r[eligion]. He kept a mistress in England to my knowledge, and even there solicited me. He forebore while I was sick, pretending he had laid aside all such designs, but resumed them upon my recovery. He would persuade me r[eligion] is all a cheat. Mrs. Hawkins persuaded me he has the same designs, I fear with better hopes of success. [She] has greatly l[onged] to set him against your brother. In order to this, she has told him your brother was in love with her, has kissed her a thousand times, and wept bitterly in the ship at the thought of parting from her. Mr. Oglethorpe refused a long time to believe it. She is exceeding jealous of me; fell upon me lately with ‘Must I have the character of Mr. Oglethorpe’s whore to scorn you? She has also used him with the utmost insolence.”

[[“He is extremely jealous of you, having done all he could to persuade me you have the same design upon me which he has. He contrived your going in the other boat without necessaries to hinder your speaking to me.”

[[She further owned that she loved him, and was much grieved at the thought of losing his love. Besides she dreaded the consequence of its being changed into hatred, as she should then be entirely exposed to the mercy of a wom[anizer] with absolute power. I encouraged her to trust in God, and in vain pressed her to seek for strength in the means of grace.

[[From her I]] went to my myrtle-walk, where, as I was repeating “I will thank thee, for thou hast heard me, and art become my salvation,”<sup>16</sup> a gun was fired from the other side of the bushes. Providence had that moment turned me from that end of the walk which the shot flew through, but I heard them pass by me!

**Sunday, March 21.** Mr. Oglethorpe had ordered oftener than once that no man should shoot on a Sunday. Germain had been committed to the guardroom for it in the morning, but was upon his submission released.<sup>17</sup> In the midst of [the] sermon a gun was fired. Davison,<sup>18</sup> the constable, ran out and found it was the doctor. Told him it was contrary to orders and he was obliged to [1:6] desire him to come to the office. Upon this the doctor flew into a great passion and said, “What, don’t you know I am not to be looked upon as a common fellow?” Not knowing what to do the constable went and returned, after consulting with Hermsdorf,<sup>19</sup> with two sentinels and brought him to the guardroom. Hereupon Mrs. Hawkins charged and fired a gun, and then ran thither like a madwoman, crying she had shot and would be confined too. The constable and Hermsdorf persuaded her to go away. She cursed and swore in the utmost transport of passion, threatening to kill the first man that should come near her. (Alas, my brother, what is become of thy hopeful convert!)

In the afternoon, while I was talking in the street with poor Catherine [Harling], her mistress came up to us and fell upon me with the utmost bitterness and scurrility. Said she would

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<sup>16</sup>Ps. 118:21 (BCP).

<sup>17</sup>This is apparently William Germain, the brother of the deceased Michael Germain; see *Georgia Settlers*, 75.

<sup>18</sup>Samuel Davison had been sent over with Oglethorpe as a maker of stocks for guns, and was made a constable on arrival; see *Georgia Settlers*, 12.

<sup>19</sup>Captain Samuel Hermsdorf was a military attaché to Oglethorpe.

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blow me up and my brother, whom she once thought honest but was now undeceived; that I was the cause of her husband's confinement, but she would be revenged and expose my damned hypocrisy, my prayers four times a day by beat of drum, my intrigue with her maid; and abundance more which I cannot write and thought no *woman*, though taken from Drury Lane,<sup>20</sup> could have spoken. I only said I pitied her, but defied all she or the devil could do, for she could not hurt me. I was strangely preserved from passion and at parting told her I hoped she would soon come to a better mind.

In the evening hour of retirement I resigned myself to God, in my brother's prayer for conformity to a suffering Saviour.<sup>21</sup>

[[I was interrupted by the following note.

[[Mr. Wesley,

[[Being by your priestly order confined, the care of the sick is no longer incumbent on me. As you have been busy in intermeddling with my affairs, I desire the following patients may have proper assistance, which ought to have been before this time, and no neglect laid to

[[Your injured friend,

[[John<sup>22</sup> Hawkins

[[P.S. I dispute the authority of confining a surgeon, and especially for a thing I knew nothing of.

[1:7]

[[After a short prayer for meekness I went and stood all his passions, only saying, "I had no hand in your confinement. The gun was fired in sermon time, and before the constable came back I went directly in my surplice to the tent and gave the sacrament. Immediately after that I took a walk in the woods, whence I did not return till dinnertime, about an hour after your confinement, which I then first heard of. You misunderstood [Samuel] Hermsdorf if you say he lays it to me. He wholly denies it."

[[“But when you did know it,” he replied, “why did you not tell him he had no business or authority to confine me, any more than a captain to confine his lieutenant.”

[[“Because I did presume they understood their own business best, and your having charged the matter upon me made me resolve to have no concern in it.”

[[Going from him, I was informed of the compliments Mrs. Hawkins's husband was everywhere paying my brother and me. Hawkins, seeing me from the guardroom walking with

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<sup>20</sup>Drury Lane was the site of the Theatre Royal. The Covent Garden area of London in which it sat was known for its brothels and bawdy nightlife.

<sup>21</sup>See the Prayer for Friday Morning in JW, *Collection of Forms of Prayer for Every Day of the Week* (London: n.p., 1733), which includes the line: “O Jesus, hanging on the accursed tree, bowing the head, giving up the ghost, have mercy upon me and conform my whole soul to thy holy, humble, suffering spirit” (p. 65).

<sup>22</sup>The shorthand reads “John,” but his first name was actually Thomas.



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his maid between the two rows of huts, had said, "There goes the parson with his whore. I saw him myself with her under the bushes." Modest Mrs. Hawkins added, "upon the ground."

[[**Monday, March 22.** While I was persuading Mr. [John] Welch not to concern himself in this disturbance, I heard Mrs. Hawkins cry out "Murder!" and walked away. Returning out of the woods, I was informed that Mrs. Welch, the poor obliged Mrs. Welch, had joined with Mrs. Hawkins and the devil in their slanders of me. I would not believe it till half the town told me the same, and exclaimed against her ingratitude. Soon after Heddon<sup>23</sup> informed me that he had civilly told Mrs. Hawkins his orders were not to suffer her to come within the camp; but he would carry those bottles for her. She replied she would come and, upon his holding open his arms to hinder her, broke one of the bottles on his head. He caught her in his arms, she striking him continually and crying out "Murder!" [Mr.] Hawkins at the same time ran up and struck him. He closed and threw him down, set his foot upon him, and said if he resisted he would run his bagnet<sup>24</sup> into him. Mark Hird, the other constable, was meantime engaged in keeping off Mrs. Hawkins, who broke the other bottle upon his head. [Mr.] Welch coming up to her assistance, [Samuel] Davison the constable desired him to keep off the camp. Nevertheless, he ran upon him, took the gun out of his hand, and struck him with all his strength on his sides and face, till Heddon interposed and parted them. Welch then ran and gave the doctor a bayonet, which was immediately taken from him. Mrs. Hawkins cried out continually against the parsons, and swore revenge against my brother and me. But the bridle is in her mouth.<sup>25</sup>

[[At 3:00 I carried Mrs. Perkins<sup>26</sup> to Mrs. Welch, but finding her as the troubled sea, thought it was no time for expostulating her treatment of me. [I] asked whether I could do anything for her or her husband, now confined for his violence toward the officers. Her railing forced me to leave her.

[[Mr. Hird soon after told me he had followed Mrs. Hawkins to her hut and entreated her to return quietly to her husband and trouble the public peace no longer. Upon no greater provocation than this, she snatched up an iron pistol and offered to strike him. He laid hold of her husband's gun and she as quickly caught up another. She presented it, but was seized before she could discharge it. The pistol, gun, and other arms were now taken from her and she put under a guard of two sentinels.]]

Faint and weary with the day's fatigue, I found my want of true holiness and begged God to give me comfort from his word. Then read [1:8] in the evening lesson: "But thou, O man of God, flee these things, and follow after righteousness, goodness, faith, love, patience, meekness. Fight the good fight of faith, lay hold on eternal life, whereunto thou art also called, and hast professed a good profession before many witnesses."<sup>27</sup>

Before prayers I took a walk with Mr. [Benjamin] Ingham, who was surprised I should not think innocence a sufficient protection. I had not indeed acquainted him with what Mrs.

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<sup>23</sup>William Heddon, of Frederica; see *Georgia Settlers*, 22. CW spells "Haydon."

<sup>24</sup>An archaic variant of bayonet.

<sup>25</sup>See 2 Kings 19:28.

<sup>26</sup>Catherine Perkins, wife of Samuel, of Frederica; see *Georgia Settlers*, 40.

<sup>27</sup>1 Tim. 6:11–12.

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Welch had told me.

At night I was forced to exchange my usual bed (the ground) for a chest, being almost speechless through a violent cold.

**Tuesday, March 23.** In reading Hebrews 11 I felt my faith revive, and I was confident God would either turn aside the trial or strengthen me to bear it. In the afternoon Mr. Davison informed me the doctor had sent his wife word to arm herself from the case of instruments and forcibly make her escape, to speak to Mr. Oglethorpe first and even to stab any that should oppose her. Mrs. Perkins told me she had heard Mrs. Hawkins say “Mr. Oglethorpe dares not punish me.”

I was encouraged by the lesson: “God hath not given us the spirit of fear but of power ... Be not thou therefore ashamed of the testimony of our Lord, nor of me his prisoner. But be thou partaker of the afflictions of the gospel according to the power of God. [...] Whereunto I am appointed a preacher—for the which cause also I suffer these things. Nevertheless I am not ashamed, for I know whom I have believed, and am persuaded that he is able to keep that which I have committed to him against that day.”<sup>28</sup>

**Wednesday, March 24.** Was enabled to pray earnestly for my enemies, particularly Mr. Oglethorpe, whom [1:9] I now looked upon as the chief of them. Then gave myself up entirely to God’s disposal, desiring I might not now want power to pray when I most of all needed it. Mr. Ingham then came, and read the 37th Psalm, a glorious exhortation to patience and confidence in God, from the different estate of the good and wicked. After breakfast I again betook myself to intercession, particularly for Mrs. Welch, that Satan (in the shape of that other bad woman) might not stand at her right hand. Doubting whether I should not interpose for the prisoners, I consulted the oracle, and met Jer. 44:16–17, “As for the word which thou hast spoken to us in the name of the Lord, we will not hearken unto it. But we will certainly do whatsoever thing goeth forth out of our own mouth.” This determined me not to meddle with them at all.

At 11:00 met Mrs. Perkins, who told me of the infamy Mrs. Hawkins has brought on Mr. Oglethorpe, and the utter discouragement it will be to the people if she is supported. Farther she informed me that Mrs. Welch begins to repent of having engaged so far with her, confessing she has done it through cowardice, as thinking Mr. Oglethorpe will bear her out against all the world.

Soon after I talked with Mrs. Welch *sub deo*,<sup>29</sup> and with the last degree of astonishment heard her accuse herself with Mr. ———!<sup>30</sup> Horror of horrors! Never did I feel such excess of pity. I gave myself up to prayer for her. Mr. Ingham soon joined me. All the prayers expressed a full confidence in God. When notice was given us of Mr. Oglethorpe’s landing, Mrs. Hawkins, Mr. Ingham, and myself were sent for. We found him in his tent with the people round it, Mr. and Mrs. Hawkins within. After a short hearing, the officers were reprimanded, and [1:10] the prisoners dismissed. At going out Mrs. Hawkins modestly told me she had something more to say against me, but would take another time. I only answered, “You know, madam, it is impossible for *me* to fear *you*.” When they were gone, Mr. Oglethorpe said he was convinced

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<sup>28</sup>2 Tim. 1:7–12.

<sup>29</sup>“under God”; i.e., in confession.

<sup>30</sup>Oglethorpe.

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and glad I had had no hand in all this. I told him I had something to impart of the last importance, when he was at leisure. He took no notice, but read his letters. And I walked away with Mr. Ingham, who was utterly astonished. The issue is just what I expected.

I was struck with those words in the evening lesson: "Thou therefore, my son, be strong in the grace that is in Christ Jesus. ... Endure hardness, as a good soldier of Jesus Christ. ... Remember that Jesus Christ was raised from the dead, according to my gospel, wherein I suffer trouble, as an evil-doer, even unto bonds; but the word of God is not bound. Therefore I endure all things for the elect[']s sake[s]. ... It is a faithful saying, for if we be dead with him, we shall also live with him; if we suffer, we shall also reign with him."<sup>31</sup> After reading I could not forbear adding, "I need say nothing. God will shortly apply this."

Glory be to God for my confidence hitherto. O, what am I if left to myself! But I can do and suffer all things through Christ strengthening me.<sup>32</sup>

**Thursday, March 25.** At 5:00 I heard the second drum beat for prayers, which I had desired Mr. Ingham to read, being much weakened by my fever. But considering I ought to appear at this time especially, I rose and heard those animating words. "If any man serve me, let him follow me; and where I am, there shall my servant be. If any man serve me, him will [1:11] my Father honour. Now is my soul troubled; and what shall I say? Father, save me from this hour? But for this cause came I unto this hour. Father glorify thy name."<sup>33</sup>

At half-hour past 7:00 Mr. Ogleshorpe called me out of my hut. I looked up to God and went. He charged me with mutiny and sedition, with stirring up the people to desert the colony. Accordingly he said, they had had a meeting last night and sent a message to him this morning, desiring leave to go. That their speaker had informed against them, and me the spring of all. That the men were such as constantly came to prayers, therefore I must have instigated them. That he should not scruple shooting half a dozen of them at once, but that he had out of kindness *first* spoke to me. My answer was: "I desire, sir, you would have no regard to my brothers, my friends, or the love you had for me, if anything of this is made out against me. I know nothing of their meeting or designs. Of those you have mentioned, not one comes constantly to prayers, or sacrament. I never incited anyone to leave the colony. I desire to answer my accuser face to face."

He told me my accuser was Mr. Lawley,<sup>34</sup> whom he would bring if I would wait here. I added, "Mr. Lawley is a man who has declared he knows no reason for keeping fair with any man but a design to get all he can by him. But there was nothing to be got by the poor parsons." I asked whether he himself was not assured that there were enough men in Frederica to say or swear anything against any man that should be in disgrace. Whether, if he himself was removed, or succeeded ill, the whole stream [1:12] of the people would not be turned against him; and even this Lawley, who was of all others the most violent in condemning the prisoners and justifying the officers. I observed this was the old cry, "Away with the Christians to the lions."

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<sup>31</sup>2 Tim. 2:1–12.

<sup>32</sup>See Phil. 4:13.

<sup>33</sup>John 12:26–28.

<sup>34</sup>Richard and Anne Lawley were another couple in Frederica; see *Georgia Settlers*, 82.

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Mentioned Hawkins and his wife's scandalizing my brother and me, and vowing revenge against us both—threatening me yesterday even in his presence. I asked what redress or satisfaction was due to my character; what good I could do in my parish if cut off by their calumnies from ever seeing one half of it? Ended with assuring him I had and should still make it my business to promote peace among all. I felt no disturbance while speaking, but lifted up my heart to God, and found him present with me. While Mr. Oglethorpe was fetching Lawley I thought of our Lord's words, "Ye shall be brought before rulers . . .,"<sup>35</sup> and applied to him for help and words to make my defence.

Before Mr. Oglethorpe returned I called in upon Mr. Ingham, and desired him to pray for me. Then walked and, musing on the event, opened the book on Acts 15:31–33: "Which when they had read, they rejoiced for the consolation, and we exhorted the brethren with many words and confirmed them. And after they had tarried there a space, they were let go in *peace*."<sup>36</sup> Mr. Ingham coming, I related all that had passed. On sight of Mr. Oglethorpe and Lawley he retired.

Mr. Oglethorpe observed the place was too public. I offered to carry him to my usual walk in the woods. In our way God put it into my heart to say, "Show only the least disinclination to find me guilty, and you shall see what a turn it will give to the accusation." He took the hint and instead of calling upon Lawley to make good his charge, began with the quarrel in general, [1:13] but did not show himself angry with me, or desirous to find me to blame. Lawley, who appeared full of guilt and fear, upon this dropped his accusation, or shrunk it into my "forcing the people to prayers." I replied that the people themselves would acquit me of that. And as to the *officers'* quarrel, I appealed to the officers for the truth of my assertion that I had had no hand at all in it; professed my desire and resolution of promoting peace and obedience. And as to the people, was persuaded their desire of leaving the colony arose from mistake, not malice.

Here Mr. Oglethorpe spoke of reconciling matters; bade Lawley tell the petitioners he would not so much as ask who they were, if they were "but quiet for the future." "I hope," added he, "they will be so, and Mr. Wesley here hopes so too." "Yes sir," says Lawley, "I really believe it of Mr. Wesley, and had always a very great respect for him." I turned, and said to Mr. Oglethorpe, "Did not I tell you it would be so?" He replied to Lawley, "Yes, you had always a very great respect for Mr. Wesley. You told me he was a stirrer-up of sedition, and at the bottom of all this disturbance." With this gentle reproof he dismissed him, and I thanked him for having first spoken to me of what I was accused of, begging he would always do so. This he promised, and then I walked with him to Mrs. Hawkins's door. She came out aghast to see me with him. He there left me, and I was delivered out of the mouth of the lion.<sup>37</sup>

I went to my hut, where I found Mr. Ingham. He told me this was but the beginning of sorrows. Not as I will but as thou wilt.<sup>38</sup> About noon, in the midst of a violent storm of thunder and lightning, I read the 18th Psalm and found it gloriously suited to my circumstances. I never

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<sup>35</sup>Matt. 10:18; Mark 13:9.

<sup>36</sup>CW added the emphasis to "peace."

<sup>37</sup>See 2 Tim. 4:17.

<sup>38</sup>See Matt. 26:39.

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felt the Scriptures as now. Now I need them, I find them all written for my instruction and comfort. At the same time I feel great joy in the expectation [1:14] of our Saviour thus coming to judgment, when the secrets of all hearts shall be revealed, and God shall make my innocency as clear as the light, and my just dealing as the noonday.

At 3:00 walked with Mr. Ingham, and read him the history of this amazing day. We rejoiced together in the protection of God, and through comfort of the Scriptures.

The evening lesson was full of encouragement: "This know also, that in the last days perilous times shall come. For men shall be ... *false accusers*, incontinent, fierce, despisers of those that are good, traitors, heady, high-minded, . . . *but they shall proceed no further*, for their folly shall be made manifest [un]to all men. But thou hast fully known my doctrine, manner of life, ... what persecutions I endured; but out of them all the Lord delivered me. Yea, and all that will live godly in Christ Jesus shall suffer persecution. But evil men and seducers shall wax worse and worse, deceiving and being deceived. ... All scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness."<sup>39</sup> Blessed be God that I begin to find them so!

Meeting with Mr. [Mark] Hird, I persuaded him to use all his interest with the people to lay aside all thoughts of leaving the colony. He told me he had assured Mr. Oglethorpe that this was always my language towards him and the rest, and that I had had no hand in the late disturbance, but was answered short with "You must not tell me that. I know better."

After spending an hour at the camp in singing such psalms as suited the occasion, I went to bed in the hut, which was thoroughly wet with today's rain.

**Friday, March 26.** "My soul is always in my hand. Therefore will I not forget thy law."<sup>40</sup> This morning, early, Mr. Oglethorpe called me out to tell me of Mrs. [Anne] Lawley's miscarriage, by being [1:15] denied access to the doctor for bleeding. He seemed very angry, and to charge me with it, saying he should be the tyrant if he passed by such intolerable injuries. I answered I knew nothing of the matter, and it was hard it should be imputed to me. That from the first, [Samuel] Hermsdorf told the doctor he might visit whom of his patients he pleased, but the doctor would not. I denied my having the least hand in the whole business, as Hermsdorf himself had declared. He said, "Hermsdorf himself assured me what he did, he did by your advice." I answered, "You must mistake his imperfect English, for many have heard him say the contradictory of this. Yet I must be charged with all the mischief." "How else can it be," said he, "that there should be no love, no meekness, no true religion among the people; but instead of that, mere formal prayers?" "As to that, I can answer for them that they have no more of the form of godliness than the power."<sup>41</sup> I have seldom above six at the public service." "But what would an unbeliever say to your raising these disorders?" "Why, if I had raised them, he might say there was nothing in religion. But what would that signify to those who had experienced it? They would not say so."

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<sup>39</sup>2 Tim. 3:1–16.

<sup>40</sup>Ps. 119:109 (BCP).

<sup>41</sup>See 2 Tim. 3:5.

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He told me the people were full of dread and confusion; that it was easier to govern 1,000 than sixty men, for in so small a number everyone's passion was considerable; that he durst not leave them before they were settled; etc. I asked him, "Would you have me forbear conferring at all with my parishioners?" To this I could get no answer, and went on, "The reason why I did not interpose for or against the doctor was his having, at the beginning, charged me with his confinement. I talked less with my parishioners these five days past than I had done in any one afternoon before. [1:16] I shunned appearing in public, least my advice should be asked, or least, if I heard others talking, my very silence should be deciphered into advice. But one argument of my innocence I can give, which will even convince you of it. I know my life is in your hands, and you know that was you to frown upon me, and give the least intimation that it would be agreeable to you, the generality of this wretched people would say or swear anything." (To this he agreed, and owned the case was so with them all.) "You see that my safety depends on your single opinion of me. Must I not therefore be mad, if I would in such a situation provoke you by disturbing the public peace? Innocence, I know, is not the best protection, but my sure trust is in God." Here company interrupted us, and I left him.

I was no longer careful of the event after reading those words in the morning lesson: "Thou shalt not follow me now. But thou shalt follow me afterwards."<sup>42</sup> Amen. When thou pleasest. Thy time is best.

Mr. Oglethorpe, meeting me in the evening asked when I had prayers? I said I waited his pleasure. While the people came slowly, "You see, sir," said I, "they do not lay too great a stress on forms." "The reason of that is because others idolize them." "I believe few stay away for that reason." "I don't know that." Mr. Oglethorpe stood over against me, and joined audibly in the prayers. The chapter was designed for me, and I read with great boldness, as follows: "I charge thee before God and the Lord Jesus Christ, who shall judge the quick and dead at his appearing and his kingdom: preach the word, be instant in season, out of season; reprove, rebuke, exhort with all long-suffering and authority. [1:17] For the time will come when they will not endure sound doctrine. ... But watch thou in all things, endure affliction, do the work of an evangelist, make full proof of thy ministry. ... At my first appearing no man stood with me, but all men forsook me. ... Notwithstanding the Lord stood with me ... that by me the preaching might be fully known, and that all the Gentiles might hear, and I was delivered from the mouth of the lion. And the Lord shall deliver me from every evil work, and will preserve me unto his heavenly kingdom, to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen."<sup>43</sup>

**Saturday, March 27.** This morning we began our Lord's last discourses to his disciples. Every word was providentially directed to my comfort, but particularly those: "Let not your hearts be troubled. Ye believe in God. Believe also in me. ... I will not leave you comfortless. I will come unto you. ... Peace I leave with you, my peace I give unto you. Let not your heart be troubled, neither let it be afraid."<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>42</sup>John 13:36.

<sup>43</sup>2 Tim. 4:1–18.

<sup>44</sup>John 14:1–27.

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I was sensibly concerned this afternoon at hearing that Mrs. Welch is growing more and more like Mrs. Hawkins; declares she will be no longer priest-ridden, jests upon prayers, and talks in the loose, scandalous dialect of her friend.

In the evening a thought came into my mind of sending Mr. Ingham for my brother. He was much averse to leaving me in my trials, but was at last persuaded to go.

**Sunday, March 28.** Went to the storehouse (our tabernacle at present) to hearken what the Lord God would say concerning me. Both myself and the congregation was struck with the first lesson: Joseph and Potiphar's wife.<sup>45</sup> The second was still more animating: "If the world hate you, ye know it hated me before it hated you. If ye were of the world . . ." <sup>46</sup>

After prayers [1:18] poor Mr. [Samuel] Davison stayed behind to take his leave of Mr. Ingham. He burst into tears, and said, "One good man is leaving us already. I foresee nothing but desolation. Must my poor children be brought up like these savages?" We endeavoured to comfort him by showing him his calling. At 10:00 Mr. Ingham preached an alarming sermon on the day of judgment, and joined with me in offering up the Christian sacrifice.

In my walk at noon I was full of heaviness. Complained to God that I had no friend but him, and even in him could now find no comfort. Immediately I received power to pray, then opening my Bible read as follows: "Hearken unto me, ye that seek the Lord. Look unto the rock whence ye are hewn. . . . Fear ye not the reproach of men, neither be ye afraid of their reviling[s]. Awake, awake . . . flee away. Who are thou, that thou shouldst be afraid of a man that shall die . . . and hast feared continually every day because of the fury of the oppressor?" <sup>47</sup> After reading this no wonder I found myself renewed in confidence.

While Mr. Ingham waited for the boat, I took a turn with Mr. Horton.<sup>48</sup> He fully convinced me of Mrs. Hawkins's true character—ungrateful in the highest degree, a common prostitute, a complete hypocrite. He told me her husband and she had begged him upon their knees to intercede with Mr. Oglethorpe not to turn them out of the ship, which would be their utter ruin. This he accordingly did, though Mr. Oglethorpe at first assured him he had rather given 100£ than take them. The first person she fell upon after this was Mr. Horton himself, whom she abused as she has since done me.

From him I hastened to the waterside, where I found Mr. Ingham just put off. O happy, happy friend! *Abiit, erupit, evasit!*<sup>49</sup> But woe is me, that I am still [1:19] constrained to dwell with Meshech!<sup>50</sup> I languished to bear him company, followed him with my eyes till out of sight,

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<sup>45</sup>Gen. 39.

<sup>46</sup>John 15:18–20. In scripture quotations, when CW wants to indicate that the verse continues beyond the final words quoted he adds "etc." We have rendered "etc." in these instances as an ellipsis (...).

<sup>47</sup>Isa. 51:1–13.

<sup>48</sup>William Horton, a former sub-sheriff of Herefordshire, had settled on Jekyll Island, and was now magistrate and commander of the militia at Frederica. See *Georgia Settlers*, 79.

<sup>49</sup>"He has gone, [he has departed], he has escaped, he has broken out." An echo of Cicero, *Against Catiline*, 2.1; but CW omits *excessit* and reverses the order of *evasit* and *erupit*.

<sup>50</sup>See Ezek. 38–39.

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and then sunk into deeper dejection than I had known before.

**Monday, March 29.** Was revived by those words of our Lord: “These things have I spoken unto you that ye should not be offended. They shall put you out of the synagogues. Yea the time cometh that whosoever killeth you will think that he doth God service. And these things will they do to you, because they have not known my Father, nor me. . . . In the world ye shall have tribulation, but be of good [cheer] . . .”<sup>51</sup>

Knowing I was to live with Mr. Oglethorpe, I had brought nothing with me from England except my clothes and books. But this morning, asking a servant for something I wanted (I think a teakettle), I was told Mr. Oglethorpe had given orders that no one should use any of his things. I answered that order, I supposed, did not extend to me. “Yes sir,” says he, “you was excepted by name.” Thanks be to God that it is not yet made capital to give me a morsel of bread.

**Tuesday, March 30.** Having laid hitherto on the ground in a corner of Mr. Reid’s hut,<sup>52</sup> and hearing some boards were to be disposed of, I attempted in vain to get some of them to lay upon. They were given to all besides. The minister only of Frederica must be ἀφρήτωρ, ἀθέμιστος, ἀνέστιος.<sup>53</sup> Yet are we not hereunto called, ἀστατεῖν, κακοπαθεῖν?<sup>54</sup> Even the Son of man had not where to lay his head!<sup>55</sup>

I find the scripture an inexhaustible fund of comfort: “Is my hand shortened at all, that it cannot save? or have I no power to deliver? . . . I gave my back to the smiters, and my cheeks to them that plucked off the hair. I hid not my face from [1:20] shame and spitting. For the Lord God will help me, therefore shall I not be confounded. Therefore have I set my face like a flint, and I know that I shall not be ashamed. He is near that justifieth me, who will contend with me? Let us stand together. Who is mine adversary? Let him come near to me. Behold, the Lord God will help me, who is he that shall condemn me?”<sup>56</sup>

**Wednesday, March 31.** I begin now to be abused and slighted into an opinion of my own considerableness. I could not be more trampled upon was I a fallen minister of state. The people have found out that I am in disgrace, and all the cry is:

*Curramus praecipites, et  
Dum jacit in ripa calcemus Caesaris hostem.*<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>51</sup>John 16:1–33.

<sup>52</sup>Will Reid was a servant to Patrick Tailfer; see *Georgia Settlers*, 93. CW spells “Reed.”

<sup>53</sup>Homer, *Iliad*, ix.63, “without clan, without law, without home.”

<sup>54</sup>The words mean “to be restless, to be wretched.” The infinitives suggest that CW is not quoting a specific source. He may be recalling, however, the New Testament occurrences of these words: ἀστατοῦμεν (1 Cor. 4:11), κακοπαθῶ (2 Tim. 2:9), and κακοπαθεῖ (James 5:13).

<sup>55</sup>See Matt. 8:20, Luke 9:58.

<sup>56</sup>Isa. 50:2–9.

<sup>57</sup>Cf. Juvenal, *Satires*, x.85–86; “Let us run headlong (swiftly) and while he lies on the bank, let us trample the enemy of Caesar.”



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My few well-wishers are afraid to speak to me. Some have turned out of the way to avoid me. Others desired I would not take it ill if they seemed not to know me when we should meet. The servant that used to wash my linen sent it back unwashed. It was great cause of triumph my being forbid the use of Mr. Oglethorpe's things, and in effect debarred of most of the conveniences, if not necessities, of life. I sometimes pitied and sometimes diverted myself with the odd expressions of their contempt, but found the benefit of having undergone a much lower degree of obloquy at Oxford.

**April 1736**

**Thursday, April 1.** In the midst of morning service a poor scout-boatman was brought in, who was almost killed by the burst of a cannon. I found him senseless and dying. All I could do was to pray for him and try by his example to wake his two companions. [1:21] He languished till the next day, and died.

Hitherto I have been born up by a spirit not my own, but exhausted nature at last prevails. It is amazing she held out so long. My outward hardships and inward conflicts, the bitterness of reproach from the only man I wish to please,

At last have worn my boasted courage down.<sup>1</sup>

Accordingly, this afternoon, I was forced by a friendly fever to take my bed. My sickness, I knew, could not be of long continuance. But, as I was in want of every help and convenience, must either shortly leave me or release me from farther suffering.

In the evening Mrs. Hird and Mrs. Robinson called to see me, and offered me all the assistance in their power.<sup>2</sup> I thanked them, but desired they would not prejudice themselves by taking this notice of me. At that instant we were alarmed with a cry of the Spaniards being come, heard many guns fired and saw the people fly in great consternation to the fort. I felt not the least disturbance or surprise. Bade the women not fear, for God was with us.

Within a few minutes news was brought us that the alarm was only a contrivance of Mr. Oglethorpe, to try the people. My charitable visitants then left me, and soon returned with some gruel, which threw me into a sweat.

The next morning, **April 2**, they ventured to call again. At night, when my fever was somewhat abated, I was led out to bury the scout-boatman, and envied him his quiet grave.

**Saturday, April 3.** Nature, I found, endeavoured to throw off the disease by excessive sweats, and therefore drank whatever my women brought me.

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<sup>1</sup>Nicholas Rowe, *Tamerlane*, Act IV, Scene 1.

<sup>2</sup>Grace (Hodgson) Hird was the wife of Thomas Hird, a dyer, and mother of Mark; see *Georgia Settlers*, 23. By "Mrs. Robinson" CW likely was referring to Hannah Roberson, the wife of John Roberson, a bricklayer; see *ibid.*, 44.

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**Sunday, April 4.** Many of the people had [1:22] been ill of the bloody flux. I escaped hitherto by my vegetable diet,<sup>3</sup> but now my fever brought it. Notwithstanding this, I was obliged to go abroad and preach and administer the sacrament. My sermon on “Keep innocency, and take heed to the thing that is right, for that shall bring a man peace at the last”<sup>4</sup> was deciphered into a satire against Mrs. Hawkins. At night I got an old bedstead to lay on, being that on which the scout-boatman had died.

**Monday, April 5.** At 1:00 this morning the sand flies forced me to rise and smoke them out of the hut. The whole town was employed in the same manner. My congregation in the evening consisted of Presbyterians and a papist.<sup>5</sup> I went home in great pain, my distemper being much increased with the little duty I could discharge.

**Tuesday, April 6.** I found myself so faint and weak that it was with the utmost difficulty I got through the prayers. Mr. Davison, my good Samaritan, would often call or send his wife to tend me, and to their care, under God, I owe my life.<sup>6</sup>

Today Mr. Oglethorpe gave away my bedstead from under me, and refused to spare one of the carpenters to mend me up another.

**Friday, April 9.** While talking to Mrs. Hird, I turned my eyes towards the huts, and saw Mr. Lascelles’s all in a blaze.<sup>7</sup> I walked towards the fire, which before I could come up to it had consumed the hut and everything in it. It was a corner hut, and the wind providentially blew from the others or they would have been all destroyed.

**Saturday, April 10.** Mr. Reid waked me with news of Mr. Delamotte<sup>8</sup> and my brother being on [1:23] their way to Frederica. I found the encouragement I sought in the scriptures for the day, Psalm 52: “Why boastest thou thyself, thou tyrant, that thou canst do mischief; whereas the goodness of God endureth yet daily. Thy tongue imagineth wickedness, and with lies thou cuttest like a sharp razor. Thou hast loved ....”<sup>9</sup>

At 6:00 Mr. Delamotte and my brother landed, when my strength was so exhausted I could not have read prayers once more. He helped me into the woods, for there was no talking

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<sup>3</sup>CW maintained a vegetarian diet, for health, for much of his life; cf. Feb. 14, 1749.

<sup>4</sup>Ps. 37:37.

<sup>5</sup>“Papist” is the term CW and others of his day typically used as the formal title for members of the Church of Rome.

<sup>6</sup>Susanna Thompson had married Samuel Davison in 1732; see *Georgia Settlers*, 12.

<sup>7</sup>Henry Lascelles Jr., son of the surgeon Henry Lascelles; see *Georgia Settlers*, 29. CW spells “Lassel.”

<sup>8</sup>Charles Delamotte (c. 1714–96) was the eldest son of a wealthy sugar merchant, Peter Delamotte of Blendon Hall, Bexley. Charles accompanied the Wesley brothers to Georgia, in principle as his father’s business agent. He was soon serving as schoolmaster without remuneration, and assisting JW in various pastoral duties. On his return to England, a few months after JW, Charles found that many of his family had been converted to the emerging Methodist revival. But he was more drawn to the Moravian stream of the renewal.

<sup>9</sup>Ps. 52:1–4 (BCP).

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among a people of spies and ruffians; nor even in the woods, unless in an unknown tongue. He told me the scripture he met with at landing was, "If God be for us, who can be against us?"<sup>10</sup> And that Mr. Oglethorpe received him with abundant kindness. I begun my account of all that has passed, and continued it till prayers. It were endless to mention all the scriptures, which have been for so many days adapted to my circumstances, but I cannot pass by the evening's lesson, Heb. 11. I was ashamed of having well nigh sunk under mine, when I beheld the conflicts of those triumphant sufferers, "of whom the world was not worthy."<sup>11</sup>

**Sunday, April 11.** What words could more support our confidence than the following, out of the psalms for the day? "Be merciful unto me, O God, for man goeth about to devour me. He is daily fighting, and troubling me. Mine enemies are daily in hand to swallow me up, for they be many that fight against me, O thou most highest. Nevertheless, though I am sometimes afraid, yet put I my trust in thee. I will put my trust in God, and will not fear what man can do unto me. They daily mistake my ... light<sup>12</sup> of the living."<sup>13</sup>

The next psalm [1:24] was equally animating: "Be merciful unto me, O God, for my soul trusteth in thee, and under the shadow of thy wings shall be my refuge, until this tyranny be overpast I will call upon the most high God; even the God that shall perform the cause which I have in hand. He shall send down from heaven, and save me from the reproof of him that would eat me up. God shall send forth his mercy and truth. My soul is among lions. And I lie even among the children of men, that are set on fire, whose teeth are spears and arrows, and their tongue a sharp sword. Set up thyself, O God, above the heavens and thy glory above all the earth."<sup>14</sup>

I had just recovered strength enough to consecrate at the sacrament, the rest my brother discharged. We then got out of the reach of informers, and proceeded in my account, being fully persuaded of the truth of Mrs. Welch's information against Mr. Oglethorpe, Mrs. Hawkins, and herself.

Next morning [April 12] Mr. Oglethorpe met and carried us to breakfast at the modest Mrs. Hawkins's. At noon my brother repeated to me his last conference with Mrs. Welch, in confirmation of all she had ever told me.

At night I took leave of Mr. [William] Horton, Mr. [Samuel] Hermsdorf, and Major Richards, who were going with 30 men to build a fort over against the Spanish lookout, twelve leagues from [St.] Augustine.

**Wednesday, April 14.** By a relation which my brother gave me of a late conference he had with her, I was again, in spite of all I had seen and heard, half persuaded into a good opinion of Mrs. Hawkins—for the lasting honour of our sagacity, be it written!

**Friday, April 16.** My brother brought me off a resolution, which honour and indignation had formed, of starving rather than ask for necessaries. Accordingly I went to Mr. Oglethorpe, in

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<sup>10</sup>Rom. 8:31.

<sup>11</sup>Heb. 11:38.

<sup>12</sup>Orig., "land"; a mistake.

<sup>13</sup>Ps. 56:1–13 (BCP).

<sup>14</sup>Ps. 57:1–7 (BCP).

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his tent, to ask for some little things I wanted. [1:25] He sent for me back again, and said, “Pray, sir, sit down. I have something to say to you. I hear you have spread several reports about [[me and Mrs. Hawkins, in that you are the author of them. There is a great difference in telling such things to another and to me. In you, who told it your brother, it was scandal; in him who repeated it to me, it was friendship. My righteousness does not, like the Pharisee’s, consist in long prayers,<sup>15</sup> but in forgiving injuries, as I do this of yours. Not but the thing is in itself a trifle, and hardly deserves a serious answer. Though I gave one to your brother, because he believed the report true. It is not such [a] thing as this will hurt my character. They would pass for gallantries and rather recommend me to the world.”

[[Here he made slight of the matter, at the same time vindicating himself from the imputations by the like ungrounded reports in the ship, by the example of others, by the impossibility of having opportunities, etc., and went on: “I know men suppose a thirst of fame the motive of all my actions, but they are quite mistaken. I have had more than my share of it, and my fortune is now, I believe, upon the turn.”

[[“Men judge of others by their own hearts. At my landing, one told me you had confined Welch that you might have an opportunity with his wife. But I silenced [him], and told him that was just as he would have done himself. I believe you g[uilt]y of the mutiny and disturbance, because of your consequent shyness. I forbade you the use of my things without first speaking to me, lest others should use your name to justify the abuse of my goods. You cannot deny the charge of scandalising me, for you wrote your brother an account of it. I thought you would have been an help and relief to me. I shall still continue my b[ene]ficence to Mrs. Hawkins, for it is endless trying to ward off scandal. I refused on this account to take a poor woman into my ship and she was almost lost by going in Thomas’s.”<sup>16</sup>

[CW:] [[After lifting up my heart to God I replied: “I acknowledge first, that as you suppose me guilty, it is the greatest kindness that you can forgive me. I shall only speak the truth and leave you to judge of it. I absolutely deny the whole charge. I have neither raised nor spread this report, but wherever I heard, checked it immediately. Some who themselves spoke it in my hearing have, I suppose, gone and storied[?] their own words upon me. I had myself made these stories to you, had I still continued in your favour. I did mention it to my brother, that he might tell it [to] you. Suppose I myself believed it, I should never have propagated [it], because I am not to speak evil of the ruler of my people.<sup>17</sup> The ground of the people’s supposition was Mrs. Hawkins’s great assurance during her confinement. What they say of you they say of my brother and her. She said so herself at first, but has since eaten her words. The letter she intercepted was wrote before this report was heard of. I own to suffer thus as an evildoer, and from you, is the severest trial I have ever known. My shyness was caused by yours. As I shall always think it my duty to please you to the utmost of my power, I hope you will look upon me as you used to do. I know your unforgiving temper, and that if you once entertain a suspicion of dislike, it is next to

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<sup>15</sup>See Matt. 6:5ff.

<sup>16</sup>I.e., the *London Merchant*, Captain John Thomas, which accompanied the *Simmonds* in this voyage, carrying the Salzburger cohort.

<sup>17</sup>See Acts 23:5; Exod. 22:28.

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impossible to remove it.”

[[He promised to be the same to me as before.

[[At night Mrs. Welch sent for my brother. He being engaged with Mr. Oglethorpe, I went, and found her half dead with fear. She began [1:26] accusing me of betraying her.

[CW:] [[“Be not imposed upon. Your betraying me shall never make me betray you.”

[Mrs. Welch:] [[“But he will get it out of your brother.”

[CW:] [[“No, my brother is a Christian; I am so much of one to prefer any sufferings to breach of promise.”

[Mrs. Welch:] [[“He [Mr. Oglethorpe] came to me just now, and in a transport of anger said, ‘So madam, you have been so wise as to tell Charles Wesley of our affair. It is nothing to me, but you have exposed yourself for ever.’ I answered, ‘If Charles Wesley told you so, he is the greatest villain upon earth’; and denied it to the last. I did tell him, indeed, that it was you [who] informed me of his affair with Mrs. Hawkins. He denied his having any r[egard] for her, and said he preferred an hour of my company to a week of hers. I am almost distracted at the thought of his knowing I told you.”

[CW:] [[“Be not troubled. You are entirely safe on this head.”

[Mrs. Welch:] [[“If you have really said nothing, he is the greatest villain upon earth. I hear him now. He is falling upon your brother. He will get it out of him.”

[CW:] [[“It is impossible. My brother put his life in his hand by speaking to him about Mrs. Hawkins.”

[Mrs. Welch:] [[“Pray, send your brother to my master.”

[CW:] [[“I will.”

[[At 10:00, [I] related this conversation to my brother. He then gave me a surprising account of Mr. Oglethorpe. Oh that it were true! Who knows but he may still be innocent? Good God make and keep us all so. The Spaniards, he informed my brother, were expected every moment, and was himself in a calm expectation of death.

**Saturday, April 17.** [[I called on Mrs. Welch and asked what Mr. Oglethorpe had said last night.

[Mrs. Welch:] [[“He again charged me with having told you, and thereby your brother. Said I was in love with him, which I owned, but not as he thought. I told him he was all made up of art. He was exceeding sad when he left me.”

[CW:] [[“Mrs. Welch, you have deeply injured me. I never built upon Mr. Oglethorpe’s friendship, for I have no worldly expect[ancy]. But you have turned my best friend into an enemy for life. When in the openness of my heart I warned you against that vile woman, how could you go immediately and betray me to her? Why would you even invent falsehoods to hurt me? And say to her and Mr. Oglethorpe that I raised the report about them? Did I deserve this at your hands? Was this gratitude?”

[Mrs. Welch:] [[“No; very far from it. I know not what I meant. I was mad. I was out of my senses. But I beg you would not say anything to Mr. Oglethorpe.”

[CW:] [[“No; you are safe. I cannot return evil for evil.<sup>18</sup> But must in justice tell Mr. Oglethorpe it was not I informed you, but you informed me of the scandalous reports.

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<sup>18</sup>See 1 Pet. 3:9.

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[[But what was your end in saying what you did of Mrs. Hawkins?]]

[Mrs. Welch:] [[“Oh, do not ask me. I was mad. I was bewitched. I said I don’t know what.”]]

[CW:] [[“But was that false which you told us of yourself?]]

[Mrs. Welch:] [[“It was. I never saw Mr. Oglethorpe till I came into the ship.”]]

[CW:] [[“What end had you in belying yourself?]]

[Mrs. Welch:] [[“Do not ask me; I cannot tell.”]]

[CW:] [[“Then I will for you. Answer me sincerely. Are you not in love with Mr. Oglethorpe? And did you not invent all these falsehoods to gain credit with my brother, and thereby employ him to throw out Mrs. Hawkins, and so make room for you?]]

[Mrs. Welch:] [[“You say the very thing; it is so.”]]

[[An hour after, I was with her again, and informed her I intended to set Mr. Oglethorpe right, as she in justice to me ought to do. She replied:

[Mrs. Welch:] [[“I have been almost distracted at the thoughts of my treatment of you—that I should incense Mr. Oglethorpe to such a devilish outrage; that I should be the devil’s instrument in crushing you! In destroying the innocent! The devil surely was in me. I raised Mr. Oglethorpe’s suspicion [1:27] of you. I complained of your being so troublesome to me. I accused you against my conscience of a base design, and have estranged him from you entirely.”]]

[CW:] [[“How had I provoked you to it? Did you ever receive aught but good from me?]]

[Mrs. Welch:] [[“No. But Mrs. Hawkins was continually inciting me to it, saying, ‘We must supplant these parsons, and then we shall have Mr. Oglethorpe to ourselves. Do you accuse Charles Wesley to him, and I will accuse the other.’ Whether she said that of your brother which I said of you, I am not sure; but find she has laid all upon me, and would have me ruin you, that she may ruin me.”]]

[CW:] [[“Then what you said of her history to my brother is true again?]]

[Mrs. Welch:] [[“Every word of it. Her design of drawing him in and then exposing him, with all the account I gave your brother, is true.”]]

[CW:] [[Upon her again falling into self-condemnation, I said, “God forgive you as freely as I do. You owe me a public vindication, but my innocence shall surely meet with the fullest vindication from God.”]]

[Mrs. Welch:] [[“I will unsay all, the first opportunity I have with Mr. Oglethorpe. I know how enraged he is against you. At his landing he accosted me with, ‘Well, I hear Charles Wesley has secured your husband, and I suppose came to bed to you.’ I denied it with horror. But what shocked me above all, was his saying, ‘Could not you get him into the shadows, then run away screaming out that he had offered you violence? I know he will say it is a false accusation, but leave me to manage him then.’ I so dreaded the consequence that I have had no rest ever since.”]]

[CW:] [[“But does not your concern arise not from any regard to my injuries or danger, but from the fear of losing him?]]

[Mrs. Welch:] [[“No. For though I love him to distraction, it is as a brother. Even last night I absolutely refused him when he offered to come to bed to me.”]]

[CW:] [[“Do you believe a life after this? Do you believe a future judgment? And that the secrets of all hearts shall then be revealed? As you believe this, tell me if what you now speak be true.”]]

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[[She answered with another solemn oath, “It is.”

[[I related to my brother this conversation, and we were both utterly confounded.

[[Soon after, I got some time for meditating upon death, and felt an hope of being accepted through Christ.]] When I had finished this relation, he seemed entirely changed.

The next day [April 18] my brother and Mr. Delamotte set out in an open boat for Savannah. I preached in the afternoon on “He that now goeth on his way weeping, and beareth forth good seed, shall doubtless come again with joy, and bring his sheaves with him.”<sup>19</sup>

**Easter Eve, April 24.** At 10:00 I was sent for by Mr. Oglethorpe. He began,

**[Oglethorpe:]** “Mr. Wesley, you know what has passed between us. I took some pains to satisfy your brother about the reports concerning me, but in vain. He here renews his suspicions in writing. I did desire to convince him, because I had an esteem for him, and he is just so considerable to me as my esteem makes him. I could clear up all, [1:28] but it matters not. You will soon see the reason for my actions.”

“I am now going to death. You will see me no more. Take this ring, and carry it from me to Mr. Vernon.<sup>20</sup> If there is a friend to be depended upon, he is one. His interest is next to Sir Robert’s.<sup>21</sup> Whatever you ask within his power he will do for you, your brother, and your family. I have expected death for some days. These letters show that the Spaniards have long been seducing our allies, and intend to cut us off at a blow. I fall by my friends—Gascoigne,<sup>22</sup> whom I have made; the Carolina people, whom I depended upon to send their promised succours. But death is to me nothing. T.<sup>23</sup> will pursue all my designs, and to him I recommend them and you.”

He then gave me a diamond ring.

I took it and said, “If, as I believe, *postremum fato, quod te alloquor, hoc est*,<sup>24</sup> hear what you will quickly know to be true, as soon as you are entered upon the separate state. This ring I shall never make any use of for myself. I have no worldly hopes. I have renounced the world. Life is bitterness to me. I came hither to lay it down. You have been deceived, as well as I. I protest my innocence as to the crimes I am charged with, and take myself to be now at liberty to tell you what I thought never to have uttered. [[Mrs. Welch excited in me the first suspicion of you after we were come hither. She afterwards told you her own words as if they had been mine. This she confessed both to my brother and me, as likewise that she had falsely accused me to you of making love to her. She was put upon it by Mrs. Hawkins saying, ‘Let us supplant those

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<sup>19</sup>Ps. 126:7 (BCP). The manuscript text of this sermon has survived, including notation on the front cover of this usage (MARC, MA 1977/608/2); see the sermon collection on this website (or CW, *Sermons*, 123–29).

<sup>20</sup>James Vernon (1677–1756), a Commissioner of Excise, and one of the original and most active trustees of the Georgia colony.

<sup>21</sup>Sir Robert Walpole (1676–1745), first earl of Oxford.

<sup>22</sup>James Gascoigne (d. 1763), Captain of the sloop-of-war *HMS Hawk*; CW spells “Gascoin.”

<sup>23</sup>Probably Thomas Tower; cf. entry for July 25, 1736.

<sup>24</sup>“These are my last words to you.” Cf. Virgil, *Aeneid*, vi.466: “*extremum fato quo te alloquor, hoc est.*”

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parsons and we shall have Mr. Oglethorpe to ourselves.””]]

When I had finished this relation, he seemed entirely changed,<sup>25</sup> full of his old love and [1:29] confidence in me. After some expressions of kindness, I asked him, “Are you satisfied?” He replied, “Yes, entirely.” “Why then, sir, I desire nothing more upon earth, and care not how soon I follow you.” He added, he much desired the conversion of the heathen, and believed my brother intended for it. “But I believe,” said I, “it will never be under your patronage, for then men would account for it without taking in God.” He replied, “I believe so too,” then embraced and kissed me with the most cordial affection.

I attended him to the scoutboat, where he waited some minutes for his sword. They brought him first, and a second time, a mourning sword. At last they gave him his own, which had been his father’s. “With this sword,” says he, “I was never yet unsuccessful.” “I hope, sir,” (said I) “you carry with you a better, even the sword of the Lord, and of Gideon.”<sup>26</sup> “I hope so too,” he added.

When the boat put off, I ran before into the woods, to see my last of him. Seeing me and two others running after him, he stopped the boat and asked whether we wanted anything. Captain Mackintosh, left commander, desired his last orders.<sup>27</sup> I then said, “God is with you. Go forth, *Christo duce, et auspice Christo!*”<sup>28</sup> “You have,” says he, “I think, some verses of mine. You there see my thoughts of success.” His last word to the people was, “God bless you all.” The boat then carried him out of sight. I interceded for him, that God would save him from death, would wash out all his sins,<sup>29</sup> and prepare before he took the sacrifice to himself.

**Easter Day, April 25.** The people were alarmed at night by the sight of two great fires on either side of the town, not knowing if they [1:30] were made by friends or enemies. Next morning news was brought of a boat coming up. Everyone seemed under a consternation, though no one but myself was fully apprized of our danger. At night the watch was doubled by Captain Mackintosh. The people being unwilling to comply with his orders, I was forced to tell Mr. Hird the constable that there might be danger which Mackintosh alone knew of, and therefore they ought to obey. He promised it for himself and the rest. Though I expected every hour that the Spaniards would *bring* us the news of Mr. Oglethorpe’s death, yet I was insensible of fear, and careless of the consequence. But my indifference arose from stupidity rather than faith. There was nothing I cared for in life, and therefore the loss of it appeared a trifle.

**Thursday, April 29.** About half-hour past 8:00 I went down to the bluff to see a boat coming up. At 9:00 it arrived with Mr. Oglethorpe. I blessed God for still holding his soul in life. In the evening we took a walk together and he informed me more particularly of our past danger. Three great ships, and four smaller, had been seen for three weeks together at the mouth of the

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<sup>25</sup>The opening portion of this sentence is given in shorthand, then in regular prose, by CW.

<sup>26</sup>See Judg. 7:18, 20.

<sup>27</sup>John Mohr Mackintosh (1700–c. 1761), was Captain of the Independent Company of Scottish Highlanders.

<sup>28</sup>“Christ being your leader, and Christ your aid.”

<sup>29</sup>See Acts 22:16.



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river. But the wind continuing full against them, [they] were kept from making a descent, till they could stay no longer. I gave him back his ring and said, "I need not, sir, and indeed I cannot, tell you how joyfully and thankfully I return this." "When I gave it to you," said he, "I never expected to receive it again, but thought it would be of service to your brother and you. I had many omens of my death, particularly their bringing me my mourning sword. But God has been pleased to preserve a life which was [1:31] never valuable to me; and yet in the continuance of it, I thank God, I can rejoice." "I am now glad of all that has happened here, since without it I could never have had such a proof of your affection as that you gave me, when you looked upon me as the most ungrateful of villains." While I was speaking this he appeared full of tenderness, and passed on to observe the strangeness of his deliverance, when betrayed on all sides, without human support and utterly defenceless. He condemned himself for his anger (God forgive those who made me the object of it), which he imputed to his want of time for consideration.

"I longed, sir, to see you once more, that I might tell you some things before we finally parted. But then I considered, that if you died, you would know them all in a moment." "I know not whether separate spirits regard our little concerns. If they do, it is as men regard the follies of their childhood, or as I my late passionateness."

**Friday, April 30.** I had some farther talk with him in bed. He ordered me whatever he could think I wanted, promised to have me an house built immediately, and was just the same to me he had formerly been.<sup>30</sup>

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**Sunday, May 2.** I went to him to ask if there was any truth in the report that Major Richards<sup>1</sup> and Mr. [William] Horton were detained at [St.] Augustine, and the men at St. George's [Point] run away. He told me he hoped that the gentlemen were well received, but the people had been frightened away by two soldiers bringing a civil proffer of refreshment; that thereupon [1:32] the men mutinied and obliged Captain [Samuel] Hermsdorf to quit the advanced post and turn homeward, which he had done pursuant to Ferguson's advice;<sup>2</sup> that he intended immediately to go in quest of them. In an hour's time he set out accordingly.

In the evening I endeavoured to convince Mr. Moore (as I had done some few besides) of Mr. Oglethorpe's innocency.<sup>3</sup> He then read me a list of the officers that were to be, and who should be appointed head bailiff but my dear friend the doctor!

**Monday, May 3.** The people had observed that I was taken into favour again, which I found by their provoking civilities.

**Wednesday, May 5.** At night news was brought of a boat being seen off the point which would not come to, though the soldiers had fired at her several times. The people were greatly

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<sup>30</sup>See CW's letter to JW of May 1, 1736, reporting that "the trial is at last over."

<sup>1</sup>Major Jacques Richard was a Swiss from Geneva, representing the Trustees.

<sup>2</sup>William Ferguson was Captain of the scoutboat *Caroline* in Georgia.

<sup>3</sup>Francis Moore, a storekeeper in Frederica, had been appointed recorder for the settlement; see *Georgia Settlers*, 36.

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alarmed, being in no preparation for an enemy. I went to bed, but was soon awakened by the firing of a gun and, rising, found all the town flocking towards the fort in the utmost consternation. I walked leisurely after them without fear, yet without faith. Found the uproar was occasioned by a friendly Indian, and walked back again.

**Saturday, May 8.** I had some affecting talk with a poor man belonging to the scoutboat who had broke his arm. He owned himself greatly moved by the *Christian Monitor*<sup>4</sup> I had given him; convinced thereby of the truth of religion, unable to read for tears, and fully resolved to obey the motions of the Holy Spirit by leading a new life.

Between 10:00 and 11:00 I was waked again by an alarm. I rose, as did all the women, and found a signal had been made from the man-[1:33]of-war. I sent away the women, and being myself of equal service, soon followed their example and went to sleep again.

**Sunday, May 9.**<sup>5</sup> Notice was given me that Mr. Dyson, chaplain to the Independent Company,<sup>6</sup> was landed and walking toward me. His moral character did not recommend him. I had just time to run away into the woods, and so escaped his visit. The next morning Mr. Oglethorpe returned, from whom I had the following account of his expedition:

On **Saturday, May 1.** Late at night, arrived the *Caroline* scoutboat with Captain Ferguson, bringing advice that Major Richards and Mr. Horton (who had carried answers to the Spanish governor's letters) had landed at their lookout, and he believed were made prisoners by the Spaniards, for they had heard no more of them except by a blind letter written with a pencil. That the boats, in which were the men under Captain Hermsdorf, were come about thirty miles on this side of St. George's Point and there waited for orders. That the men were mutinous, and Hermsdorf believed he should be forced to retire to Fort St. Andrew. That he was apprehensive they would either murder their officers and turn pirates, or be cut off by the Spaniards. Mr. Oglethorpe, on Sunday, went on board the man-of-war, and proceeded from thence with the man-of-war's boat, commanded by the Lieutenant, and the Georgia scoutboat. They arrived that night at Fort St. Andrew. On Monday they came up with the south point of Cumberland, where they met with the boats under the command of Captain Hermsdorf.

Mr. Oglethorpe immediately took them out to sea with him, round Amelia [1:34] Island. He found upon examination that the men did not intend to mutiny, but that the suspicion was occasioned by the lies of one man, who was hereupon sentenced by Mr. Oglethorpe to run the gauntlet.

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<sup>4</sup>John Rawlet, *The Christian Monitor* (London: Samuel Tidmarsh, 1686).

<sup>5</sup>Although he does not mention it here, CW preached this morning a sermon by JW on Luke 16:8. CW's copy, including a notation of preaching it this day, survives (MARC, MA 1977/608/5); see JW, *Works*, 4:360–70.

<sup>6</sup>The Independent Company was a group of Scottish Highlander foot soldiers, recruited by Oglethorpe to help protect the Georgia Colony. Rev. Edward Dyson was their chaplain. See *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 1 (1917), 71.

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He went to Point St. George, within sight of the Spanish lookout, and resettled them on the same place where Mr. Hermsdorf had before taken up his quarters. It had been agreed that the Spaniards should make a signal and from thence he would repair with his boats, to fetch Major Richards back, who was gone to [St.] Augustine at the request of the governor, who promised to send horses to conduct him but did not. It likewise was agreed that the boats should patrol up and down the rivers to prevent the Indians, our allies, passing over to molest the Spaniards, as they should prevent their Indians passing over to molest us.

Mr. Oglethorpe went that afternoon to the Spanish lookout, with a flag of truce. But not being able to perceive anyone, leaving the boat at her grappling, he leaped ashore himself to see if he could discover anybody there, and going along the beach, at distance from the sandy hillocks to prevent surprise, he surrounded the hillocks where he found two horses hobbled. He went forward to a palmetto hut but could find no man. After this he sent the flag of truce into a great savannah to see if that would draw down any people to a conference. Upon this, William Frazier, a Scotch lad, going into the neighbouring woods and finding a Spaniard, brought him to Mr. Oglethorpe, to whom he delivered two letters, one from Major Richards, the other from Mr. Horton directed to Mr. Hermsdorf, acquainting him that he should be back with him [1:35] in two days' time. Mr. Oglethorpe gave the man a bottle of wine, victuals, and tobacco, and a *moidore*<sup>7</sup> for his trouble of bringing the letters, and inquired where Major Richards and Mr. Horton were. The man said he knew nothing concerning them; that he was an horseman, and sent by the colonel of the cavalry from the headquarters, which were about twelve leagues off, with those letters, to wait there till he should see an English boat appear, and deliver it to them; that he had laid 4 days on the beach, and had not discovered a boat in that time. Mr. Oglethorpe delivered to him letters for the governor of [St.] Augustine, and between 10:00 and 11:00 on Thursday morning set out with the man-of-war's boat and Georgia scoutboat to meet the man again, according to appointment.

He discovered a garde coast full of men that lay behind a sandbank, beyond the breakers, on the English side of the water, and soon after he discovered several men hid in the woods, next to some sandhills. Two horsemen showed themselves and beckoned to the boats, which had a flag of truce flying, to come down to a point beyond which the garde coast lay concealed; on which Mr. Oglethorpe rowed with the two boats toward the garde coast, that he might not leave her behind to intercept us and our people at St. George's Point. There seemed to be about seventy men on board her, and there were in our boats twenty-four. She lay still for some time, but when they found plainly that they were discovered, they rowed away with incredible swiftness, directly out to sea, toward [St.] Augustine.

Mr. Oglethorpe returned to the horsemen, who seemed very unwilling to approach the boats, [1:36] but at last agreed to receive a letter if Mr. Oglethorpe would send an unarmed man ashore. One of them, seemingly an officer, forbade the boats to land on the King of Spain's ground. Mr. Oglethorpe answered that as it was the King of

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<sup>7</sup>A *moidore* was a Portugese gold coin.

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Spain's ground, the English would forbear landing on it, since the Spaniards requested it; but that the Spaniards should be very welcome to land on the King of England's ground, which was on the opposite side of the river, and should be welcome to a glass of wine with him there. He asked him for news of Mr. Horton and Mr. Richards, and whether he could not send anything to them. The man said he knew nothing of them; that he received his orders from the colonel of horse, who was quartered at twelve leagues' distance; and that he could carry no news but to him. Upon this, Mr. Moore, Lieutenant of the *Hawk* man-of-war, wrote a letter to the colonel of horse acquainting him that he was come thither with boats to conduct back the gentlemen who were sent by Mr. Oglethorpe to treat with the governor of [St.] Augustine; and that, if at any time he would make three fires on the Spanish main, he would take it as a signal that the gentlemen were come and would come over with a boat and fetch them. The Spanish officer promised to deliver the letter by night to the colonel of horse. Mr. Oglethorpe stayed till Saturday night, expecting an answer, and sent over to the Spanish side every day, but could find nobody to have conference with. By the lookout within land they have a vineyard, flocks of turkeys, cattle, and horses. But great care was taken that none of our people should touch any of them. On Saturday night Mr. Oglethorpe set out, leaving Captain Hermsdorf with an armed *periagua*,<sup>8</sup> the Georgia scoutboat, and another boat.

[1:37]

**Tuesday, May 11.** I had now so far recovered my strength, that I could again expound the lesson.<sup>9</sup> In the lesson next morning was Elisha encompassed with the host at Dothan.<sup>10</sup> It is our privilege, as Christians, to apply those words to ourselves: "There be more that be for us than those that be against us."<sup>11</sup> God spoke to us yet plainer in the second lesson: "Behold, I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves. Be ye therefore wise as serpents, and harmless as doves. But beware of men, for they will deliver you up ... and ye shall be brought before governors and kings for my name's sake ... and ye shall be hated of all men. But he that endureth to the end shall be saved. But when they persecute you in this city, flee ye into another. ... The disciple is not above his master. ... Fear ye not therefore, for there is nothing covered, that shall not be revealed, and hid that shall not be known."<sup>12</sup> In explaining this, I dwelt on that blessed topic of consolation to the innocent, that however he suffers under a false accusation here, he will shortly be cleared at God's righteous bar, where the accuser and the accused shall meet face to face, and the guilty person acquit him whom he unjustly charged, and take back the wickedness to himself. Poor Mrs. Welch, who was just over against me, could not stand it, but first turned her back, and then retired behind the congregation.

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<sup>8</sup>Spanish name for a canoe formed out of the trunk of a tree.

<sup>9</sup>The lesson for this morning service included 2 Kings 4 and Matt. 9.

<sup>10</sup>See 2 Kings 6.

<sup>11</sup>2 Kings 6:16.

<sup>12</sup>Matt. 10:16–26.

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While I waited for Mr. Oglethorpe setting out again for the southward, Mr. Appee accosted me, a young gentleman lately come from Savannah.<sup>13</sup> He mentioned his desire of being baptized (having only received lay baptism before). I thought he ought to have a longer trial of his own sincerity. He passed on to his [1:38] intended marriage with Miss Bovey,<sup>14</sup> which I dissuaded him from, not thinking either sufficiently prepared for it. He owned he had made little progress in subduing his will, and ought to be more dead to the world before he threw himself into it. Near midnight I took leave of Mr. Oglethorpe, who set out in the scoutboat, after the other boats, for St. George's. The remainder of the night I passed upon the ground in the guardroom.

At 4:00 the next day set out for Savannah, whither the Indian traders were coming down to meet me and take out licences. I was overjoyed at my deliverance out of this furnace,<sup>15</sup> and not a little ashamed of myself for being so.

**Sunday, May 16.** We landed at Skidaway, and dined at Mrs. Mouse's.<sup>16</sup> I then went round and asked the few people there were upon the island to come to prayers, which accordingly I read and preached to about ten in the guardroom, and promised so to contrive, if possible, that they should be supplied once a month.

At 4:00 we returned to our boat and by 6:00 reached Thunderbolt, whence I walked the five remaining miles to Savannah. Mr. [Benjamin] Ingham, Mr. [Charles] Delamotte, and my brother were surprised at my unexpected visit. But it being late, we each retired to his respective corner of the room, where, without the help of a bed, we slept soundly till the morning.

**Wednesday, May 19.** According to our agreement, my brother set forward for Frederica, and I took charge of Savannah in his absence. The hardest duty imposed on me was the expounding the lesson morning and evening to one hundred hearers. I was surprised at my own confidence, and acknowledged it not my own. The day was usually [1:39] divided between visiting my parishioners, considering the lesson, and conversing with Mr. Ingham, Delamotte, and Appee.

[**Sunday, May 23.**<sup>17</sup>]

**Tuesday, May 25.** I visited a girl of fifteen who lay a-dying of an incurable illness. She had been in that condition for many months, as her parents, some of the best people of the town, informed me. I started at the sight of a breathing corpse. Never was real corpse half so ghastly. Her groans and screams alone distinguished her from one. They had no intermission, yet was she perfectly sensible, as appeared by her feebly lifting up her eyes when I bad her trust in God, and

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<sup>13</sup>Peter Appee, a native of Holland, accompanied CW back from Georgia to England. He was an unreliable person, whom CW engaged several times over the next few years.

<sup>14</sup>Rebecca Bovey, of Savannah, Appee's intended, died suddenly on July 10, 1736.

<sup>15</sup>See Dan. 3.

<sup>16</sup>Thomas Mouse, clogmaker, his wife Lucy, and their five daughters arrived in Georgia on the *James* on Jan. 14, 1734. They were among the first colonists placed at Skidaway Island.

<sup>17</sup>An notation on CW's manuscript copy of JW's sermon on Matt. 6:22-23 indicates he preached it this morning in Savannah; see MARC, MA 1977/608/4, flyleaf (JW, *Works*, 4:371).

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read the prayers for the *energumens*.<sup>18</sup> We were all in tears. She made signs for me to come again.

**Friday, May 28.** Mr. Oglethorpe returned from the frontiers. The following account of his expedition I extracted out of his letter to the trustees:

After that flagrant breach of the law of nations, putting our messengers, sent with a flag of truce, under arrest, I could expect nothing but farther hostilities, and therefore prepared to repel force by force. We fortified, with the utmost speed that the smallness of our number would allow, St. George's Point, within sight of the Spanish outguards, and were much facilitated by finding the ruins of a fort built by Sir Francis Drake; so that we had nothing to do but to repair and palisade the breaches made by time, and to clear the ditches, which were originally 30 foot deep.

The Independent Company and man-of-war being posted below Frederica, I drew out from thence, and from the Scotch settlements, what men I possibly could, to increase the garrison on St. George's Point. While we were [1:40] getting down recruits and cannon, the governor of [St.] Augustine, having before put our messengers under arrest, sent out Don Ignatio [Rosso],<sup>19</sup> colonel of foot, with 30 of his picked men, some Yamasaw Indians, and a strong boat's crew, about sixty men, in a launch to reconnoitre our settlements; and, if he found us so weak as the advices from Carolina said we were, to dislodge us. Don Ignatio came out by sea, and attempted to get undiscovered into Jekyll's Sound;<sup>20</sup> was discovered by Ensign Delegall,<sup>21</sup> who commanded a guard upon the sea-point. He haled them to give an account who they were; which they refusing, he fired some cannon with powder; and about the same time they discovered the man-of-war lying within the sound. They ran out to sea with great precipitation, and strove to get in at another inlet by the island of Cumberland, where the Scotch from St. Andrews challenged them. They neither answered nor hung out colours, but rowed away in such haste that the same night they reached the Spanish outguards on St. John's River, near sixty miles distant.

Don Ignatio landed in the night, and had a conference with Don Pedro de Lamberto, the commander of the Spanish horse, who was come up by land to the lookout with one hundred sixty foot and fifty horse [soldiers]. They concluded by the two forts

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<sup>18</sup>That is, a prayer for one possessed by an evil spirit. CW almost certainly was using the text in Thomas Deacon, *A Complete Collection of Devotions, both Public and Private: Taken from the Apostolical Constitutions, the Ancient Liturgies, and the Common Prayer Book of the Church of England* (London: for the author, 1734), 46–47.

<sup>19</sup>For this and other surnames omitted by CW, see William Bacon Stevens, *A History of Georgia from its First Discovery by Europeans* (New York: Appleton, 1847), 147–48.

<sup>20</sup>Jekyll's Island is just south of St. Simons Island, and Jekyll's Sound is on its southern end.

<sup>21</sup>Apparently Philip Delegall Jr., whose father of the same name was a Lieutenant serving under Oglethorpe's command; see *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 1 (1917), 71.

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they had met with, and the man-of-war's being there, that all our strength lay at Frederica, and that we were weak at Fort St. George. Therefore resolved to try to surprise some of our boats, and upon their intelligence to leave their horses, carry over their men by water, and attack us the night following.

This was [1:41] on Wednesday. I, having discovered some fires on the Spanish main, concluded troops come down, and therefore, in order to make them delay attacking us till our succours should arrive on Thursday morning, I had two carriage guns and two swivel guns which we had brought with us carried into the woods, that the Spaniards might not distinguish where they were fired, and ordered the swivel guns to be discharged so often as to make a salute of seven, and with the carriage guns fired five shot in answer. The swivel guns, by reason of the smallness of the report, seemed like a ship at a distance saluting, and the carriage guns like batteries answering from the shore.

I set out with two boats and a flag of truce to meet the Spaniards. They concluded from the guns, as I have heard since, that there was a new strength arrived; in which they were confirmed by our boats rowing briskly toward them, on which their launch thought proper to make the best of her way toward [St.] Augustine. There the soldiers and boatmen, fatigued with over-labour, spread such dismal accounts magnifying our strength and diligence, in order to save their own reputation, that they created a general uproar among the people.

That night I had several fires made in the woods, some at two, some at three miles' distance from Point St. George. On Friday morning the foot and horse, under the command of Don Pedro, finding themselves abandoned by the launch, and therefore in no possibility of passing over into the island against us; and from the many fires in the woods collecting that the Creek Indians were come up; having [1:42] left a small guard of horse to observe our motions, retired in good order to [St.] Augustine. Their arrival doubled the confusion, they apprehending that if the Indians should cut off their communication by land, as the man-of-war might do by sea, they should perish by famine. The governor was obliged to call a council of war, in which the oldest officers, and indeed almost all, gave their opinion that the gentlemen sent by me should be immediately released and sent back in the most honourable manner, with an officer attending them, to treat with me and desire me to restrain the Indians from invading them; at the same time to ask me why we settled upon lands and territories belonging to the King of Spain.

Not knowing anything of these proceedings, except that the Spaniards were retired, I lay at Fort St. George from Thursday to Sunday, in which time fresh troops arrived. And falling all of us to work, with the officers and men of the King's sloop, who distinguished themselves upon this occasion, we mounted some guns upon the batteries along the river and got the fortifications in good forwardness; and having left the fort under the command of Captain Hermsdorf, retired with the utmost diligence to Frederica.

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There I found the King of the Uchees, with thirty men, who offered to assist me with hundred more against the Spaniards. King Tomochichi<sup>22</sup> was also there, with thirty men, and an account that several hundreds of the Creeks eagerly desired to fall upon the Spaniards. In three days I set out with a large *periagua* and fifty men, cannon, and provision for two months, two ten-oared boats, and the Indians in their own boats, to relieve St. [1:43] George, which I imagined by that time might be besieged. God was pleased to prosper us, so that about fifteen miles from St. George's, being fortunately an hour ahead of the rest of the boats, I met a Spanish boat with a flag of truce flying and Mr. Dempsey<sup>23</sup> and the gentlemen sent to [St.] Augustine in her, together with Don Pedro de Lamberto, captain of their troop horse, and Don Manuel [D'Arcy], secretary to the governor and adjutant of the garrison.

It was lucky the Indians were not foremost, for if they had been they would certainly have engaged the Spanish boat; which, as it was, I could hardly prevent by sending a ten-oared boat to guard them to Frederica. Then I ordered them to be received on board the man-of-war, where they dined with me. I received them with the greatest form I could, having a guard of the King's troops on the right hand, with their bayonets fixed, and on the left hand the Highlanders, with their targets and broad swords drawn.

After dinner we drank the King of Britain's and the King of Spain's health, under the discharge of the cannon from the ship, which was answered with fifteen pieces of cannon from Delegall's fort at the sea-point. That again was followed by the cannon from Fort St. Andrew, and that by those of Frederica and the Darien,<sup>24</sup> as I had before ordered. The Spaniards seemed extremely surprised that there should be so many forts, and all within hearing of one another. Don Pedro smiled and said, "No wonder Don Ignatio [Rosso] made more haste home than out."

After the healths were done, a great number of Indians came on [1:44] board, naked, painted, and their heads dressed in feathers. They demanded of me justice against the Spaniards for having killed some of their men in time of full peace. They farther proved that after the woman was taken, she was abused by numbers of men, and when she had satisfied their lust for two days, they inhumanly burned her alive.

Don Pedro, having asked several questions, acknowledged himself fully satisfied of the fact, excusing it by saying he was then in Mexico, and that the governor, being newly come from Spain and not knowing the customs of the country, had sent out Indians under the command of the Pohoia King of the Floridas, who had exceeded his orders, which were not to make war with the Creeks. But the Indians not being content with that

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<sup>22</sup>This is the most widely used spelling for this chief of the Yamacraw Indians, a branch of the Creek people. CW spells "Tomo-chachi."

<sup>23</sup>Charles Dempsey had been appointed by the Georgia Trustees to accompany Oglethorpe to Georgia and serve as an envoy in negotiations with the governor of the Spanish colony in Florida.

<sup>24</sup>The fortified camp for the Independent Company, on the north bank of the Altamaha River, about 15 miles north of Frederica (now Darien, Georgia).



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answer, he undertook that at his return to [St.] Augustine he would have the Pohoia King put to death, if he could be taken. And if he could not, that the Spaniards would supply his people with neither powder, arms, nor anything else, but leave them to the Creeks. The Indians answered that he spoke well, and if the Spaniards did what he said all should be white between them. But if not they would take revenge, from which, at my desire, they would abstain till a final answer came.

The Indian matters being thus settled, we had a conference with the Spanish commissioners. They thanked me first for my restraining the Indians who were in my power, and hoped I would extend that care to the upper Indians. They then, after having produced their credentials, presented a [1:45] paper, the contents whereof were to know by what title I settled upon St. Simons, being lands belonging to the King of Spain. I took the paper, promising an answer the next day. The substance was that the lands belonged to the King of England by undoubted right; that I had proceeded with the utmost caution, having taken with me Indians, the natives and possessors of those lands; that I had examined every place to see if there were any Spanish possessions, and went forward till I found an outguard of theirs, over against which I settled the English, without committing any hostilities or dislodging any. Therefore I did not extend the King's dominions, but only settled with regular garrisons that part of them which was before a shelter for Indians, pircks,<sup>25</sup> and such sort of disorderly men.

The rest of the evening we spent in conversation, which chiefly turned upon the convenience it would be, both to the Spaniards and English, to have regular garrisons in sight of each other. Don Pedro smiled and said he readily agreed to that, and should like very well to have their Spanish guard upon the south side of H——<sup>26</sup> River (which is within five miles of Charleston and where the Spaniards had a garrison in King Charles the First's time). I replied I thought it was better as it was, for there were a great many people living between who could never be persuaded to come into his sentiments. At last Don Pedro acquainted me that he thought the Spaniards would refer the settling of the limits to the courts of Europe, for which purpose he would write to their court, and in the meantime desired no hostilities might be committed and that I would send [1:46] up a commissary to sign with the governor an agreement to this purpose. I thereupon appointed Mr. Dempsey to be my commissary, and to return with them.

Don Pedro is the ruling man in [St.] Augustine, and has more interest with the Council of War than the governor. As he passed by St. George's Point, he sent a whole ox as a present to their garrison. He gave me some sweetmeats and chocolate. I gave him a gold watch, a gun, and fresh provisions. To Don Manuel I gave a silver watch, and sent back a boat to escort them. If the Spaniards had committed any hostilities, I could, by the help of the Indians, have destroyed [St.] Augustine with great facility. But God be praised that by his blessing, the diligence of Dempsey, and the prudence of Don Pedro, all bloodshed was avoided.

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<sup>25</sup>*OED* defines "pirck" as a person who behaves "proudly, impudently, or conceitedly."

<sup>26</sup>There is a blank space in the MS Journal at this point, suggesting CW was unsure of the name. It is identified as the Edisto River in Oglethorpe's letters.

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**Saturday, May 29.** At 10:00 this evening I first met my traders at Mr. Causton's,<sup>27</sup> the head bailiff, as I did some or other of them every day for some weeks.

**Monday, May 31.** About noon Mr. Oglethorpe sent us word that he was going to court. We went and heard his speech to the people, in the close of which he said, "If anyone here has been abused or oppressed by any man, in or out of employment, he has free and full liberty of complaining. Let him deliver in his complaints in writing at my house. I will read them all over by myself, and do every particular man justice."

At 8:00 in the evening I waited upon him and found the three magistrates, who seemed much alarmed by his speech and hoped he would not discourage government. He dismissed [1:47] them and told me he feared his following my brother's advice, in hearing all complaints, would ruin the people and he should never have any to serve him. I replied I thought the contrary, and that such liberty was the happiest thing that could happen to the colony, and much to be desired by all *good* men. He fell, I know not how, into talk of Frederica and said:

**[Oglethorpe:]** ["Your brother read me his diary, which astonished me to the last degree, and fully convinced me of your innocence. For if Mrs. Welch could so blacken me, she could you. Accordingly, she came crying to me upon my arrival, with complaints that you had confined her husband, and come to bed to her. I asked her why she would suffer it. She said, out of fear, and to save her husband's life. From that time I shuddered at the sight of you. It was such a complication of villainy! To make a fool of poor Hermsdorf; to half kill the miserable husband by keeping him three days under a tree; to take that opportunity of ruining his wife—and all under the mask of religion! I could not bear you, or suppress my strong antipathy. She told me you was continually soliciting her to walk with you into the woods, and had persecuted her throughout the voyage, and had now actually ruined her. I asked whether she would witness this openly against you. She answered, 'No, by no means.' She would not be brought in evidence against you (observing, I suppose, that I did not appear froward enough for it). 'But why then,' said I, 'did you tell it [to] me? You must now be silent and keep it to yourself.' 'Would,' said she, 'would you have me continually priest-ridden?' I had intended, if she would have stood to her charge, to have sent for you and tried you before all the people, pulled off the mask and punished you with the utmost severity, especially when I heard from your brother of your having defamed me with Mrs. Hawkins. I thought you a very devil, so to divert all inquiries into your own guilt by throwing the charge upon me! I had entirely excommunicated you [from] my little church within, and determined to make an example of you. Everything concurred to convince me of your guilt: All you did and said. Your very silence and shyness. Your telling me you should be cut off from doing good to one half of your parishioners if I did not vindicate you from Mrs. Hawkins's aspersions. Your particular tenderness over Mrs. Welch on the ship. Your seeing her since; especially when your brother was here, running thither continually and staying till midnight—for I had you dogged for several days. All men would have condemned you upon your trial, the circumstances were so strong. And tried and sentenced you would infallibly have been, but that I considered the effect it would have upon religion. That that should be wounded through your sides I could not bear. Your history would be made a play or novel of. The

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<sup>27</sup>Thomas Causton (b. c. 1692) had arrived in Georgia in Feb. 1733 and was currently the "public store" keeper in Savannah. See *Georgia Settlers*, 9.

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character you had in your former life, your coming here a missionary, would altogether have made as good a story as Madame Cellier's.<sup>28</sup>

[[“These thoughts first staggered me; but above all, your uncle!<sup>29</sup> His triumph over you and religion turned the scale. And I verily believe God sent me that night to be insulted by him, to save you.”

[CW:] [[“But what did you think of my former life, and my end in coming hither?”

[Oglethorpe:] [[“I thought you was then sincere. But never meeting with any woman before, and being perhaps sometimes encouraged and sometimes checked by an artful woman, was drawn in unawares into such depths of wickedness, and was now wholly given up and abandoned to the power of the devil.”

[CW:] [[“But my guilt would [1:48] never have been believed by my friends in England.”

[Oglethorpe:] [[“The good who did believe it would think you fell as Santon Barsisa.”<sup>30</sup>

[CW:] [[I said among other things: “The reason of my shyness was the opinion I had entertained of you from Mrs. Welch’s account, which I am now at liberty to mention since you know it already, in great measure from my brother. I thought you as very a devil as you thought me. The character she had given me of you was, if possible, worse than mine. She knew three of your mistresses in England. She was herself seduced by you, as well as Mrs. Hawkins. You believed no more of Christianity than Mahomet; was a truly wicked man, and intended to take away my life. I expected no other for many days, never hoping to come alive from Frederica. What freed me at once of all anxiety was a word of Scripture: ‘Thou canst not follow me now, but thou shalt follow me hereafter’.”<sup>31</sup>

[Oglethorpe:] [[He then assured me of his firm belief of the Christian revelation, “which alone,” said he, “has tied my hands, and hampered me from putting an end to a miserable life.”

[CW:] [[“But when,” said I, “did you first begin to suspect that I might be innocent?”

[Oglethorpe:] [[He answered, “Not till I went to the southward, as I thought upon certain death. For upon your saying in my tent: ‘If you can believe this you must think me a most complete villain.’ Alas, thought I, you well know what a villain I ought to think you!”

[CW:] [[“What was it at last that convinced you of the contrary?”

[Oglethorpe:] [[“A dream made the first impression upon me, while I was asleep in a boat towards the southward. The manner is not all exact, but I never knew a dream deceive me. I thought you came to me and said something which quite convinced me of your innocence. This, when I waked, put me upon reconsidering everything. What sprung the first doubt was what I had observed from the beginning, that Mrs. Welch was an exceedingly subtle woman. Next, her

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<sup>28</sup>Elizabeth Cellier, a midwife and convert to Roman Catholicism, gained notoriety in late seventeenth-century England by publishing an account vindicating herself from the accusation of plotting to charge several leading Protestants, including the King’s son, with treason.

<sup>29</sup>Matthew Wesley (1667–1737), Samuel Sr.’s brother, and a London apothecary.

<sup>30</sup>Oglethorpe is referring to a popular Islamic legend about a saintly ascetic named Barsisa who succumbed to temptation and seduced a woman.

<sup>31</sup>John 13:36.

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telling me the story of you, and stopping short when she observed me, as she thought, not sufficiently froward to destroy you.”

[CW:] [[“But you told me just as you went to the southward that you was satisfied.”

[Oglethorpe:] [[“I did so, and I was satisfied then at least of your being penitent.”

[CW:] [[“Did what I said conduce to it?”

[Oglethorpe:] [[“No. It was your looks, so sad, so pale and mortified! That I could not but say unto myself, This man must either be innocent, or deeply penitent. Whichever it is, it is the same to me. I am going to cast myself in death upon the mercy of God, and shall I refuse forgiveness to my fellow creature? No, I will not only forgive him, but so forgive him as I would God should forgive me; leave him entirely easy and satisfied. All this I tell you that you may give God the glory for your deliverance, and beware of man. But I did not tell it [to] your brother. Pride, I own, hindered me, lest my relating what Mrs. Welch had said of you immediately upon his telling me what she had said of me might look like retaliation. A second reason was my regard for him, for he would doubt my having entirely renounced my ill opinion of you. And as to what is past, though he forgive, he will never forget it. You, I am satisfied, will be tender of the poor unhappy woman, as I was, leaving her full of comfort, though I am determined never to mention one word of all this to her, and desire you would not.”

[CW:] [[“That I can readily promise, for my intercourse with her is over. I am no longer obliged to look upon her as one of my charge, and shall never speak to her of this matter. Indeed, my caution in conversing with her did not spring from any fear of these consequences, but from an advice of Spangenberg’s,<sup>32</sup> ‘never to talk with a woman without witness, or in the face of the sun.’ I followed his directions, but did not see the providential reason of it til now.”]]

[1:49]

**June 1736**

**Sunday, June 6.**<sup>1</sup> I passed good part of this as of every day in conversing with Mr. [Peter] Appee, who generally breakfasted and supped at our house. The subject of our discourse was my intention of resigning my place, which I resolved to do after my last conference with Mr. Oglethorpe. The giving up my salary and certain hopes of preferment weighed nothing against my resolution. I made Mr. [Peter] Appee a proffer of them, which he did not accept, being obliged to return to look after his fortune in Holland.

**Tuesday, June 8.** I was present at court, and heard the accusations against Mr. [Thomas] Causton, who stood by while Parker,<sup>2</sup> the first tribune of the people, on whom the malcontents had built all their hopes, brought the heaviest charges I suppose that could be brought against

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<sup>32</sup>Rev. August Gottlieb Spangenberg (1704–92), a Moravian pastor who had come to Georgia in 1733 as part of Oglethorpe’s first efforts in establishing the colony. There is an initial “s” stroke before the name, which was likely a hesitation on CW’s part.

<sup>1</sup>A notation on CW’s manuscript sermon on Ps. 126:7 indicates that it was preached this Sunday in Savannah; see MARC, MA 1977/608/2, front cover.

<sup>2</sup>Henry Parker, a linen draper, had arrived with his family in Savannah in Aug. 1733. See *Georgia Settlers*, 39.

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him. But they were so incredible, trifling, and childish that I thought them a full vindication of the magistrates, and admired Mr. Oglethorpe's patience in hearing them.

**Wednesday, June 16.** This and many foregoing days have been mostly spent in drawing up bonds, affidavits, licences, and instructions for the traders; the evenings in writing letters for Mr. Oglethorpe. We seldom parted till midnight. Tonight, at half-hour past 12:00, he set out in the scoutboat for Frederica. I went to bed at 1:00 and rose again at 4:00, but found no effect this variety of fatigue had upon my body till some time after.

**Sunday, June 20.**<sup>3</sup> Walking in the trustees' garden, I met the Miss Boveys,<sup>4</sup> whom I had never been in company with. I found some inclination to join them, but it was a very short-lived curiosity.

**Saturday, June 26.** Mr. Oglethorpe and my brother returned from Frederica.

[1:50]

**July 1736**

**Thursday, July 1.** I was at court while the Creek Indians had an audience of Mr. Oglethorpe, which I took down (as several afterwards) in shorthand.

**Wednesday, July 7.** Between 4:00 and 5:00 this morning Mr. [Charles] Delamotte and I went into the Savannah [river]. We chose this hour for bathing both for the coolness and because the alligators were not stirring so soon. We heard them indeed snoring all around us, and one very early riser swam by within a few yards of us.

\*<sup>1</sup> On Friday morning we had hardly left our usual place of swimming when we saw an alligator in possession of it. Once afterwards Mr. Delamotte was in great danger, for an alligator rose just behind him and pursued him to the land, whither he narrowly escaped.

**Saturday, July 10.** I was waked by the news my brother brought us of Miss [Rebecca] Bovey's sudden death.<sup>2</sup> It called up all my sorrow and envy. "Ah, poor Ophelia!" was continually in my mind, "I thought thou shouldst have been my Hamlet's wife."<sup>3</sup> Mr. Appee was just set out for Charleston [on his way to] Holland, intending to return when he had settled his affairs and marry her.

But death had quicker wings than love.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>CW preached this day an abridged version of the sermon on 1 Kings 18:21 that he had given earlier on the Isle of Man. This abridged version survives in manuscript (MARC, MA 1977/608/1), with notation of this occasion on the front cover.

<sup>4</sup>Rebecca Bovey and her sister Margaret, who would marry James Burnside in Mar. 1737. See *Georgia Settlers*, 66.

<sup>1</sup>CW's asterisk in the left margin likely marked this as an instance of providential care.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. JW's *Journal*, July 10–12, 1736, *Works*, 18:164–65.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, Act V, Scene 1.

<sup>4</sup>The last line of "Epigram, from the Greek," by Samuel Wesley Jr., *Poems on Several Occasions* (London: E. Say, 1736), 81.

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The following evening I saw her in her coffin, and soon after in her grave.

**Wednesday, July 21.** I heard by my brother that I was to set sail in a few days for England.

**Thursday, July 22.** Today I got their licences signed by Mr. Oglethorpe, countersigned them myself, and so entirely washed my hands of the traders.

**Sunday, July 25.**<sup>5</sup> I resigned my secretary's place in a letter to Mr. Oglethorpe. After prayers he took me aside and asked me whether all I had said was not summed up in the line he showed me on my letter:

*Magis apta tuis tua dona relinquo.*<sup>6</sup>

[1:51]

Sir, to yourself your slighted gifts I leave,  
Less fit for me to take, than you to give.<sup>7</sup>

I answered, I desired not to lose his esteem, but could not preserve it with the loss of my soul.

He answered he was satisfied of my regard for him, owned my argument drawn from the heart unanswerable, and yet, said he, "I would desire you not to let the trustees know your resolution of resigning. There are many hungry fellows ready to catch at the office, and in my absence I cannot put in one of my own choosing. The best I can hope for is an honest Presbyterian, as many of the trustees are such. Perhaps they may send me a bad man, and how far such an one may influence the traders and obstruct the reception of the gospel among the heathen, you know. I shall be in England before you leave it. Then you may either put in a deputy or resign.

"You need not be detained in London above three days, and only speak to some of my particular friends (Vernon, Hutchinson, and Tower<sup>8</sup>), to the Board of Trustees, when called upon, and to the Board of Trade.

"On many accounts I should recommend to you marriage, rather than celibacy. You are of a social temper, and would find in a marriage state the difficulties of working out your salvation exceedingly lessened, and your helps as much increased."

**Monday, July 26.** The words which concluded the lesson, and my stay in Georgia, were, "Arise, let us go hence."<sup>9</sup> Accordingly at 12:00, I took my final leave of Savannah. When the boat put off, I was surprised that I felt no more joy in leaving such a scene of sorrows. [1:52]

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<sup>5</sup>CW preached this morning his sermon on Luke 16:8 borrowed from JW; see MARC, MA 1977/608/5, front cover (JW, *Works*, 4:360).

<sup>6</sup>Cf. Horace, *Epistles*, I.vii.43: "*Atride, magis apta tibi tua dona relinquam.*"

<sup>7</sup>This poetic translation may be CW's own. More literally, Horace's text reads:

[Son of Atreus,] your gifts are better suited to yourself,  
I shall leave them for you to use.

<sup>8</sup>James Vernon (1677–1756), Archibald Hutchinson (1659–1740), and Thomas Tower (c. 1688–1778; CW spells "Towers").

<sup>9</sup>John 14:31.

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**Saturday, July 31.** I arrived with my brother at Charleston. Lay that night at an inn. Next morning I was much rejoiced at hearing Mr. Appee was still in town, waiting for my company to England. His ingenuous, open temper, and disengagement from the world, made me promise myself a very improving and agreeable voyage—especially as I doubted not but the sudden death of his mistress had taken off that appearance of lightness, which I attributed rather to his youth and education than any natural inconstancy. After breakfasting with Mr. Eveleigh,<sup>10</sup> a merchant who had bespoke lodgings for us, I went in quest of my friend. We met with equal satisfaction on both sides, but I did not observe those deep traces of sorrow and seriousness which I expected. I asked him whether his loss had had its due effect, in making his heart more tender and susceptible of divine impressions. By his answer I concluded his heart was right, and its uppermost desire to recover the divine image.

Something of this desire I felt myself at the holy sacrament, and found myself encouraged, by an unusual hope of pardon, to strive against sin.

**August 1736**

**Monday, August 2.** I had observed much, and heard more, of the cruelty of masters towards their negroes. But now I received an authentic account of some horrid instances thereof. The giving a child a slave of its own age to tyrannize over, to beat and abuse out of sport, was, I myself saw, a common practice. Nor is it strange that being thus trained up in cruelty, they should afterwards arrive at so great perfection in it. [1:53] That Mr. Star, a gentleman I often met at Mr. Laserre's,<sup>1</sup> should (as he himself informed Laserre) first nail up a negro by the ears, then order him to be whipped in the severest manner, and then to have scalding water thrown all over him, so that the poor creature could not stir for four months after. Another much applauded punishment is drawing their slaves' teeth. One Colonel Lynch is universally known to have cut off a poor negro's legs, and to kill several of them every year by his barbarities.<sup>2</sup>

It were endless to recount all the shocking instances of diabolical cruelty which these men (as they call themselves) daily practice upon their fellow creatures, and that on the most trivial occasions. I shall only mention one more, related to me by a Swiss gentleman, Mr. Zouberbuhler,<sup>3</sup> an eyewitness of Mr. Hill, a dancing master in Charleston. He whipped a she-slave so long, that she fell down at his feet for dead. When by the help of a physician she was so far recovered as to show signs of life, he repeated the whipping with equal rigour, and concluded

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<sup>10</sup>Samuel Eveleigh (d. 1738). CW spells "Eveley."

<sup>1</sup>Apparently William Laserre, a merchant, whose estate was settled Oct. 13, 1741 in Charleston; *Charleston County Wills* (1741–48), 125.

<sup>2</sup>Thomas Lynch (1675–1752), buried in St. Philips church, Charleston.

<sup>3</sup>Sebastian Zouberbuhler (c. 1715–73), served as an agent for Samuel Waldo, who speculated in land in South Carolina and Massachusetts. He voyaged with CW back to England, where he ran into financial difficulties (see CW's public letter/affidavit seeking aid for Zouberbuhler dated Feb. 7, 1740). Zouberbuhler, returned to North America by 1750, had settled in Nova Scotia. He was living in Lunenburg at the time of his death.

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with dropping hot sealing wax upon her flesh. Her crime was overflowing a teacup.

These horrid cruelties are the less to be wondered at, because the government itself in effect countenances and allows them to kill their slaves by the ridiculous penalty appointed for it, of about seven pounds sterling (half of which is usually saved by the criminal's informing against himself). This I can look upon as no other than a public act to indemnify murder.

**Sunday, August 8.**<sup>4</sup>

**Wednesday, August 11.**<sup>5</sup> Coming on board our ship, I found the honest captain had let my cabin to another.<sup>6</sup> My flux and fever that has hung upon me forced me for some nights past to go into a bed. But now my only bed [1:54] was a chest, on which I threw myself in my boots, and was not overmuch troubled with sleep till the morning. What was still worse, I then had no asylum to fly to from the captain, the most beastly man I ever saw, a lewd, drunken, quarrelsome fool; praying and yet swearing continually. The first sight I had of him was upon the cabin floor, stark naked, and dead drunk.

**Friday, August 13.** The wind was still contrary, so that we were forced to lie off the bar about five miles from Charleston.

**Monday, August 16.** A faint breeze springing up, the pilot, weary of waiting a week to no purpose, said he would venture over the bar, though he feared there was not water enough. Accordingly we attempted it, and had got above half of the two miles between us and the sea when a violent squall arose and drove the ship before it with incredible swiftness. Before it began we were almost becalmed, so that it saved the ship at least from being aground, though with the immediate hazard both of that and our lives. The sailors were in great consternation, expecting to be stranded every moment. The pilot cursed the ship most heartily, and the hour he set foot in her. Having scraped along the ground for some minutes before, the ship at last stuck. She got clear, and stuck fast a second time and immediately fell into seven fathom water.

The mate afterwards told me it was thousand to one but she had been lost by the captain's folly and ignorance, in letting fly the mainsail while we stuck on the bar—which was the surest way to fix her there, as it must have done had we not been then on the very edge of it.

**Tuesday, August 17.** We were much surprised, the passengers I mean, at finding, as soon as over the bar, that two of our twelve sailors were obliged [1:55] to pump every half-hour.

**Monday, August 23.** I rose in the night to appease a quarrel between the second mate and the captain, who was continually interrupting the officers in their duty, giving out, as they informed me, such orders as would, if followed, cost them the ship and their lives. His indignation at present was occasioned by their furling some of the sails in the greatest squall we have yet met with.

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<sup>4</sup>The manuscript text of this sermon, which CW copied from JW, has survived (MARC, DDCW 8/13). A transcription is available in JW, *Works*, 4:351–59. CW's notation of preaching on this date is found on p. 34 of DDCW 8/13.

<sup>5</sup>A slightly abridged extract of Aug. 11 to Sept. 22, 1736 in CW's hand is present in MARC (MA 1977/503, Box 4, item #15). It contains no significant variants.

<sup>6</sup>The ship was the *London Galley*; the captain was Cornelius Jeudevine (as given in the *South Carolina Gazette*, June 19, 1736).



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**Thursday, August 25.** We saw a brigantine standing to the windward of us, but quickly lost sight of her. Had she come near us, Mr. Appee and I intended to have gone on board her, for we cannot yet believe we shall come to England in this ship.

**Friday, August 26.** We came to an allowance of water, the captain knowing nothing of what we had on board till the officers informed him. Indeed at his rate of drinking we must quickly come to a shorter allowance, for while any of his half-hogshead of rum remains, here will be nothing but punch and drams, and drunkenness without end.

This morning Mr. Appee laid aside his mask. He began by telling me all Mr. Oglethorpe had ever said to him, particularly his inmost thoughts of my brother and me. That he ridiculed our pretended fasting in the ship. That he took all my abstemiousness for mere hypocrisy, and put on for fear of my brother, for he saw how very uneasy I was under the restraint. That he much blamed my carelessness, my closeness, my frightening the people, and stirring them up to mutiny, etc. That he found I apprehended being turned out of my office, and therefore pretended to be weary of it. That to save my reputation he had found me an errand to England, but never expected my [1:56] return, any more than my brother's going to the Indians, which he well knew he never intended, but he would make his own use of him. That he greatly admired his *finesse* in offering to go to the Choctaws in all haste, but at the same time procuring the Germans to dissuade him. In a word, he believed him to have a little sincerity, but more vanity; me to have much vanity, but no sincerity at all.

I asked Appee whether his judgment was the same? He answered, "Yes." That my brother, he believed, was labouring to establish a character for sanctity, was exceedingly subtle, keeping me in the dark as well as all others, yet credulous and easy to be imposed upon himself. That he pitied his ignorance in taking him (Appee) to be sincere, particularly in regard to his breaking off with Miss [Rebecca] Bovey—which he intended not in pursuance of his ghostly advice but of Mr. Oglethorpe's, who had told him she was below one of his aspiring genius. That after his fine talk with my brother he never made the least alteration in his own behaviour, or thought any farther about it.

While he was giving this blessed account of himself I could not help reflecting on the profound sagacity and spiritual discernment of my brother and myself—particularly *his*, who was born for the benefit of knaves. *Si vult decipi decipiatur.*<sup>7</sup> For my own part, I will never imitate, I will ever beware of men, as he who best knows them advises. I will not think all men rogues till I find them otherwise (according to Appee's avowed principle), but I will insist upon a far different probation from what my brother requires before I take anyone into my confidence!

[1:57]

I next enquired what his thoughts were of me. He frankly replied he took me to be partly in earnest, but I had a much greater mind to please myself than to please God. That as for money, I did not much value it, but in my eagerness for pleasure and praise I was a man after his own heart. That as I could not hold it, he wished I would leave off my strictness, for I should then be much better company.

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<sup>7</sup>A shortened version of a Latin proverb: *Si populus vult decipi, decipiatur* (If the crowd wants to be deceived, let them be deceived).

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As for himself, he said his only principle was an insatiable thirst of glory. That Georgia was too narrow a sphere for him, and therefore he should never see it more. That he desired my friendship, because I had learning, was sincere, and of his temper. But he should like me much better if I were not a parson. I had before let him into my own affairs, and read him my letter of resignation to Mr. Oglethorpe. His remark upon that was, "It is finely calculated for the end you propose, the engaging Mr. Oglethorpe's opinion and interest, but he will understand you."

**Saturday, August 28.** After a restless, tempestuous night, I hardly rose at 8:00. Our happier captain, having got his dose, could sleep a day and a night upon the stretch, and defy either pumps or squall to wake him.

**Monday, August 30.** At noon we were alarmed by an outcry of the sailors at their having continued pumping several hours without being able to keep the water under. They desired the captain to put into some port before they were got out to sea too far for returning, but he was too drunk to regard them. At 5:00 the sailors came down in a body to the great cabin, waked and told him it was much as their lives were worth to proceed on the voyage unless their leaks were stopped. That he remembered [1:58] it was as much as ever they could do to keep the ship above water in their passage from Boston, being forced to pump without ceasing. That the turpentine fell down upon and choked up the pumps continually. Nor was it possible for them to get at it, or to hold out in such continual labour, which made them so thirsty they could not live on their allowance of water. That they must come to shorter still through his neglect to take in five more hogsheads of water, as his mate advised him. That one of them, Benjamin Arnold, had been forced to drink his own water. That he owned they had no candles for half of the voyage. On all which accounts they begged him to consider whether their common safety did not require them to put in at some land for more water and candles, and above all to stop their leaks. The captain, having now slept out his rum, replied, "To be sure, the men talked reason," and without consulting any of his officers immediately gave orders to stand away for Boston.

**September 1736**

**Saturday, September 4.** Appee laid a train for the captain and betrayed him into talking lewdly, for which I reprov'd him too sharply and thereby increased his beastliness. He abused me plentifully, till I ceased to take any notice of him. In the evening he set upon me again, but I turned from him and talked Latin to Zouberbuhler. This made him more outrageous. He blew out the candle by which I was writing. Zouberbuhler lit it, and he blew it out again. On which we all set upon him, I only talking Latin or Greek. He told me I was drunk, mad, an emissary, a Jesuit, a devil; but could not get one English word from me. The gentlemen, particularly Appee, [1:59] baited him to his heart's content. And having laughed upon the stretch till near midnight, we then suffered the poor beast to return to his litter.

The next day we said neither good nor bad to him, but he was not so continent of speech. His indignation was mostly vented upon me, "the arch rebel," as he called me, for "my audacious talk." In the evening he again put out Zouberbuhler's candle, upon which Appee pulled out the spicket of the rum and let it run about the cabin. This was the cruelest punishment [that] could have been devised and farther heightened by our mirth at his inimitable resentment. Zouberbuhler lighted up the candle in his own cabin every now and then, bringing it into the great cabin, and when the captain (whose motions were none of the nimblest) had come out of

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bed to put it out, Zouberbuhler carried it back again. He called down his men ten times, ordering them to bind us in our beds, to ours and their no small diversion. He offered to get the candle in Zouberbuhler's cabin, but the Swiss stood sentinel at his cabin door and they might as well have wrenched a bone from Cerberus.<sup>1</sup> The captain gave it over as impossible, drank a hearty dram, and dropped asleep.

[**Sunday, September 12.**<sup>2</sup>]

**Wednesday, September 15.** This is the first time I have heard a sailor confess, "It was a storm." We lay under our mainsail and let the ship drive, being by conjecture about sixty leagues from Boston, upon George's Bank though, as we hoped, past the shoals in it. The captain never troubled himself about anything, but lay snoring even in such a night as the last, though frequently called, without ever stirring either for squalls or soundings or shoals.

In the afternoon the mate came down [1:60] having sounded and found forty, and soon after twenty fathom, told the captain he apprehended coming into shallower water still. And therefore it would be necessary to reef the foresail and mainsail in readiness, that in case we fell foul of the shallows (being upon George's Bank and in a storm), the ship might have headway to get clear again. This the captain absolutely refused and, though told it could do no possible harm and might be the saving of the ship and us, persisted in his obstinacy. So that the mate left him to sleep, and the ship to take care of itself. But it pleased God to abate the storm and, on Thursday, about 12:00, entirely to remove it.

**Monday, September 20.** At 7:00 Mr. Graham, the first mate, came to ask for directions, as he constantly does, the captain as constantly shifting him off and leaving the whole management of the ship to him, or chance, or anybody. The conversation being somewhat remarkable, I took it down in shorthand, as they were speaking.<sup>3</sup>

**Mate:** "Captain Indivine,<sup>4</sup> what would you have us do? What course would you have us to steer tonight?"

**Capt.:** "Even what course you will, we have a fair wind."

**Mate:** "Yes sir, and it drives us full upon the land, which cannot be many leagues off."

**Capt.:** "Then I think you had best keep forward."

**Mate:** "Would you have us go on all night, and venture running upon the land?"

**Capt.:** "I don't know. Go on."

**Mate:** "But there are shallows and rocks before us."

**Capt.:** "Why then, have a good lookout."

**Mate:** "But you cannot see twice the ship's length. What would you order me to do?"

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<sup>1</sup>In Greek Mythology, Cerebus was the three-headed watch dog of the underworld.

<sup>2</sup>CW preached this day on board the *London Galley* the abridged version of his sermon on 1 Kings 18:21; see MARC, MA 1977/608/1, flyleaf.

<sup>3</sup>The account in MS Journal is in longhand; expanded from the initial shorthand notes.

<sup>4</sup>So CW spells the French surname. The name as given in the *South Carolina Gazette*, June 19, 1736, was Cornelius Judevine ("Judevine" in London baptismal records for his son).

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**Capt.:** “These rebels and emissaries have excited you to come and ask for orders. I don’t know what you mean.” [1:61]

**Mate:** “Sir, nobody has excited me. I come, as it is my duty, to my captain for directions.”

**Capt.:** “Have you a mind to quarrel with me?”

**Mate:** “I have a mind to know what you will do.”

**Capt.:** “Nay, what will you do if it come to that?”

**Mate:** “Am I your captain? Or you mine?”

**Capt.:** “I am your captain, and will make you know it, Mr. Man.<sup>5</sup> Do what I order you, for you must and shall.”

**Mate:** “Why sir, you order me nothing.”

**Capt.:** “You would not have me come upon deck myself, sure.”

**Mate:** “If you did, I should not think it would be much amiss. Some captains would not have stirred off deck a moment in such a night as this. Here you lie, without so much as ever once looking out, to see how things are.”

**Capt.:** “Yes, I have been upon deck this very day.”

**Mate:** “But you have taken no account of anything, or given yourself the least trouble about the ship for many days past.”

**Capt.:** “It is all one for that. I know where we are exactly.”

**Mate:** “How far do you think we may be from land?”

**Capt.:** “Why just thirty-five leagues. I am sure of it.”

**Mate:** “How is that possible? You have taken no observation this fortnight, nor have we got one these four days.”

**Capt.:** “No matter for that. I know we are safe.”

**Mate:** “The most skilful sailor alive cannot know it. Be pleased only to declare what you would have done. Shall we sail on? Shall we lay by? Shall we alter our course? Shall we stand in and off?”

He went on repeating such questions again and again. But as to giving an answer, the captain chose to be excused, till the mate, quite out of patience, having waited an hour to no purpose, left him. And the captain (concluded all with) “Jack, give me a dram!” [1:62]

**Tuesday, September 21.** The sailors, who were upon deck all night, saw three large ships coming as they supposed out of the bay, but in vain attempted to speak with them. At 3:00 I was waked by a cry of “Land.” The mate said we were just upon it, for he saw the light of the watchhouse, and if they did not tack about immediately they would be upon the rocks which lay just before them under the water. At the same time it blew a storm. The uproar was so great that it even waked the captain, who started up, ran to his rum, drank an hearty draught, and then looked upon deck, but not much liking things there, came down again immediately, cried, “Aye, aye; all will be well,” and dropped asleep again.

**Wednesday, September 22.** Having sailed for some hours without discovering land, we began to think the light which the mate had seen was of some ship, and not the lighthouse. At

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<sup>5</sup>Remember, his name was actually “Graham.”

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2:00 we made land, which the men soon found to be Cape Cod, about eighteen leagues from Boston. The wind blew from shore, yet we kept our course. At midnight the storm gave place to a calm. These have constantly succeeded each other since our leaving Charleston.

**Thursday, September 23.** The fineness of the weather invited even Mr. Appee upon deck, who usually disposes of twenty-three of the twenty-four hours in bed. His vanity betrayed him into farther discoveries of himself. He laboured to show me the only difference between us lay in externals, through the difference of our education. I had the same views that he had, but was forced by the restraints of a narrower education to dissemble those inclinations which he had given a loose to. The case was the same with [1:63] my brother—a much better hypocrite, he said, than me, and who would have made an excellent Jesuit. But Mr. Oglethorpe understood him, though for his own convenience he would not seem to do so.

Upon my asking him how he accounted for the great pains my brother had taken with him, he readily answered, “That was all grimace. My brother could not but be mightily pleased with the reputation such a convert would gain to his sanctity, which had charms to win over so wild a young gentleman of his parts.” But how could you bear him so long, if you had no esteem for him, or regard to his advice? “Why, it was so new a gratification to me to be thought religious, that I found no difficulty in keeping on the mask, and I had got such a knack of going to prayers and sacrament that I don’t know but I should have been actually caught at last.”

**Friday, September 24.** Being within sight of the lighthouse, at 9:00 in the morning the pilot came on board us. At 2:00 I gladly obeyed his hasty summons, and went into his boat with the other passengers, bidding an hearty farewell to our wretched ship and more wretched captain, who for the last two days had, most happily for us, lain dead drunk on the floor without sense or motion.

I was at leisure now to contemplate a prospect entirely new, and beautiful beyond all I had ever seen. We sailed smoothly on in a vast basin, as it seemed, bounded on all sides with small innumerable islands. Some of these were entire rock, in height and colour not unlike Dover Cliffs; others steep, and covered with woods. Here and there [1:64] lay a round hill entirely clothed with green, and all at such equal distances that the passages seemed artificially made to admit the narrow streams between.

Having passed one of these passages, we were presented with a new set of hills and rocks and woods, in endless variety, till we came to the Castle,<sup>6</sup> three miles from Boston. From thence we had a full view of the town, stretched out a mile and a half upon the shore in a semicircle. We landed at Long Wharf, which we walked straight up, having a row of houses on one side and near 200 sail of ships on the other. Lodged in a public house. Went to bed at 11:00. Appee followed me, drunk, between 1:00 and 2:00 in the morning.

**Saturday, September 25.** Called several times at Mr. Price, the commissary’s, before I found him at home.<sup>7</sup> At first he looked as not believing me to be a clergyman (my ship clothes not being the best credentials). But when I returned in my habit (Dr. Cutler having met him

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<sup>6</sup>Castle Island, in Boston harbor, the fortified defense for the city of Boston.

<sup>7</sup>Roger Price (1696–1762) had been appointed by Bishop Gibson as commissary for episcopal clergy in New England in 1730.

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meantime, and informed him of me<sup>8</sup>), he received me very cordially, and pressed me to live with him while I stayed in Boston.

**Sunday, September 26.** Preached in the morning at Dr. Cutler's church,<sup>9</sup> in the afternoon at Mr. Price's,<sup>10</sup> on "the one thing needful."<sup>11</sup>

In the evening I first fell into company with Mr. John Checkley, a right honest zealous advocate for the Church of England, who has on that account, been cruelly persecuted by the Presbyterians.<sup>12</sup>

**Thursday, September 30.** In the morning I waited upon the governor.<sup>13</sup> At noon Mr. Miller, a good-natured clergyman, visited me.<sup>14</sup> The rest of this and the following day I employed [1:65] in writing to my friends at Charleston.

**October 1736**

**Friday, October 1.** Wrote to my brother concerning my return to Georgia, which I found myself inclined to refer wholly to God.<sup>1</sup>

**Saturday, October 2.** I rode out with Mr. Price in his chaise to see the country, which is wonderfully delightful. The only passage out of town is a neck of land about 200 yards over, all the rest being encircled with the sea. The temperate air, the clear rivulets, and the beautiful hills and dales which we everywhere met with seemed to present the very reverse of Georgia.

**Sunday, October 3.** After near two months' want of it, I again enjoyed the benefit of the sacrament, which I assisted Dr. Cutler to administer. I preached on "There the wicked cease from troubling, [and] there the weary are at rest."<sup>2</sup> As I did again in the afternoon for Mr. Price, though I found my strength sensibly abated.

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<sup>8</sup>Timothy Cutler (1684–1765) a graduate of Harvard, served as rector at Yale from 1719–22, when he was dismissed because of his growing doubts about Congregational orders. He visited England for a year, where he was ordained into the Church of England and received a D.D. degree from both Oxford and Cambridge. He then returned to Boston and was named rector of the newly formed Christ Church, Boston.

<sup>9</sup>Christ Church, Boston (now known also as "Old North Church").

<sup>10</sup>Price also served as rector of King's Chapel, Boston.

<sup>11</sup>JW's sermon on Luke 10:42.

<sup>12</sup>John Checkley (1680–1754). Cf. *The Speech of Mr. John Checkley, upon his trial at Boston in New England ...* (London: J. Applebee, 1738). CW spells "Chicheley."

<sup>13</sup>Jonathan Belcher (1681/2–1757) was currently colonial governor of Massachusetts.

<sup>14</sup>Rev. Ebenezer Miller (d. 1763) was rector of Christ Church in Braintree, and the brother-in-law of John Checkley. CW spells "Millar."

<sup>1</sup>See CW to JW, Oct. 1–6, 1736.

<sup>2</sup>Job 3:17; CW was almost certainly preaching JW's 1735 published sermon on this text; see *The Trouble and Rest of Good Men*, JW, *Works*, 3:533–41.

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**Monday, October 4.** I rode with Mr. and Mrs. Price,<sup>3</sup> Dr. Cutler (his son [John],<sup>4</sup> and Mr. Bridge,<sup>5</sup> two Cambridge scholars), to see Mr. Miller at Braintree. At our return we found Mr. Davenport, who was come to see me, a worthy clergyman, as deserving of the name as any I see in New England.<sup>6</sup>

**Tuesday, October 5.** I dined at Mr. Plaisted's,<sup>7</sup> a London acquaintance of my brother's who from thence took occasion to find me out, and showed me all the friendship and civility he could while I stayed in Boston. After dinner drove Mr. [John] Cutler to Cambridge.<sup>8</sup> I had only time to observe the civility of the fellows, the regularity of the buildings, and pleasantness of the situation.

**Saturday, October 9.** Was dragged out to consult Dr. [1:66] Greaves about my increasing flux.<sup>9</sup> He prescribed a vomit, from which I received much benefit.

**Sunday, October 10.** Recovered a little strength in the sacrament, but my body was extremely weakened by preaching twice.<sup>10</sup>

**Tuesday, October 12.** Supped with several of the clergy at Mr. Checkley's, who entertained us very agreeably with his adventures. He seems to have excellent natural parts, much solid learning, and true primitive piety; is acquainted with the power, and therefore holds fast the form of godliness; obstinate as was my father in good, and not to be borne down by evil.

**Thursday, October 14.** Was taken up with the clergy in drawing up recommendation of him to the Bishop of London for orders. The bishop had been formerly frightened from ordaining him by the outcries of the Presbyterians. They were wise to keep a man out of the ministry who had in a private capacity approved himself such a champion for the Church.<sup>11</sup>

**Saturday, October 16.** My illness increasing, notwithstanding all the doctors could do for me, I began seriously to consider my condition, and at my evening hour of retirement found

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<sup>3</sup>Richard Price married Elizabeth Bull in Boston on Apr. 15, 1735.

<sup>4</sup>John Cutler (1713–71).

<sup>5</sup>Christopher Bridge (b. 1712). CW spells "Brig."

<sup>6</sup>Rev. Addington Davenport (1701–46), currently minister at Scituate, Massachusetts; in 1737 he became Price's assistant at King's Chapel, and rector of Trinity Church in 1740.

<sup>7</sup>Apparently Thomas Plaisted (c. 1684–1750), originally of London (where he could have known Samuel Wesley Jr.), who was in Boston in the 1730s and returned to England, where he spent his last years in Beccles, Suffolk. CW spells "Plasted."

<sup>8</sup>I.e., to Harvard University.

<sup>9</sup>Dr. Thomas Greaves (1683–1747). CW spells "Graves."

<sup>10</sup>He preached the sermon on Ps. 126:7 at Christ's Church and Price's (i.e., King's Chapel); see MARC, MA 1977/608/2, front cover.

<sup>11</sup>We capitalize "church" whenever it is clear that CW is referring specifically to the established Church of England (Wales, or Ireland).

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benefit from Pascal's prayer in sickness.<sup>12</sup>

**Sunday, October 17.**<sup>13</sup> While I was talking at Mr. Checkley's on spiritual religion, his wife observed that I seemed to have much the same way of thinking with Mr. Law.<sup>14</sup> Glad I was and surprised to hear that good man mentioned, and confessed all I knew of religion was through him. I found she was well acquainted with his *Serious Call*,<sup>15</sup> and has one of the two that are in New England. I borrowed it, and passed the evening in reading it to the family (Mr. Williams's, where I have been some days). His daughter and he seemed satisfied and affected. [1:67]

**Monday, October 18.** Many appointed days of embarkation had come and gone, without our embarking, but this was certainly to be the last. Accordingly Mr. [Ebenezer] Miller came very early to attend me to the ship. I took occasion to mention the book I had borrowed of his sister, Mrs. Checkley, and read him the characters of Cognatus and Uranius.<sup>16</sup> He liked them much and promised he would carefully read the whole. Breakfast and dinner past, but no summons to go on board.

**Tuesday** and **Wednesday** I grew worse and worse, and on **Thursday, October 21**, was forced to keep [to] my chamber through pain. Appee came and laboured all he could to dissuade me from the voyage, promising himself to deliver my letters and papers, and excuse me to Mr. Oglethorpe. Mr. Price, Williams, etc., joined with him. But I put an end to their importunity by assuring them nothing less than death should hinder my embarking.

**Friday, October 22.** All things being at last in readiness, the wind providentially changed and afforded me three days more to try experiments. Within that time I vomited, purged, bled, sweated, and took laudanum,<sup>17</sup> which entirely drained me of the little strength I had left.

It may be of use hereafter to remember Appee's behaviour at Boston. He gave out that his design in coming to Georgia had been to take charge of the people there. But finding Mr. Oglethorpe just a genius as himself, he thought his own stay there was not so necessary. But he might safely quit the interest of the colony which, had it not been to such an hand, he could never have prevailed on himself to do. That at present he was unresolved where to bestow himself, only that it should be on that part of mankind which needed him the most. That he was going to England [1:68] about matters of the last importance. Two or three letters of no moment, he said, I carried; but all secret dispatches to the Duke of Newcastle and other ministers of state he was charged with. From the court of Great Britain he was to be sent envoy to Spain. His money, a few hundreds of pounds, he had (in some companies) sent before him to England; in

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<sup>12</sup>Blaise Pascal, "A Prayer Composed in Sickness," in *Thoughts on Religion and Other Subjects*, translated by Basil Kennett (London: A. & J. Churchill, 1704), 369–92.

<sup>13</sup>CW preached the abridged version of his sermon on 1 Kings 18:21 at both Christ's Church and King's Chapel this Sunday; see MARC, MA 1977/608/1, flyleaf.

<sup>14</sup>John Checkley married Rebecca Miller (1691–1755) in Boston in 1713.

<sup>15</sup>William Law, *A Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life* (London: William Innys, 1729).

<sup>16</sup>In *ibid.*, ch. 13.

<sup>17</sup>An extract of opium; used widely in the eighteenth century as a painkiller.



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others had turned it into silver and freighted Indivine's ship.

**Monday, October 25.** I waked surprisingly better, though not yet able to walk. This morning Dr. Greaves came over from Charlestown to see me; gave me physic and advice, which he likewise left in writing but would take no fee for either. The same civility I have received from Dr. Gibbons, Dr. Gardiner, and others.<sup>18</sup> A little after, Mr. Checkley came and brought me a summons to go aboard. Mr. Price drove me to the wharf, having called by the way on some of my new friends, from whom I received all the instances of kindness in their power to show.

When we came to the wharf the boat was not ready, so we were forced to wait half an hour in the open cold air. Mr. Checkley helped me into the boat and covered me up. In about two hours we reached the ship,<sup>19</sup> and with Mr. Zouberbuhler, Mr. Appee, Mr. [John] Cutler, and Mr. [Christopher] Bridge went on board. I laid down in the stateroom, less fatigued with the passage than I expected.

Finding Appee wanted his stateroom again, I quitted it and accepted Mr. Cutler's offer of his cabin. I had a tolerable night, though stripped of the conveniences I so long enjoyed on shore.

**Tuesday, October 26.** Entered upon the doctor's regimen, and quickly found the benefit.

When five leagues onward on our voyage, the wind changing forced us back again. In the evening it came fair, and by the next day carried us clear of all land.

**Wednesday, October 27.** I began public prayers in the great cabin. We had seldom any present but the passengers. Had not yet strength to read the lesson, nor attention for any harder study than Clarendon's *History*.<sup>20</sup> In the night I was much disquieted by the cholic.

**Thursday, October 28.** The captain warned me of a storm approaching. In [1:69] the evening, at 8:00, it came, and rose higher and higher, after I thought it must have come to its height. For I did not lose a moment of it, being obliged by the return of my flux to rise continually. At last the long-wished for morning came, and brought no abatement of the storm. There was so prodigious a sea that it quickly washed away our sheep and half our hogs, and drowned most of our fowl. The ship had been new caulked at Boston; how carefully, it now appeared—for being deeply laden, the sea streamed in at the sides so plentifully that it was as much as four men could do, by continually pumping, to keep her above water. I rose and lay down by turns, but could remain in no posture long. Strove vehemently to pray, but in vain, persisted in striving yet still without effect. I prayed for power to pray, for faith in Jesus Christ, continually repeating his name, till I felt the virtue of it at last, and knew that I abode under the shadow of the Almighty.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>18</sup>John Gibbons (1688–1760) was an apothecary connected with the building of Trinity Church in Boston. Silvester Gardiner (1708–86) was a physician and church warden for King's Chapel.

<sup>19</sup>The ship on which CW returned to London was named the *Hannah*, with Captain John Corney (d. 1760); see JW to CW Oct. 15–25, 1736.

<sup>20</sup>Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, *The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England* (Oxford: Sheldonian, 1705–06).

<sup>21</sup>See Ps. 91:1.

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It was now about 3:00 in the afternoon and the storm at the height. I endeavoured to encourage poor Mr. Bridge and Cutler, who were in the utmost agony of fear. I prayed with them and for them till 4:00, at which time the ship made so much water that the captain, finding it otherwise [1:70] impossible to save her from sinking, cut down the mizen-mast. In this dreadful moment, I bless God, I found the comfort of hope—and such joy in finding I could hope as the world can neither give nor take away. I had that conviction of the power of God present with me, overruling my strongest passion, fear, and raising me above what I am by nature, as surpassed all rational evidence and gave me a taste of the divine goodness.

At the same time I found myself constrained in spirit to bear witness to the truth, perhaps for the last time, before my poor friend Appee. I went to him, declared the difference between one that feareth God and one that feareth him not. Avowed by hope, not because I had attained but because I had endeavoured it, and testified my expectation if God should now require my soul of me that he would receive it to his mercy.

My poor friend was convinced, but stupid; owned the happiness of the most imperfect Christian, an happiness he himself was a stranger to. And therefore, he said, all his refuge was, in time of danger, to persuade himself there was none. Mr. Cutler frequently calling upon God to have mercy upon his soul, Appee confessed he greatly envied him, as he had no manner of concern for his own. I advised him to pray. He answered it was mocking God to begin praying in danger when he had never done it in safety. I only added I then hoped, if God spared him now, he would immediately set himself about the working out his salvation, which depended on the one condition of exchanging this world for the next. Mr. Zouberbuhler was present [1:71] at this conference, and behaved as a Christian ought to do.

I returned to Mr. Bridge and Mr. Cutler and endeavoured from their fear to show them the want of religion, which was intended for our support on such occasions. Urged them to resolve, if God saved them from this distress, that they would instantly and entirely give themselves up to him.

The wind was still as high as ever but the motion rather less violent since the cutting of the mast, and we did not ship quite so much water. I laid me down, utterly exhausted. But my distemper was so increased it would not suffer me to rest. Toward morning the sea heard and obeyed the divine voice, “Peace, be still!”<sup>22</sup>

**Sunday, October 31.** My first business today (may it be the business of all my days!) was to offer up the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving. Then we all joined in thanks for our deliverance. Most of the day I was on the bed, faint and full of pain. At night I rose to prayers, but could not read them. I took a vomit, which gave me immediate ease, in which I passed the rest of the night.

**November 1736**

**Monday, November 1.** In the afternoon the wind rose and promised a storm. I endeavoured to prepare myself and companions for it. It did not fail our expectation, but was not so violent as the last. The sea broke over us every ten minutes, and the ceaseless noise of the

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<sup>22</sup>See Mark 4:39.

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pumps either kept off sleep or continually interrupted it.

[1:72]

**Tuesday, November 2.** Still the poor sailors could have no respite. And as their strength abated, their murmurings increased. At night, when almost exhausted, they were relieved by a calm.

**Wednesday, November 3.** In the evening the wind arose again, and with that the sea, which at 10:00 broke in through one of the dark lights and filled the great cabin. It was in vain to look for rest in such a hurricane. I waited till 2:00 in the morning for its abatement, but it continued all the following day in full majesty.

**On Friday, November 5,** we met a ship bound for Boston, which had been ten weeks on her passage from Bristol, and forced in the last storm to throw out most of their cargo overboard. Being short of provisions they desired a barrel of beef which our Captain very readily sent them (though at the expense of much time and pains), and a keg of rum to encourage their sailors to pump.

The wind came fair about midnight, but soon returned to the same quarter.

**Monday, November 8.** My flux returned with great violence.

**Tuesday, November 9.** The men came down and declared they could keep the water under no longer, it gaining upon them every moment. Therefore they desired the captain would be pleased to lighten the ship. He told them he knew what he had to do, bade them return to their pumping, and ordered others to take in all the sails but the mainsail. He stayed some time (as he since told us, that he might not discourage *us*), and then went up, and as we lay by, stopped several leaks upon deck. This did considerable service, though it was still the constant business of four men to keep the ship from filling.

During this time I often threw myself [1:73] upon the bed, seeking rest but finding none. I asked of God to spare me a little, that I might recover strength. Then cast my eye upon the word: "For my name's sake I will defer my anger, and for my praise will I refrain from it, that I cut thee off."<sup>1</sup> My soul immediately returned to its rest, and I no longer felt the continuance of the storm.

**Wednesday, November 10.** Toward night it pleased God to abate the wind, so that I once more enjoyed the comfort of sleep.

**Saturday, November 13.** Never was a calm more reasonable than that which providence this day sent us. The men were so harassed they could work no longer, and the leaks increased so fast that no less than their uninterrupted labour could have kept the vessel from foundering. All hands were now employed in stopping the leaks. The captain himself told us he had been heartily frightened yesterday with danger he would now acquaint us with, since it was over—the total stoppage of one of the pumps. He further informed us that he had stopped several openings in the sides of the ship wide enough to lay his fingers in, so that he wondered the poor men had been able to keep her above water; and added that the utmost he hoped for was that they might hold out till they could reach some of the western islands. Just as the men had finished their work, the calm gave place to a fair wind.

**Tuesday, November 23.** I imparted to Mr. Zouberbuhler my intention of discarding Appee as soon as we landed. He told me he wondered I had not done it before, for he was such a

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<sup>1</sup>Isa. 48:9.

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man—so unprofitable, so pernicious—that he himself would not be bound to go another voyage [1:74] with him for all the world. That he was so excessively vain he thought himself admired wherever he came; and I was so fond of him, that, for all my talk of parting, I could not live without him. He added, he was so notorious a liar that he had long since ceased to believe one word he said; and so utterly irreligious that it was impossible to make a friend of him. He talked so well on this subject that I was convinced he is not the mere man of honour Appee had represented him, but has some better principle than the dream of a shadow to depend upon.

At midnight I was waked by a great uproar. So prodigious a sea broke upon the ship as filled it and half-drowned the men upon deck, though by particular providence none were washed overboard. The swell lasted something longer than the rain and high wind, and in the morning we had our fair wind again, being the twelfth day since it was first commanded to attend us.

In the afternoon we had another short but fierce blast, which brought the wind still fairer for our running into the channel, whence all agreed we could not be far distant. At night I found Mr. Zouberbuhler alone, who anticipating what I intended to say addressed me very cordially, desiring my friendship and correspondence; complained of having been linked so long to Appee that he was become dead like him, though he had had a fear of God and some acquaintance with him till this fatal voyage. He was full of care and thought about his countrymen, whether he should bring them to New England or Georgia. In the latter, he said, he saw little encouragement for true piety (which many of his poor Swiss were yet [1:75] possessed of), and feared if they were settled there they would be corrupted like the miserable Purisburgers.<sup>2</sup> He told me Appee had proffered, if his Spanish embassy failed to attend him to Switzerland, but he would never more trust such a man near him or his people—such an abominable liar, scoundrel, and thief; one who had been forced to fly his country and the pursuit of justice for robbing his father of 300 guineas.

A fair account of my friend Appee—and of the twenty-four pounds I had lent him! That a Dutchman should cheat me is nothing strange. But how did he evade the wary eye of Mr. [James] Oglethorpe? Happy Miss [Rebecca] Bovey to be delivered by death from such a man!

On Thursday night our wind failed us. When it was first sent we had not, in three weeks' sailing, reached the banks of Newfoundland, which is a third part of our way. But this fortnight has almost brought us home. The next day I was perfectly satisfied in the wind's turning against us.

**Saturday, November 27.** Towards the evening it came fair as we could wish.

*Ecce iterum Crispinus!*<sup>3</sup> Mr. Zouberbuhler came to me, full of abhorrence. "That Appee," said he, "is a very devil! Made up of falseness and lies! He is ever railing against you behind your back, to the captain and passengers, ridiculing the prayers, etc. He tells the captain (as he did everybody at Boston) that you are so ignorant Mr. Oglethorpe was forced to send him to take care of you. At Charleston he declared in all companies he was come with full powers to put an end to the dispute between them and Georgia. Last night I overheard him giving a blessed

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<sup>2</sup>Swiss Huguenot immigrants who settled in Purisburg (now "Purrysburg"), a South Carolina town on the Savannah River just before it goes into Georgia.

<sup>3</sup>Juvenal, *Satires*, iv.1; "Crispinus once again!" Crispinus was a scoundrel.

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account of you to Mr. [Christopher] Bridge. He was lately boasting of women he had had in Boston [1:76] with such abominable circumstances I could not bear to hear him. As soon as ever I come to land I shall cast him off, and advise you to do the same. For while you suffer him near you, he will not fail to do you all the mischief he can.”

**Monday, November 29.** We were waked between 6:00 and 7:00 by the captain crying out, “Land.” It was the Lizard Point, about a league distant. What wind there was, was for us! I felt thankful for the divine mercies.

While I was walking upon deck Appee stood up to me, *me tuens tale votum creptum a faucibus*.<sup>4</sup> Began with many professions of friendship, hoped all little misunderstandings would be forgot. Fell into familiar discourse as formerly, was sure I should never return to Georgia, where Mr. Oglethorpe would allow none but his creatures, or such as were some way subservient to his glory, “which, take my word for it,” says he, “is the principle of all his actions, as well as mine. Christianity he has about as much of as myself. I have given him some unanswerable reasons against it.” He was undetermined where to spend the next year, but resolved to spend it all in quest of pleasure and glory—and confident I was just of his mind.

**December 1736**

**Wednesday, December 1.** The first thing I heard at daybreak was the captain in an outrageous passion. For the ship, which, according to the course he had ordered, ought to have been near the coast of France, was, through the carelessness of the mate, just upon the land of Shoreham.<sup>1</sup> He told me that had not the day broke out as it did, the ship must have run aground, and then all the [1:77] art of man could not have saved her, for we were landlocked on three sides, and had the wind right astern. So that it was with the utmost difficulty, and not till the afternoon, that we got clear. This lost us a day, for by the evening we should have reached the Downs.<sup>2</sup>

Appee took me aside once more, to try his skill upon me. Besought me not to alter my behaviour toward him when we should come to land. Denied, as ever he hoped for salvation, that he had ever spoke or wrote disrespectfully of me. Detested the thought of such treachery with so many horrid imprecations as I believed even a Dutchman would have trembled at. The burden of all was, John Bull and Nicholas Frog were too dear friends ever to think of parting.<sup>3</sup> ... But John Bull begged to be excused. Though I stood in admiration of his parts, I did not choose they should be any longer exercised on me. In vain did he resume our lodging together. I was deaf on that ear, and shifted the discourse, which he still brought back again, “Well, my dear friend, wherever you are,” said he, “I will take a lodging next door.”

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<sup>4</sup>“Fearing that such a promise/vow had been wrested from (his) throat.”

<sup>1</sup>I.e., Shoreham-by-Sea, Sussex.

<sup>2</sup>A sheltered anchorage in the English Channel off the east coast of Kent.

<sup>3</sup>“John Bull” was the typical Englishman (kind-hearted and bull-headed), and “Nicholas Frog” the scheming Dutchman (like Appee) in a popular satirical play by John Arbuthnot (or Jonathan Swift), *Law is a Bottomless Pit* (London: John Morphew, 1712).

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**Thursday, December 2.** By 4:00 in the afternoon we came within sight of Beachy Head. But the wind freshening, by 9:00 we found ourselves almost unawares over against Dover. We fired a gun for a pilot, but none would come to us. We fell down into the Downs, over against Deal, and fired two more. The captain gave us warning that he expected a pilot in an hour or two at the farthest. I returned thanks to God for bringing us to the haven where we would be, got my few things in readiness, and laid me down, without disquiet or impatience, for two or three hours. [1:78]

**Friday, December 3.** At 6:00 the pilot came on board. It was with much difficulty we got down into his boat. The sea was so rough that nothing less than our late series of deliverances could have supported our confidence. In half an hour we reached the shore. I knelt down and blessed the hand that had conducted me through such inextricable mazes, and desired I might give up my country again to God, whenever he should require.

Zouerbuhler appeared full of gratitude to God and affection to me. We all adjourned to an inn. Zouerbuhler and I walked to bespeak a coach. Joined with the passengers in an hearty thanksgiving for our safe arrival.

Between 10:00 and 11:00 set out in the coach, and by 3:00 reached Canterbury, and by 10:00 Sittingbourne.<sup>4</sup> I had intended to lay with Zouerbuhler, but upon an intimation from him went and lay with Appee, to hinder his having a different kind of bedfellow.

**Saturday, December 4.** Appee was so very grievous to us that not only I, but all the passengers, resolved this should be the last day of their acquaintance. At 6:00 in the evening we came safe to London. I immediately took coach for Charles Rivington's,<sup>5</sup> leaving my friend Appee, who promised to come next day and pay me what he owed me.

My namesake was much rejoiced to see me and gave me great cause of rejoicing by his account of our Oxford friends.

**Sunday, December 5.** Received comfort with the sacrament at St. Paul's, and from thence went to Mr. [Thomas] Tower's, who received me with great affection and heartily congratulated me on my arrival, which my friends had long despaired of. He told me the agreeable news of Mr. [James] Oglethorpe's being expected daily. [1:79]

The next I waited upon was good old Sir John Philipps,<sup>6</sup> who received me as one alive from the dead. Here I heard a most blessed account of our friends at Oxford, their increase both in zeal and number. I then hastened to Mr. [James] Vernon to deliver my letters. He received me very affectionately, and pressed me to live with him during my stay in London.

While we were talking, young Hutton called, having traced me hither in order to carry me home with him.<sup>7</sup> We took coach for my good old friend and host, his father. I entered with fear

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<sup>4</sup>CW spells "Sittenburn."

<sup>5</sup>Charles Rivington (1688–1742), London publisher and family friend.

<sup>6</sup>Sir John Philipps (c. 1666–1737), 4th baronet, of Picton. CW spells "Philipps."

<sup>7</sup>James Hutton (1715–95) was the son of Rev. John and Elizabeth (Ayscough) Hutton, who lived on College Street, Westminster (in a house adjoining Samuel Wesley Jr.) and boarded scholars at Westminster School. Converted by JW's sermon "One Thing is Needful" on the eve of the Wesley brothers' departure for Georgia in 1735, James was dissuaded by his parents from

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and trembling. My reception was such as I expected from a family that entirely loved me but had given me over for dead and bewailed me as their own child. A captain had told them that fifty per cent assurance had been refused for Indivine's ship, and a report was spread abroad that she had been seen sink to the bottom.

The motion of the stage and hackney coaches occasioned the return of my flux, which prevents me preaching or talking to my admirers. Many such I have gained by Mr. Ingham's magnificent journal.<sup>8</sup> My brother's journal too (the last I hope will ever be sent hither) is in everyone's hands.

[...] *libeat modo vivere, fient,*  
*fient ista palam, cupient et in acta referri.*<sup>9</sup>

**Monday, December 6.** I spent an hour at my uncle's,<sup>10</sup> equally welcome and unexpected. They informed my brother Hall was gone to a curacy, very melancholy, and impatient at the mention of Georgia.<sup>11</sup> That my sister Kezzy was gone to live with him.<sup>12</sup>

*Serpentes avibus geminentur tigribus agni!*<sup>13</sup>

Waited upon Mr. [Archibald] Hutchinson, who soon [1:80] fell upon the controverted points. Here also I had an invitation to make his house my home.

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accompanying them. On their return to England, James Hutton published many of the Wesley brothers' early works. But when they split with the Moravians, Hutton remained and became a key English leader in that movement.

<sup>8</sup>A manuscript copy of Benjamin Ingham's journal was being circulated. Cf. Richard P. Heitzenrater, ed., *Diary of an Oxford Methodist; Benjamin Ingham, 1733–1734* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1985).

<sup>9</sup>Cf. Juvenal, *Satires*, ii.135–36; “If we only live long enough, we shall see these things done openly. We will even see them reported in the news.” (In Juvenal the reference is to same-sex marriages.)

<sup>10</sup>Matthew Wesley.

<sup>11</sup>Westley Hall (c. 1710–76), a student of JW at Oxford, simultaneously courted two of CW's sisters, Martha and Kezia. He ended up marrying Martha. After the death of Samuel Wesley Sr., the couple invited Kezia to live with them in Wootton Rivers, where Hall was curate of a small parish. While the rest of the family scorned this arrangement, it was apparently innocent. In later years Hall was repeatedly unfaithful to Martha, finally abandoning her.

<sup>12</sup>CW began this sentence, “What shocked me above measure was that ...”; but then struck out the first six words.

<sup>13</sup>Horace, *Art of Poetry*, 13; “Serpents couple with birds, lambs with tigers.”

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**Tuesday, December 7.** Called in the morning on Charles Rivington, who gave me letters and a journal from my brother in Georgia.<sup>14</sup> After leaving my secretary's book with Mr. [Thomas] Tower, I waited upon the Bishop of London.<sup>15</sup> In the antechamber I began his journal, and read it through without either surprise or impatience. His dropping my fatal letter, I hope, will convince him of what I never could, his own great carelessness; and the sufferings that brought upon him of his inimitable blindness. His simplicity in telling what and who were meant by the two Greek words was "outdoing his own outdoings."<sup>16</sup> Surely all this will be sufficient to teach him a little wisdom of the serpent, of which he seems as utterly void as his dear friend Mrs. [Beata] Hawkins is of the innocency of the dove.<sup>17</sup>

In the midst of these reflections I was called in to deliver my letters. His Lordship desired me to come next morning, having much to say to me. I drove to Colonel Bladen, who was from home.<sup>18</sup> Then to Mrs. Pendarves, where we passed an agreeable hour in mutual accounts of our friends in England and America.<sup>19</sup>

I returned to Mr. Hutton's, where Dr. Hales, one of our trustees, came to see me.<sup>20</sup> Much discourse we had of Georgia, particularly of Miss [Rebecca] Bovey's death and my brother's persecutions among that stiff-necked people. He seems a truly pious, humble Christian, full of zeal for God and love to man.

**Wednesday, December 8.** Waited on Colonel Bladen, and then on the bishop, who asked abundance of curious questions, not worth remembering. [1:81]

In the evening I obeyed a summons from my Lord Egmont<sup>21</sup> and gave him, as I did all I came to the speech of, a true account of the case between Georgia and Carolina.<sup>22</sup>

**Thursday, December 9.** Called on Mr. Tower, who desired me by all means to go home, and keep there whoever sent for me, promising if he had any business he would come to me. I

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<sup>14</sup>This portion of manuscript journal survives (MARC, MA 1977/157, JW III.13).

<sup>15</sup>Edmund Gibson (1669–1748) was Bishop of London 1723–48.

<sup>16</sup>CW was reading the entry for Aug. 20, 1736 (JW, *Works*, 18:411). JW had apparently dropped a letter from CW that was discovered by Mr. Hawkins. In this letter (which has not survived) CW used unflattering Greek terms to describe Mrs. Hawkins and Mrs. Welch.

<sup>17</sup>See Matt. 10:16.

<sup>18</sup>Martin Bladen, MP (1680–1746) was Commissioner of the Board of Trade and Plantations, with a particular interest in interactions with native American peoples.

<sup>19</sup>Mary (Granville) Pendarves (1700–88), a friend from CW's Oxford years, was living with her aunt, Lady Stanley, at Somerset House, London.

<sup>20</sup>Stephen Hales (1677–1761).

<sup>21</sup>Sir John Perceval (1683–1748), who became Earl of Egmont in 1733.

<sup>22</sup>In 1735 the Trustees of the Georgia colony persuaded the Privy Council to require Georgia licences for trading with native Americans west of the Savannah River, ban the use of rum in Georgia, and outlaw slavery in Georgia. South Carolina was protesting the first two acts to the Board of Trade, and would win continuance of prior trading practices.



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took his advice and kept my chamber some days, which, with Dr. Cockburn's electuary,<sup>23</sup> almost perfectly recovered me.

**Saturday, December 11.** Mr. [Christopher] Bridge and Mr. [John] Cutler called and informed me Captain [John] Corney was heartily frightened by hearing on all sides [Peter] Appee's real character. That he gave over for lost the money he had lent him, as well as that for passage and provisions.

Contrary to my doctor's advice, I ventured out **Sunday, December 12**, to the sacrament in Duke Street.<sup>24</sup> Mrs. Rhodes challenged me after the service—with, "I am glad to see you. I hope you go back again to Georgia."

In the evening a multitude came and went, most to inquire of their friends or relations in Georgia. I sent them away advocates for the colony.

**Wednesday, December 15.** About noon I waited upon the trustees at the office. It put me past all patience to hear they were reading Mr. Ingham's and my brother's journals. I was called in and delivered my letter for the trustees.<sup>25</sup> Lord Carpenter, being in the chair, desired me to speak that all gentlemen might hear me.<sup>26</sup> Mr. Tower interposed and told them I was so weakened by my illness that I could not speak aloud, and desired me to deliver my papers one by one to be read by Mr. Verelst.<sup>27</sup>

At dinner they fell into discourse about the missionaries, whom as yet they [1:82] mightily commend and wish for more of them, as that their journals might be forthwith printed that the world might receive the benefit of their labours.

**Thursday, December 16.** I was extremely sick in the night, and by morning my flux returned.

**Saturday, December 18.** Began my twenty-seventh year in a murmuring, discontented spirit, reading over and over the third of Job.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>23</sup>Dr. William Cockburn (1669–1739) made his fortune from a remedy for dysentery which he developed for the British navy, the formula for which he kept secret.

<sup>24</sup>Duke Street was a small private chapel in St. Margaret parish, founded in 1709 in a wing of a house once owned by Lord High Chancellor Jefferies. It overlooked St. James Park, at what is now the corner of Birdcage Walk and Horse Guards Avenue. It was torn down about 1900. See William Stow, *Remarks on London* (London: T. Norris & H. Tracy, 1722), 98–99.

<sup>25</sup>This report is recorded in the Journal of the Trustees for Establishing the Colony in Georgia; National Archives, CO 5/686, p. 343.

<sup>26</sup>George Carpenter (1695–1749), 2nd Baron Carpenter.

<sup>27</sup>Harman Verelst, Accountant for the Georgia Colony Trust. CW spells the last name "Virelst."

<sup>28</sup>CW was actually now 29 years old. The destruction of records when the Epworth rectory burned led to vagueness about the year of his birth. CW typically underestimated his age by two years. Cf. Frank Baker, "The Birth of Charles Wesley," *WHS* 31 (1957): 25–26.

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**Tuesday, December 21.** I dined at my uncle's,<sup>29</sup> who bestowed abundance of wit on my brother and his apostolical project. He told me the French, if they had any remarkably dull fellows among them, sent them to convert the Indians. I checked this eloquence by those lines of my brother:

To distant realms th' apostle need not roam,  
Darkness alas, and heathens are at home.<sup>30</sup>

He made no reply, and I heard no more of my brother's apostleship.

**Wednesday, December 22.** Received a letter from Mr. Whitefield, offering himself to go to Georgia.<sup>31</sup>

**Thursday, December 23.** Had a long conference with Lord Fitzwalter concerning Georgia.<sup>32</sup> In the afternoon my old captain's owners came to desire me to testify the treatment I had received, for which reason I would not proceed [to England] with Indivine. This I promised with Zouberbuhler, if there should be occasion.

**Sunday, December 26.** I called upon my doctor, and was well chided for so doing. He told me that if I had not had a constitution of iron, I could not have held out so long. That he could do nothing for me unless I would keep my chamber, through want of which I had undone all he had been doing and had all to begin anew.

**Wednesday, December 29.** Called on Zouberbuhler, who gave me the poor Purisburgers' case to read, an eternal monument of Carolina's [1:83] infamous breach of faith.<sup>33</sup> Soon after Mr. Lynn, his landlord, came in and entertained us with some of Mr. Appee's adventures: Who, when he came from Surinam, where he had gamed away a plantation his father gave him, was reduced to the last extremity and taken in naked and starving by one Mrs. Legg. Who was quickly forced to turn him out again for offering violence to a lady in her family. That he had cheated a common whore of ten pounds at first, by giving her a bill upon his father for 100£.

*Cedite Germani latrones, cedite Galli.*<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>29</sup>A later hand (maybe Sarah Wesley Jr.) has added a note "This was Matthew Wesley, who brought up Mrs. [Martha (Wesley)] Hall."

<sup>30</sup>CW was quoting Samuel Wesley Jr. from a manuscript source. JW later published the larger piece in *Arminian Magazine* 3 (1780): 564.

<sup>31</sup>This is the first mention of Rev. George Whitefield (1714–70) in MS Journal, and records the first known surviving letter of Whitefield to CW, Dec. 20–22, 1736.

<sup>32</sup>Benjamin Mildmay (1672–1756), Earl of Fitzwalter.

<sup>33</sup>For background, see Arlington Migliazzo, "A Tarnished Legacy Revisited," *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 92 (1991): 232–52.

<sup>34</sup>"Stand aside German robbers, stand aside Gauls."

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He has not studied *Gil Blas* for nothing (his inseparable companion throughout our voyage).<sup>35</sup>

As to his boasts, a specimen Mr. Lynn helped me to may serve for all. “I wish that dear man, Mr. Oglethorpe, would return. I am impatient to see him, but he is even with me. How would he throw open his arms to embrace me! We were always like two brothers. He could never be without me. We were constant bedfellows. Many an expedition have we made together, though in faith I had work enough of it as his secretary. What belonged to one, belonged to the other. He took a fancy to a gold watch of mine. I gave it him that instant. It cost me indeed 20 guineas, but that is a trifle between friends.”

**Thursday, December 30.** I waited upon the Bishop of London for some papers I had left with him concerning the state of the colony. Some effect they seemed to have had, for he appeared less reserved than I have ever seen him. I took the opportunity to recommend Mr. [John] Checkley for orders, and he said, “He should give his name to the Society, in the list of missionaries.”<sup>36</sup>

[1:84 is left blank]

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<sup>35</sup>*Gil Blas* was an early eighteenth-century French novel by Alain-René LeSage that depicts a roguish hero, of low social class, who lives by his wits in a corrupt society.

<sup>36</sup>That is, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

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[1:85]

January 1737

**Monday, January 3, 1737.** In the evening Mr. [Sebastian] Zouberbuhler brought Captain [John] Corney to see me, from whom I received the following narration:

I was walking with an officer last night, when in the Strand I met Mr. [Peter] Appee, the gentleman I had been two days in quest of. I let him pass to try if he would take any notice of me. But finding he would not, I called after him. He turned, ran to me, and embraced me with:

**Appee:** “Dear Captain Corney, I am overjoyed to see you. It is my great misfortune that I could not do it sooner. But I have been so extremely ill, and have such a multitude of business upon my hands, and of such consequence, as made it impossible.”

**Captain:** “I did hope indeed to have seen you in these three weeks.”

**Appee:** “But, dear sir, you cannot conceive the load I have had upon me! What endless business of this Georgia! And all at this end of the town.”

**Captain:** “Well, since I have had the good fortune to meet you at last, we must take a glass of wine together.”

**Appee:** “That would be to me the greatest pleasure in life, but I am going home in all haste to dress, being forced abroad by business of the last importance.”

**Captain:** “Nay, but you shall bestow one half-hour upon me and my friend, since we have had the happiness of meeting you.”

With much ado he got him into the next tavern and, after some indifferent questions, mentioned his promise to freight the ship, which is now clear, said he, and all ready for the Georgia passengers.

**Appee:** “That is the very thing I wanted to talk with you about. I look for Mr. [James] Oglethorpe every [1:86] hour, and as soon as ever he arrives the business shall be done. You may depend upon it, for I can do anything with him.”

**Captain:** “Sir, I am infinitely obliged to you. But in the meanwhile I must pay off my men and refit my ship, which you know has suffered much in the passage. This will stand me in a good deal of money, and therefore I should be glad to settle that small account betwixt us.”

**Appee:** “It was the very thing I was just going to mention, though it grieves me too. Surely I am the most unfortunate man breathing. Such disappointments and losses on all hands since my arrival—My father’s failing! My mother’s death! My dear friend Mr. Oglethorpe’s delay!—that really I am afraid it will be some days before I pay you.”

The captain tried some time if he could not recover his money. But finding nothing was to be got by fair means, at last told the officer that was the man and bade him do his duty. Appee started up and cried, “I hope, Captain, you are not in earnest. He is not really an officer!” “Hands spake for Casca,”<sup>1</sup> and the catchpole told him he was his

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<sup>1</sup>See Shakespeare, *Julius Caesar*, Act. III, Sc. 1; where the traitor Casca says “Speak, hands, for me!” as he stabs Caesar.

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prisoner, offering to read his writ. Appee declined it, telling him he understood those things, and immediately fell to his entreaties. Told the captain what an esteem he had for him, how he had everywhere extolled his honour, his good nature, and generosity. Conjured him by their past friendship to release him directly. Otherwise, says he, Mr. Wesley will hear of it and bring his action for *his* money “which with your debt is all I owe in the world.”

The captain replied, he had no intention to hurt him, but only to get his own money [1:87] (a mere trifle for Mr. Oglethorpe’s secretary to pay) or to be sure his father would lay it down for him the moment he heard of his confinement.

**Appee:** “I assure you captain, if one shilling would set me free, I have not a relation in the world [who] would advance it for me.”

**Captain:** “Why then I find you have behaved yourself as scurvily toward them as you have toward me. In the ship you was an agent, a secretary, a statesman. But on shore I perceive you are a bite and a scoundrel, and as such I will use you.”

**Appee:** “For God’s sake, dear Captain, have pity upon me. I will give you all I have: 5 pounds in money; in clothes, watch, buckles, sword, snuffbox, and hat.”

**Captain:** “Sir, I scorn to take a gentleman’s clothes, for such you passed upon me. And had you sent me a single line, with ‘Here are three or four guineas for you, Corney, and I will pay the rest when I am able,’ I would never have given you or myself any farther trouble about. But your design from the beginning was to cheat me, and I shall therefore make an example of you.

“In Boston, when I would have had you lay in less wine, you told me, what signified 40£ New England money? Truly not much to you, who intended me to pay it. But how could you be so base, when I laid in your provisions, and lent you money?”

**Appee:** His answer to the last indictment was plainly, “Necessity has no law.”<sup>2</sup>

**Captain:** “None but an experienced rogue could have made such an answer. You thought me a soft, silly fellow, and was therefore resolved to skin me. But now you shall answer for all.” [1:88]

**Appee:** “Have patience with me till Mr. Oglethorpe comes. You shall then have your freight passengers and money both. You may be sure of it, for I can have of him what money I please.”

**Captain:** “I don’t believe a word of it. Did Mr. Oglethorpe see you in a gaol, he would leave you there to consign punishment.”

**Appee:** “O, how can you think so, when I have so often told you how intimate we are, and on what important affairs he sent me to England? It is not my liberty I value, for that he will restore me to the moment he hears of my confinement. But I fear I shall lose his good opinion.”

**Captain:** “I don’t believe you ever had it, or that he sent you hither for any other reason but to get rid of a vagrant that would else corrupt his colony. If you can pay me my money, do; or I must leave you to justice.”

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<sup>2</sup>A proverb tracing back at least to Piers Plowman in the 14th century, and famously used by Oliver Cromwell.

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**Appee:** “Take my clothes in part of payment. I will give you my note for the remainder of the debt.”

**Captain:** “Would you give me your note for the whole twenty-two pounds, I would sell it the first man that would give me sixpence for it.”

The captain continuing inexorable, Appee cried like a child. Upon which he asked him how he could behave so abjectly, who had scorned on board to own himself in any danger (as soon as it was past), “when I myself,” said he, “had little hope of escaping.”

**Appee:** “O sir, imprisonment or death itself is nothing to me. But the loss of so dear a friend as Mr. Oglethorpe—this is what sits so heavy at my heart. But I hope you will not be so cruel as to rob me of him.”

**Captain:** “I shall be so just to myself, and the world, as to expose a common cheat, who [1:89] lives upon the public and lays all honest men that do not know him under contribution.”

**Sat[urday, January 8]**<sup>3</sup> following the captain was prevailed upon by a friend of Appee (now in Newgate [prison]) to go hear if he had anything farther to propose.

He began very oratorically: Could not blame the captain for what he had done, but forgave him from his heart, and had still the utmost esteem and affection for him; always said Captain Corney was a good-natured man and a gentleman; was sure therefore he would not ruin a poor young fellow who was rising in the world and on the very point of making his fortune. He then began casting up the worth of his snuffbox, etc.—his sword he valued at 7£, his bureau at £4.

**Captain:** “That bureau, Mr. Wesley told me, was a lady’s in London.”

**Appee:** “Why that is very true. I had really forgot it. However a guinea I may ask her for the freight.”

**Captain:** “Sir, you talk like what you are. I expected, when you sent for me, your father had supplied you with money to pay me.”

**Appee:** “I assure you once more was I now going to be hanged, my father would not give a single shilling to save me from the gallows.”

**Captain:** “You give a fine account of yourself, and perfectly consistent with that you gave at Boston. It is fit that such an one as you should be suffered any longer to impose upon honest people? It is well you are at the end of your rogueries.”

**Appee:** “I had a suspicion that you had laid a trap for me at Zouberbuhler’s, but I was too wise to be caught there.”

**Captain:** “It is full as well that I have caught you [1:90] here. You have been so ungrateful a scoundrel to me that I was resolved to spend a little more money upon you.”

**Appee:** “I deserve it for a blockhead as I am, for not putting myself, as I intended, under the court of the green cloth.”<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>CW placed this entry here, to keep material together; then returned to Jan. 7 in his next entry.

<sup>4</sup>I.e., under the financial support of the King of England.

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**Captain:** “Why what a precious rogue you describe yourself! Can you after this expect any favour from me?”

**Appee:** “I hope you will not take it ill if I take the benefit of the act, through which I can come out next term.”

**Captain:** “O, not at all, Sir. Take the benefit of the act by all means. I would do so myself, was I in your place. But when you are ready to come out, I will give you your keeping there for one half-year longer.”

Here Appee’s friend Mr. Joy told him, “You have used the captain so villainously that I am ashamed to have had any dealings with you. I cannot say one word against his resolution, and desire you would never send or write to me again; or to any of your friends, for we wash our hands of you and from this hour shall think of you no more.”

With this speech he left him and, walking with the captain, observed what a poor unhappy young fellow he was. That shipwreck of his, in particular, was as unfortunate an accident as one shall hear of. “What shipwreck,” says the Captain? “Why, in his passage from Carolina: have you not heard of it?” “No,” replied he, “nor I believe anybody else.” “He told me,” says Joy, “that the ship ran upon the rocks and all the men were lost, but the boatswain, a boy, and himself. That as he hung upon the rock, a sea came and [1:91] washed him off, dashing him upon another rock with such violence that it broke his skull and tooth and three of his ribs. So that it cost him no less than ten guineas to the surgeon.”

This account I made the captain repeat two or three times, and took it down from him in shorthand.

I asked what gave him the first suspicion of Appee’s knavery? He answered that when the searchers had opened his bureau he saw several letters Appee had broke open and a memorandum of 900£ currency he had taken up at Charleston, upon (as he suspected) a forged bill of exchange.

**Friday, January 7.** The news was brought of Mr. Oglethorpe’s arrival. The next day I waited on him, and received a relation of his wonderful deliverance in the Bristol Channel. The people of Carolina, he told me, were quite mad—had hired men to murder the Indians, the Spaniards, had burnt Augusta, etc. He then inquired about Appee. I gave him some little account of his misbehaviour, together with an extract from my journal. He seemed sorry he had ever employed him, talked admirably of resignation, and the impossibility of dying when it is not best.

**Sunday, January 9.** I saw him again with Mr. [Thomas] Tower. He told me he had read my journal, which was writ with a great deal of spirit. I replied, all I could answer for was that it was writ with a great deal of truth.

**Thursday, January 13.** I met Mr. Gershom at Mr. Oglethorpe’s. He told me of Appee’s cheating D—, a poor drunken P—, of his gold watch. Mr. Oglethorpe acquainted me that he had been sent to again by Appee in Newgate. Upon my expressing pity for him, he added, “I can do nothing. He has tied my hands. If I released [1:92] him it would confirm all his lies. We are such dear friends that I must even leave him where he is.”

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**Wednesday, January 19.** Count Zinzendorf, just arrived from Germany, sent for me.<sup>5</sup> When I came, he saluted me with all possible affection and made me promise to call every day.

From him I went to the Bishop of Oxford, where I met with an equally kind reception.<sup>6</sup> He desired me to come as often as I could without ceremony, or farther invitation.

We had much talk of the state of religion, Count Zinzendorf's intended visit. Their bishops he acknowledged to have the true succession.

**Thursday, January 20.** I wrote and delivered my own state in a letter to the Count.<sup>7</sup> He sent me to Mr. Oglethorpe who talked much of the mischief of private journals, all which ought to be published, or never sent. A letter from my brother he read and argued. I could not but think the writer much too free, too bold, too credulous.

**Saturday, January 22.** I called upon Mrs. [Mary] Pendarves, while she was reading a letter of my being dead. Happy for me had the news been true. What a world of misery would it save me.

In the afternoon was overjoyed to meet at Mrs. Essen's my old friend Miss Granville.<sup>8</sup>

**Sunday, January 23.** Met Bishop Nitschmann<sup>9</sup> at the Count's, and was introduced to the Countess<sup>10</sup>—a woman of great seriousness and sweetness. I was present at their public service and thought myself in a quire of angels.

**Tuesday, January 25.** Paid a visit to Dr. [Stephen] Hales in the country.

**Wednesday, January 26.** We took a walk to see Mr. Pope's house and gardens,<sup>11</sup> justly called a burlesque upon human greatness. I was sensibly affected with the plain Latin sentence on the obelisk in memory of his [1:93] mother—"Ah, Editha! *matrium optima, mulierum amantissima, vale!*"<sup>12</sup> How far superior to the most laboured elegy that he or [Matthew] Prior himself could have composed!

**Sunday, January 30.** At St. Martin's I heard an excellent sermon by Dr. Trapp,<sup>13</sup> on "In your patience possess ye (or be ye master of) your souls," proving the miserable slavery of the

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<sup>5</sup>Count Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf (1700–60), leader of the Moravian community at Herrnhut, had come to London to explore deepened cooperation with the Church of England in mission work in North America, as the Moravians transitioned from a movement to a church.

<sup>6</sup>John Potter (c. 1674–1747) was still Bishop of Oxford at this point.

<sup>7</sup>Unfortunately, this letter is not known to survive.

<sup>8</sup>Ann Granville (c. 1708–61), the younger sister Mary (Granville) Pendarves, was also part of the network of friends of JW and CW in the Cotswolds during their Oxford years.

<sup>9</sup>David Nitschmann (1696–72), was consecrated in 1735 as the first bishop of the renewed "Moravian" church.

<sup>10</sup>Erdmuth Dorothea von Zinzendorf (1700–56).

<sup>11</sup>Alexander Pope's house, in Twickenham, Middlesex.

<sup>12</sup>"Ah, Edith! Best of mothers, most loving of women, farewell!"

<sup>13</sup>Rev. Joseph Trapp (1679–1747) held multiple appointments, including lecturer at St. Martin in the Fields church, London.



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passions.<sup>14</sup>

**February 1737**

**Tuesday, February 1.** I was again with the Bishop of Oxford and told him the Bishop of London had declined having anything to do with Georgia and said it belonged to the Archbishop only to unite the Moravians with us.<sup>1</sup> He replied it was the Bishop of London's proper office, but bade me assure the Count we should acknowledge the Moravians as our brethren, and one church with ours.

**Wednesday, February 2.** Mr. Oglethorpe told me [Peter] Appee, released from prison, desired to meet me at his house. The next morning I waited there some hours to confront him, but no Appee appeared.

At 9:00 I was with the Count, who seemed resolved to carry his people from Georgia, if they might not be permitted to preach to the Indians. He much pressed me to go with him to Germany, which I am very willing to do if I can get clear of the trustees.

**Saturday, February 5.** Had much conversation with the Count. Some of his words were "The Christian cannot yield to sin. Cannot long fight against it, but must conquer it if he will." Speaking of his own case, he said he and a lady were in love with each other, till finding something of nature, he resolved to renounce her—which he did, and persuaded [1:94] her to accept of his friend. "From that moment," said he, "I was freed from all self-seeking. So that for ten years past I have not done my own will in anything great or small. My own will is hell to me. I can just now renounce my dearest friend without the least reluctance, if God require it." He kissed and blessed me at parting.

[**Sunday, February 6.**<sup>2</sup>]

**Monday, February 7.** Before I set out for Oxford, called upon the Count and desired his prayers. He commended himself to our friends there and promised if any of them would write to him, or the Brethren, they would answer them.

**Tuesday, February 8.** I came to Oxford and took up my lodgings with Mr. Sarney.<sup>3</sup> In the evening I met and encouraged our friends by the Count's and Moravians' example. Mr. Kinchin I found changed into a courageous soldier of Christ.<sup>4</sup> Read them my brother's journal.

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<sup>14</sup>This sermon on Luke 21:19 was published in Joseph Trapp, *Sermons on Moral and Practical Subjects* (Reading: C. Mickelwright, 1752), 1:143–73.

<sup>1</sup>William Wake, the Archbishop of Canterbury, had just died on Jan. 24, 1737; John Potter would be elevated to that chair later this year (see May 30, 1737 entry).

<sup>2</sup>CW preached his sermon (taken from JW) on Luke 10:42 at Duke Street Chapel this day; see MARC, DDCW 8/13, p. [34].

<sup>3</sup>John Sarney (fl. 1735–45), an Oxford mercer, made his home a major focal point for sympathizers among the townsmen of the Oxford Methodists. While he still welcomed CW at this point, he was not sympathetic with the evangelical tone of the revival after May 1738.

<sup>4</sup>Charles Kinchin (1711–42), earlier member of the Oxford Methodists and now rector of Dummer, Hampshire.

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**Wednesday, February 9.** Met, and accompanied my friend Horne to the convocation,<sup>5</sup> where we carried the election (I came down about) for Mr. Bromley, our old member: 329 against 125.<sup>6</sup>

Visited my old friends at the Castle, and found honest Thomas Waite still a prisoner there.<sup>7</sup> Mrs. [Mary] Topping was gone where “The prisoners rest together and hear not the voice of the oppressor.”<sup>8</sup> Returning, I called at the Blue Posts and found my old pupil Robert Kirkham.<sup>9</sup> Spent the evening as before, in mutual exhortation.

**Thursday, February 10.** Talked with some of my old proselytes in college. Paid my respects to the Dean,<sup>10</sup> and met with a sharp expostulation for voting against him (as he called it). In an hour we came to a right [1:95] understanding and parted friends.

I dined with Mr. Woods of Abingdon, the same kind friendly man he ever was.<sup>11</sup> In the evening I saw Mr. Carter and Banny Kirkham and laboured to awaken one and confirm the other.<sup>12</sup> At Mr. Sarney’s found good Mr. Gambold<sup>13</sup> and [Charles] Kinchin.

**Friday, February 11.** Exhorted poor languid Smith,<sup>14</sup> and then Carter, to resume all their rules of holy living! In the afternoon was the rector of Lincoln,<sup>15</sup> who received me very

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<sup>5</sup>Thomas Horne (1707–69) had preceded CW at Christ Church by a couple of years but remained as a tutor until 1736 (working alongside CW), when he became vicar of Spelsbury.

<sup>6</sup>William Bromley died very shortly after this election as bursar for the University.

<sup>7</sup>“The Castle” here and in following occurrences is the name of Oxford prison.

<sup>8</sup>See Job 3:18. The Wesley brothers came to know Mrs. Topping when her son John was imprisoned in the Castle. John Topping was born in Enstone, Oxfordshire in 1694, to William and Mary Topping. William was a farmer, who was buried in Cottisford, Oxfordshire in 1725. Upon being put to death, John was buried there on Aug. 21, 1732. The exact date of Mary’s death has not been located.

<sup>9</sup>Rev. Robert Kirkham (c. 1707–67), who entered Merton College, Oxford in 1727, was one of the four earliest members of the Oxford Methodists. Son of Rev. Lionel Kirkham (1675–1736), Robert had succeeded his father as rector of Stanton, Gloucestershire.

<sup>10</sup>John Conybeare (1692–1755), Dean of Christ Church (1733–55).

<sup>11</sup>JW often visited Thomas Woods (1682–1753), headmaster of Abingdon School, in Abingdon, Oxfordshire. Woods had married Penelope Kirkham of Stanton, Gloucestershire, and it was in Abingdon that JW met Robert Kirkham. CW had inherited the relationship.

<sup>12</sup>Richard Carter (c. 1713–37?), of Christ Church (1730–34) and New College (MA 1737), was ordained in 1737 and may have died the same year (see Oct. 1, 1737 entry); and Bernard Kirkham (b. 1718), Robert’s younger brother, who matriculated Corpus Christi in 1735.

<sup>13</sup>John Gambold (1711–71), a graduate of Christ Church, Oxford had been one of the Oxford Methodists, and was now vicar of Stanton Harcourt.

<sup>14</sup>Richard Smith (b. 1714) matriculated Christ Church in 1732 and was tutored by CW, earning his BA in 1736 and MA in 1739. He was active for a while in the Oxford Methodists.

<sup>15</sup>Euseby Isham (d. 1755), Rector of Lincoln College, 1731–55.

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affectionately.

**Saturday, February 12.** By 9:00 at night got back to the Count in London; and consulted him about my journey to Germany.

**Tuesday, February 15.** Told Mr. Oglethorpe my desire of returning with him to Georgia, if I could be of any use there as a clergyman. But as to my secretary's place, I begged him to tell me where, when, and how I should resign it. He bade me think what I did, and when I had well considered the matter he would talk with me farther.

**Friday, February 18.** In walking to St. Martin's met my dearest friend Appee,<sup>16</sup> who accosted me with inimitable assurance and asked where he might meet me. I appointed Mr. Oglethorpe's the next morning.

**Saturday, February 19.** Waited on Mr. Oglethorpe with no great expectation of Appee. He was too wary to keep his appointment.

**Sunday, February 20.** Being to set out the next day to Tiverton, went to take my leave of the Count, who invited me again to Germany, bade not despair, and dismissed me with his blessing. My last words were "*Sit pax vobiscum,*" to which he replied "*Et cum spiritu tuo.*"<sup>17</sup>

**Monday, February 21.** Came in the coach to [1:96] Reading,<sup>18</sup> and the next evening to Marlborough, where I found horses my brother [Westley] Hall had sent to bring me to Wootton.<sup>19</sup> With him and my sisters Patty and Kezzy. I stayed till—

**Monday, February 28,** and then took horse for Bath. The next day got to Wellington, and

**March 1737**

**Wednesday, March 2,** 9:00 in the morning reached Tiverton. Ran up stairs to my sister who received me with tears of joy. I saw Phill next, and last my brother,<sup>1</sup> who seemed at least as well as when he left me at London, three years before. Went to comfort my mother, indisposed in her chamber.

**Tuesday, March 8.** I took horse and on Thursday afternoon got back again to Wootton.

**Tuesday, March 15.** Set out for London in the Marlborough coach, which had been robbed morning and evening for four days before. This fifth morning we passed unmolested. Scarce was I got to town when they fell to robbing again.

**Thursday, March 17.** At Mrs. [Mary] Pendarves found Miss [Ann] Granville and her brother,<sup>2</sup> who pressed me to bear him company to Mickleton.

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<sup>16</sup>CW is speaking sarcastically.

<sup>17</sup>"Peace be with you." "And with your spirit."

<sup>18</sup>CW spells 'Redding'.

<sup>19</sup>Wootton Rivers, Wiltshire, where Westley Hall was curate.

<sup>1</sup>Samuel Wesley Jr. was Head Master of a Blundell's Grammar School in Tiverton. CW is greeting Samuel's wife Ursula, and their daughter Philadelphia, before reaching his brother. He then goes to his mother Susanna, who was now living with Samuel Jr.

<sup>2</sup>Bernard Granville (1699–75), 2nd Duke of Albemarle.

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**Tuesday, March 22.** Set out at 3:00 in the Oxford coach with Mr. Granville, and his sister, and Mr. D'Ewes.<sup>3</sup>

**Wednesday, March 23.** Was<sup>4</sup> much moved at hearing Mr. Gambold's history of my brother.

**Thursday, March 24.** Our company set out again for Mickleton, which we reached by night. We passed the time agreeably enough in walking, conversing, and reading.

[**Sunday, March 27.**<sup>5</sup>]

**Wednesday, March 30.** Rode over to Stanton<sup>6</sup> where they were all overjoyed to see me, especially my first of friends, Varanese.<sup>7</sup>

[1:97]

**[April 1737]**

**Wednesday, April 6.** I had some conversation with Miss [Ann] Granville about the fewness of those that are saved. How little is she advanced in the school of Christ, who is not convinced of this truth!

**Saturday, April 9.** In the evening I had the satisfaction of seeing Mr. [Bernard] Granville much affected to a chapter he had been reading of Mr. Law.<sup>1</sup> He desired his sister might hear it. I read it a second time, and took that opportunity of pressing upon him a daily retirement.

[**Sunday, April 24.**<sup>2</sup>]

**Thursday, April 28.** Took horse with Mr. Granville and [John] D'Ewes. The former left us at Compton,<sup>3</sup> and we rode on towards Spelsbury.<sup>4</sup>

**Saturday, April 30.** Got back to Mr. [John] Sarney's, weary and faint, and in a fever through want of sleep.

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<sup>3</sup>John D'Ewes (1694–1780), of Wellesbourne, who married Ann Granville in 1740. CW spells "Dews."

<sup>4</sup>This is the first instance in the manuscript of a secondary hand adding an 'I'; where CW had omitted it as assumed.

<sup>5</sup>This was likely the day that CW preached at Mickleton his sermon on Luke 10:42 (taken from JW), as recorded in MARC, DDCW 8/13, p. [34].

<sup>6</sup>Stanton, Gloucestershire, where Robert Kirkham was rector.

<sup>7</sup>The Wesley brothers' nickname for Sarah ("Sally") Kirkham, who in 1725 married John Chapone. CW spells "Varanes."

<sup>1</sup>Most likely, again, Law's *Serious Call* (see Oct. 17, 1736 entry above).

<sup>2</sup>CW preached his sermon (taken from JW) on Matt. 6:22–23 in "Aston" and "Wickham." See MARC, MA 1977/608/4, flyleaf (JW, *Works*, 4:371).

<sup>3</sup>I.e., Long Compton, Warwickshire.

<sup>4</sup>CW spells "Spilsbury."

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May 1737

[Sunday, May 1.<sup>1</sup>]

**Monday, May 2.** Between 1:00 and 2:00 in the morning I betook myself to my usual bed, the floor. Charles Graves breakfasted with me, and owned with tears he had never felt any true joy but in religion.<sup>2</sup> I earnestly recommended [William] Law to him.

At noon visited Mr. [John] Gambold, right glad to see me. Found him much cheerfuller than usual. His sister just the same.<sup>3</sup> In the afternoon I talked with the prisoners, very attentive; with the Dean [Conybeare], very kind and friendly.

**Tuesday, May 3.** At 2:00 Mr. Sarney rose to pray for me. I rose too, and set out for London, which I reached in a few hours.

**Thursday, May 5.** I met [Harman] Verelst and council at Mr. [James] Oglethorpe's about the hearing they are shortly to have before the Board of Trade. When they were gone, Mr. Oglethorpe said if the government had dropped Georgia, he would not let the poor people perish, but sell his estate, which he could do for £45,000, and support them upon the interest. [1:98]

**Friday, May 20.** At her desire, I waited upon Lady Betty Hastings.<sup>4</sup> Her inquiries about Georgia were interrupted by the Bishop of Gloucester's coming.<sup>5</sup>

**Saturday, May 21.** Rode out of town to meet my brother and sister from Tiverton,<sup>6</sup> and attended them to Mr. Powel's.

**Monday, May 30.** Carried my brother to the good Archbishop,<sup>7</sup> who received us very kindly.

June 1737

**Wednesday, June 1.** Accepted an invitation from Mrs. Benson, and rode down to Cheshunt Nunnery.<sup>1</sup> Miss Kitty and Mrs. Johnson were there before me. I was much delighted

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<sup>1</sup>CW preached at the Castle prison in Oxford his sermon (taken from JW) on Matt. 6:22–23; see MARC, MA 1977/608/4, flyleaf (JW, *Works*, 4:371).

<sup>2</sup>Charles Caspar Graves (1716–87) of Mickleton, Gloucestershire, matriculated at Magdalen College, Oxford in Oct. 1736.

<sup>3</sup>Martha Gambold (1713–41), who lived with her brother in Stanton Harcourt.

<sup>4</sup>Elizabeth Hastings (1682–1739), the older unmarried stepsister of Theophilus Hastings (1696–1746), Earl of Huntingdon. She was a supporter of The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, which sponsored the ministry of the Wesley brothers and Benjamin Ingham in Georgia.

<sup>5</sup>Martin Benson (1689–1752) was Bishop of Gloucester, 1734–52.

<sup>6</sup>Samuel Wesley Jr. and his wife Ursula (Berry) Wesley.

<sup>7</sup>John Potter had just been elevated to Archbishop of Canterbury.

<sup>1</sup>The site of a medieval nunnery, this was now an estate near Cheshunt, Hertfordshire that had been willed by Robert Benson (1676–1731), Lord Bingley in 1729 to Robert Benson (b. 1715), the son of Lord Bingley's deceased cousin Samuel Benson Esq. (1684–1723) and his wife

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both with the place and the company. After dinner I missed my letter-book,<sup>2</sup> and rode back to town, seeking it in vain. By 7:00 next morning I was at the Nunnery again, and returned to London in the afternoon.

**Friday, June 3.** Between 6:00 and 7:00 this evening I took horse for Cheshunt, eighteen miles from London. Got there by 9:00. And the next morning rode eighteen miles farther, to Hatfield,<sup>3</sup> to see my sister Nancy.<sup>4</sup> In the afternoon I returned to the Nunnery.

**Trinity Sunday, June 5.** We all went in an hired coach to Wormley, where I preached “few saved,”<sup>5</sup> and was pleased to see the family stay the unexpected sacrament. In the evening rode back to town.

**Monday, June 6.** At 10:00 we were again before the Board of Trade.<sup>6</sup> Till 12:00 Carolina side was heard. Then our council (confused enough) was heard for Georgia.

**Wednesday, June 8.** I made affidavit in Chancery Lane as to what I knew relating to Georgia. At 1:00 I called upon my uncle, and found him exceeding ill.

**Thursday, June 9.** At the Board, part of our [1:99] Charter and Acts were read, etc. I declared upon oath that all the traders licenced were supposed to be within Georgia. After my affidavit was read, Murray made our defence.<sup>7</sup> But so little to Mr. [James] Oglethorpe’s satisfaction that he started up and ran out.

I dined with my brother at Lord Oxford’s.<sup>8</sup> Lady Oxford, Lord Duplin, and the famed Lady Mary were of the company.<sup>9</sup>

**Saturday, June 11.** Found my uncle dying. He pressed my hand, showed much natural

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Sarah (Huxley) Benson (1684–1767), who married in 1712. “Miss Kitty” was likely Robert’s sister Frances Benson (b. 1722). The younger Robert Benson matriculated at Pembroke College, Oxford in 1732, as a classmate of George Whitefield. Walter Chapman and John Hutchings, other Oxford Methodists, were also resident at Pembroke at the time.

<sup>2</sup>A manuscript notebook in which he kept extracts of letters sent and received (see the example of JW covering 1724–29; MARC, MA 1977/157, JW III.2). No notebook covering this time period for CW is known to survive.

<sup>3</sup>The descriptions here and in the Aug. 17, 1737 entry rule out Hatfield, Herefordshire. It is most likely Hatfield Heath (or nearby Hatfield Broad Oak), Essex.

<sup>4</sup>I.e., Anne (Wesley) Lambert.

<sup>5</sup>CW was likely preaching from Luke 13:23–30, as this chapter had been the lesson a few days earlier.

<sup>6</sup>See the note on Dec. 9, 1736.

<sup>7</sup>Apparently William Murray, 1st Earl of Mansfield (1705–93), an older classmate of CW at Westminster School and Christ Church, Oxford, who was called to the bar at Lincoln’s Inn in 1730. Murray eventually became Lord Chief Justice (1756–88).

<sup>8</sup>Edward Harley, 2nd Earl of Oxford and Mortimer (1689–1741).

<sup>9</sup>Henrietta Cavendish Harley (1693–1755); Thomas Hay (1710–97), Viscount Dupplin, and later 9th Earl of Kinnoull; and Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1689–1762).

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affection, and bade me give his love to his sister.<sup>10</sup> Spent the evening at Cheshunt, in reading Mr. Law to the family—my usual employment there.

**Sunday evening, [June 12].** I heard that my uncle died a little after I left him.

**Monday, June [13].** Waited on my brother and sister a little way on their road to Tiverton.

On Wednesday breakfasted at the Nunnery.

On Thursday night attended my uncle to his grave.<sup>11</sup>

**Friday, June 17.** I heard the last of my friend [Peter] Appee's adventures here from one Mr. Laba, a cutler; from whom he had just stole a watch and run away with it to Paris.

**Saturday, June 18.** Before the Board of Trade for the last time, to hear Carolina's reply to Georgia.

Spent the rest of the month between Cheshunt and Hatfield [Heath].

**July 1737**

**Saturday, July 2.** I was at the Nunnery, and the next day preached at Hatfield [Heath]. Slept at Cheshunt.

**Monday, July 4.** In the evening I set out for Oxford. Came thither the next day, where James Hutton had got before me. In the [1:100] evening young [Charles] Graves came to me at [John] Sarney's, in an excellent temper. I encouraged him to go on in the narrow way,<sup>12</sup> and strongly recommended stated hours of retirement.

**Thursday, July 7.** I pressed the same upon poor [Richard] Smith in our walk to Mr. [John] Gambold's, where I found my sister Kezzy.<sup>13</sup> Got back to dinner with Lady Cocks<sup>14</sup> and her sisters.

In the evening Graves told me that on this day he first felt the beginnings of the change, and was convinced of the reality of what he only believed before upon my brother's and my testimony. He appeared full of joy and love.

**Saturday, July 9.** Set out with James [Hutton] for Wootton. Quite spent, I laid me down and slept for a quarter of an hour upon the ground. By 2:00 we reached Marlborough, and by 4:00 Wootton.<sup>15</sup> My mother was lately come thither from Tiverton.

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<sup>10</sup>That is, his sister-in-law, Susanna (Annesley) Wesley.

<sup>11</sup>Matthew Wesley (c. 1664–1737) was buried June 16, 1737 at St. Dunstan's in the West.

<sup>12</sup>See Matt. 7:14.

<sup>13</sup>John Gambold was vicar of Stanton Harcourt, Oxfordshire. He had recently agreed to host CW's sister Kezzy, so that she did not have to live with Westley Hall (cf. the Dec. 6, 1736 entry above).

<sup>14</sup>Lady Mary (Bethell) Cocks (1691–1764), second wife of Sir Robert Cocks (1659–1726), 2nd baronet, of Dumbleton; CW spells "Cox." Her sisters were Priscilla Bethell (1690–1768) and Bridget Bethell (1692–1768).

<sup>15</sup>Wootton Rivers, Wiltshire; the home of Westley and Martha (Wesley) Hall.

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**Monday, July 11.** Meeting Ch-n<sup>16</sup> at Bath, we could get no farther. He carried us to see the quarries, where I narrowly missed being dashed to pieces.

On **Wednesday, July 13**, we came safe to Tiverton.

**Saturday, July 23, and Sunday, 24.** At Wootton. Days never to be forgot!

**Monday, July 25.** I heard at Oxford that Charles Graves had been carried away by his friends as stark mad.

**Thursday, July 28.** Spied Robinson and Battely in the Long-walk and crossed over to speak with them.<sup>17</sup> They fell upon me unawares, desiring me to take some of the Cowley saints to Georgia;<sup>18</sup> charged the Methodists with intrusion, schism, and bringing neglect upon the ministry. We differed *toto coelo*.<sup>19</sup> I left them with, “Remember, you will be of my mind when you come to die.”

**Friday, July 29.** We set out for London [1:101] with Mr. Morgan<sup>20</sup> and Mr. [Charles] Kinchin, and on

**Saturday, July [30],**<sup>21</sup> Finished our travels at College Street,<sup>22</sup> where I had the satisfaction of finding my old hearty friend, Benjamin Ingham.

**August 1737**

**Monday, August 1.** I read Mr. [James] Oglethorpe my brother’s letter to the Trustees, charging [William] Horton with raising a scandalous report about me. He would not advise one way or the other, which I interpreted as a dissuasive and therefore took no farther notice of the matter.

[**Sunday, August 14.**<sup>23</sup>]

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<sup>16</sup>Possibly Ch[arles Kinchi]n.

<sup>17</sup>These two shared connections with CW to Westminster School and Christ Church. Richard Robinson (1709–94) overlapped CW at Westminster 1722–26, and matriculated Christ Church a year before him. Robinson had taken his MA in 1733, was currently a chaplain to the Archbishop of York, and would end his career as Archbishop of Armagh (1765–94). Oliver Battely (1697–1763) was older, attending Westminster 1712–16, and taking his BA from Christ Church in 1720 (MA 1724, BD 1734). CW spells “Bateley.”

<sup>18</sup>Battely served for several years as curate at Cowley (Oxfordshire), and was surely using “saints” ironically in reference to some of his parishioners.

<sup>19</sup>A Latin phrase signifying the concurrence of “all the heavens”; i.e., entirely.

<sup>20</sup>Richard Morgan (1714–85), young brother of William Morgan, whose death in 1732 had been attributed to the rigorous discipline of the Oxford Methodists.

<sup>21</sup>Orig., “July 31”; an error.

<sup>22</sup>I.e., the home of John Hutton.

<sup>23</sup>CW preached his sermon on Ps. 126:7 at Duke Street Chapel this day; see MARC, MA 1977/608/2, front cover.



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**Wednesday, August 17.** After spending some time at Hatfield [Heath], I set out with my brother Lambert<sup>24</sup> for London. At Epping he went back, full of good resolutions.

**Thursday, August 18.** Hearing that Mrs. Delamotte<sup>25</sup> was now in town, I went to see her. We fell into discourse upon resignation, and she seemed resolved to acquiesce in the will of God, detaining her Isaac from her.

**Sunday, August 21.** Took horse again for Hatfield [Heath]. Read prayers and preached at Wormley, called on Dr. Nichols,<sup>26</sup> and rode on.

My brother [Lambert] I left on [**Wednesday**] the twenty-fourth, in excellent temper. Called and dined at Dr. Newton's.<sup>27</sup>

**Thursday, August 25.** After giving the sacrament to a sick woman, I breakfasted with Mr. Chadwick. We had some close talk about the new birth, with which he was greatly moved. I took opportunity of recommending regular retirement, and religious acquaintance. I preached at Ludgate,<sup>28</sup> dined with Mrs. Musgrove,<sup>29</sup> and called in the afternoon at Mrs. Delamotte's. The Cambridge youth was there,<sup>30</sup> but we had no very useful conversation. [1:102]

**Friday, August 26.** I waited upon His Majesty at Hampton Court, with the Oxford address,<sup>31</sup> by the advice of Mr. Potter. The Archbishop told me he was glad to see me there. We kissed their Majesty's hands, and were invited to dinner. I left that, and the company, and hasted back to town. The next day [**August 27**] we waited upon his Royal Highness,<sup>32</sup> and dined all together at St. James's [palace].

**Sunday, August 28.**<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>24</sup>This is his brother-in-law, John Lambert, married to Anne ("Nancy").

<sup>25</sup>Elizabeth (Whickham) Delamotte (1685–1771), mother of Charles Delamotte.

<sup>26</sup>Likely Rev. Dr. William Nichols (c. 1693–1774), with whom CW shared childhood roots in Lincolnshire. Nichols was vicar of St. Luke, Old Street in London.

<sup>27</sup>Apparently James Newton, M.D. (c. 1670–1750), who ran a "madhouse" in Islington. His son James (1713–86) was a student at Christ Church, Oxford, while CW was tutoring there.

<sup>28</sup>A debtor's prison at one of the main gates in London Wall. George Whitefield had preached there regularly in 1736.

<sup>29</sup>CW spells "Musgrave," but JW gives it as "Musgrove."

<sup>30</sup>I.e., William Delamotte (1718–43), brother of Charles Delamotte, and a student at Cambridge.

<sup>31</sup>The Vice-Chancellor and several heads of house of Oxford University came to the royal palace in Hampton, Middlesex, this day to present an address congratulating King George II (1683–1760) and his wife Caroline (1683–Nov. 1737) on the birth of a new princess (granddaughter). As a fellow of Christ Church, CW joined the party and met the royal couple.

<sup>32</sup>Frederick, Prince of Wales (1707–51), son of George II.

<sup>33</sup>CW preached his sermon on Ps. 126:7 at St. John's (unclear which one in greater London) this day; see MARC, MA 1977/608/2, front cover.

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**Wednesday, August 31.** I talked at large upon my state with Mr. Law at Putney.<sup>34</sup> The sum of his advice was, “Renounce yourself; and be not impatient.”

**September 1737**

**Friday, September 9.** Consulted Mr. Law a second time, and asked him several questions:

[CW:] “With what comment shall I read the Scriptures?”<sup>35</sup>

[Law:] “None.”

[CW:] “What do you think of one who dies unrenewed, while endeavouring after it?”

[Law:] “It concerns neither you to ask, nor me to answer.”

[CW:] “Shall I write once more to such a person?”

[Law:] “No.”

[CW:] “But I am persuaded it will do him good.”

[Law:] “Sir, I have told you my opinion.”

[CW:] “Shall I write to you?”

[Law:] “Nothing I can either speak or write will do you any good.”

**Saturday, September 10.** Calling at Mr. Delamotte’s,<sup>36</sup> I found Miss Hetty<sup>37</sup> there and gave her her brother’s letter. We soon fell into talk about the new birth. She lamented her not being acquainted with me sooner, and that she could not be in the country now I was going thither. I walked back to Charles Rivington’s and fetched her Mr. Law,<sup>38</sup> and then took coach for Eltham and Blendon.<sup>39</sup>

My friend Benjamin [Ingham] [1:103] had been there before me, and met with such a reception as encouraged me to follow. He had preached to them with power, and still more powerfully by his life and conversation. The eldest sister,<sup>40</sup> and Cambridge scholar [William], were struck to the heart. The first evening passed in discourse of my namesake in America.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>34</sup>William Law (1686–1761).

<sup>35</sup>I.e., what commentator or commentary should he use.

<sup>36</sup>Peter Delamotte (d. 1749), husband of Elizabeth. (Note: he is sometimes wrongly identified as a “Thomas” Delamotte.) He maintained a London residence in Fresh Wharf, near London Bridge.

<sup>37</sup>Esther (“Hetty”) Delamotte (1712–79), sister of Charles Delamotte.

<sup>38</sup>That is, he fetched a copy of Law’s book from Charles Rivington’s book store.

<sup>39</sup>Blendon Hall, home of the Delamotte family, near Bexley, Kent, about 12 miles southeast of London.

<sup>40</sup>Elizabeth (“Betty/Betsy”) Delamotte (1710–80).

<sup>41</sup>I.e., Charles Delamotte.

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**Sunday, September 11.** I preached “the one thing needful.”<sup>42</sup> Had some serious talk with Miss Betsy, and read to Mrs. [Elizabeth] Delamotte part of my journal relating to their intended visitant [Peter] Appee.

**Monday, September 12.** Returned to town and spent an hour with Hetty in discoursing on the inward change and reading Law. She received all his sayings with the utmost readiness.

**Tuesday, September 13.** I went again to my simple Hetty, to learn some of her humility. Her convictions were much deepened by my reading of the *Life of God in the Soul of Man*.<sup>43</sup> I took my leave and set out for Oxford, by way of Windsor and Mr. Thorold’s.<sup>44</sup>

**Thursday, September 15.** Rose (at [John] Sarney’s) with earnest desires of resigning myself up entirely to God. Had the satisfaction of seeing an excellent letter from young [Charles] Graves in the country.

**Friday, September 16.** Walked over with Mr. [John] Gambold to Stanton Harcourt. After much talk of their states, we agreed that I should not speak at all to my sister [Kezzy] on religion, but fully to his [Martha].

Calling accidentally in the evening at my sister’s room, she fell upon my neck, and in a flood of tears begged me to pray for her. Seeing her so softened, I did not know but this might be her time, and sat down. She anticipated me by saying she had felt here what she never felt before, and believed now there was such a thing as the new creature. She was full of earnest wishes for divine [1:104] love; owned there was a depth in religion she had never fathomed; that she was not, but longed to be, converted; would give up all to obtain the love of God; renewed her request with great vehemence that I would pray for her; often repeating, “I am weak, I am exceeding weak.” I prayed over her, and blessed God from my heart. Then used Pascal’s prayer for conversion,<sup>45</sup> with which she was much affected, and begged me to write it out for her.

After supper (at which I could not eat for joy), I read Mr. Law’s account of redemption.<sup>46</sup> She was greatly moved, full of tears, and sighs, and eagerness for more. Poor Mrs. Gambold<sup>47</sup> was quite unaffected, her time being not yet come.

**Saturday, September 17.** I prayed with Kezzy, still in the same temper, convinced all her misery had proceeded from her not loving God.

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<sup>42</sup>His sermon on Luke 10:42 (taken from JW); CW’s notation of preaching on this date is found on p. 34 of DDCW 8/13.

<sup>43</sup>Henry Scougal (1650–78), *The Life of God in the Soul of Man* (London: Charles Smith & William Jacob, 1677).

<sup>44</sup>John Thorold (1703–75), who had preceded JW in a fellowship at Lincoln College, Oxford, and would later become Sir John Thorold, 8th baronet.

<sup>45</sup>I.e., Pascal’s “Prayer composed in Sickness,” which is focused on conversion.

<sup>46</sup>Likely Law, *Serious Call*, 472ff.

<sup>47</sup>Mrs. Elizabeth Gambold (d. 1744), mother of John.

**Charles Wesley Manuscript Journal, MARC, DDCW 10/2**  
**1737**

This morning Mr. Wells of Jesus College came in.<sup>48</sup> I took occasion to mention Mr. Law on the redemption, read part of it, and rejoiced in his so cordially joining us.

**Sunday, September 18.** I preached at the Castle, and gave the sacrament to threescore communicants. In the afternoon at Stanton Harcourt.<sup>49</sup> Was continually called upon by Kezzy to pray with her. We supped at Mr. Bonnell's.<sup>50</sup>

**Wednesday, September 21.** Rejoiced to hear at Oxford that [Charles] Graves was returned from his friends unshaken. At night he came in (to Sarney's), fell upon my neck, and burst into tears. It is hard to say whether his friends' hatred, or his love, of me exceeds.

**Thursday, September 22.** Breakfasted with Mr. Rock at Nuneham,<sup>51</sup> and dined at Mapledurham with Mr. Burton.<sup>52</sup> Next morning I got to Mr. [1:105] Thorold's at Windsor, and in two hours to London. But my hard riding had nearly occasioned my being apprehended for an highwayman.

**Saturday, September 24.** At 12:00 set out for Blendon. Passing Mr. Delamotte's<sup>53</sup> I was reminded to call, though they were all out of town. Contrary to my expectation, I found Hetty left behind. We passed two hours in conference and prayer.

Two hours afterwards I was with her again, and read Scougal on "few saved."<sup>54</sup> She was quite melted down, and after a prayer for love, said, "God knows my heart. I do desire nothing but him."

**Sunday, September 25.** I met her at the sacrament in Crooked Lane,<sup>55</sup> and endeavoured to prepare her for persecution, which all must suffer who will live godly in Christ Jesus.

**Tuesday, September 27.** Rode to Windsor, and next day to Mapledurham by noon. An hour after I took horse, and quickly lost myself in a wood, but by breaking fences, and leaping ditches, got at last to Dorchester.<sup>56</sup> I lost myself again between that and Nuneham [Courtney] but soon recovered it and by night came to honest Mr. Sarney's.

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<sup>48</sup>Rev. Christopher Wells (1706–66) had taken his BA, MA, and DD from Jesus College, Oxford, and was currently a fellow there. Wells was sympathetic with the Oxford Methodists, but soon disclaimed the emphases of the post-1738 revival.

<sup>49</sup>At Stanton Harcourt he preached the sermon on Luke 10:42 (taken from JW); see MARC, DDCW 8/13, p. [34].

<sup>50</sup>John Bonnell Esq. (1689–1757) and his family resided in Stanton Harcourt.

<sup>51</sup>Samuel Rock (1697–1758) of Nuneham Courtney; CW spells "Newnham." His wife, Zenobia (Newton) Rock (1704–79), was daughter of Dr. James Newton of Islington. Her brother James would later become rector of this parish.

<sup>52</sup>Rev. John Burton (1696–1771), vicar of Mapledurham, Oxfordshire, was a friend of JW and a founding trustee of the colony of Georgia.

<sup>53</sup>I.e., his London residence at Fresh Wharf.

<sup>54</sup>See Scougal, *Life of God*, 3ff.

<sup>55</sup>St. Michael's church, Crooked Lane, London.

<sup>56</sup>Dorchester-on-Thames, Oxfordshire.

**Charles Wesley Manuscript Journal, MARC, DDCW 10/2**  
**1737**

**Thursday, September 29.** Found Graves and Kezzy still pressing forward.

In the afternoon met Mr. [Christopher] Wells alone, and had some close talk with him upon the new birth, self-renunciation, etc. He confessed reputation was his idol; rejected his own righteousness; convinced, but fearful; longing to break loose. I went with him to the chapel, and afterwards resumed the subject. He seemed on the brink of the new birth.

[1:106]

**October 1737**

**Saturday, October 1.** I prayed by Mr. Carter, who lay a-dying;<sup>57</sup> and by Mrs. Sarney, in the same condition.

**Sunday, October 2.** Carried [Charles] Graves to Stanton Harcourt, where I gave the sacrament, and then preached at South Leigh. In the evening we returned to Oxford.

**Monday, October 3.** At 6:00 took horse for Berkswell. A little on this side [of] Banbury my horse threw me, with great violence, over his head, and tumbled after, but not upon me. I rose first, unhurt, except that I sprained my leg. With much wandering through excessive bad roads by night, I got to Mr. Boyse's, quite exhausted.<sup>58</sup>

**Tuesday, October 4.** Waked much refreshed. The family showed me all possible civility, especially dear Susan,<sup>59</sup> for whose sake I had come.

**Wednesday, October 5.** Parted as friends should part. Returned before night to Oxford.

**Friday, October 7.** Received a letter from James Hutton, summoning me on board in fourteen days.<sup>60</sup>

**Saturday, October 8.** Endeavoured to fix [Charles] Kinchin, [John] Sarney, Washington,<sup>61</sup> and Hutchings<sup>62</sup> in meeting as my brother, etc., used formerly. Rode to Spelsbury to see my old friend [Thomas] Horne, and returned by night to read *Nicodemus* at Queen's.<sup>63</sup>

**Sunday, October 9.** Gave the sacrament and preached at South Leigh. In the evening at dear Charles [Grave]'s, still growing in humility and love.

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<sup>57</sup>Apparently Richard Carter, of Christ Church, who had been ordained in September. There is no surviving record of his burial, or of him serving a parish.

<sup>58</sup>Rev. Richard Boyse (1684–1759) was rector of Berkswell and the chapel of Barston. He was the brother of Damaris (Boyse) Kirkham, Lionel Kirkham's wife.

<sup>59</sup>Boyse's wife was Mary (Blackford) Boyse. Living with them was his unmarried sister, Susanna Boyse (1681–1772), who had been part of CW's circle of friends in the Cotswolds during his Oxford years.

<sup>60</sup>This letter is not known to survive.

<sup>61</sup>Henry Washington (b. 1718) matriculated Queen's College, Oxford in 1733, receiving his BA in 1737 and MA in 1741. He was active in the Oxford Methodists during his early studies but rejected their evangelical emphases of 1738.

<sup>62</sup>John Hutchings (b. 1716), of Pembroke College, Oxford. CW spells "Hutchins."

<sup>63</sup>August Hermann Francke, *Nicodemus; or, a Treatise against the Fear of Man* (London: Joseph Downing, 1706); a work read often among the Oxford Methodists.

**Charles Wesley Manuscript Journal, MARC, DDCW 10/2**  
**1737**

**Monday, October 10.** Being determined not to leave England till I had come to a full explanation with Dicky Graves,<sup>64</sup> this morning I went to his rooms, talked the whole matter [over], and were both entirely satisfied.

Then I spoke of my making his brother [1:107] Charles mad; hoped he himself would be one of those whose life fools count madness; explained the nature of true religion: “no other than what you once laboured after, till the gentleman swallowed up the Christian.” He was greatly moved, complained he could not pray. I appealed to him whether he had not formerly felt more solid pleasure in religion than in all the caresses of the world. He confessed it, and resolved to return. I earnestly recommended Law, and daily retirement, as my last legacy. “My heart’s desire to God for you is, that you may be saved. In a little time, all I can do will be to pray for you. And I hope you will now pray for me, as for a friend, not an enemy.”<sup>65</sup> He answered, “That I shall do heartily. I am satisfied you are my sincere friend.” We then kissed, and parted—till that day.

**Tuesday, October 11.** Set out for London. In a mile’s riding my horse fell lame. I sung the 91st Psalm, and put myself under the divine protection. I had scarce ended, and turned the hut, on Shotover Hill, when a man came up to me and demanded my money, showing, but not presenting, a pistol. I gave him my purse. He asked how much there was. “About thirty shillings.” “Have you no more?” “I will see.” Put my hand in my pocket, and gave him some halfpence. He repeated the question, “Have you no more?” I had thirty pounds in a private pocket. Bade him search himself, which he did not choose. He ordered me to dismount; which I did, but begged hard for my horse again, promising not to pursue him. He took my word and restored him. [1:108] I rode gently on, praising God. My bags, and watch, and gold, the robber was *forced* to leave me. By the evening I reached Westminster.

**Friday, October 14.** I was informed at the office that I was to go in three weeks with the Lieutenant Colonel by way of Gibraltar.<sup>66</sup>

**Sunday, October 16.** Rode to Blendon, and read S. S.<sup>67</sup> to the two sisters, and prayed with them for conversion. Employed again in like manner after the opposers were gone to bed.

**Tuesday, October 18.** Jacky Delamotte<sup>68</sup> and I took horse. Mine fell into a hole, but I kept my seat. His followed, and flung him over his head. Neither hurt.

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<sup>64</sup>Richard Graves (1715–1804), older brother of Charles, had finished his BA at Pembroke the previous year and was working on his MA at All Souls’s college. He earned note later as author of *The Spiritual Quixote* (London: Dodsley, 1773).

<sup>65</sup>See Rom. 10:11.

<sup>66</sup>In Sept. King George II appointed Oglethorpe full Colonel, and James Cochran his Lieutenant Colonel over a regiment as they prepared to return to Georgia.

<sup>67</sup>Samuel Shaw (1635–96), *Immanuel: or, A Discourse of True Religion* (London: s.n., 1667); see the abridgement of chapter 3, in CW’s hand, as an apparent sermon on John 4:41 (MARC, MA 1977/608/3). There is a copy of the published book in MARC (ref. MAW CW9) with CW’s name (but no date) inscribed.

<sup>68</sup>John Delamotte (b. 1720), another son of Peter and Elizabeth (Wickham) Delamotte.

**Charles Wesley Manuscript Journal, MARC, DDCW 10/2**  
**1737**

[**Sunday, October 23.**<sup>69</sup>]

**Friday, October 28.** Found Miss Betty at Fresh Wharf,<sup>70</sup> and spent an hour or two with her and Jacky. Next morning was with her alone, and spoke largely of the danger of lukewarmness, and resting in negative goodness. I never saw her so moved before.

**Sunday, October 30.** Waked them at 5:00, and attended them to Forster Lane,<sup>71</sup> where we heard Mr. [George] Whitefield and communicated together. I preached at St. Helen's "the one thing needful."<sup>72</sup>

In the afternoon I carried her and her brother to Mr. Chadwick's (my usual lodgings), and thence to Ironmonger's Lane.<sup>73</sup> After preaching the same sermon here we drank tea at Mr. Chadwick's, and then took coach for College Street.<sup>74</sup> They were much delighted with the singing there and edified, I hope, by George Whitefield's example. It was near 11:00 before I left them at their own house.

[1:109]

**November 1737**

**Wednesday, November 2.** I was at the office and returned the Trustees thanks for the £50 they had lately ordered me as a missionary. I dined with them, and they desired me to draw up a scheme for an orphan-house. The evening I passed at Fresh Wharf. Good old Mr. [Peter] Delamotte was there, and pleased me much by his seeming so heartily to relish our reading Bishop Hall.<sup>75</sup>

**Friday, November 4.** Heard an excellent sermon at St. Antholin's on holiness, or likeness to God;<sup>76</sup> and passed the evening with brother [William] Delamotte, who then told me the reason why I was not sent for to Blendon was Mrs. [Elizabeth] Delamotte's fear of my making Hetty run mad. And when I gave them notice of my coming she sent her up to town, that I might not see her—which providence made the means of my having so many hours with her

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<sup>69</sup>CW preached twice this day in Westminster, in both cases a sermon of JW that he had copied (the manuscripts survive in MARC, DDCW 8/13). In the morning he preached on Mark 12:30 at Duke Street Chapel (cf. JW, *Works*, 4:329–45); and in the evening on Prov. 11:30 at St. John the Evangelist's (cf. JW, *Works*, 4:305–17). CW's notation of preaching the texts is found on p. 34 of DDCW 8/13.

<sup>70</sup>CW uses both "Betsy" and "Betty" to refer to the eldest Delamotte sister.

<sup>71</sup>This would be St. Vedast's church, on Forster Lane (now Foster Lane), London.

<sup>72</sup>St. Helen's church, Bishopsgate, London. The sermon on Luke 10:42 (taken from JW); see MARC, DDCW 8/13, p. [34].

<sup>73</sup>That is, at the church of St. Olave Jewry, which stood on the corner of St. Olave's Court and Old Jewry (only the tower remains).

<sup>74</sup>I.e., the home of Rev. John Hutton.

<sup>75</sup>They were likely reading Joseph Hall, *The Art of Divine Meditation* (London: Macham & Cooke, 1606), a favourite of the Oxford Methodists.

<sup>76</sup>St. Antholin's church, Budge Row, London.

**Charles Wesley Manuscript Journal, MARC, DDCW 10/2**  
**1737**

alone.

**Saturday, November 5.** I met and turned back with Betty to hear Mr. [George] Whitefield preach, not with the persuasive words of man's wisdom but with the demonstration of the Spirit and with power.<sup>77</sup> The churches will not contain the multitudes that throng to hear him.

**Monday, November 7.** I read over *Pietas Hallensis*<sup>78</sup> and desired our orphan-house might be begun in the power of faith.

**Thursday, November 10.** In obedience to a summons from Miss Betsy [Delamotte] this morning, took coach for Greenwich and walked the rest of the way to Blendon. We had some animating discourse before Mrs. Delamotte came in. Then we fell into talk of the new birth, which she did not at all relish, but continued still cold, averse, and prejudiced against the truth.

[1:110]

**Sunday, November 13.** Preached at Bexley on the love of God.<sup>79</sup> Mrs. Delamotte thanked me for my sermon with tears, owned she had loved Charles too well, and was quite altered in her behaviour towards me. Farther conversation on the love of God. Mr. [Peter] Delamotte confessed there could be no happiness in anything else.

**Monday, November 14.** Little Molly burst into tears upon my telling her God loved her.<sup>80</sup> The whole family now appear not far from the kingdom of God.

**Sunday, November 20.** At St. Helen's preached the circumcision of heart.<sup>81</sup> The next day my flux returned.

**Tuesday, November 22.** Mr. Oglethorpe advised me to go to Tiverton. Went to take my leave of our friends at Blendon. Mrs. Delamotte was quite open, and not afraid that her son should be called a Methodist.

**Friday, November 25.** At Mr. Hutton's this evening my brothers Lambert and Wright<sup>82</sup> visited me. The latter has corrupted the former, after all the pains I have taken with him, and brought him back to drinking. I was full, yet could not speak. Prayed for meekness and then set before him the things he had done in the devil's name, toward reconverting a soul to him. He left us abruptly. I encouraged poor John Lambert to turn again unto God.

[**Saturday, November 26.**<sup>83</sup>]

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<sup>77</sup>See 1 Cor. 2:4.

<sup>78</sup>August Hermann Franke, *Pietas Hallensis; or, A Public Demonstration of the Foot steps of a Divine Being yet in the World. In an Historical Narration of the Orphan-House and other Charitable Institutions, at Glaucha, near Hall, in Saxony* (Edinburgh: J. Davidson, 1727).

<sup>79</sup>CW was preaching JW's sermon on Mark 12:30 (cf. JW, *Works*, 4:329–45).

<sup>80</sup>Miss Mary ("Molly") Delamotte (b. 1729), youngest sister of Charles Delamotte.

<sup>81</sup>CW was likely preaching JW's sermon by this title, on Rom. 2:29, delivered at St. Mary's Oxford in 1733. No early manuscripts of this sermon survive, but JW included an updated version in Vol. 2 of his *Sermons* in 1748; see JW, *Works*, 1:398–414.

<sup>82</sup>This would be William Wright, married to CW's sister Mehetabel ("Hetty").

<sup>83</sup>CW makes no mention of the long letter he wrote to Count Zinzendorf this day.



**Charles Wesley Manuscript Journal, MARC, DDCW 10/2  
1737**

**Monday, November 28.** Took coach for Tiverton. The next day called on my mother in Salisbury.<sup>84</sup> She vehemently protested against our returning to Georgia.

**Wednesday, November 30.** Had much serious conversation with a gentlewoman in the coach concerning the new birth. I read part of Mr. Law. She was deeply struck, melted, conquered.

**December 1737**

**Thursday, December 1.** We lodged at Dorchester, when my distemper fully returned.

[1:111]

**Friday, December 2.** Met horses at Honiton, and by 4:00 came to Tiverton, where I found my brother much better.

**Sunday, December 4.** Was much melted at the sacrament. In the evening reproved my sister<sup>85</sup> (which I am often forced to do) for evil speaking.

**Thursday, December 22.** Quite wearied out by her incessant slanders, today I had a downright quarrel with her about it. My brother on these occasions is either silent or on my side.

**Tuesday, December 27.** I was not sorry to set out for London. Rode as far as Taunton.

**Wednesday, December 28.** In the coach employed myself mostly in reading Cyrus's *Travels*,<sup>86</sup> and Leslie's *Short Method with the Deists*.<sup>87</sup>

**Thursday, December 29.** Narrowly escaped overturning, through the loss of a wheel. Supped in Salisbury, at my brother [Westley] Hall's.

**Saturday, December 31.** Set out at 2:00 in the morning, and with the night came to James Hutton's.

[1:112 is left blank]

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<sup>84</sup>Westley Hall had just moved to a small parish in Salisbury and Susanna (Annesley) Wesley was here visiting her daughter Martha (Wesley) Hall's family.

<sup>85</sup>That is, his sister-in-law, Ursula.

<sup>86</sup>Andrew Michael Ramsay (1686–1743), *The Travels of Cyrus*, 2 vols. (London: Woodward & Peele, 1727). CW later purchased a copy of the 1728 French edition, which is in MARC (ref. MAW CW52), with his signature and the date Feb. 22, 1762 inscribed.

<sup>87</sup>Charles Leslie (1650–1722), *A Short and Easy Method with the Deists* (London: Brome, 1699). There is a 1723 edition of this work in MARC (ref. MAW CW50), with CW's signature and the date 1747 inscribed.

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1738

[1:113]

January 1738

**Thursday, January 5, 1738.** Made frequent visits this month to Blendon, and rejoiced over Mrs. [Elizabeth] Delamotte, now entirely cordial and friendly. We were joined by Mr. Piers, the minister of Bexley, who delighted in every opportunity of conversing, singing, praying with us.<sup>1</sup>

February 1738

**Friday, February 3.** In the afternoon news was brought me at James Hutton's that my brother [JW] was come from America. I could not believe till at night I saw him. He comes, not driven away, but to tell the true state of the colony, which according to his account is truly deplorable.

**Saturday, February 4.** Informed Mr. [James] Oglethorpe of his arrival. He was very inquisitive into the cause of his coming. Said he ought not to have returned without the Trustees' leave.

At 10:00, before the Council, heard the fresh pleadings for Carolina.

**Monday, February 6.** Waited on the good Archbishop [Potter], who received me with his usual kindness.

**Wednesday, February 8.** With the Trustees, who were surprised by my brother's account of Georgia, the fewness of the people, etc.

**Friday, February 10.** We dined at Mr. [James] Vernon's, who accosted me, "Well, sir, I hope you intend returning to Georgia." I answered, "That is my desire and design." Heard more of the great discouragements the poor people labour under.

**Saturday, February 11.** Heard clerk plead for Georgia before the Council,<sup>2</sup> and Mr. Oglethorpe's speech.

**Thursday, February 16.** Mr. Oglethorpe told me, "Your brother must have a care. There is a very strong spirit raising against him. People say he is come over to do mischief to the colony. He will be called upon for his reasons why he left the people." I answered, "Sir, he has been twice before [1:114] at the Board for that purpose, but was not asked that question and therefore had no opportunity to answer it. He will attend them again on Wednesday morning."

Waited on his Lordship of London, and informed him of my brother's return. He spoke honourably of him, expressed a great desire to see him, asked many questions about Georgia and the Trustees, forgot his usual reserve, and dismissed me very kindly.

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<sup>1</sup>Rev. Henry Piers (1695–1770), grandson of an Irish baron, was educated at Trinity College, Dublin. After a curacy in Winwick, Lancashire, in 1737 he became vicar of Bexley, Kent. Through the 1740s Piers was particularly supportive of the Wesley brothers, then his concentration narrowed to his own parish. See *DEB*, 888–89; and Vickers, *Dictionary*, 272.

<sup>2</sup>Likely referring to James Vernon, who was a clerk of the Privy Council.

**Charles Wesley Manuscript Journal, MARC, DDCW 10/2**  
**1738**

**Friday, February 17.** Came in the Oxford coach to my old lodgings at Mr. Sarney's.

**Saturday, February 18.** Rode over to Stanton Harcourt to see John Gambold and my sister [Kezia]. My brother [JW] met us. We prayed and sang together. In the evening prayed at Mr. Sarney's with some scholars and a Moravian [Peter Böhler].<sup>3</sup>

**Sunday, February 19.** Received the sacrament once more at Christ Church.

**Monday, February 20.** Began teaching Peter Böhler English.

**Tuesday, February 21.** In the afternoon I lay down, half distracted with the toothache.

**Wednesday, February 22.** Waked much better. At 5:00 had some close conversation with Peter Böhler, who pressed upon our scholars the necessity of combining, and instanced in many awakened, but fallen asleep again, for want of it. He talked much of the necessity of prayer and faith.

**NB<sup>4</sup> Friday, February 24.** At 6:00 in the evening, an hour after I had taken my electuary, the toothache returned more violently than ever. I smoked tobacco, which set me to vomiting and took away my sense and pain together. At 11:00 I waked in extreme pain, which I thought would quickly separate soul and body. Soon after Peter Böhler came to my bedside. I asked him to pray for me. He seemed unwilling at first, [1:115] but beginning very faintly he raised his voice by degrees, and prayed for my recovery with strange confidence. Then he took me by the hand and calmly said, "You will not die now." I thought within myself, "I cannot hold out in this pain till morning. If it abates before, I believe I may recover." He asked me, "Do you hope to be saved?" "Yes." "For what reason do you hope it?" "Because I have used my best endeavours to serve God?" He shook his head, and said no more. I thought him very uncharitable, saying in my heart, "What, are not my endeavours a sufficient ground of hope? Would he rob me of my endeavours? I have nothing else to trust to."

By morning my pain was moderated. Ted Bentham<sup>5</sup> calling then persuaded me to be blooded. I continued in great pain. In the evening he brought Dr. Manaton.<sup>6</sup> On Saturday morning I was blooded again; and at night a third time.

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<sup>3</sup>This is the first mention of Rev. Peter Böhler (1712–75) in CW's MS Journal. Böhler was ordained in Dec. 1737, by Zinzendorf, to serve as the Moravian pastor in Savannah, Georgia and undertake missionary work among the slaves in Purrysburg, South Carolina. He had arrived in London en route to America in early 1738.

<sup>4</sup>I.e., "*Nota Bene*," or "Note well!" This is written by CW in the margin. It marks the beginning of his conviction, through the agency of Peter Böhler, of his need for saving faith, which would lead to his personal "Pentecost" on May 22.

<sup>5</sup>Edward Bentham (1707–76), who had been active in the Oxford Methodists, had become a tutor at Oriel College since 1732. He received his D.D. in 1749, was made a canon of Christ Church in 1754, and Regis professor of Theology in 1763.

<sup>6</sup>Pierce Manaton, M.D. (1704–43), who overlapped with CW at Westminster School and Christ Church, Oxford, had earned his medical degree in 1729.

**Charles Wesley Manuscript Journal, MARC, DDCW 10/2  
1738**

**Sunday, February 26.** Mr. [Christopher] Wells brought my sister Kezzy. Dr. Frewin<sup>7</sup> came. I dictated a letter to Dr. [William] Cockburn and James Hutton.<sup>8</sup>

On **Monday evening, February 27**, the scale seemed to turn for life. I had prayed that my pains might not outlast this day, and was answered.

**Tuesday, February 28.** My dear James Hutton came post from London, and brought me Dr. Cockburn's letter and directions!

**[March 1738]**

As soon as I was able, I sent my brother at Tiverton the following account.

Dear Brother,

I borrow another's hand, as I cannot use my own. You remember Dr. South's saying, "I have been within the jaws of death, but he was not suffered to shut his mouth [1:116] upon me."<sup>9</sup> I ought never to forget it. Dr. Manaton told me he expected to have found me dead at his second visit. This several remarkable accidents concurred to hinder. I had kept in a week before the pleurisy came, and taken physic twice. At midnight it seized me so violently, that I never expected to see the morning. In the preceding afternoon I had taken Dr. Cockburn's electuary, and an hour after was visited by so outrageous a toothache, that it forced me to the abominable remedy of a pipe. This quickly made me discharge my astrigent, and in all probability saved my life, binding medicines being poison in a pleuritic fever. I took my illness for the flux, and so never thought of sending for a physician. Ted Bentham fetched him against my will, and was probably the instrument of saving my life a second time. Dr. Manaton called in Dr. Frewin. They bled me three times, and poured down draughts, oils, and apozems without end. For four days the balance was even. Then, as Spencer says, "I over-wrestled my strong enemy."<sup>10</sup> Ever since I have been slowly gathering strength, and yesterday took my first journey to my sister's room, who has been with me from the beginning, and no small comfort to me.

One consequence of my sickness you will not be sorry for—its stopping my sudden return to Georgia. For the doctor tells me to undertake a voyage now would be certain death. Some reasons for *his* not going immediately my brother will mention to you in person.

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<sup>7</sup>Richard Frewin, M.D. (c. 1681–1761), of Christ Church; physician and Professor of Ancient History. CW spells "Fruin."

<sup>8</sup>Neither these letters nor Cockburn's reply two days later are known to survive.

<sup>9</sup>Cf. Robert South (1634–1716), *Twelve Sermons upon Several Subjects*, Vol. 3 (London: Thomas Bennett, 1698), 478. CW's signed copy of this volume is in MARC (ref. MAW CW26).

<sup>10</sup>Edmund Spenser (1552?–99), *The Fairie Queen*, Bk. I, canto 7, st. 24.

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[1:117]

Before I was taken ill, my brother [JW] set out for Tiverton, but came back instead of proceeding on his journey, stayed a week with me, and then went with Mr. [Charles] Kinchin to Manchester.

For some days that I continued mending, I was greatly tormented with the toothache. One day I prayed that the pain might be suspended, and it was for all that day.

I had Dr. Frewin to my sister [Kezia], taken ill. We communicated almost every day.

**Tuesday, March 28.** Was greatly moved in reading the *Life of Mr. Halyburton*.<sup>11</sup>

April 1738

**Monday, April 3.** By my brother's advice I resolved to give up my secretary's place, and today wrote my letter of resignation.<sup>12</sup>

**Saturday, April 8.** Got abroad to the evening prayers at Christ Church, and received comfort from the lessons and anthem.

**Wednesday, April 12.** Received Mr. [James] Oglethorpe's answer to my letter of resignation, wherein he offered, if I would keep my place, to get it supplied in my absence by a deputy.

**Saturday, April 15.** Drs. Frewin and Manaton called and forbade my voyage. Both as physicians and friends they advised me not to go but stay at college, since I might, as Senior Master, expect *offices and preferment*.

**Wednesday, April 19.** I came up to town to take my leave of Mr. Oglethorpe, who received me with his accustomed kindness. The next day I had the satisfaction of once more meeting that man of God, Peter Böhler.

**Monday, April 24.** I took a ride to [1:118] Blendon. In the afternoon we made Mr. [Henry] Piers a visit, and returning, found Mr. Broughton and my brother [JW] at Blendon.<sup>13</sup>

**Tuesday, April 25.** Soon after 5:00, as we were met in the little chapel, Mrs. [Elizabeth] Delamotte came to us. [We] sang, fell into a dispute whether conversion was gradual or instantaneous. My brother was very positive for the latter, and very shocking—mentioned some later instances of gross sinners believing in a moment. I was much offended at his worse than unedifying discourse.<sup>14</sup> Mrs. Delamotte left us abruptly. I stayed, and insisted a man need not

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<sup>11</sup>Thomas Halyburton (1674–1712), *Memoirs of the Life of the Reverend Mr. Thomas Halyburton* (Edinburgh: Andrew Anderson, 1714).

<sup>12</sup>Neither this letter nor Oglethorpe's reply mentioned on Apr. 12 are known to survive.

<sup>13</sup>Rev. Thomas Broughton (1712–77) matriculated at University College, Oxford in 1731, and in early 1733 became part of the Oxford Methodists. In 1736 he was ordained deacon and became curate at the Tower of London. His previous support of CW and JW, would soon erode in response to their emerging claims of instantaneous conversion and assurance of faith.

<sup>14</sup>In the left margin of the manuscript is the first of scattered notations in a later hand of the page number where this portion of the MS Journal appears in Jackson, *CW Journal*. We ignore these instances.

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know when first he had faith. His obstinacy in favouring the contrary drove me at last out of the room. Mr. Broughton was only not so much scandalized as myself. After dinner, he and my brother returned to town. I stayed behind, and read them the *Life of Mr. Halyburton*—one instance, but only one, of instantaneous conversion.

**Wednesday, April 26.** Passed the day at Mr. Piers's in singing and reading and mutual encouragement. In the evening we finished *Halyburton*. The meltingness it occasioned in me (like those before) soon passed away as a morning cloud. Next morning I returned to London.

**Friday, April 28.** No sooner was I got to James Hutton's, having removed my things thither from his father's, than the pain in my side returned, and with that my fever. Having disappointed God in his last visitation, he has now again brought me to the bed of sickness. Towards midnight I received some relief by bleeding. In the morning Dr. Cockburn came to see me; and a better physician, Peter Böhler, whom God had [1:119] detained in England for my good. He stood by my bedside, and prayed over me, that now at least I might see the divine intention in this and my late illness. I immediately thought it might be that I should again consider Böhler's doctrine of faith; examine myself whether I was in *the faith*; and if I was not, never cease seeking and longing after it till I attained it.

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**Monday, May 1.** Mr. [Henry] Piers called to see me. I exhorted him to labour after that faith which he thinks I have and I know I have not. After receiving the sacrament, I felt a small anticipation of peace and said, "Now I have demonstrated against the Moravian doctrine that a man cannot have peace without assurance of his pardon. I now have peace, yet cannot say of a surety that my sins are forgiven."

The next and several times after that I received the sacrament, I had not so much as bare attention—God no longer trusting me with comfort, which I should immediately turn against himself.

For some days following I felt a faint longing for faith, and could pray for nothing else. My desires were quickened by a letter of Mr. Edmonds,<sup>15</sup> seeking Christ as in an agony.

**Saturday, May 6.** God still kept up the little spark of desire which he himself had enkindled in me, and I seemed determined to speak of, and wish for, nothing but faith in Christ. Yet could not this preserve me from sin, which I this day ran into with my eyes open. So that after ten years' vain struggling, I own and feel it absolutely unconquerable.

By bearing witness to the truth before Miss [Elizabeth] Delamotte, Mr. Baldwyn, and others, I found my desires of apprehending Christ increased. [1:120]

**Thursday, May 11.** I was just going to remove to old Mr. [John] Hutton's when God sent Mr. Bray to me, a poor ignorant mechanic, who knows nothing but Christ<sup>16</sup>—yet by

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<sup>15</sup>This letter is not known to survive. John Edmonds (1710–1803) was a founding member of the Fetter Lane society, and became one of the oldest surviving members of the English Moravian community. See Benham, *Hutton*, 33, 90, etc. CW spells "Edmunds."

<sup>16</sup>John Bray (b. 1702), a brazier of Little Britain, London, was one of the founding members of the Fetter Lane society. He had married Grace Turner in 1728.

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knowing him, knows and discerns all things. Some time ago I had taken leave of Peter Böhler, confessed my unbelief and want of forgiveness, but declared my firm persuasion that I should receive the atonement before I died. His answer was, “Be it unto thee according to thy faith.”<sup>17</sup>

Mr. Bray is now to supply Böhler’s place. We prayed together for faith. I was quite overpowered and melted into tears, and hereby induced to think it was God’s will that I should go to his house and not to Mr. Hutton’s. He was of the same judgment. Accordingly I was carried thither in a chair.<sup>18</sup>

His sister I found in earnest pursuit of Christ;<sup>19</sup> his wife well inclined to conversion.<sup>20</sup> I had not been here long when Mr. [Thomas] Broughton called. I hoped to find him altered like myself, but alas his time is not yet come! As to Mrs. Turner, he gave her up. “But for you, Mrs. Bray,” said he, “I hope you are still in your senses, and not run mad after a faith which must be felt.” He went on contradicting and blaspheming. I thought it my duty to withstand him, and to confess my want of faith. “God help you, poor man,” he replied: “if I could think you have not faith, I am sure it would drive me to despair.” I put all my hopes of ever attaining it, or eternal salvation, upon the truth of this assertion, “*I have not now the faith of the gospel.*”

As soon as he left us, Mr. Bray read me many comfortable scriptures, which greatly [1:121] strengthened my desire. So that I was persuaded I should not leave his house before I believed with my heart unto righteousness.<sup>21</sup>

**Friday, May 12.** I waked in the same blessed temper, hungry and thirsty after God. Began Isaiah, and seemed to see that to me were the promises made, and would be fulfilled, for that Christ loved me. Found myself more desirous, more assured I should believe. This day (and indeed my whole time) I spent discoursing on faith, either with those that had it or those that sought it, in reading the Scripture, and in prayer.

I was much moved at the sight of Mr. Ainsworth,<sup>22</sup> a man of great learning above seventy who, like old Simeon, was waiting to see the Lord’s salvation, that he might depart in peace.<sup>23</sup> His tears, and vehemence, and childlike simplicity, showed him upon the entrance of the kingdom of heaven.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>17</sup>Matt. 9:29.

<sup>18</sup>*OED* notes that “chair” was often used in the eighteenth century for a “chaise” or light vehicle pulled by a single horse.

<sup>19</sup>CW typically referred to sisters-in-law simply as sisters (and to older single women as “Mrs.”). So this reference is likely to an unmarried sister of Grace—the “Mrs. Turner” who is central to this episode (see Bray’s reference to Mrs. Turner as his sister in entry for May 21, 1738 below). Alternatively, one of Bray’s sisters may have married a Turner and been widowed.

<sup>20</sup>Grace (Turner) Bray (b. 1709).

<sup>21</sup>See Rom. 10:10.

<sup>22</sup>Robert Ainsworth (1660–1743), author of a widely used Latin dictionary. He was actually 68 at the time.

<sup>23</sup>See Luke 2:22–32.

<sup>24</sup>See Mark 12:34.

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In the afternoon I read Isaiah with Mr. [John] Edmonds, saw him full of promises, and that they belonged to me. In the midst of our reading Miss Claggetts came and asked that they might hear us.<sup>25</sup> We were all much encouraged to pursue the glorious prize held out to us by the evangelical prophet.

When the company was gone, I joined with Mr. Bray in prayer and the Scripture, and was so greatly affected that I almost thought Christ was coming that moment. I concluded the night with private, vehement prayer.

**Saturday, May 13.** Waked without Christ, yet still desirous of finding him. Soon after, William Delamotte came and read me [1:122] the 68th Psalm, strangely full of comfortable promises. Toward noon I was enabled to pray with desire and hope, and to lay claim to the promises in general.

The afternoon I spent with my friends in mutual exhortation to wait patiently for the Lord in prayer and reading. At night my brother came, exceedingly heavy. I forced him (as he had often forced me) to sing an hymn to Christ,<sup>26</sup> and almost thought he would come while we were singing, assured he would come quickly.

*At night* I received much light and comfort from the Scriptures.

**Sunday, May 14.** The beginning of the day I was very heavy, weary, and unable to pray. But the desire soon returned, and I found much comfort both in prayer and in the word, my eyes being opened more and more to discern and lay hold on the promises. I longed to find Christ, that I might show him to all mankind; that I might praise, that I might love him.

Several persons called today, and were convinced of unbelief. Some of them afterwards went to Mr. Broughton, and were soon made as easy as Satan and their own hearts could wish.

**Monday, May 15.** I finished Halyburton's *Life* with Miss Claggetts, etc. Found comfort in the 102nd Psalm.

**Tuesday, May 16.** Waked weary, faint, and heartless. My brother [Westley] Hall coming to see me, I urged him to examine himself whether he was in the faith. Two questions decided the matter. "Are you sure that is light?" "Yes." "Are you as sure of the things unseen, of Christ being in you of a truth?" "Yes, infinitely sure." [1:123]

In the afternoon I seemed deeply sensible of my misery in being without Christ.

**Wednesday, May 17.** I experienced the power of Christ rescuing me in temptation.

Today I first saw Luther on the Galatians,<sup>27</sup> which Mr. Holland had accidentally lit upon.<sup>28</sup> We began, and found him nobly full of faith. My friend, in hearing him, was so affected

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<sup>25</sup>Two daughters of Wyseman and Martha Claggett appear repeatedly in MS Journal, and remained active in the Moravian wing of the emerging revival; Elizabeth ("Betsy," b. 1715) and Susannah ("Suky," b. 1723); see Benham, *Hutton*, 96. CW makes the last name plural when referring to two or more of the daughters.

<sup>26</sup>Likely CW, "Hymn to the Son," *HSP* (1739), 108–10.

<sup>27</sup>Martin Luther, *A Commentary of M. Doctor Martin Luther upon the Epistle of St. Paul to the Galatians* (London: Thomas Vautrollier, 1575; or later reprint of this English translation).

<sup>28</sup>William Holland (d. 1761), a house painter of Basinghall Street, London, was a devout member of the Church of England and a founding member of the Fetter Lane society. He



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as to breathe out sighs and groans unutterable.

I marvelled that we were so soon, and so entirely, removed from him that called us into the grace of Christ unto another gospel.<sup>29</sup> Who would believe our Church had been founded on this important article of justification by faith alone! I am astonished I should ever think this a new doctrine, especially while our Articles and Homilies stand unrepealed, and the key of knowledge is not yet taken away.

From this time I endeavoured to ground as many of our friends as came in this fundamental truth, salvation by faith alone—not an idle, dead faith, but a faith which works by love, and is necessarily productive of all good works and all holiness.

I spent some hours this evening in private with Martin Luther, who was greatly blessed to me, especially his conclusion of the second chapter. I laboured, waited, and prayed to see “who loved *me*, and gave himself for *me*.”<sup>30</sup> When nature near exhausted forced me to bed, I opened the book upon “For he will finish the work, and cut it short in righteousness, because a short work will the Lord make upon earth.”<sup>31</sup> After this comfortable assurance that he would come, and would not tarry, I slept in peace. [1:124]

**Thursday, May 18.** In the approach of a temptation, I looked up to Christ, and confessed my helplessness. The temptation was immediately beat down, and continually kept off by a power not my own. About midnight I was waked by the return of my pleurisy. Felt great pain and straightness at my heart, but found immediate relief by bleeding. Had some discourse with Mr. Bray. Thought myself willing to die the next moment, if I might but believe this. But was sure I could not die till I did believe. I earnestly desired it.

**Friday, May 19.** At 5:00 this morning the pain and difficulty in breathing returned. The surgeon was sent for, but I fell asleep before he could bleed me a second time. Easier all day, after taking Dr. [William] Cockburn’s medicines. Not much desire. Received the sacrament, but not Christ.

At 7:00 Mrs. Turner came, and told me I should not rise from that bed till I believed. I believed her saying, and asked,

[CW:] “Has God then bestowed faith upon you?”

[Mrs. Turner:] “Yes, he has.”

[CW:] “Why, have you peace with God?”

[Mrs. Turner:] “Yes, perfect peace.”

[CW:] “And do you love Christ above all things?”

[Mrs. Turner:] “I do, above all things incomparably.”

[CW:] “Then you are willing to die?”

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married Elizabeth Delamotte, and remained with the Moravian core of Fetter Lane at the time the Wesley brothers withdrew. See *DEB*, 567–68; and *ODNB*. See Holland’s account of this day in Colin Podmore, “William Holland’s Short Account of the Beginnings of Moravian Work in England,” *Journal of Moravian History* 22 (2022): 54–8

<sup>29</sup>See Gal. 1:6–7.

<sup>30</sup>Gal. 1:6–7.

<sup>31</sup>Rom. 9:28.

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[**Mrs. Turner:**] “I am, and would be glad to die this moment. For I know all my sins are blotted out. The handwriting that was against me is taken out of the way and nailed to his cross. He has saved me by his death. He has washed me with his blood. He has hid me in his wounds. I have peace in him, and rejoice with joy unspeakable, and full of glory.”

Her answers were so full to these and the most searching questions I could ask, that I had no doubt of her having received the [1:125] atonement, and waited for it myself with a more assured hope. Feeling an anticipation of joy upon her account, and thanking Christ as I could, I looked for him all night with prayers and sighs and unceasing desires.

**Saturday, May 20.** I waked much disappointed, and continued all day in great dejection, which the sacrament did not in the least abate. Nevertheless God would not suffer me to doubt the truth of his promises. Mr. Bray too seemed troubled at my not yet believing, and complained of his uneasiness and want of patience. “But so it is with me,” says he. “When my faith begins to fail, God gives me some sign to support it.” He then opened a Testament, and read the first words that presented, Matthew 9:1[-8]:

And he entered into a ship and passed over, and came into his own city. And, behold, they brought to him a man sick of the palsy, lying on a bed. And Jesus, seeing their faith, said unto the sick of the palsy, “Son, be of good cheer, thy sins be forgiven thee.” And behold certain of the scribes and Pharisees said within themselves, “This man blasphemeth.” And Jesus, knowing their thoughts said, “Wherefore think ye evil in your hearts? For whether is it easier to say, thy sins be forgiven thee, or to say, Arise and walk? But that ye may know that the Son of Man hath power on earth to forgive sins.” (Then saith he to the sick of the palsy), “Arise, take up thy bed, and go unto thine own house.” And he arose, and departed to his house. And when the multitude saw it, they marvelled, and glorified God, which had given such power unto man.

It was a long while before he could read this through, for tears of joy. And I saw herein, and [1:126] firmly believed, that his faith would be available for the healing of me.

***THE DAY OF PENTECOST***

**Sunday, May 21, 1738.**<sup>32</sup> I waked in hope and expectation of his coming. At 9:00 my brother and some friends came and sang an hymn to the Holy Ghost.<sup>33</sup> My comfort and hope were hereby increased. In about half an hour they went. I betook myself to prayer, the substance as follows: “O Jesus, thou hast said, I will come unto you. Thou hast said, I will send the Comforter to you. My Father and I will come unto you, and make our abode with you. Thou art God who canst not lie. I wholly rely upon thy most true promise. Accomplish it in thy time and

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<sup>32</sup>CW wrote the heading and date in Block Letters, for emphasis.

<sup>33</sup>Likely the “Hymn to the Holy Ghost” that JW included in *CPH* (1737), 22–23; taken from George Hickes, *Devotions in the Ancient Way of Offices* (London: Jones, 1700), 377–78.

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manner.”<sup>34</sup> Having said this, I was composing myself to sleep, in quietness and peace, when I heard one come in (Mrs. Musgrove, I thought, by the voice) and say, “In the name of Jesus of Nazareth, arise and believe, and thou shalt be healed of all thy infirmities!”<sup>35</sup> I wondered how it should enter into her head to speak in that manner. The words struck me to the heart. I sighed and said within myself, “O that Christ would but speak thus to me!” I lay musing and trembling. Then thought, “But what if it should be him!” I will send at least to see. I rang, and Mrs. Turner coming, I desired her to send up Mrs. Musgrove. She went down and returning said, “Mrs. Musgrove had not been here.” My heart sank within me at the word and I hoped it might be Christ indeed. However, I sent her down again to inquire, and felt in the meantime a strange palpitation of heart. Said, yet feared to say, “I believe, I believe!” [1:127]

She came up again and said, “It was I, a weak sinful creature spoke, but the words were Christ’s. He commanded me to say them, and so constrained me that I could not forbear.”

I sent for Mr. Bray, and asked him whether I believed. He answered I ought not to doubt of it—it was Christ spoke to me. He knew it, and willed us to pray together. But first, said he, I will read what I have casually opened upon: “Blessed is the man, whose unrighteousness is forgiven, and whose sin is covered. Blessed is the man to whom the Lord imputeth no sin and in whose spirit is no guile.”<sup>36</sup> Still I felt a violent opposition and reluctance to believe. Yet still the Spirit of God strove with my own and the evil spirit, till by degrees he chased away the darkness of my unbelief. I found myself convinced—I knew not how, nor when—and immediately fell to intercession.

Mr. Bray then told me his sister had been ordered by Christ to come and say those words to me. This she afterwards confirmed and stated to me more at large the manner of her believing. At night, and nearly the moment I was taken ill, she dreamed she heard one knock at the door. She went down and opened it; saw a person in white; caught hold of and asked him who he was; was answered, “I am Jesus Christ”; and cried out with great vehemence, “Come in, come in!”

She waked in a fright. It was immediately suggested to her, you must not mind this, it is all a dream and illusion. She continued wavering and uneasy all Friday till evening prayers. No sooner were they begun than she found herself full of the power of faith, [1:128] so that she could scarce contain herself and almost doubted whether she was sober. At the same time she was enlarged in love and prayer for all mankind, and commanded to go and assure me from Christ of my recovery, soul and body. She returned home repeating with all joy and triumph, “I believe, I believe.” Yet her heart failed her, and she durst not say the words to me that night.

On Sunday morning she took Mr. Bray aside, burst into tears and informed him of the matter, objecting she was a poor, weak, sinful creature and should she go to a minister! She could not do it, nor rest till she did. He asked whether she had ever found herself so before? “No, never.” Why then, said he, “Go. Remember Jonah. You declare promises not threatenings. Go in the name of the Lord. Fear not your own weakness. Speak you the words, he will do the work.

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<sup>34</sup>See John 14:23, 26.

<sup>35</sup>See Acts 3:1–11.

<sup>36</sup>Ps. 32:2 (BCP).

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‘Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings hath he ordained strength.’<sup>37</sup>

They prayed together and she then went up, but durst not come in till she had prayed again by herself. About six minutes after she had left him, [s]he found and felt, while she was speaking the words, that Christ was with her. I never heard words uttered with like solemnity. The sound of her voice was entirely changed into that of Mrs. Musgrove (if I can be sure of anything sensible). I rose and looked into the Scripture. The words that first presented were “And now, Lord, what is my hope? Truly my hope is even in thee.”<sup>38</sup> I then cast down my eye and met, “He hath put a new song in my mouth, even a thanksgiving unto our God. Many shall see it and fear, and shall put their trust in the Lord.”<sup>39</sup> Afterwards I opened upon Isaiah 40:1, “Comfort [1:129] ye, comfort ye, my people, saith our God. Speak ye comfortably to Jerusalem, and cry unto her that her warfare is accomplished; that her iniquity is pardoned for she had received the Lord’s hand double of all her sin.”

I now found myself at peace with God and rejoiced in the hope of loving Christ. My temper for the rest of the day was mistrust of my own great, but before unknown, weakness. I saw that by faith I stood; by the continual support of faith, which kept me from falling, though of myself I am ever sinking into sin. I went to bed still sensible of my own weakness (I humbly hope to be more and more so), yet confident of Christ’s protection.

**Monday, May 22.** Under his protection I waked next morning and rejoiced in reading the 107 Psalm, so nobly describing what God had done for my soul. I fell asleep again and waked out of a dream that I was fighting with two devils—had one under my feet; the other faced me some time, but faded, and sunk, and vanished away, upon my telling him I belonged to Christ.

Today I saw him chiefly as my King and found him in his power, but saw little of the love of Christ crucified, or of my sins past—though more I humbly hope of my own weakness and his strength. I had many evil thoughts darted into my mind, but I rejected them immediately (yet not I<sup>40</sup>). At noon I rose, continually fainting, nevertheless upheld. Was greatly strengthened by Isaiah 43, which God directed me to. “But now thus saith the Lord that created thee, Jacob, and he that formed thee. O Israel, fear not for I have redeemed thee. I have called thee by thy name, thou [1:130] art mine. When thou passest through the waters I will be with thee, and through the rivers they shall not overflow thee. When thou walkest through the fire, thou shalt not be burned neither shall the flame kindle upon thee. For I am the Lord thy God, the holy one of Israel, thy Saviour.”<sup>41</sup>

My brother coming, we joined in intercession for him. In the midst of prayers I almost believed the Holy Ghost was coming upon him. In the evening we sang and prayed again. Found myself very weak in body, but thought I ought to pray for my friends, being the only priest among them. Kneeled down and was immediately strengthened both mind and body. The enemy did not lose such an opportunity of tempting me to pride. But God be praised, my strength did I

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<sup>37</sup>See Ps. 8:2.

<sup>38</sup>Ps. 39:8 (BCP).

<sup>39</sup>Ps. 40:3–4 (BCP).

<sup>40</sup>See Gal. 2:20.

<sup>41</sup>Isa. 43:1–3.

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ascribe unto him. I was often since assisted to pray readily and earnestly, without a form. Not unto me, O Lord, not unto me but to thy name be the glory!<sup>42</sup>

An old friend called to see me under great apprehensions that I was running mad.<sup>43</sup> His fears were not a little increased by my telling him the prayer of faith had healed me, when sick at Oxford. "He looked to see the rays of light about my head," he said, and more to that purpose. I begged him for his own sake not to pass sentence till he had his full evidence concerning me. This he could not promise, but faintly prayed me to flee from London and in despair of me took his leave.

It was morning before I could get to sleep. Many motions of pride arose and were [1:131] continually broken down by Christ my King. The devil also tempted me to impatience through pain, but God turned it into an occasion of resignation.

**Tuesday, May 23.** I waked under the protection of Christ and gave myself up, soul and body, to him. At 9:00 began an hymn upon my conversion, but was persuaded to break off for fear of pride. Mr. Bray coming encouraged me to proceed in spite of Satan. I prayed Christ to stand by me and finished the hymn. [1:132]<sup>44</sup>

Upon my afterwards showing it to Mr. Bray, the devil threw in a fiery dart suggesting that it was wrong and I had displeased God. My heart sunk within me. When casting my eye upon a Prayerbook, I met with an answer for him, "Why boastest thou thyself, thou tyrant that thou canst do mischief?"<sup>45</sup> Upon this I clearly discovered it was a device of the enemy to keep back glory from God. And it is most usual with him to preach humility when speaking will endanger his kingdom or do honour to Christ. Least of all would he have us tell what things God has done for our souls, so tenderly does he guard us from pride. But God has showed me he can defend me from it, while speaking for him. In his name therefore, and through his strength, I will perform my vows unto the Lord. "Of not hiding his righteousness within my heart,"<sup>46</sup> if it should ever please him to plant it there.

Throughout this day he has kept up in me a constant sense of my own weakness. At night I was tempted to think the [1:133] reason of my believing before others was my sincerity. I rejected the thought with horror, and remained more than conqueror through him that loved me.<sup>47</sup>

**Wednesday, May 24.** Being to receive the sacrament today, I was assaulted by the fear of my old accustomed deadness, but soon recovered my confidence in Christ that he would give me so much sense of his love now as he saw good for me. I received without any sensible devotion, much as I used to be, only that I was afterwards perfectly active and satisfied, without doubt, or fear, or scruple.

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<sup>42</sup>See Ps. 115:1.

<sup>43</sup>Likely Christopher Wells; see below, May 30, 1738.

<sup>44</sup>CW left space over a page long in the MS Journal for inserting the hymn, but did not do so. Most scholars believe this hymn was "Christ, the Friend of Sinners," which can be found in *HSP* (1739), 101–03.

<sup>45</sup>Ps. 52:1 (BCP).

<sup>46</sup>Ps. 40:10 (BCP).

<sup>47</sup>See Rom. 8:37.

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Among our communicants was Mrs. Pratt, who had been with me the night before, and related her receiving Christ in a dream, when under great trouble. His words to her were “Be of good cheer, thy prayer is heard.”<sup>48</sup> From that time to this, being six years, she has enjoyed perfect peace. Most of Saturday night she had spent in intercession for me, as on Sunday morning I experienced.

Was much pleased today at the sight of Mr. [Robert] Ainsworth, a little child, full of grief and fears and love. At our repeating the line of the hymn, “Now descend, and shake the earth,”<sup>49</sup> he fell down, as in an agony. I found a general delight in their singing but little attention, yet was not disquieted.

We passed the afternoon in prayer, singing, and conference. For one half hour I was with Miss [Elizabeth] Delamotte, now unconvinced and full of dispute. I bore my testimony with plainness and confidence, declaring what God had done for my soul. Not hurt, but strengthened hereby.

From here I went to Miss Claggetts, young [1:134] women of a better and more childlike spirit, who calmly and confidently looked for the promises. I was farther comforted by an excellent letter from my namesake in Georgia<sup>50</sup>—persecuted for Christ’s sake; on the highest step, I trust, of the legal state.

At 8:00 I prayed by myself for love with some feeling and assurances of feeling more. Towards 10:00 my brother was brought in triumph by a troop of our friends and declared, “I believe.” We sang the hymn<sup>51</sup> with great joy and parted with prayer. At midnight I gave myself up to Christ, assured I was safe sleeping or waking. Had continual experience of his power to overrule all temptation, and confessed with joy and surprise that he was able to do exceeding abundantly for me, above what I can ask or think.<sup>52</sup>

**Thursday, May 25.** Commended myself to Christ my Prophet, Priest, and King. Miss Delamotte came in a better mind. Before communicating, I left it to Christ whether or in what measure he would please to manifest himself to me in this breaking of bread.<sup>53</sup> I had no particular attention to the prayers, but in the prayer of consecration I saw, by the eye of faith, or rather had a glimpse of Christ’s broken, mangled body, as taking down from the cross. Still I could not observe the prayer, but only repeat with tears, “O Love, Love!” At the same time I felt great peace and joy; assurance of feeling more when it is best.

Soon after I was a little cast down by feeling some temptation and foreseeing more, but God lifted me up by his word— “Fear not, for I have redeemed thee. I have called thee by thy name, thou art mine. When [1:135] thou passest through the waters, I will be with thee; and through the rivers, they shall not overflow thee. When thou walkest through the fire thou shalt

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<sup>48</sup>See Luke 1:13.

<sup>49</sup>CW, “Hymn for Whitsunday,” st. 8, *HSP* (1739), 213.

<sup>50</sup>Charles Delamotte; the letter is not known to survive.

<sup>51</sup>Surely the hymn that CW had just written on his own conversion.

<sup>52</sup>See Eph. 3:20.

<sup>53</sup>See Luke 24:35.

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not be burned, neither shall the flame kindle upon thee” (Isaiah 43).<sup>54</sup>

This promise was fulfilled in me when, under frequent motions of sin, I looked up to Christ, and found them broken down continually.

**Friday, May 26.** We joined this morning in supplication for the poor malefactors, while passing to execution,<sup>55</sup> and in the sacrament commended their souls to Christ. The great comfort we found those in made us confidently hope some of them were received as the penitent thief at the last hour.<sup>56</sup>

I was much refreshed soon after by Miss Delamotte, who by the mercy of Christ is brought back again and more a thirst after him than ever.

I dined with great liberty of spirit, being amazed to find my old enemy intemperance so suddenly subdued that I have almost forgot I was ever in bondage to him. In the evening I broke through my own great unwillingness, and at last preached faith in Christ to an accidental visitant.

**Saturday, May 27.** I felt a motion of anger from a trifling disappointment, but it was no sooner felt than conquered. Received the sacrament; still no sensible love, but comfort.

A gentlewoman who has been long under the law, calling to see me, I thought, as she lived in the midst of opposers, no good could be done by speaking. Yet was I overruled to preach the gospel. She seemed convinced and comforted. After she was gone, I was much assisted to intercede for her, and for poor Mr. [Thomas] Broughton, who continues the very life of all those that oppose the faith. [1:136]

Two or three others calling were reprov'd of sin by the Holy Spirit of God. Miss Claggetts seemed on the very borders of Canaan, being fully convinced of righteousness also, of Christ's imputed righteousness, and looking to receive it every moment as by promise theirs.

**Trinity Sunday, May 28.** I rose in great heaviness, which neither private nor joint prayer could remove. At last I betook myself to intercession for my relations, and was greatly helped and enlarged herein, particularly in prayer for a most profligate sinner. I spent the morning with James Hutton in prayer and singing and rejoicing. In the afternoon my brother came, and after a short prayer for success upon our ministry, [he] set out for Tiverton. I then began writing my first sermon in the name of Christ my prophet.<sup>57</sup>

Today Mrs. [Grace] Bray related to me the manner of her receiving faith in public prayer, and the great conflicts she has since had with the enemy. For some days he so darkened the work of God that though her eye of faith had been opened to see herself encompassed with the blood

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<sup>54</sup>Isa. 43:1–2.

<sup>55</sup>This was the date of the third public execution of 1738 at Tyburn. An account of those executed can be found in: The Ordinary of Newgate, *His Account of the Behaviour, Confession, and Dying Words, of the Malefactors who were Executed at Tyburn on Friday the 26th of May* (London: John Applebee, 1738).

<sup>56</sup>See Luke 23:43.

<sup>57</sup>His sermon on 1 John 3:14; see the sermon collection on this website (or CW, *Sermons*, 133–51). Note the second paragraph: “I trust there is no one here, who will not seriously attend, while in the name of our great prophet and teacher, now present among and with us, I endeavour ....”

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of Christ, yet still he suggested to her that she did not believe, because she had not the joy which others had. She was just overpowered by his devices, when in great nearness she opened upon “Lord, I believe, help thou my unbelief.”<sup>58</sup> This stayed her for a time but the tempter still pursued and in the very words he had used to shake my brother’s faith. She went to public prayers and was fervent throughout the whole. Toward the conclusion she saw, as it were, Satan under her feet and came home in all the triumph of faith.

After dinner Miss Claggetts and other friends [1:137] came. I thought some would be now gathered into the fold, and was much assisted to pray. I rose and saw the younger Miss Claggett under the work of God.<sup>59</sup> Asked, urged, believed that she believed. She thought so too, but was afraid to confess it. While she stood trembling and in fears, I consulted the oracle for her and met with Isaiah 30:18[–19], “And therefore will the Lord wait, that he may be gracious unto you, and therefore will be exalted that he may have mercy upon you. For the Lord is a God of judgment. Blessed are all they that wait for him. For the people shall dwell in Sion at Jerusalem. Thou shalt weep no more. He will be very gracious to thee, at the voice of thy cry. When he shall hear it, he will answer thee.”

She then opened the book on 2 Cor. 5:17, “Old things are passed away, behold all things are become new.” She read so far and gave me the book to read on “And all things are of God, who hath reconciled us to himself by Jesus Christ, and hath given to us the ministry of reconciliation. To wit, that God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them (and hath committed to us the word of reconciliation). Now then we are ambassadors for Christ, as though God did beseech you by us. We pray you in Christ[’s] stead, be ye reconciled to God. For he hath made him to be sin for us, who knew no sin that we might be made the righteousness of God in him.”<sup>60</sup>

Mr. [William] Holland then read “Stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free and be not entangled again in the yoke of bondage.”<sup>61</sup> [1:138] She now openly professed her faith and increased her confidence every moment. We joined in hearty thanks to God for his unspeakable gift. Just before parting she opened the book upon Luke 8:37, “Return to thine own house and show how great things God hath done unto thee.”

This success was followed with inward trials, but at the same time I experienced the superior power of Christ.

**Wednesday, May 30.** Today God enabled me in spite of the devil and my own heart to send Mr. [Christopher] Wells a plain, simple account of what God hath done for my soul.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>58</sup>Mark 9:24.

<sup>59</sup>This would be Susanna Claggett (b. 1723).

<sup>60</sup>2 Cor. 5:17–21.

<sup>61</sup>Gal. 5:1.

<sup>62</sup>This letter is not known to survive.



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**Thursday, June 1.** Was troubled today that I could not pray, utterly dead at the sacrament.

**Friday, June 2.** Still unable to pray; still dead in communicating; full of a cowardly desire of death.

**Saturday, June 3.** My deadness continued and the next day increased. I rose exceeding heavy and averse to prayer, so that I almost resolved not to go to church, which I had not been able to do till within these two or three days past. When I did go, the prayers and sacrament were exceeding grievous to me, and could not help asking myself, “Where is the difference between what I am now and what I was before believing?” I immediately answered that this darkness was not like the former darkness because I was satisfied there was no guilt in it, because I was assured it would be dispersed, and because, though I could not find I loved God or feel that he loved me, yet I did and would [1:139] believe he loved me notwithstanding.

I returned home and lay down with the same load upon me. This Mr. [Benjamin] Ingham’s coming could not alleviate. They sung, but I had no heart to join; much less in public prayers. In the evening Mr. Brown,<sup>63</sup> [William] Holland, and others called. I was very averse to coming among them, but forced myself to it, and spent two or three hours in singing, reading, and prayers. This exercise a little revived me, and I found myself much assisted to pray.

We asked particularly that if it was the will of God someone might now receive the atonement. While I was yet speaking of words, Mr. Brown found power to believe. He rose and told me my prayer was heard and answered in him. At the same time Mr. Burton opened the Bible upon Col. 1:26[–27], “Even the mystery which has been hid from ages and from generations, but now is made manifest to his saints, to whom God would make known what is the riches of the glory of this mystery among the Gentiles, which is Christ in you the hope of glory.”

We were all full of joy and thanksgiving. Before we parted, I prayed with Mr. Brown and praised God to the great confirmation of my faith. The weight was quite taken off. I found power to pray with great earnestness and rejoiced in my trial’s having continued so long, to show me that it is then the best time to labour for our neighbour when we are most cast down and most unable to help ourselves.

**Monday, June 5.** I waked thankful with power to pray and praise. I had peace at the sacrament, and some attention in public prayer. In the afternoon I met Mrs. Syms<sup>64</sup> with Mr. and Mrs. Burton at Islington. He told me God [1:140] had given him faith while I was praying last night, but he thought it would do hurt to declare it then. Upon finding his heart burn within him, he desired God would show him some token of his faith and immediately opened on “Let there be light and there was light.”<sup>65</sup> We rejoiced together in prayer and singing, and left the rest of the

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<sup>63</sup>John Brown (1712–94), a woollen draper in St. Martin’s-le-Grand parish, who would align with the Moravians. See *DEB*, 148–49; and Benham, *Hutton*, 89.

<sup>64</sup>This was likely the aunt of John and Peter Syms. Their mother died in 1724, and Peter was apprenticed to his uncle Thomas in London. CW and JW spell “Sims”; we have adopted the spelling used by the family.

<sup>65</sup>Gen. 1:3.

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company much stirred up to wait for the same unspeakable gift.

**Tuesday, June 6.** In the evening I read Luther, as usual, to a large company of our friends. Mr. Burton was greatly affected. My inward temptations are in a manner uninterrupted. I never knew the energy of sin till now that I experience the superior strength of Christ.

**Wednesday, June 7.** Found myself this morning under my Father's protection, and reading Matt. 7, "Ask and ye shall receive."<sup>66</sup> I asked some sense of his love in the sacrament. It was there given me to believe assuredly that God loved me, even when I could have no<sup>67</sup> sense of it. Some imperfect perception of his love I had, and was strengthened to hope against hope after communicating.

I went to Mrs. Syms and passed the afternoon singing and reading the promises. Miss Claggetts, Mr. Chapman,<sup>68</sup> Verding,<sup>69</sup> and others dropped in, as by accident. We all went to public prayers; whence we again returned, contrary to my intention, to Mr. Syms.<sup>70</sup> We joined in pleading the promises and asking some token for good. I rose in confidence of our prayer being heard and at the same time Mr. Verding declared with great simplicity and astonishment that he had seen as it were a whole army rushing by him and bearing the [1:141] broken body of Christ. He found himself quite overpowered at the sight; was all in a cold sweat. While he spoke, my heart bore witness to the work of God in his, and I felt myself affected as on Whitsunday. Was assured it was Christ. Said the written word would bear witness with the personal, and opened it for a sign upon Isaiah. "Surely shall one say in the Lord, have I righteousness and strength. Even to him shall men come and all that are incensed against him shall be ashamed. In the Lord shall all the seed of Israel be justified and shall glory."<sup>71</sup> Then said, "Look unto me and be ye saved all the ends of the earth, for I am God, and there is none else. I have sworn by myself, the word is gone out of my mouth in righteousness, and shall not return, that unto me every knee shall bow, every tongue shall swear."<sup>72</sup> And then 1 Peter 1:3[-5], "Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who according to his abundant mercy hath begotten us again unto a lively

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<sup>66</sup>Matt. 7:1.

<sup>67</sup>Orig., "so"; corrected in the manuscript (likely by Thomas Jackson) to "no."

<sup>68</sup>George Chapman (b. 1705), a butcher, of Lime Street, Near Leadenhall Market. See Benham, *Hutton*, 90.

<sup>69</sup>Joseph Verding was later a member of the Moravian community at Broad Oak.

<sup>70</sup>There are alternative possibilities for the various references to "Mr. Syms" in the MS Journal. Two are brothers: John Syms (1714–57) and Peter Syms (1716–90), both currently bachelors and in business together as butchers, in or near Leadenhall Street. Both brothers had contact with CW and JW in religious societies in London and meetings were often held in their house. On at least some occasions (like Jan. 10, 1738) the reference is to their uncle Thomas. In 1743 London Moravian congregation members included Peter Syms (married), Robert Syms (married), William Syms (single), and Joseph Syms (single), while the (less committed) society members included Thomas Syms and Mrs. Syms. Again, CW spells "Sims."

<sup>71</sup>Isa. 45:24.

<sup>72</sup>Isa. 45:22–23.

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hope by the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead to an inheritance incorruptible, undefiled, and that fadeth not away reserved in heaven for you which are kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation.” After this he grew visibly in the faith and we rejoiced and gave God thanks for the consolation.

He appeared a very child, owned he had feared nothing so much as offending his Father; was ready to die that moment. In the beginning of prayer he could hardly persuade himself to kneel down, not thinking he could find any benefit, so poor, so sinful a creature. What should he pray for?

Returning home in triumph I found Dr. Byrom,<sup>73</sup> and in defiance of the tempter [1:142] simply told him the great things Jesus had done for me and many others. This drew on a full explanation of the doctrine of faith, which he received with wonderful readiness. Toward midnight I slept in peace.

**Thursday, June 8.** I had the satisfaction of hearing Mr. Sparkes<sup>74</sup> confess himself convinced now that he is under the law, not under grace. In public prayer it pleased the Lord to melt me into humility and love.

At 3:00 I took coach for Blendon with Mr. [John] Bray. Had much talk with a lady about the fall and faith in Christ. She openly maintained the merit of good works. I would all who oppose the righteousness of faith were so ingenious, then would they no longer seek it as it were by the works of the law.

Before 7:00 we came to Eltham. In riding thence to Blendon I was full of delight and seemed in a new heaven and a new earth. We prayed and sang and shouted all the way. We found Miss Betsy and Hetty [Delamotte] at home and prayed that this day salvation might come to this house. In the lesson were those words, “This is the accepted time, this is the day of salvation.”<sup>75</sup>

**Friday, June 9.** Prayed with fervour for the family. The second lesson was blind Bartimeus.<sup>76</sup> In riding to Bexley with Mr. [Henry] Piers, I spoke of my experiences in simplicity and confidence and found him very ready to receive the faith. We spent the day in the same manner, Mr. Bray relating the inward workings of God upon his soul and I the great things he had lately done for me and our friends at London. He listened eagerly to all that was said, not making the least of objection, but confessing it was what he had never experienced. We walked

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<sup>73</sup>John Byrom (1692–1763), of Manchester, had a medical degree, but now focussed his time on poetry and developing a unique system of shorthand, gaining a reputation that led to election as fellow of the Royal Society in 1724. He also cultivated relationships with several leading non Jurors. Both JW and CW were influenced by him in the 1730s through their connection with John. See *ODNB*.

<sup>74</sup>John Sparkes (c. 1713–47), of Peterborough, educated at Cambridge, and ordained deacon on Feb. 16 and priest on Apr. 16, 1738. He seems to have been assisting Thomas Broughton in London. Later Sparkes became rector of Newton Bromswold, Northamptonshire. CW spells “Sparks.”

<sup>75</sup>2 Cor. 6:2.

<sup>76</sup>Mark 10:46–52.

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and sang and prayed in [1:143] the garden. He was greatly moved and testified his full conviction and desire of finding Christ. “But I must first,” said he, “prepare myself by long exercise of prayer and good works.”

At night we were joined in prayer for Hetty. Never did I pray with greater earnestness, expecting an immediate answer and being much disappointed at not finding it. I consulted then the Scripture and met with Jehu’s words to his men, “Let none escape out of your hands!”<sup>77</sup> Then, “I trust . . . that I shall come shortly.”<sup>78</sup> Till I was in great heaviness for her and could not sleep till morning.

Waking full of desire for her conversion, those words were brought to my remembrance. “The Spirit and the bride say come, and let him that heareth say come, and let him that is athirst come, and whosoever will let him take of the water of life freely.”<sup>79</sup> At this instant came a flash of lightening, then thunder, then violent rain. I accepted it as a sign that the skies would soon pour down righteousness.

Yesterday (the devil of secrecy being expelled) Miss Betsy plainly informed me that after her last receiving the sacrament, she had heard a voice, “Go thy way, thy sins are forgiven thee,”<sup>80</sup> and was filled thereby with joy unspeakable. She said within herself, “Now I do indeed feed upon Christ in my heart by faith,” and continued all day in the spirit of humility and exultation. All her life she thought would be too little to thank God for that day. Yet, even after this it was that the enemy got so great advantage over her, in making her oppose the truth with such fierceness. For many days she did not know that she had in herself demonstration of that she denied. But after we had prayed that God would clear up his own work, the darkness of faith dispersed and those fears that her conversion was not real by little and little were all done away.

[1:144]

**Saturday, June 10.** In the morning lesson was that glorious description of the power of faith. “Jesus answering said unto them, have faith in God. For verily I say unto you that whosoever shall say unto this mountain, be thou removed, and be thou cast into the sea, and shall not doubt in his heart, but shall believe that those things which he said shall come to pass, he shall have whatsoever he saith. Therefore I say unto you, what things soever ye desire when ye pray believe that ye receive them and ye shall have them.”<sup>81</sup> We pleaded the promise in behalf of our seeking friends particularly Hetty and Mr. Piers. He came with his wife.<sup>82</sup> The day before our coming [he] had been led to read the Homily on Justification, which convinced him that in him dwelt no good thing. Now he likewise saw that the thoughts of his heart were only evil continually for as much as whatsoever is not of faith is sin.<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>77</sup>2 Kings 9:15.

<sup>78</sup>Phil. 2:24.

<sup>79</sup>Rev. 22:17.

<sup>80</sup>See Luke 5:20.

<sup>81</sup>Mark 11:23–24.

<sup>82</sup>Henry Piers married Elizabeth Robinson of Ashfordby, Leicestershire in Nov. 1736.

<sup>83</sup>See Gal 6:5.

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He asked God to give him some comfort and found it in Luke 5:23ff, “Whether it is easier to say thy sins be forgiven thee, or to say rise up and walk? But that ye may know that the Son of man hath power upon earth to forgive sins (he saith unto the sick of the palsy), I say unto thee, Arise, and take up thy bed and go unto thine own house. And immediately he rose up before them and took up that whereon he lay and departed to his own house glorifying God. And they were all amazed, and they glorified God, and were filled with fear, saying, we have seen strange things today.”<sup>84</sup>

This was the very miracle I told him from which God had shown his intention to heal me, and it was a sign of the like to be done by him. Mr. Bray moved for retiring to prayer. We prayed *after God* again and again, and [1:145] asked him whether he believed Christ could just not manifest himself to his soul. He answered, Yes. We read him the promise made to the prayer of faith.<sup>85</sup> Mr. Bray bid me speak some promise to him authoritatively, and he should find Christ make it good. I had not faith to do it.

He made me pray again and then read Psalm 65. I felt every word of it for my friend, particularly “Thou that hearest the prayer unto thee shall all flesh come. Blessed is the man whom thou chooseth and receivest unto thee. He shall dwell in thy court and shall be satisfied with the plenteousness of thy house, even of thy holy temple. Thou shalt show us wonderful things in thy righteousness. O God of our salvation, thou that art the hope of all the ends of the earth ....”<sup>86</sup>

Seeing the great confidence of Mr. Bray, and the deep humility of Mr. Piers, I began to think the promise would be fulfilled before we left the room. My fellow-worker with God seemed full of faith and the Holy Ghost and told him, if you can but touch the hem of his garment, you shall be made whole.<sup>87</sup>

We prayed for him a third time, the Spirit greatly helping our infirmities,<sup>88</sup> and then asked if he believed. He answered, “Yes.” The Spirit witnessing with our spirits that his heart was as our heart, Bray said, “I now know of a truth that Christ is in you.” We were all filled with joy, returned thanks, and prayed for a blessing on his ministry, and then brought him down in triumph. Miss Betsy [Delemotte] was greatly strengthened hereby and bold to confess she believed. All her speech now was, “I only hope that I shall never lose this comfort.”

The day was spent in prayer and confidence. Mrs. [Elizabeth] Piers was with all ease convinced of unbelief.<sup>89</sup>

After supper I [1:146] discoursed on faith from the lesson. The poor servants received the word gladly.

**Sunday, June 11.** While Mr. Piers was preaching upon death, I found great joy in feeling myself willing, or rather desirous, to die. After prayers we joined in intercession for Mr. and

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<sup>84</sup>Luke 5:23–26.

<sup>85</sup>See Matt. 18:22 and parallels.

<sup>86</sup>Ps. 65:3–5.

<sup>87</sup>See Matt. 14:36.

<sup>88</sup>See Rom. 8:26.

<sup>89</sup>While her name is not given, Mrs. Piers was buried in Bexley in Jan. 1780.

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Mrs. Delamotte, then for poor Hetty. Received much comfort in reading Luther.

We took coach for church. In singing I observed Hetty join with a mixture of fear and joy. I earnestly prayed and expected she should meet with something to confirm her in the service. Both the psalms and lessons were full of consolation.

We adjourned to Mr. Piers and joined in prayer for a poor woman in despair, one Mrs. Searle,<sup>90</sup> whom Satan had bound these many years. I saw her pass by in the morning and was touched with a sense of her misery. After pleading his promise of being with us to the end of the world,<sup>91</sup> we went down to her in the name of Jesus. I asked her whether she thought God was love and not anger, as Satan would persuade her. Then I preached the gospel, which she received with all imaginable eagerness. When we had for some time continued together in prayer she rose up another creature, strongly and explicitly [declaring<sup>92</sup>] her faith in the blood of Christ and full persuasion that she was accepted in the Beloved. Hetty then disclosed that she could not but believe she could not be left out of the universal pardon, therefore Christ died for her, even for her.<sup>93</sup> We gave thanks for both with much exultation and triumph.

After family prayer I expounded the lesson, and going up to my chamber asked the maid (Mary) how she found herself. She answered, "O sir, what you said was very comfortable, [1:147] how that Christ was made sin for me, that I might be made the righteousness of God in him;<sup>94</sup> that is, he was put in my place, and I in his." "Do you then believe this, that Christ died for you?" "Yes, I do believe it and I found myself as I never did before, when you spoke the word." "But do you find within yourself that your sins are forgiven?" "Yes, I do." These and the like answers, which she made with great simplicity, convinced me that faith had come to her by hearing.<sup>95</sup> We joined in giving glory to God, for we perceived and confessed it was his doing. It pleased him likewise to bless me with a deep and hitherto unknown dread of ascribing anything to myself.

**Monday, June 12.** This morning Mrs. Piers told she had always doubted her having true faith, but now declared with tears she was convinced her sins were forgiven and she did believe indeed. We all went to Mrs. Searle in strong temptation, nothing doubting but we should see the power of Christ triumphing over that of Satan. The enemy had got no advantage over her, though he had laboured all night to trouble and confound her. As often as she named the name of Jesus, he was repelled and her soul at peace. We were much edified by her deep humility and preached the gospel to her and her husband, who received it readily. After prayer she rose with "How shall I be thankful enough to my Saviour?" We parted in a triumphant hymn.

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<sup>90</sup>Judith Searle (maiden name unknown; d. 1783), wife of Edward Searle. CW spells "Searl."

<sup>91</sup>See Matt. 28:20.

<sup>92</sup>This word is added in the margin, in another hand; but something like it is needed.

<sup>93</sup>The portion "she could not be left out of the universal pardon, therefore" has a line drawn through it, likely by Thomas Jackson, who omitted it his *CW Journal*. This was likely due to fear of the suggestion of universalism.

<sup>94</sup>See 2 Cor. 5:21.

<sup>95</sup>See Gal. 3:2–5.

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**Tuesday, June 13.** Mr. Piers was sent to a dying woman. She was in despair, having done so much evil and so little good. He declared to her the glad tidings of salvation, that as all her good, were it ten thousand times more, could never save her, so all her evil could never hurt her—if she could repent [1:148] and believe, if she could lay hold on Christ by a living faith, and look for salvation by grace only. This was comfort indeed. She gladly quitted her own merits for Christ's. The Holy Ghost wrought faith in her heart, which she expressed in a calm cheerful, triumphant expectation of death. Her fears and agonies were at an end. Being inspired by faith, she had peace with God, and only entered farther into her rest, by dying a few hours after.<sup>96</sup> The spectators were melted into tears. She calmly passed into the heavenly Canaan, and has there brought up a good report of her faithful pastor, who, under Christ, hath saved her soul from death.

These were the first fruits of his ministry, and I find him strengthened hereby and more assured that the gospel is the power of God unto salvation to everyone that believeth.<sup>97</sup>

In the evening Mr. [Peter] Delamotte returned.

**Wednesday, June 14.** After morning prayer in the little chapel, I kept Hannah from going,<sup>98</sup> that we might first pray for her, but we quickly found there was greater cause of thanksgiving. She told me she was reading a collect last night, which gave her vast pleasure: “Almighty God, whom truly to know is eternal life, grant us perfectly to know thy Son Jesus Christ to be the way, the truth, and the life.” “To be sure, sir,” she said, “I found myself so easy immediately, that I cannot tell you.” A few questions fully satisfied us that she was a true believer. Poor Hetty was tempted to imagine she did not believe, because she had not been affected exactly in the same manner with others. We used a prayer for her and parted. [1:149]

On the road I overtook Frank and asked what he thought of these things.<sup>99</sup> He answered, “I was greatly delighted with one thing you said, how that Christ was made sin for us that we might be made the righteousness of God in him.”<sup>100</sup> Upon farther examination I found him manifestly in the faith. We talked and rejoiced together till we came to Eltham. He there left me, resolved to publish everywhere what things Jesus had done for him.

The coach was filled with young ladies. I was forced to leave off reading that I might interrupt their scandal. At London I was informed that my brother was gone with Mr. [Benjamin] Ingham and Töltschig<sup>101</sup> to Herrnhuth.<sup>102</sup> The news surprised, but did not disquiet me.

**Thursday, June 15.** I was sent to baptize a child. It gave me occasion to speak upon

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<sup>96</sup>Elizabeth (Hobbs) Griffith, wife of Charles, was buried June 16, 1738, at Bexley.

<sup>97</sup>See Rom. 1:16.

<sup>98</sup>Hannah was a maid in the Delamotte home.

<sup>99</sup>Frank was a gardener for the Delamotte family.

<sup>100</sup>See 2 Cor. 5:21.

<sup>101</sup>Rev. Johann Töltschig (1703–64), a German Moravian who spent most of his ministry in Britain. See *DEB*, 1111–12. CW spells this name “Tilcheg” in this instance, and “Telchig” later.

<sup>102</sup>Herrnhut, Saxony, the Moravian settlement established by Count Zinzendorf.

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faith. One of the company was full of self-righteousness. The rest were more patient of the truth, being only gross sinners.

**Friday, June 16.** After dinner Jack [i.e., John] Delamotte came for me. We took coach, and by the way he told me that when we were last together at Blendon singing, “Who for me, for me hast died,”<sup>103</sup> he found the words sink into his soul; could have sung forever, being full of delightful joy; since then has thought himself led as it were in everything; feared nothing so much as offending God; could pray with life, and in a word found that he did indeed believe in the Lord Jesus.

In the coach with Miss [Elizabeth] Delamotte. While it [was] stopped I got out to reprove a man for swearing. He thanked me most heartily. We took up Hetty at Blendon and went on to Bexley. [1:150]

**Saturday, June 17.** The next day we sang and prayed with Mrs. Searle to our mutual encouragement. Mr. Searle heard us gladly.<sup>104</sup> The afternoon we passed with our friends at Blendon. Here I was stopped by the return of my pain and forced to bed. Desires of death continually rose in me, which I laboured to check, not daring to form any wish concerning it.

**Sunday, June 18.** The pain abated and the next day left me, being carried off by a violent looseness.

**Wednesday, June 21.** Concerned at having been here several days and done nothing. Preached forgiveness to Mr. Piers’s man, who seemed well disposed for receiving it by a true simplicity. We prayed together and went to public prayers. In the second lesson was the paralytic healed.<sup>105</sup> Came home with the Miss Delamotte, Mrs. Searle, and the man, who declared before us all that God had given him faith by hearing “the sick of the palsy healed.” We returned hearty thanks.

The Lord gave us more matter for thanksgiving at Blendon, where I read my brother’s sermon on faith.<sup>106</sup> When it was over, the gardener declared, faith had come to him by hearing it, and he had no doubt of his sins being forgiven. “Nay, was I to die just now,” he added, “I know I should be accepted by Christ Jesus.”

**Thursday, June 22.** Comforted Hetty, under a strong temptation because she was not in all points affected like other believers, especially the poor who have generally a much larger degree of confidence than the rich and learned. I had a proof of this today after Mrs. Searle’s, where meeting a poor woman and convincing her of unbelief, I used a [1:151] prayer for her that God who hath chosen the poor of this world to be rich in faith,<sup>107</sup> would now impart to her his unspeakable gift. In the midst of the prayer she received it, avowed it openly, and increased

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<sup>103</sup>CW, “Hymn to the Son,” st. 8, *HSP* (1739), 108–10. This citation demonstrates that CW introduced some of his hymns into Methodist worship prior to their formal publication (see also July 2, 1738).

<sup>104</sup>Edward Searle (1705–59), Judith’s husband.

<sup>105</sup>See Matt. 9:1–8.

<sup>106</sup>JW, “Salvation by Faith,” *Works*, 1:117–130. JW preached this sermon at St. Mary’s church, Oxford, on June 11, 1738, and published it soon after (London: Hutton, 1738).

<sup>107</sup>See James 2:5.



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visibly therein.

In the evening we had a meeting at Mr. Piers and read my brother's sermon. God set his seal to the truth of it by sending his Spirit upon Mr. Searle and a maidservant, purifying their hearts by faith. This occasioned our triumphing in the name of Jesus our God.

**Friday, June 23.** Attended Mr. Piers to a poor old woman whom he could never prevail upon to go to church. I expected we should be called to preach the law, but found her ready for the gospel, and glad to exchange her merits for Christ's. The evening we prayed among our little flock and parted full of comfort and peace and joy.

**Saturday, June 24.** Riding to Blendon in the morning, I met William Delamotte just come from Cambridge. He had left town, well disposed to the obedience of faith, but now I observed his countenance altered. He had been strongly prejudiced by the good folk at London. At Blendon I found Mr. [Peter] Delamotte not over-cordial, yet civil. Met letters from my mother heavily complaining of my brother's forsaking her and requiring me to accept of the first preferment that offered, on pain of disobedience.<sup>108</sup>

This a little while disquieted me. Was not much comforted by William Delamotte, but I was extremely moved for him. Could not restrain from tears. His sister joined us. I began preaching faith and free grace. His objection was that it is unjust in God to make sinners equal with us, who had laboured perhaps many years. We proposed [1:152] singing an hymn. He<sup>109</sup> saw the title, "Faith in Christ,"<sup>110</sup> and owned he could not bear it.

In our way to church I again proclaimed to him the glad tidings of salvation. He was exceeding heavy and by his own confession miserable. Yet could he not receive this saying, "We are justified freely by faith alone."<sup>111</sup> The lesson comforted me concerning him. "Behold, I will send my messenger, and he shall prepare the way before me. And the Lord, whom ye seek, shall suddenly come to his temple, even the messenger of the covenant, whom ye delight in. Behold, he shall come, saith the Lord."<sup>112</sup> To all such who think it is hard to lose the merit of their good works the Scripture spoke as follows: "Your words have been stout against me, saith the Lord. Yet ye say, What have we spoken so much against thee! Ye have said, it is vain to serve God, and what profit is it, that we have kept his ordinances and that we have walked mournfully before the Lord of hosts?"<sup>113</sup>

**Sunday, June 25.** Stayed to preach faith to Mrs. Delamotte, whom providence brought home yesterday, I trust for that very purpose. I was so faint and full of passion that I had not power to speak. But I had no sooner begun my sermon than all my weakness vanished. God gave me strength and boldness, and after an hour's speaking I found myself perfectly well. Went and accosted Mrs. Delamotte in her pew. Just as shy as I expected. Let it work. God look to the

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<sup>108</sup>These letters are not known to survive.

<sup>109</sup>Orig., "We"; corrected in the manuscript (likely by Thomas Jackson) to "He."

<sup>110</sup>Isaac Watts, "Faith in Christ," included by JW in *CPH* (1737), 52. Original found in Watts, *Hymns and Spiritual Songs* (London: Humfreys, 1707), Bk. 2, no. 90.

<sup>111</sup>Rom. 3:28.

<sup>112</sup>Mal. 3:1.

<sup>113</sup>Mal. 3:13–14.

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event!

After evening prayer she just spoke to me. Betsy wondered she could bring herself to it. My sermon (I heard) occasioned much disturbance to more than her. Mrs. Searle at night was full of triumph. [1:153]

**Monday, June 26.** Waited upon Mrs. Delamotte, expecting what happened. She fell abruptly upon my sermon for the false doctrine therein. I answered, I staked my all upon the truth of it. She went on, "It is hard people must have their children seduced in their absence. If everyone must have your faith, what will become of all the world? Have you this assurance, Mr. Piers?" "Yes madam, in some degree. I thank God for it." "I am sorry to hear it." One of the company cried, "I am glad to hear it, and bless God for him, and wish all mankind had it too."

She moved for reading a sermon of Archbishop Sharp's.<sup>114</sup> Piers read. We excepted continually to his unscriptural doctrine. Much dispute ensued. She accused my brother with preaching an instantaneous faith. "As to that," I replied, "we cannot but speak the things which we have seen and heard."<sup>115</sup> I received it in that manner; as have above thirty others in my presence." She started up, said she could not bear it, and ran out of the house. William protested against her behaviour. In the beginning I had found the old man rise. But I grew calmer and calmer the longer we talked. Glory be to God through Christ! I offered to go, but they would not let me. Betsy went, and at last prevailed upon her to come in. Nothing more was said. At 6:00 took my leave.

Poor Hannah and Mary came to the door, and caught hold of my hand. Hannah cried, "Don't be discouraged, sir. I hope we shall continue steadfast." I could not refrain from tears. Hetty came in. I exhorted her to persevere. I took horse. William seemed much better disposed than his mother, [1:154] promised to come and see me the next day. I joined with Mr. Piers in singing,

Shall I, for fear of feeble man,  
Thy Spirit's course in me restrain?<sup>116</sup>

and in hearty prayer for Mrs. Delamotte.

**Tuesday, June 27.** Calling upon poor Goody Dickenson,<sup>117</sup> I asked if she had now forgiveness. "Yes," said she, "I received it in the midst of your sermon." "Do you then believe Christ died for you in particular?" "Yes, to be sure. I must believe it if I would not deny the Scripture." She expressed strong confidence in God; appeared full of love to two beggars that called; believed she should be saved, if she died just now; would come to church, if all in rags. In short, she left me no reason to doubt but that she was taken in at the eleventh hour, being now

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<sup>114</sup>Cf. John Sharp (1645–1714), *Fifteen Sermons Preached on Several Occasions* (London: Walter Kettilby, 1700). Sharp was Archbishop of York, 1691–1714.

<sup>115</sup>Acts 4:20.

<sup>116</sup>"From the German," st. 1, *CPH* (1738), 65. JW's translation of Johann Joseph Winckler's hymn "Sollt ich, aus Furcht für Menschenkinder."

<sup>117</sup>Likely Elizabeth Dickenson, buried in Nov. 1741 at Bexley.

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near fourscore.

Coming back to Mr. Piers's, I found William Delamotte. Full of hope for him. He told me he had wrote two sheets against the truth. But in seeking after more texts, had met one that quite spoiled all. "Not by works of righteousness which we have done, but according to his mercy he saved us."<sup>118</sup> This convinced him, and immediately he burned all he had wrote. I asked what it was he still stuck at. "Nothing," said he, "but God's giving faith instantaneously." I replied that alone hindered his receiving it just now, no more preparation being absolutely necessary thereto than what God is pleased to give.

We were directed to many apposite scriptures, particularly: Luke 7:47, "Wherefore I say unto thee, her sins, which were many, are forgiven." John 20:27-28, "Then said he to Thomas, 'Reach hither thy finger, and behold [1:155] my hands; and reach hither thy hand, and thrust it into my side; and be not faithless, but believing.' And Thomas answered and said unto him, 'My Lord and my God.'"

We went to prayers, pleaded the promises for him with great earnestness and tears, then read 2 Thessalonians 1:11-12: "Wherefore also we pray always for you, that our God would count you worthy of this calling, and fulfill all the good pleasure of his goodness, and the work of faith with power; that the name of our Lord Jesus Christ may be glorified in you, and ye in him, according to the grace of our God and the Lord Jesus Christ."

I observed the workings of God strong upon him, and prayed again. Then read the scriptures that first offered: Titus 3:5, "Not by works of righteousness which we have done ..." (the very text that stopped him in the morning). Amos 4:12, "Because I will do this to thee, prepare to meet thy God." Psalm 88:6, "God setteth the solitary in families, he bringeth out those which are bound with chains." And lastly, Psalm 66:20, "Blessed be God, which hath not turned away my prayer, nor his mercy from me."

While we were praying, and singing, and reading, alternately, a poor man, one Mr. Heather, came to talk with me. He had heard and liked the sermon upon faith. I asked him whether he had faith. "No." Whether forgiveness of sins. "No." Whether there was or could be any good in him, till he believed? "No." "But do you think Christ cannot give you faith and forgiveness in this hour?" "Yes, to be sure he can." "And do you believe his promise, that when two of his disciples shall agree upon earth, as touching anything they shall ask of him, he will give it them?"<sup>119</sup> "I do." "Why [1:156] then here is your minister, and I agree to ask faith for you." "Then I believe I shall receive it before I go out of this room."

We went to prayer directly, pleaded the promise, and rising, asked him whether he believed. His answer was, "Yes, I do believe with all my heart. I believe Christ died for my sins. I know they are all forgiven. I desire only to love him. I would suffer anything for him; could lay down my life for him this moment." I turned to my scholar and said, "Do you now believe that God can give faith instantaneously?" He was too full to speak, but told me afterwards he envied the unopposing ignorance and simplicity of the poor, and wished himself that illiterate carpenter.

[Wednesday, June 28.] Next day I returned to town, rejoicing that God had added to his living church seven more souls through my ministry. Not unto me, O Lord, not unto me, but to

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<sup>118</sup>Titus 3:5.

<sup>119</sup>See Matt. 18:19.

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thy name be the praise, for thy loving mercy, and for thy truth's sake.<sup>120</sup> I had hopes of seeing greater things than these, from a scripture he this day directed me to: Luke 5:9, "For he was astonished, and all that were with him, at the draught of fishes which they had taken."

I went to Mr. Sym's, in expectation of Christ. Several of our friends were providentially brought thither. We joined in singing and prayer. The last time we prayed I could not leave off, but was still forced to go on. Rose at last, and saw Mr. [George] Chapman still kneeling. Opened the book, and read aloud: "And, behold, a woman which was diseased with an issue of blood twelve years, came behind him, and touched the hem of his garment, for she said within herself, If I may but touch his garment, I shall be whole. And Jesus turned him about, [1:157] and when he saw her, he said, Daughter, be of good comfort; thy faith hath made thee whole. And the woman was made whole from that hour."<sup>121</sup>

My heart burned within me while I was reading. At the same time I heard him cry out, with great struggling, "I do believe." We lifted him up, for he had not power to rise of himself, being quite helpless, exhausted, and in a profuse sweat. An old believer among us owned himself affected with wonderful sympathy. We had the satisfaction of *seeing* Mr. Chapman increase in faith, and returned most hearty thanks to the God of his and our salvation.

**Thursday, June 29.**<sup>122</sup> Miss Suky Claggett called, and to my no small comfort informed me of her sister's lately receiving faith.<sup>123</sup> She likewise brought me an invitation from her mother. Mrs. Turner would have sent for her, but I would not suffer it, that I might have no hand at all in the matter. Sat down to write, when Miss Betsy came for me. We joined in thanksgiving for her, and intercession for her mother, and then took coach. Mrs. Turner made the fourth.

Sought to the oracle for direction, and was much strengthened by the answer from Acts 10:29, "Therefore came I unto you without gainsaying, as soon as I was sent for. I ask therefore for what intent ye have sent for me?" What makes it more remarkable is that it is St. Peter's Day. We all conceived great hopes of Mrs. Claggett.<sup>124</sup> I found her very courteous, well-disposed, emptied of herself. We sang and at her desire prayed together. She freely confessed how greatly she had been prejudiced against the truth, but was thoroughly satisfied by my reading the sermon.<sup>125</sup> I prayed after it without much affection, again with more, and the third time strongly moved. [1:158] *Knew* that she believed; [I] believed for her. The Scripture gave the strongest testimony of it. At first she said she must not presume to say she believed, but grew more and more confirmed. I left her in confidence God would soon clear up his own work in her soul, beyond all doubt or contradiction. Soon after, to keep me from being lifted up, the messenger of

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<sup>120</sup>See Ps. 115:1.

<sup>121</sup>Matt. 9:20–22.

<sup>122</sup>CW wrote the date in Block Letters, for emphasis.

<sup>123</sup>I.e., Elizabeth ("Betsy") Claggett.

<sup>124</sup>Martha (Clifton) Claggett (1691–1773), who married Wyseman Claggett in 1714. See Benham, *Hutton*, 93.

<sup>125</sup>Again, JW's sermon "Salvation by Faith."

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Satan was suffered to buffet me.<sup>126</sup>

**Friday, June 30.** Thanks be to God, the first thing I felt today was a fear of pride, and desire of love. Betsy Delamotte called, and gave me the following letter:

Dear Sir,

God hath heard your prayers. Yesterday, about 12:00, he put his *fiat* to the desires of his distressed servant; and glory be to him, I have enjoyed the fruits of his Holy Spirit ever since. The only uneasiness I feel is want of thankfulness and love for so unspeakable a gift. But I am confident of this also, that the same gracious hand which hath communicated will communicate even unto the end.

I am your sincere friend in Christ,

William Delamotte

O my friend, I am free indeed! I agonized some time betwixt darkness and light. But God was greater than my heart, and burst the cloud, and broke down the partition-wall, and opened to me the door of faith.

In reading this, I felt true thankfulness, and was quite melted down with God's goodness to my friend.

I followed his guidance in the afternoon to Mr. Syms's. We spent the time as usual. Mrs. Chapman called, said she could not stay, yet stayed [for] prayers. I was much assisted, rose, and asked her whether she believed. "I do not know but I do. For I never found myself so in my life. So strangely warmed! Such strong beating of my heart."<sup>127</sup> I seem to have a [1:159] fire within me. Thought, while kneeling down, how could I expect to receive faith, when so many better than me were here? It then came into my mind that I had left my money upon the stall. But God, thought I, could take care of it, or give me a better thing."

We concluded the day with prayer at Mr. [John] Bray's.

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**Saturday, July 1.** Again at Mrs. [Martha] Claggett's. The younger daughter told me her mother many years ago had been cured of an incurable disease through faith.<sup>1</sup> The eldest daughter and Mrs. Claggett joined us. I related the cure of the lame girl at Bath. She rejoiced to hear a person might have faith, and have it long obscured by worldly cares, yet not lost; said the maid's case was hers; professed her now believing; and owned the darkness she had long lain under a just punishment for her not giving God the glory. We sang and rejoiced together, and went to the house of God as friends. In the lesson he related his past kindness to her. "And he

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<sup>126</sup>See 2 Cor. 12:7.

<sup>127</sup>This sentence is struck out in pencil; surely by Thomas Jackson, who omitted it in his *CW Journal*.

<sup>1</sup>See her own account in Martha (Clifton) Claggett to CW, July 24, 1738.

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was teaching in one of the synagogues on the sabbath day. And, behold, there was a woman which had a spirit of infirmity eighteen years, and was bowed together, and could in no wise lift up herself. And when Jesus saw her, he called her to him, and said unto her, Woman, thou art loosed from thine infirmity. And he laid his hands on her, and immediately she was made straight, and glorified God.”<sup>2</sup> Mrs. Claggett was deeply affected, and told me afterwards that her not following the woman’s example of glorifying God had occasioned all the troubles of her life. But she was now resolved, as far as in her lay, to repair her past unfaithfulness.

At Mr. Syms’s; extremely averse to prayer. [1:160] Would fain have stole away without it, but Mr. [John] Bray stopped me, saying my deadness could not hinder God, and forced me to pray. I had scarce begun when I was quite melted down, and prayed more fervently than ever before. A poor man, who came in at the beginning of the prayer, now confessed his faith before us all, being full of joy and triumph. He never found himself so before, knew his sins were forgiven, could gladly die that moment.

**Sunday, July 2.** Being to preach this morning for the first time, I received strength for the work of the ministry in prayer and singing. The whole service at Basingshaw was wonderfully animating,<sup>3</sup> especially the gospel concerning the miraculous draught of fishes.<sup>4</sup> I preached “salvation by faith” to a deeply attentive audience.<sup>5</sup> I gave the cup. Observing a woman full of reverence, I asked her if she had forgiveness of sins. She answered, with great sweetness and humility, “Yes, I know it now that I have forgiveness.”

I preached again at London Wall,<sup>6</sup> without fear or weariness. As I was going into the church a woman caught hold of my hand and blessed me most heartily, telling me she had received forgiveness of sins while I was preaching in the morning.

In the evening we met, a troop of us, at Mr. Syms’s. There was one Mrs. Harper there, who had this day in like manner received the Spirit by the hearing of faith, but feared to confess it. We sung the hymn to Christ. At the words, “Who for me, for me hath died,”<sup>7</sup> 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.

We sang and prayed again. I observed one [1:161] of the maids run out, and following, found her full of tears, and joy, and love. I asked what ailed her. She answered, as soon as joy would let her, that “Christ died for her!” She appeared quite overpowered with his love.

When the company were gone, she gave the following relation. That during the prayer she was encompassed with thick darkness, when a light broke in at a vast distance shining more and more as we proceeded in the prayer. At last the darkness seemed quite dispersed, and she saw our Saviour in a bright cloud, and laboured to run to him. The more she laboured, the nearer he seemed to come. She struggled as in an agony and dreaded the prayer being over before she

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<sup>2</sup>Luke 13:10–13.

<sup>3</sup>St. Michael Bassishaw church, which used to stand on Basinghall Street in London.

<sup>4</sup>See Luke 5:9.

<sup>5</sup>JW’s sermon on Eph. 2:8.

<sup>6</sup>St. Alphage church, London Wall.

<sup>7</sup>CW, “Hymn to the Son,” st. 1, *HSP* (1739), 109. Published version uses “hast died.”

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should apprehend him. When she rose, she ran out, not knowing whither (for her face was covered) till she came close to him. He looked smiling upon her with outstretched arms, and with his crown of thorns on. She was confident, this was only the beginning of joy.

**Monday, July 3.** Had some discourse with my friendly namesake, Charles Rivington. I begged him to suspend his judgment till he heard me preach.

**Tuesday, July 4.** Received a letter from my brother at Tiverton, full of heavy charges.<sup>8</sup> At Mr. [John] Sparkes's found Jephthah Harris.<sup>9</sup> Convinced him so far that he owned he had been prejudiced against the truth, and had not faith. Carried him to Mr. Bray's, prayed over him, and pleaded the promises. All were much affected.

Corrected a sermon of Mr. Sparkes on justification. Took coach for Bexley. In the way was enabled to pray for my brother. Heard a good account of Mrs. Delamotte, that she was almost beat out of her own righteousness.

Honest Frank<sup>10</sup> made one of our congregation this evening, and gave a comfortable account [1:162] of the little flock at Blendon. I received a fuller [account] from Hetty, informing me that her mother was convinced of unbelief, and much ashamed of her behaviour towards me.

**Wednesday, July 5.** William Delamotte came, and rejoiced with me for all God had done. We brought a woman home from church, and laboured hard to convince her she deserved hell. Another confessed her having received forgiveness of sins in sickness.

**Friday, July 7.** Mrs. Delamotte followed me from church, sent for me down, hoped she did not interrupt me. Her third sentence was, "Well, Mr. Wesley, are you still angry with me?" "No madam," I answered, "nor ever was. Before I gave myself time to consider, I was myself so violent against the truth that I know to make allowance for others." Here we came to a full explanation. Produced the scriptures which proved our justification by faith only, the witness of the Spirit, etc. By these and an excellent sermon of Bishop Beveridge's on the subject,<sup>11</sup> she seemed thoroughly convinced. All she stuck at was the instantaneousness of faith, or, in other words, the possibility of anyone's perceiving when the life of faith first began.

She carried me in her coach to Blendon, where the poor servants were overjoyed to see me once more. While we were praying for her, she sent for me up to her closet. I found her quite melted into an humble, contrite, longing frame of spirit. She showed me several prayers attesting the true faith, especially that of Bishop Taylor:

I know, O blessed Jesus, that thou didst take upon thee my nature, that thou mightest suffer for my sins; that thou didst suffer to deliver me from them, and from thy Father's wrath. And I was delivered from his wrath, that I might serve thee, in holiness and righteousness all my days. Lord, [1:163] I am as sure thou didst the great work of

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<sup>8</sup>This letter from Samuel Wesley Jr. is not known to survive.

<sup>9</sup>Jephthah Harris (c. 1709–1773), later of St. Michael, Crooked Lane, London, was a life-long friend of Thomas Broughton and does not appear to remain active in the revival.

<sup>10</sup>Henry Pier's gardener.

<sup>11</sup>Likely Sermon 74 in William Beveridge, *Works*, 2nd edn. (London: Arthur Bettesworth & William Innys, 1729), 1:613–23. Beveridge was Bishop of St. Asaph, 1704–08.

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redemption for me, and for all mankind, as that I am alive. This is my hope, the strength of my spirit, my joy, and my confidence. And do thou never let the spirit of unbelief enter into me, and take me from this rock. Here I will dwell, for I have a delight therein. Here I will live, and here I desire to die.<sup>12</sup>

She asked me what she could do more, being convinced of her want of faith and not able to give it herself. I preached the freeness of the grace, and betook myself to prayer for her, labouring, sighing, looking for the witness of the Spirit, the fullness of the promises, in her behalf. I conjured her to expect continually the accomplishment of the promise, and not think her confessed unworthiness any bar. Next morning I returned to town.

**Sunday, July 9.** Preached my brother's sermon upon faith at \_\_\_\_\_, and a second time in St. Sepulchre's vestry.<sup>13</sup> In walking home with Mrs. Burton, I said, "Surely there must be something which you are not willing to give up, or God would have given you comfort before now." She answered only by her tears. After praying for her at Mr. Bray's, I lay down, rose, stopped her going home, and carried her with James [Hutton] and Mrs. Turner from the company to pray. After prayer, in which I was much assisted, I found her under a great concern, trembling, and cold; longing, yet dreading, to say "she believed." We prayed again. She then said, with much struggling, "Lord, I believe. Help thou my unbelief."<sup>14</sup> She repeated it several times, and gained strength by each repetition.

**Monday, July [10].**<sup>15</sup> At Mr. Sparkes's request, I went with him, Mr. Bray, and Mr. Burnham to [1:164] Newgate and preached to the ten malefactors under sentence of death, but with a heavy heart.<sup>16</sup> My old prejudices against the possibility of a death-bed repentance still hung upon me, and I could hardly hope there was mercy for those whose time was so short. But in the midst of my languid discourse a sudden spirit of faith came upon me, and I promised them all pardon, in the name of Jesus Christ, if they would then, as at the last hour, repent, and believe the gospel. Nay, I did believe they would accept of the proffered mercy, and could not help telling them I had no doubt but God would give me every soul of them.

In going to Mr. Chapman's I met Margaret Beutiman, and bade her follow, for we were several of us to join in prayer there. James Hutton, Mr. [William] Holland, Mr. [Thomas] and Mrs. Syms got thither soon after us. We sang, and pleaded the promises. In the midst of prayer,

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<sup>12</sup>Jeremy Taylor, *The Rule and Exercises of Holy Living* (London: Francis Ash, 1650), sec. 10 of the concluding set of prayers. Taylor was Bishop of Down and Connor, 1661–67.

<sup>13</sup>CW was reading JW's sermon *Salvation by Faith* (see JW, *Works*, 1:117–130). JW preached this sermon at St. Mary's church, Oxford, on June 11, 1738, and published it soon after (London: Hutton, 1738).

<sup>14</sup>Mark 9:24.

<sup>15</sup>Orig., "July 20"; an error.

<sup>16</sup>The names of the men condemned to execution are included in a description of their crimes and behaviour in prison by the Ordinary of Newgate, *His Account of the Behaviour, Confession, and Dying Words, of the Malefactors who were Executed at Tyburn on Wednesday the 19th of July* (London: John Applebee, 1738; available online).



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Margaret received the atonement, and professed her faith without wavering, her love to Christ, and willingness to die that moment. We returned thanks for her, and I then offered to go. They pressed me to stay a little longer. I did so, and heard Mrs. Storer, a sister of Mr. Bray's, complain of the hardness of her heart. She owned she had been under the utmost uneasiness since our last meeting at her brother's, unable to pray, or find any rest to her soul. While we were singing the hymn to the Father<sup>17</sup> she did find the rest she sighed after; was quite pierced, as she said; her heart ready to burst, and her whole nature overpowered. We went to prayers, and then opened the Scripture, "I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou [1:165] hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes."<sup>18</sup> She then was strengthened to profess her faith, and increased in peace and joy. As we walked, she said she could not have conceived how these things could be, what the change was which we spoke of. Her faith was farther confirmed by public prayer, and she continued all the evening full of comfort, and peace that passeth all understanding.<sup>19</sup>

**Tuesday, July 11.** Preached with earnestness to the prisoners from the second lesson. One or two of them were deeply affected. At Bray's I found a letter from William Delamotte, and read, with joy and thankfulness, as follows:

I cannot keep peace. The mercies of God come in so abundantly on our unworthy family, that I am not able to declare them. Yet as they are his blessings through your ministry, I must inform you of them, as they will strengthen your hands, and prove helpers of your joy.

Great, then, I believe was the struggle between nature and grace in the soul of my mother. But God, who knoweth the very heart and reins, hath searched her out. Her spirit, like Naaman's flesh, is returned as that of a little child.<sup>20</sup> She is converted, and Christ hath spoken peace to her soul. This work was begun in her the morning you left us,<sup>21</sup> though she concealed it from you.

When she waked, the following scripture was strongly suggested to her, "Either what woman, having ten pieces of silver, if she lose one, doth not light a candle and sweep the house, and seek diligently till she find it."<sup>22</sup> She rose immediately, took up Bishop Taylor, and opened upon a place which so strongly asserted this living faith, that she was fully [1:166] convinced. But the enemy preached humility to her, that she could not deserve so great a gift. However, God still pursued, and she could not long forbear communicating the emotion of her soul to me. We prayed, read, and conversed for an hour. The Lord made use of a mean instrument to convince her of her ignorance in the

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<sup>17</sup>Almost certainly a reference to CW's "Hymn of Thanksgiving to the Father," which would soon be published in *HSP* (1739), 107–08.

<sup>18</sup>Matt. 11:25.

<sup>19</sup>See Phil. 4:7.

<sup>20</sup>See 2 Kings 5:1–27.

<sup>21</sup>CW had left on July 8.

<sup>22</sup>Luke 15:8.

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word. Throughout that day her mind was more and more enlightened, till at length she broke out, "Where have I been? I know nothing. I see nothing. My mind is all darkness. How have I opposed the Scripture!"

The tempter, thus enraged, excited all his powers to persuade her she was labouring after something that was not to be attained. But Christ suffered her not to fall. She flew to him in prayer and singing, and though Satan damped her much, yet could he not conquer her, because that which was conceived in her was of the Holy Ghost.

She continued agonizing all the evening. But how can I utter the sequel? The first object of her thoughts the next morning was Christ. She saw him approaching; and seeing, loved, believed, adored. Her prayers drew him still nearer, and everything she saw concurred to hasten the embrace of her Beloved. Thus she continued in the Spirit till 4:00, when, reading in her closet, she received the kiss of reconciliation. Her own soul could not contain the joys attending it. She could not forbear imparting to her friends and neighbours that she had found the peace which she had lost. Satan in vain attempted to shake her, for she felt in herself,

Faith's assurance, hope's increase,  
All the confidence of love.<sup>23</sup>

Mr. Sparkes this morning asked me [1:167] whether I would preach for him at St. Helen's. I agreed to supply Mr. [Thomas] Broughton's place, who is now at Oxford, arming our friends against the faith. The pain in my side was very violent, but I looked up to Christ, and owned his healing power. At the same time, that came into my mind, "Out of weakness were made strong."<sup>24</sup> No sooner did I enter the coach than the pain left me, and I preached faith in Christ to a vast congregation with great boldness,<sup>25</sup> adding much extempore.

After sermon, Mrs. Hind, with whom Mr. Broughton lodges, sent for me, owned her agreement to the doctrine, and pressed me to come and talk with Mr. Broughton, who, she could not but believe, must himself agree to it.

From her I went to Mr. Symes, and found that God had set his seal to my ministry, Mr. Dandy and Miss Branford declaring faith had come to them by hearing me. We rejoiced, and gave thanks from the ground of the heart.

**Wednesday, July 12.** Preached at Newgate to the condemned felons and visited one of them in his cell, sick of a fever—a poor black that had robbed his master.<sup>26</sup> I told him of one who came down from heaven to save lost sinners, and him in particular. Described the sufferings of the Son of God, his sorrows, agony, and death. He listened with all the signs of eager astonishment. The tears trickled down his cheeks while he cried, "What! Was it for me? Did God

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<sup>23</sup>CW, "Hymn to the Holy Ghost," st. 8, *HSP* (1739), 111. Again they are using a hymn that had not yet been published.

<sup>24</sup>Heb. 11:34.

<sup>25</sup>JW's sermon on Eph. 2:8.

<sup>26</sup>Isaac George was 22 years age, born in New England of parents of African descent.

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suffer all this for so poor a creature as me!" I left him waiting for the salvation of God.

In the evening Mr. [Henry] Washington of Queen's came to dispute with me. I simply testified [1:168] my want of faith three months ago, and my having it now. Asked whether he could lay down his life for the truth of his being in the faith, whether he allowed Christ to be as *really* present in the believing soul as in the third heavens. Told him he was yet in his sins, and knew nothing, and begged him to pray for direction.

**Thursday, July 13.** Read prayers and preached at Newgate, and administered the sacrament to our friends, with five of the felons. Was much affected and assisted in prayer for them, and exhorted them with great comfort and confidence.

**Friday, July 14.** Received the sacrament from the Ordinary.<sup>27</sup> Spoke strongly to the poor malefactors, and to the sick negro in the condemned hole, moved by *his* sorrow and earnest desire of Christ Jesus.

**Saturday, July 15.** Preached there again with an enlarged heart and rejoiced with my poor happy black, who now *believes* the Son of God loved him, and gave himself for him.<sup>28</sup>

**Sunday, July 16.** Metcalfe<sup>29</sup> and Savage came. The latter received faith on Friday night, in prayer, and is now filled with comfort, peace, and joy. Took coach with Metcalfe. Preached the threefold state with boldness;<sup>30</sup> gave the sacrament. Went thence to Mrs. [Martha] Claggett's; sang, rejoiced, and gave thanks in behalf of both the maids, now added to the church by true divine faith. Mr. Claggett coming in by mistake,<sup>31</sup> we laid hold on and carried him with us to Blackfriars.<sup>32</sup> Very weak and faint, yet was I strengthened to preach for above an hour. Carried to bed full of pain, expecting my fever, yet believing it could not return unless it were best.

[1:169]

**Monday, July 17.** Rose free from pain. At Newgate preached on death (which they must suffer the day after tomorrow). Mr. Sparkes assisted in giving the sacrament. Another clergyman was there. Newington<sup>33</sup> asked me to go in the coach with him.

At 1:00 was with the black in his cell, James Hutton assisting. Two more of the malefactors came. I had great help and power in prayer. One rose, and said he felt his heart all on fire, so as he never found himself before. He was all in a sweat, believed Christ died for him. I

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<sup>27</sup>The "Ordinary" was the Church of England priest appointed as chaplain to Newgate. This was James Guthrie from 1734 to 1746.

<sup>28</sup>See Titus 2:14.

<sup>29</sup>Charles Metcalfe (1716–79), a London draper and friend of James Hutton, became one of the leaders among English Moravians, though in 1759 Zinzendorf characterized him as 'a good man, but a busybody' (Benham, *Hutton*, 361). CW spells "Metcalf."

<sup>30</sup>A manuscript copy of this sermon on 1 John 3:14 survives in shorthand, including a register on the inside flyleaf of where CW preached it in the coming months (MARC, MA 1977/597/5). See the sermon collection on this website (or CW, *Sermons*, 130–51).

<sup>31</sup>Wyseman Claggett (1688–1741), Martha's husband.

<sup>32</sup>This would be a society meeting in the Blackfriars region of London.

<sup>33</sup>William Newington was another of the condemned men.

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found myself overwhelmed with the love of Christ to sinners. The black was quite happy. The other criminal [was] in an excellent temper; believing, or on the point of it.

Talked with another concerning faith in Christ. He was greatly moved. The Lord, I trust, will help *his* unbelief also.

Joined at Bray's with Hutton, Holland, Burton, in fervent prayer and thanksgiving. At 6:00 carried Bray and Fish to Newgate again.<sup>34</sup> Talked chiefly with Hodson<sup>35</sup> and Newington. Newington declared he had felt some time ago in prayer inexpressible joy and love, but was much troubled at its being so soon withdrawn. The Lord gave power to pray. They were deeply affected. We have great hopes of both.

**Tuesday, July 18.** The Ordinary read prayers and preached. I administered the sacrament to the black and eight more, having first instructed them in the nature of it. Spoke comfortably to them afterwards.

In the cells one told me that whenever he offered to pray, or had a serious thought, something came and hindered him; was with him almost continually, and once appeared. [1:170] After we had prayed for him *in faith*, he rose amazingly comforted, full of joy and love, so that we could not doubt his having received the atonement.

At night was locked in with Bray in one of the cells. We wrestled in mighty prayer. All the criminals were present, and all delightfully cheerful. The soldier, in particular, found his comfort and joy increase every moment. Another, from the time he communicated, has been in perfect peace. Joy was visible in all their faces. We sang:

Behold the Saviour of mankind,  
Nail'd to the shameful tree!  
How vast the love that him inclined  
To bleed and die for thee! ...<sup>36</sup>

It was the most triumphant hour I have every known.<sup>37</sup> Yet on

**Wednesday, July 19,**<sup>38</sup> I rose very heavy and backward to visit them for the last time. At 6:00 I prayed and sang with them all together. The Ordinary would read prayers and preach, most miserably. Mr. Sparkes and Mr. Broughton present, I felt my heart full of tender love to the latter. He administered. All the ten received. Then he prayed and I after him.

At half-hour past 9:00 their irons were knocked off, and their hands tied. I went in a coach with Sparkes, Washington, and a friend of Newington's (Newington himself not being

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<sup>34</sup>William Fish (fl. 1730s) was a lay member of the Fetter Lane Society who would resist the efforts of JW and CW to tie the society closely to Church of England practice.

<sup>35</sup>Orig., "Hudson"; the detailed account gives his name as Joseph Hodson (but then says his true last name was Johnson).

<sup>36</sup>Samuel Wesley Sr., "On the Crucifixion," st. 1, *CPH* (1737), 46.

<sup>37</sup>Someone (likely Thomas Jackson) revised to "one of the most triumphant hours."

<sup>38</sup>CW wrote the date in Block Letters, for emphasis.

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permitted). By half-hour past 10:00 we came to Tyburn.<sup>39</sup> Waited till 11:00, then were brought the children appointed to die. I got upon the cart with Sparkes and Broughton. The Ordinary endeavoured to follow, when the poor prisoners begged he might not come, and the mob kept him down.

I prayed first, then Sparkes and Broughton. [1:171] We had prayed before that our Lord would show there was a power superior to the fear of death. Newington had quite forgot his pain. They were all cheerful; full of comfort, peace, and triumph; assuredly persuaded Christ had died for them and waited to receive them into paradise. Greenaway<sup>40</sup> was impatient to be with Christ.

The black<sup>41</sup> had spied me coming out of the coach, and saluted me with his looks. As often as his eyes met mine, he smiled with the most composed, delightful countenance I ever saw. Read caught hold of my hand in a transport of joy. Newington seemed perfectly pleased. Hodson declared he was never better, or more at ease, in mind and body. None showed any natural terror of death—no fear, or crying, or tears. All expressed their desire of our following them to paradise. I never saw such calm triumph, such incredible indifference to dying. We sang several hymns, particularly,

Behold the Saviour of mankind,  
Nail'd to the shameful tree. ...

And the hymn entitled “Faith in Christ,” which concludes,

A guilty, weak, and helpless worm,  
Into thy hands I fall.  
Be thou my life, my righteousness,  
My Jesus, and my all.<sup>42</sup>

We prayed him, in earnest faith, to receive their spirits. I could do nothing but rejoice. Kissed Newington and Hodson. Took leave of each in particular. Mr. Broughton bade them not be surprised when the cart should draw away. They cheerfully replied they should not, expressed some concern how we should get back to the coach. We left [1:172] them going to meet their Lord, ready for the Bridegroom. When the cart drew off not one stirred or struggled for life, but meekly gave up their spirits. Exactly at 12:00 they were turned off. I spoke a few suitable words to the crowd, and returned, full of peace and confidence in our friends' happiness.

That hour under the gallows was the most blessed hour of my life.

At Mr. Bray's we renewed our triumph. I found my brother and sister Lambert there,<sup>43</sup> and preached to them the gospel of forgiveness, which they received without opposition.

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<sup>39</sup>Tyburn, Middlesex, was the site for hangings in London.

<sup>40</sup>George Greenaway.

<sup>41</sup>I.e., Isaac George.

<sup>42</sup>Isaac Watts, “Faith in Christ,” st. 2, in JW, *CPH* (1737), 52.

<sup>43</sup>That is, John and Anne (Wesley) Lambert.

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**Thursday, July 20.** At morning prayers in Islington had some serious conversation with Mr. Stonehouse, the vicar.<sup>44</sup> Brought him home with me from evening prayers.

**Friday, July 21.** Mr. Robson<sup>45</sup> came; received the strange doctrine of faith with surprising readiness.

At night many joined us in prayer and praise. Brother [John] Edmonds bore his testimony.<sup>46</sup> So did two others who had received the blessing of pardon in hearing my sermon upon “The voice of one crying in the wilderness, prepare ye the way of the Lord.”<sup>47</sup> Another stood up (lately a notorious sinner) and declared the same. We continued until 11:00, praying, and praising God.

**Saturday, July 22.** Mr. Robson confessed he did believe there was such a faith, but it was impossible for him to obtain it, and it must necessarily bring on a persecution. We continued pleading the promises for him. He was greatly moved, and grew stronger and stronger in hope. I was full of expectation, as well as Mr. Bray. In singing the hymn to the Father,<sup>48</sup> our poor friend was quite overpowered, and even compelled to believe, till at last he was filled with strength and confidence.

At 5:00 Mr. Chapman came from Mr. Broughton, and appeared entirely estranged. He insisted that [1:173] there is no need of our being persecuted now. I told him I was of a different judgment, and believed every doctrine of God must have these two marks: 1) meeting all the opposition of men and devils, 2) triumphing over all. I expressed my readiness to part with him, and all my friends and relations, for the truth’s sake. Avowed my liberty and happiness since Whitsunday. Made a bridge for a flying enemy, and parted tolerable friends.

[**Sunday, July 23.**<sup>49</sup>]

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<sup>44</sup>This is the first appearance of Rev. George Stonehouse (1714–93) in MS Journal. He had been part of the Oxford Methodists during his student years, and opened his pulpit and churchyard to the Wesley brothers and Whitefield at the outset of the revival. In 1739 Stonehouse married Mary Crispe (b. 1722). Mary met James Hutton and later Count Zinzendorf through her husband’s circle of friends and was soon a devoted Moravian (even adopted by Zinzendorf as his daughter). In 1740 Stonehouse sold his Islington living and retired to the Dornford estate of his wife. Over the next decade George drifted away from the Moravians, a juncture finalized at the death of Mary in childbirth on Dec. 10, 1751. He eventually renewed relationship with CW, who officiated Stonehouse’s 1755 marriage to his second wife, Susanna (‘Suky’) Burdock. *ODNB*; and Vickers, *Dictionary*, 338–39.

<sup>45</sup>John Robson (b. 1714), had been a student of JW at Lincoln College 1732–35, and member of the Oxford Methodists. He is not mentioned in later connection to the revival.

<sup>46</sup>From this point CW increasingly adopts the practice of referring to the members of the revival movement as “brother” and “sister.”

<sup>47</sup>Matt. 3:3, Mark 1:3, Luke 3:3.

<sup>48</sup>See the note for July 10 above.

<sup>49</sup>The register on CW’s manuscript sermon on 1 John 3:14 indicates that he preached it this Sunday in two parts at London, All Hallows church, Thames Street. See MARC, MA 1977/597/5, flyleaf.

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**Monday, July 24.** Preached faith at Mr. Stonehouse's. Still he stuck upon fitness. We prayed most earnestly. Miss Claggetts dined with us. Prayed again with great comfort and hope for him. He continued insensible. We bade him open the Bible. He did, on these apposite words: 1 Thess. 1:5, "For our gospel came not unto you in word only, but also in power, and in the Holy Ghost, and in much assurance." Stayed with him after evening prayer, to keep him from Mr. Chapman. Agreed to take charge of his parish, under him, as his curate.

At night Mrs. Turner told me at Mrs. Claggett's that she had been greatly strengthened to pray in faith for Mr. Stonehouse.

**Tuesday, July 25.** William Delamotte came, and carried me to Bexley.

**Wednesday, July 26.** At Blendon. Mrs. Delamotte called upon me to rejoice with her in the experience of the divine goodness. In the evening I met several sincere seekers at Mr. [Henry] Piers's, with some who knew in whom they have believed, particularly one poor man whose faith has cured him of an ague. We had great power in prayer and joy in thanksgiving. William Delamotte often shouted for joy. Before 9:00 we got back to Blendon. Mrs. Delamotte then confessed that all her desire had been to affront, or make me angry; that she had long [1:174] watched every word I said; had persecuted the truth, and all who professed it; etc.

**Thursday, July 27.** In the coach to London I preached faith in Christ. A lady was extremely offended, avowed her own merits in plain terms, asked if I was not a Methodist, threatened to beat me. I declared I deserved nothing but hell; so did she, and must confess it before she could have a title to heaven. This was most intolerable to her. The others were less offended; began to listen, asked where I preached. A maidservant devoured every word.

**Friday, July 28.** Mr. Exall received faith in immediate answer to our prayers.<sup>50</sup> At Mr. Stonehouse's met Charles Rivington and his wife,<sup>51</sup> but could come to no agreement—I insisting on a particular manifestation of Christ in every soul, and he denying it.

**Sunday, July 30.** At 6:00 received the sacrament. Preached faith at 10:00, and again in the afternoon at All Hallows' [church], Thames Street. My strength increased with my labour. At Mr. Syms's began expounding the Epistle to the Romans.

**Monday, July 31.** Began writing a sermon upon Galatians 3:22, "But the Scripture hath concluded all under sin, that the promise by faith of Jesus Christ might be given to them that believe."<sup>52</sup>

Met Mr. Lynn, who had often asked me to his house. I went and found him again convinced of unbelief, and more uneasy than ever.

[1:175]

**August 1738**

**Tuesday, August 1.** Read prayers at Islington (as I do most days), and slept at Mr. Stonehouse's.

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<sup>50</sup>William Exall, of Islington, was one of the founding members of the society at Fetter Lane in 1738.

<sup>51</sup>Charles Rivington married Eleanor Pease (1692–1753) in 1714.

<sup>52</sup>This sermon has apparently not survived.

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**Thursday, August 3.** Met Lord Egmont and declared my intention of returning to Georgia if my health permitted, with which he was much pleased. Corrected Mr. Whitefield's *Journal* for the press, my advice to suppress it being overruled.<sup>1</sup>

**Sunday, August 6.** Preached at Islington, and gave the cup.

In the afternoon read prayers in a church in London, and preached again. Faint, full of pain when I began; but my work quite cured me.

**Thursday, August 10.** Walked to Mrs. Hind's. Mr. [Thomas] Broughton and [Henry] Washington were there. They denied explicitly that we are saved by Christ's imputed righteousness and affirmed that works do justify, have a share in making righteous before God. I appealed to the Homilies, which they had never read, for justification by faith only. When they were gone, I had much lively conversation with Mrs. Hind and her son, well disposed to receive faith, if they have it not already.

**Saturday, August 12.** We were warmed by reading George Whitefield's *Journal*. Walked with [Charles] Metcalfe, etc., in great joy, wishing for a place to sing in, when a blacksmith stopped us. We turned into his house, sang an hymn, and went on our way rejoicing.<sup>2</sup>

**Sunday, August 13.** Preached at Islington.<sup>3</sup> Gave the sacrament to a sick woman, who was therein assured of her reconciliation to God, through Christ Jesus.

**Tuesday, August 15.** Communicated again with the sick woman. Mrs. [Martha] Claggett and her daughters made the greater part of the congregation. We were all comforted. Seldom fail seeing them and Islington once a day.

**Wednesday, August 16.** Dragged out by Mr. Bray to Jephthah Harris's religious society; where, [1:176] after much disputing, I confuted, rather than convinced, them, by reading the Homily on Justification.<sup>4</sup>

**Thursday, August 17.** Preached faith to a dying woman and administered the sacrament.<sup>5</sup> She was satisfied God had sent us, told me I was the instrument of saving her soul. I asked, "Had you then no faith before we came?" She answered, "No, how should I? It is the gift of God, and he never gave it me till now." Do you now think you shall be saved? "Yes," she replied smiling. "I have no doubt of it." "You need not then fear the devil's hating you." "I know that he is chained. I have nothing to do with him, or he with me." She promised to bring up a good report of us to those she was going to.

Read prayers at Islington. Met Mrs. Brockmer,<sup>6</sup> one who in despair had been directed to Christ, and in a fortnight found peace to her soul, steadfastly believing her sin had been imputed

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<sup>1</sup>This volume was published, without George Whitefield's approval, as *A Journal of a Voyage from London to Savannah in Georgia* (London: James Hutton, 1738).

<sup>2</sup>See Acts 8:39.

<sup>3</sup>The register on CW's manuscript sermon on 1 John 3:14 indicates that he preached it in two parts that day at Islington. See MARC, MA 1977/597/5, flyleaf.

<sup>4</sup>This is apparently the occasion mentioned by Thomas Cooper in his account for CW, Oct. 1741 (MARC, MA 1977/501/16).

<sup>5</sup>Apparently the Mrs. Hall mentioned on Aug. 21.

<sup>6</sup>Ann Hankinson married John Paul Brockmer in 1735. CW spells "Brockmar."



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to Christ and his righteousness to her. She asked me to go see the sick woman again. Preached faith to a large company I found there. The woman bore a noble testimony. I asked her before them all: "Have you received forgiveness?" Her answer was, "Yes, I am assured of it by Christ himself." To them she said, they must not *think* they believe, but *feel* it, and have a full confidence thereof. They all thanked me much.

**Friday, August 18.** Prayed and rejoiced with her again, yet more ascertained of her salvation. Mrs. Brockmer, the Claggetts, etc., were of the company. We got upon the leads<sup>7</sup> and sang; full of zeal, and life, and comfort. Read prayers, and with Mr. Brockmer<sup>8</sup> and others returned to singing at Mr. Stonehouse's. He [1:177] read us an homily. At 7:00 we all walked out, were driven by the hard rain to a shed, where we sang and preached to those about us. Came wet through to Mr. Bray's. Joined our friends there in singing, reading, and prayer. A young man received faith in that hour.

**Saturday, August 19.** At Mr. Stonehouse's read prayers with some life. Gave the sacrament to the woman. Asked, "Do you still believe you shall be saved?" "Yes. I am humbly confident of it and care not how soon I depart. I desire to be dissolved, and to be with Christ." We sang on the leads as before.

At 3:00 found my friend Stonehouse exceeding heavy and sorely distressed through fear of marrying. I prayed earnestly that neither he nor I might ever be left to follow our own heart's desires. After reading prayers I buried a corpse, and went back to Bray's weighed down with my poor George's burden.

**Sunday, August 20.** Preached at Islington in the morning, at Clerkenwell<sup>9</sup> in the afternoon on "The Scripture hath concluded all under sin ...."<sup>10</sup> God gave me great boldness; and the word, I trust, did not return empty.<sup>11</sup>

**Monday, August 21.** Mr. Stonehouse's maid, Thomasin, told me she had found great peace, and comfort, and joy in prayer last Saturday, so that her very inside (as she expressed it) was changed.

I visited Mrs. Hall, a-dying. (She made signs of her confident faith.) Then Mrs. Hankinson,<sup>12</sup> who told me she had been very uneasy ever since I said a person must be sure of their forgiveness. I preached faith, as the only instrument of justification. She was quite melted down. We prayed. She rose, and said her heart was set at liberty, her burden taken away, and her spirit joyful in Christ her Saviour.

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<sup>7</sup>This is a flat part of the roof of a house, often covered with lead.

<sup>8</sup>John Paul Brockmer, a German gold watch engraver of Salisbury Court, Fleet Street. Again, CW spells "Brockmar."

<sup>9</sup>Likely at St. John's church, where JW preached the following month; cf. JW, *Journal*, Sept. 23, 1738, *Works*, 19:13.

<sup>10</sup>Gal. 3:22; while the sermon has not survived, CW's hymn on the passage from this time period reflects its themes: *HSP* (1739): 92–94.

<sup>11</sup>See Isa. 55:11.

<sup>12</sup>Likely the mother of Ann (Hankinson) Brockmer.

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**Thursday, August 24.** At Mrs. Musgrove's met one Mrs. Nichols, who [1:178] readily owned she was not free, had not faith, but believed Christ could just then give it to her. We prayed for her in faith. She<sup>13</sup> received immediate answer. Expressed her confidence, delight, and love of Jesus; and, at the same time, her utter defiance of Satan, sin, and death.

**Saturday, August 26.** With Mr. Stonehouse—possessed with a strange fancy that a man must be wholly sanctified before he can know that he is justified.

**Sunday, August 27.** Preached at St. John's the threefold state,<sup>14</sup> and helped to administer the sacrament to a very large congregation.

**Monday, August 28.** Came in the coach to Oxford. Rejoiced at Mr. Fox's,<sup>15</sup> with Mr. [Charles] Kinchin, [John] Hutchings, and other Christian friends.

**Tuesday, August 29.** Preached to the poor prisoners in the Castle.<sup>16</sup> Many, with Mr. Watson, were present at the society.<sup>17</sup> All of one mind, earnestly seeking Christ, I read the Homilies, and continued instant in prayer. A woman cried, "Where have I been so long? I have been in darkness. I shall never be delivered out of it"—and burst into tears. Mrs. Cleminger too appeared in the pangs of the new birth.

**Wednesday, August 30.** Left Mr. Watson convinced of unbelief, and rode to Stanton Harcourt. Spoke with great reluctance, yet fully and plainly, to my sister [Kezzy]; and then to Mr. [John] Gambold and [Charles] Kinchin, who surprised me by receiving my hard saying that they had not faith. I was ashamed to see the great thankfulness and childlike, loving spirit of Mr. Kinchin, even before justification.

**Thursday, August 31.** Waited upon the Dean [Conybeare], but we could not quite agree in our notions of faith. He wondered we had not hit upon the Homilies sooner, treated me with great candour and friendliness.

At the society read my sermon, "The [1:179] Scripture had concluded all under sin"<sup>18</sup> and urged upon each my usual question, "Do you deserve to be damned?" Mrs. Plat with the utmost vehemence cried out, "Yes. I do, I do!"<sup>19</sup> Prayed that if God saw there any contrite soul, he

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<sup>13</sup>Orig., "He"; a mistake.

<sup>14</sup>His sermon on 1 John 3:14; CW's register on the sermon identifies this as St. John Zachary church (cf. MARC, MA 1977/597/5, flyleaf).

<sup>15</sup>Thomas and Elizabeth Fox of Oxford had been supporters of the earlier Methodist group and continued to host a society at their home.

<sup>16</sup>Again, his sermon on 1 John 3:14; cf. MARC, MA 1977/597/5, flyleaf.

<sup>17</sup>Robert Watson (b. c. 1712) matriculated at Queen's College, Oxford in 1730, receiving his BA in 1735 and MA in 1739. He was drawn to the Oxford Methodists by respect for CW.

<sup>18</sup>Gal. 3:22.

<sup>19</sup>Mrs. Plat marked this as her conversion, as seen in Mrs. Platt to CW, 1740. Her first name has not been determined. She had been enlisted by JW to teach a small group of poor children in Oxford in 1731, and continued in that role for several years (see George Whitefield to JW, Sept. 2, 1736). Her recent "glorious" death was reported in Elizabeth Holmes to JW, Jan. 20, 1742.

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would fulfill his promise of coming and making his abode with it. "If thou hast sent thy Spirit to reprove any sinner of sin, in the name of Jesus Christ, I claim salvation for that sinner!" Again she broke out into strong cries; but of joy, not sorrow, being quite overpowered with the love of Christ. I asked her if she believed in Jesus. She answered in full assurance of faith. We sang and rejoiced over her (she still continued kneeling), joined in thanksgiving; but her voice was heard above ours.

Mr. Kinchin asked, "Have you forgiveness of sins?" "I am perfectly assured I have." "Have you the earnest of the Spirit in your heart?" "I have. I know I have. I feel it now within." Her answers to these and the like questions were expressive of the strongest confidence, to the great encouragement of all present.

Related this at Hutchings's before Mr. [Christopher] Wells, who seems fully convinced of the truth.

**September 1738**

**Friday, September 1.** Took coach for London. Between 5:00 and 6:00 reached Mrs. [Martha] Claggett's. They heartily joined me in praise and prayer. Mr. [Wyseman] Claggett was very friendly. James Hutton supped with us. Found several at [John] Bray's. After prayer he told me God plainly forbids my return to America by my success here.

**Sunday, September 3.** Preached salvation by faith at Westminster Abbey;<sup>1</sup> gave the cup. In the afternoon preached at St. Botolph's,<sup>2</sup> and expounded Romans 2 at Syms's, to above two hundred people. [1:180]

**Monday, September 4.** Charles Kinchin, now my inseparable companion, accompanied me to Bexley and Blendon. Prayed, and was comforted with the poor people.

**Tuesday, September 5.** Mr. Piers agreed to board my sister Kezzy. Read my sermon, prayed, and rejoiced with Mrs. Delamotte, and the rest at Blendon. Charles was all thankfulness and love. Returned to town very ill of a sore throat.

**Sunday, September 10.** Preached faith in the morning at Sir George Wheeler's chapel,<sup>3</sup> and assisted at the sacrament. In the afternoon at St. Botolph's.<sup>4</sup> In the evening at Syms's was much strengthened to pray and expound to above three hundred attentive souls. Another lost sheep was now brought home.

**Friday, September 15.** Meeting Charles Metcalfe's mother,<sup>5</sup> I laboured to convince her of unbelief (our first point with all). She yielded at last, and we joined in earnest prayer for her.

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<sup>1</sup>It is likely he was again preaching his brother's sermon; cf. June 21, 1738 above.

<sup>2</sup>CW preached the first part of his sermon on 1 John 3:14; cf. MARC, MA 1977/597/5, flyleaf. The annotation makes clear it was St. Botolph's church on Aldersgate Street.

<sup>3</sup>CW likely again used JW's sermon on Eph. 2:8. CW spells the name "Wheeler's."

<sup>4</sup>CW preached here the second part of his sermon on 1 John 3:14; cf. MARC, MA 1977/597/5, flyleaf.

<sup>5</sup>Elizabeth Metcalfe, now widowed.

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**Saturday, September 16.** James Hutton came, and carried me perforce to Newgate, where we preached Christ to four condemned prisoners. At night my brother [JW] returned from Herrnhut. We took sweet counsel together, comparing our experiences.

**Sunday, September 17.** At the early sacrament my brother read prayers. I preached “all under sin” in Grace Church Street, the morning;<sup>6</sup> at Queen’s Street chapel in the afternoon.<sup>7</sup> In the evening I preached faith, from Romans 3, at the Savoy society. My brother entertained us at night with the Moravian experiences.<sup>8</sup>

**Friday, September 22.** At Bray’s expounded Ephesians 1. A dispute arising about absolute predestination, I entered my protest against that doctrine.

**Sunday, September 24.** Comforted Mrs. Claggett, much threatened [1:181] by her husband; and then Mrs. Hankinson, who has lost several boarders, yet is in nothing terrified by her adversaries. Read prayers in Islington church, and preached with great boldness.<sup>9</sup> There was a vast audience, better than usual. None went out as they had threatened, and frequently done heretofore; especially the well dressed hearers, “where’er I mentioned hell to ears polite,”<sup>10</sup> and urged that rude question, “Do you deserve to be damned?”

We sang, rejoiced, and gave thanks at Mr. Stonehouse’s, and again at Mrs. Hankinson’s. Talked with one of her misses, to whom faith had come by hearing.

**Wednesday, September 27.** In our way to Oxford, I talked closely with my fellow traveller, Mr. Coombs.<sup>11</sup> He expressed his desire of faith. Moved to sing “Salvation by Faith,” then “Faith in Christ.”<sup>12</sup> I told him if the Spirit had convinced him of unbelief, he could of righteousness also, even before we reached Oxford. I stopped and prayed that he might believe. Immediately he told me he was in such a blessed temper as he never before experienced. We halted and went to prayers. He testified that great delight he felt saying, It was heaven, if it would but continue. While we were discoursing, the fire within him, he said, diffused itself

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<sup>6</sup>His sermon on Gal. 3:22; at St. Benet’s church, Gracechurch Street, London.

<sup>7</sup>A chapel built by William Baguley at the end of Great Queen Street, originally for dissenting worship. It was now an Anglican chapel, and later became a Methodist chapel.

<sup>8</sup>JW brought back from Germany a collection of accounts by the Moravians at Herrnhut of their spiritual experience. This manuscript does not seem to have survived. Cf. JW to James Hutton, Apr. 9, 1739, *Works*, 25:629, n. 6.

<sup>9</sup>CW apparently preached JW’s sermon on Exod. 20:8; a manuscript of this sermon survives in CW’s hand (MARC, MA 1977/597/2; cf. JW, *Works*, 4:268–78), with a notation by a third party for this date.

<sup>10</sup>Cf. Alexander Pope’s sarcastic description of a “soft” Anglican cleric “who never mentions hell to ears polite,” in *Epistle to the Right Honourable Richard Earl of Burlington* (London: L. Gilliver, 1731), 12.

<sup>11</sup>Thomas Coombs (c. 1716–70), matriculated at Corpus Christi in 1733. He would be ordained in 1745 and serve as vicar of East Tilbury 1754–70. CW spells “Combes.”

<sup>12</sup>CW is likely referring to the hymns “Faith in Christ” and “Salvation by Grace” found in *CPH* (1737), 52, 54–55. Both were by Isaac Watts.

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through every part. He was brimfull of joy (yet not knowing he believed), and eager to praise God. He called upon me to join. "Was I now in heaven, I could not think of my sins. I should only think of praising God." We sang and shouted all the way to Oxford.

I met our friends with Mr. Hutchings at Fox's. Mrs. Plat was full of life and love. Read the experiences of the Moravians.

**Thursday, September 28.** Called on my friend that [1:182] was, John Sarney, now entirely estranged by the offence of the cross. Rode to my *constant* friend, John Gambold. Mr. Combes communicated with us. His warmth, he told me, had returned through his *professing* his faith. Left Mrs. [Elizabeth] Gambold in confident hope of soon receiving it. Preached boldly at Oxford; prayed after God with Mr. Wells.

**Saturday, September 30.** Returned to town having in some measure confirmed our friends at Oxford. My brother informed of one who was yesterday an open sinner, and today received into Christ's church, or the company of faithful people.<sup>13</sup> Mrs. Claggett said that this morning, in utter despair, she had heard a distinct whisper, "I am the Lord thy God, mighty to save."<sup>14</sup>

**October 1738**

**Sunday, October 1.** Read prayers and gave the sacrament at the quest-room.<sup>1</sup> In the afternoon read prayers and preached at St. Margaret's, Westminster.<sup>2</sup>

**Monday, October 2.** Dined at Mr. Brockmer's, and we admonished one another in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs. Went with the three Miss Claggetts to our poor sick woman.<sup>3</sup> My brother and James followed, then Mrs. [Elizabeth] Metcalfe and three of the Delamottes. We found her full of triumph, and vehement desires to be dissolved and to be with Christ. Did this in remembrance of him.<sup>4</sup>

**Thursday, October 5.** Went with [John] Sparkes to Newgate, shamefully unwilling. Yet preached on repentance with earnest zeal.

**Sunday, October 8.** Preached at Bexley "all under sin."<sup>5</sup> Finished my sermon in the afternoon. The people very outrageous. Mrs. Delamotte carried me home. Exhorted my friends in the kitchen. A sermon read in the parlour. I preached faith in Christ. Mr. Delamotte made no

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<sup>13</sup>See BCP, Communion Liturgy.

<sup>14</sup>See Isa. 63:1.

<sup>1</sup>A room reserved for a parish to use for inquests, funerals, etc.; apparently in Islington.

<sup>2</sup>CW preached his sermon on 1 John 3:14; cf. MARC, MA 1977/597/5, flyleaf.

<sup>3</sup>Wyseman and Martha Claggett had three younger daughters besides Elizabeth and Susanna; Martha (b. 1726), Ann (b. 1728), and Catherine (b. 1729). CW's language may imply that two of these had died as children; but which one comprised the third sister on this day is unclear.

<sup>4</sup>See Luke 22:19. CW likely meant that they celebrated the Lord's Supper.

<sup>5</sup>Gal. 3:22.

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objection, but seemed much pleased.

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**Monday, October 9.** Walked with William Delamotte to Bexley, where my sermon has occasioned a great uproar.

**Wednesday, October 11.** Got back to my friends in London. Spoke plainly to Mr. [Wyseman] Claggett, who has been very violent toward his wife since I left them.

**Thursday, October 12.** At West's<sup>6</sup> with Bray and Sparkes. Prayed, pleading the promises in much bodily pain. Asked in faith that it might leave me. It did, while I was walking to James [Hutton]'s.

**Friday, October 13.** At 7:00 read prayers and preached at St. Antholin's.

**Sunday, October 15.** Heard [John] Hutchings at St. Lawrence's;<sup>7</sup> much comfort and meltings in prayer after the sacrament.

Preached "the one thing needful" at Islington,<sup>8</sup> and added much extempore. Sang at Mr. Stonehouse's. Syms's was excessively crowded in the evening; spoke with much boldness and warmth. At Bray's found the bands meeting. Mr. Stonehouse was there, in a most childlike spirit. Moved to pray for him earnestly, and according to God. Asked particularly that some one might *then* receive the atonement. While they were going, E—— came; complained of the pain and burden of sin that bruised him. I took him aside with Hutchings. He received faith in immediate answer to our prayer; professed it; full of peace, and joy, and love. Expressed a strong desire to pray for Mr. Stonehouse. I prayed again with vehemence and tears. Bray greatly affected; so [were] James [Hutton] and all the rest—yet no answer. Mr. Stonehouse said the blessing was withheld from him to increase our importunity.

**Friday, October 20.** Seeing so few present at St. Antholin's, I thought of preaching extempore. Afraid, yet ventured on the promise, "Lo, I am with you always,"<sup>9</sup> and spoke on justification from Romans 3 for three-quarters of an hour without hesitation.\*<sup>10</sup> Glory [1:184] be to God, who keepeth his promise for ever.

**Friday, October 20.**<sup>11</sup> Waited with my brother on the Bishop of London,<sup>12</sup> to answer the complaints he had heard against us that we preached an absolute assurance of salvation. Some of his words were, "If by 'assurance' you mean an inward persuasion, whereby a man is conscious in himself, after examining his life by the law of God, and weighing his own sincerity, that he is in a state of salvation, and acceptable to God, I don't see how any good Christian can be without such an assurance." This, we answered, is what we contend for. But we have been charged as

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<sup>6</sup>This is apparently the father (also John) of John West (1717–98), black silk dyer of Thames Street, London, who became a pillar of the Moravian community in London.

<sup>7</sup>St. Lawrence Jewry church, London.

<sup>8</sup>The sermon (taken from JW) on Luke 10:42; see MARC, DDCW 8/13, p. [34].

<sup>9</sup>Matt. 28:20.

<sup>10</sup>CW placed an asterisk in the right margin, to highlight this event.

<sup>11</sup>CW repeated the date because he was starting a new page. JW's *Journal* confirms that it was Friday, October 20 (see *Works*, 19:359).

<sup>12</sup>Edmund Gibson.

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antinomians, for preaching justification by faith only. “Can anyone preach otherwise, who agrees to our Church and the Scriptures? Indeed, by preaching it strongly and not inculcating good works many have been made antinomians in theory, though not in practice—especially in King Charles’s time.”

“But there is a heavy charge against us bishops, by you bringing the Archbishop’s authority for rebaptizing an adult.” My brother answered that he had expressly declared the contrary. Yet, added he, if a person dissatisfied with lay baptism should desire episcopal, I should think it my duty to administer it, after having acquainted the bishop according to the canon. “Well, I am against it myself, where anyone has had the Dissenters’ baptism.”

Next my brother enquired whether his reading in a religious society made it a conventicle. His Lordship warily referred us to the laws. But upon our urging the question, “Are the religious societies conventicles?” he answered, “No, I think not. However, you can read the acts and laws as well as I. I determine nothing.” We hoped his [1:185] Lordship would not henceforward receive an accusation against a presbyter, but at the mouth of two or three witnesses.<sup>13</sup> He said, “No, by no means. And you may have free access to me at all times.” We thanked him, and took our leave.

**Sunday, October 22.** Preached “one thing needful” at St. Clement’s,<sup>14</sup> to a very large audience (many of whom stayed the communion), and again at Sir George Wheler’s chapel.

**Tuesday, October 24.** Told Mr. Claggett, in one of his persecuting fits, that I should be glad to see him when on a sick-bed; that I had the satisfaction of having him my friend when he was most so to himself and to God. He went out to fetch Bishop Taylor to confute me, but opened upon a place strongly asserting this living, justifying faith. Owned himself fully convinced; admired the hand of providence; confessed he had loathed the sight of me, and hated me from his heart; but now loved me entirely, and all mankind; could hug me in his bosom; never knew such comfort in his life as at this moment; could not be beat out of it by all the world. Alas, that this morning-cloud should ever pass away!

**Thursday, October 26.** At Mrs. Hind’s [I was] charged by Mr. Capell with particularly pleading the promises. Confessed, and justified it. James [Hutton] came to second me. We were both zealous, not angry.

**Friday, October 27.** Mr. Sparkes’s, fully persuaded his sins are forgiven.

**Sunday, October 29.** Preached with strength at St. George’s,<sup>15</sup> then at Ironmongers’ Almshouses,<sup>16</sup> and at night expounded Romans 5 to a large audience in the Minorities.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>13</sup>See 1 Tim. 5:19.

<sup>14</sup>The sermon (taken from JW) on Luke 10:42; See MARC, DDCW 8/13, p. [34]. This was apparently St. Clement Danes church, on the Strand, where JW preached shortly after; cf. JW, *Journal*, Nov. 5, 1738, *Works*, 19:20.

<sup>15</sup>St. George’s church, Bloomsbury. CW preached the first half of his sermon on 1 John 3:14; cf. MARC, MA 1977/597/5, flyleaf. (He preached the second half there on Nov. 19.)

<sup>16</sup>CW again preached his sermon on 1 John 3:14; cf. MARC, MA 1977/597/5, flyleaf.

<sup>17</sup>A street which runs north from the Tower to Aldgate.

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November 1738

**Thursday, November 2.** Much affected in praying for Mr. Stonehouse.

**Friday, November 3.** Sang with him, envied his exquisite tenderness of conscience. Walked with [Charles] Metcalfe and Betsy Claggett to visit a woman dying in the faith, thence to Miss Reeves, who is now assured of her acceptance with God.

**Saturday<sup>1</sup>, November 4.** Preached at St. Antholin's, reconciling those who never differed—St. Paul and St. James.<sup>2</sup>

**Sunday, November 5.** Preached the threefold state at St. Alban's, Woodstreet,<sup>3</sup> then expounded at Syms's.

**Tuesday, November 7.** At Newgate.<sup>4</sup> Melted down under the word I spoke.

**Wednesday, November 8.** At Bexley. Mr. Piers, through fear of the world's threatenings, had left off the meeting on Wednesday night.

My sister [Kezzy] would not give up her pretensions to faith. Told me, half angry, "Well, you will know in the next world whether I have faith or no." I asked her, "Will you then discharge me, in the sight of God, from speaking to you again? If you will, I promise never more to open my mouth till we meet in eternity." She burst into tears, fell on my neck, and melted me into fervent prayer for her.

**Saturday, November 11.** Charles Graves came, and rejoiced my heart with the account of his having received the atonement.

**Sunday, November 12.** Mr. Piers refused me his pulpit, through fear of man, pretending tenderness to his flock. I plainly told him if he so rejected my testimony I would come to see him no more. Walked back to town in the strength of the Lord, and expounded at Syms's. All [were] dissolved in tears.

**Monday, November 13.** Charles [Graves] brought Mr. William Seward<sup>5</sup>—a zealous soul, knowing only the baptism of John.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Orig., "Oct."; a mistake.

<sup>2</sup>CW is referring to the apparent tension between James 2:20–26 and the Pauline teaching on justification by faith (alone). He was likely preaching his sermon on Titus 3:8, "On Good Works."

<sup>3</sup>His sermon on 1 John 3:14; cf. MARC, MA 1977/597/5, flyleaf. According to this register, CW also preached the sermon this day in Shadwell at St. Paul's church.

<sup>4</sup>CW was ministering to some prisoners nearing execution; see his "Account of Dying Malefactors Penitent" (MARC, MA 1977/501/142) in CW, *Journal Letters*, 30–34.

<sup>5</sup>William Seward (1704–40), a gentleman of Badsey, near Evesham, Worcestershire, was converted under CW's preaching. He became a strong supporter of Whitefield's evangelistic and philanthropic project in Georgia, accompanying Whitefield there on one trip. Seward died Oct. 22, 1740, as a result of a blow received from detractors while touring South Wales to raise support for Whitefield. See *DEB*, 996; and Vickers, *Dictionary*, 313.

<sup>6</sup>See Acts 18:24–25.



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[1:187]

**Tuesday, November 14.** Had another conference with his Lordship of London.

[CW:] “I have used your Lordship’s permission to wait upon you. A woman desires me to baptize her, not being satisfied with her baptism by a Dissenter. She says sure and unsure is not the same.”

He immediately took fire, and interrupted me: “I wholly disapprove of it. It is irregular.”

[CW:] “My Lord, I did not expect your approbation. I only came, in obedience, to give you notice of my intention.”

[Bishop:] “It is irregular. I never receive any such information but from the minister.”

[CW:] “My Lord, the rubric does not so much as require the minister to give you notice, but any discreet person. I have the minister’s leave.”

[Bishop:] “Who gave you authority to baptize?”

[CW:] “Your Lordship—and I shall exercise it in any part of the known world.”

[Bishop:] “Are you a licenced curate?”

[CW:] “I have the leave of the proper minister.”

[Bishop:] “But don’t you know, no man can exercise parochial duty in London without my leave? It is only *sub silentio*.”<sup>7</sup>

[CW:] “But you know many do take that permission for authority, and you yourself allow it.”

[Bishop:] “It is one thing to connive, and another to approve. I have power to inhibit you.”

[CW:] “Does your Lordship exert that power? Do you now inhibit me?”

[Bishop:] “Oh why will you push things to an extreme? I do not inhibit you.”

[CW:] “Why then, my Lord, according to your own concession, you permit or authorize me.”

[Bishop:] “I have a power to punish, and to forbear punishing.”

[CW:] “That seems to imply that I have done something worthy of punishment. I should be glad to know, that I may answer. Does your Lordship charge me with any crime?”

[Bishop:] “No, no; I charge you with no crime.”

[CW:] “Do you then dispense with my giving you notice of any baptisms for the future?”

[Bishop:] “I neither dispense, nor not dispense.”

He railed at Lawrence on lay baptism.<sup>8</sup> Blamed my brother’s sermon as inclining [1:188] to antinomianism.<sup>9</sup> I charged Archbishop Tillotson with denying the faith.<sup>10</sup> He allowed it, and

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<sup>7</sup>“under silence.”

<sup>8</sup>Henry Lawrence, *Of Baptism* (London: J. Macock, 1646). An early Baptist publication that insisted, in the last chapter, that it was the whole church, not just clergy, that could be called by God to baptize.

<sup>9</sup>JW, *Salvation by Faith* (1738).

<sup>10</sup>John Tillotson (1630–94), Archbishop of Canterbury, 1691–94. CW’s signed copy of Tillotson’s *Of Sincerity and Constancy in the Faith and Profession of the True Religion* (London: Richard Chiswell, 1695) is present in MARC (ref. MAW CW25).

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owned they ran into one extreme to avoid another. He concluded the conference with, “Well, sir, you knew my judgment before, and you know it now. Good morrow to you.”

Read prayers at Islington and baptized an adult,<sup>11</sup> Mr. Stonehouse, Mrs. Syms, and Mrs. Burton being the witnesses.

**Wednesday, November 15.** Dined at old Mr. [John] Hutton’s. They could scarcely be civil. Surely for Christ’s sake have we lost this friendly family.

**Thursday, November 16.** After morning prayers baptized Mrs. Bell with hypothetical baptism.<sup>12</sup> I sang and prayed with assistance at Mr. Stonehouse’s. Then Mrs. Wren confessed she had been in bondage ten years, but received the atonement on Tuesday night, while we were praying—was now perfectly free, full of peace and joy in believing.<sup>13</sup> Another professed her faith lately received.

Dined at my friend Stonehouse’s, who very kindly offers to keep my brother and me.

Mrs. Hankinson carried me to a poor woman, broken, bruised, and bound by sin. After prayer she arose, loosed from her bond, and glorified God.

**Saturday, November 18.** Had a joyful meeting with my dear Charles Delamotte, just returned from Georgia. Found in conversation that he had received forgiveness five months ago, and continued in peace and liberty.

**Sunday, November 19.** At Dr. Crowe’s desire, preached in his church at Bishopsgate.<sup>14</sup> Dined at Mr. [John] Brockmer’s, where Mr. [William] Seward testified faith.

Visited a poor woman of eighty-four, who told me she was reserved for some work of God; was soon beat out of her own words, and in the midst of prayer set at liberty. She rose, caught hold of me, declared her enlargement; [1:189] that she was now at ease, ready to go into eternity this moment. She prayed for and blessed me with great earnestness.

**Monday, November 20.** Had a most comfortable sacrament at [John] Bray’s; Mr. Sparkes, the three Claggetts, etc., partaking. Passed the evening at Blendon, in prayer and thanksgiving.

**Tuesday, November 21.** Communicated again at Bray’s. Triumphed with some who are persecuted for righteousness’ sake.

**Wednesday, November 22.** Set out in the coach for Oxford.

**Friday, November 24.** Met Charles Kinchin there. Received the blessed sacrament at Mrs. Townsend’s, with much comfort.

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<sup>11</sup>The baptism registry for St. Mary’s, Islington, gives her name as Ann Fillney.

<sup>12</sup>“Hypothetical baptism” is baptism administered to persons in respect to whom it is unclear whether or not they have been baptized before. The baptism registry for St. Mary’s, Islington, gives her full name as Alice Bell; born Alice Chittendon, she had married Richard Bell in Feb. 1733.

<sup>13</sup>Mrs. Wren was still part of the Moravian congregation at Fetter Lane in 1743.

<sup>14</sup>Rev. Dr. William Crowe (c. 1691–1743), rector of St. Botolph’s church, Bishopsgate (just north of London Wall). CW preached his sermon on 1 John 3:14; cf. MARC, MA 1977/597/5, flyleaf. According to this register he also preached the second half of this sermon in the evening at St. George’s church in Bloomsbury.

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**Saturday, November 25.** Felt a pining desire to die, foreseeing the infinite dangers and troubles of life. At Mr. [Christopher] Wells's preached *the* faith of the gospel to him and Mr. Hoare.<sup>15</sup> Charles carried me to the Castle. Read prayers, and was afterwards constrained to speak freely and fully. Much cheered by it myself. Rode with Mr. Wells and Kinchin to Cogges, where we spent the evening in prayer and the Scriptures.<sup>16</sup>

**Sunday, November 26.** Preached the threefold State at Cogges,<sup>17</sup> then rode on to my brother [John] Gambold's.

**Tuesday, November 28.** Dined in Christ Church hall, as one not belonging to them.

**Wednesday, November 29.** After morning prayers called on Mr. [George] Whitefield, who pressed me to accept of a college living.<sup>18</sup> Read prayers and preached at the Castle.

**Thursday, November 30.** Paid Mr. Gambold another visit, and parted with the sacrament.

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**December 1738**

**Tuesday, December 5.** At convocation, where honest John Checkley was presented with his degree, having before got orders, for which he came to England.

**Thursday, December 7.** Read prayers again to the poor prisoners in Bocardo.<sup>1</sup>

**Saturday, December 9.** With the Dean,<sup>2</sup> who complained of my brother's obscurity in his sermon on salvation, and expressly denied the assurance of faith and earnest of the Spirit.

**Sunday, December 10.** Preached at the Castle, "all under sin,"<sup>3</sup> and helped to administer the sacrament. Read prayers and preached there again in the afternoon.

**Monday, December 11.** Came in the coach to Wycombe.<sup>4</sup> Lodged at Mr. Hollis's,<sup>5</sup> who entertained me with his French Prophets<sup>6</sup>—equal, in his account, if not superior, to the Old

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<sup>15</sup>Rev. Joseph Hoare (1709–1802) was a contemporary of Christopher Wells at Jesus College, Oxford. In 1768 he would become principal of Jesus College.

<sup>16</sup>At the time St. Mary's church in Cogges, Oxfordshire had no permanent curate.

<sup>17</sup>His sermon on 1 John 3:14; cf. MARC, MA 1977/597/5, flyleaf.

<sup>18</sup>See also Jan. 5, 1739; the hope of Whitefield and others was that CW would take leadership of the Methodist cause in Oxford.

<sup>1</sup>A room over the north gate of the city of Oxford, used as a debtor's prison.

<sup>2</sup>John Conybeare, Dean of Christ Church.

<sup>3</sup>His sermon on Gal. 3:22; not known to survive.

<sup>4</sup>I.e., High Wycombe, Buckinghamshire. CW spells consistently "Wickham."

<sup>5</sup>Isaac Hollis (c. 1700–74), a Baptist minister interested in helping fund education for the native peoples in North America, housed both CW and JW as they passed through the area at this time. He was just being drawn into "French Prophet" circles.

<sup>6</sup>In 1685 Louis XIV repealed the Edict of Nantes, subjecting Protestants in France to renewed persecution. Those in the isolated Cévennes region of south-central France in particular

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Testament ones. While we were undressing he fell into violent agitations and gobbled like a turkey-cock. I was frightened and began exorcising him with “Thou deaf and dumb devil . . . .”<sup>7</sup> He soon recovered out of his fit of inspiration. I prayed and went to bed, not half liking my bedfellow. Did not sleep very sound with Satan so near me. Got to London by 1:00 the next day. George Whitefield came to John Bray’s soon after me. Full of vehement desire in prayer. Heard him preach to a vast throng at St. Helen’s.

**Thursday, December 14.** Heard a glorious account of the success of the gospel at Islington. Some of the fiercest opposers were converted.

[[James Hutton informed me what I could scarce believe, that a memorial is entered in the Trustee’s book of my confining Welch, that I might have an opportunity with his wife.<sup>8</sup>]]

**Friday, December 15.** At Mr. Stonehouse’s met Mrs. Vaughan, full of joy in the Holy Ghost, but not [1:191] without a mixture of nature.

**Saturday, December 16.** Hester Hopson and her sister called,<sup>9</sup> being sick of love to Christ crucified. My soul, in and after prayer with them, was all desire and expectation.

**Sunday, December 17.** Met Mr. [Thomas] Broughton at Mrs. Hind’s. The last time we had parted good friends, and he thanked me for my friendly offices with Miss Reeves. He now desired me to get from her a discharge.<sup>10</sup>

**Monday, December 18.** She told me she fully released him from his promises, but durst not give him a written discharge, lest her brother should cast her off.

**Tuesday, December 19.** Asked my friend Stonehouse, “Dost thou believe in the Son of God?” And he could confidently answer, “Yes, I do, and now know that I believe.” We sang (Mrs. Hankinson joining us) in the spirit of faith, and triumphed in the name of the Lord our God.

**Thursday, December 21.** At St. Antholin’s the [parish] clerk asked me my name,<sup>11</sup> and said, “Dr. Venn<sup>12</sup> has forbidden any Methodist to preach. Do you call your self a Methodist?” “I

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raised an insurrection, encouraged in part by some prophesying the soon return of Christ to set up a millennial reign. The insurrectionists came to be called “Camisards.” As the revolt was put down, many sought refuge in England, where their distinctive practices led to them being called the “French Prophets.” For more background, see Hillel Schwartz, *The French Prophets* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980).

<sup>7</sup>See Mark 9:25.

<sup>8</sup>Referring to John and Anne Welch, of Frederica, GA.

<sup>9</sup>Esther (“Hester”) Sutton Hopson (1714–94); and Elizabeth (“Betty”) Hopson (b. 1717). CW’s spelling fluctuated between “Hobson” and “Hopson.”

<sup>10</sup>Apparently of a commitment to marry; Broughton married Rachel Capell in 1741.

<sup>11</sup>Ordained clergy were known as “clerks” in the Church of England (see CW’s use of the title for himself in May 31, 1740 entry). But the reference here is to the lay “parish clerk,” who served as an assistant to the parish priest.

<sup>12</sup>Rev. Richard Venn (1691–1739), rector of St. Antholin’s, who would die two months later.

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do not. The world may call me what they please.” “Well, sir,” said he, “it is pity the people should go away without preaching. You may preach.” I did so, on good works.<sup>13</sup>

**Saturday, [December] 23.** Deeply affected in singing at Blendon. Retired, and poured out my soul in prayer for love.

**Christmas Day.** I preached at Islington in the morning, and gave the cup. George Stonehouse in the afternoon.

**Tuesday, December 26.** George Whitefield preached. Had the sacrament this and the four following days. On Thursday my brother preached; on Friday, George Whitefield; and on Saturday, Mr. [John] Robson. The whole week was a festival indeed; a joyful season, holy unto the Lord.

[1:192 is blank]

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<sup>13</sup>This was CW’s sermon on Titus 3:8, which annotations on the surviving text indicate he also preached at Islington in the evening; cf. MARC, MA 1977/597/7, flyleaf.

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[1:193]

January 1739

**Tuesday, January 2.** At Mr. Stonehouse's, with Mrs. Vaughan and others. Urged him to throw away his mystics, but he adhered to them with the greater obstinacy. Saw myself in him.

**Wednesday, January 3.** Today our sister Butcher died (the first that has) triumphant in the faith. At 5:00 she said, "I trust only to the blood of Christ. I cast myself at his feet; and if I perish, I perish." Soon after, "Now I am sure of heaven." Her last breath was spent in exhorting her husband and the rest to confide in Jesus Christ.

**Friday, January 5.** My brother, Mr. Seward, Hall, Whitefield, Ingham, Kinchin, Hutchings, all set upon me.<sup>1</sup> But I could not agree to settle at Oxford without farther direction from God.

**Saturday, January 6.** Mr. [John] Sparkes and I [were] at Mr. Howard's, who denied any real communion we can have with God.

**Sunday, January 7.**<sup>2</sup> Offended much at some orders which [John] Bray and others were imposing on the society.

**Wednesday, January 10.** Met Mr. Broughton, who laboured hard to persuade me to make affidavit of what Miss Reeves had said.<sup>3</sup> I positively refused it, as treachery to her, both in him and me.

Mr. Thorold expounded at the society.<sup>4</sup> We had some discourse about agitations; no sign of grace, in my humble opinion.

**Saturday, January 11.** Met a Moravian and his wife.<sup>5</sup> She related her genuine conversion—had received forgiveness *before* the abiding witness of the Spirit.

**Saturday, January 13.** Pierced with the prayers of Hester Hopson, I expected a fresh manifestation of Christ continually, which I found the next day at the sacrament.

[**Sunday, January 14.**<sup>6</sup>]

**Monday, January 15.** At Mr. Stonehouse's when Mr. [1:194] Silvester came. Mr. Stonehouse insisted upon choosing a lecturer himself. I attended him to Mr. Lloyd, the reader. We had close talk of faith. Both he and *his wife* convinced.

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<sup>1</sup>JW, William Seward, Westley Hall, George Whitefield, Benjamin Ingham, Charles Kinchin, and John Hutchings.

<sup>2</sup>CW recorded on the manuscript of his sermon on 1 John 3:14 that he preached it this day at St. Alphage church, London Wall; see MARC, MA 1977/597/5, flyleaf.

<sup>3</sup>See Dec. 17, 1738.

<sup>4</sup>John Thorold Esq. (1703–75) was currently living in Westminster, and supportive of the emerging revival; in 1748 he would succeed his father as Sir John Thorold, 8th baronet.

<sup>5</sup>Georg Piesch (1700–53) and Rosina (Münster) Piesch (1703–79), both exiles from Moravia who had arrived in London from Germany in early Oct. 1738.

<sup>6</sup>CW recorded on the manuscript of his sermon on Titus 3:8 that he preached it this day in Kensington; see MARC, MA 1977/597/7, flyleaf.

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**Tuesday, January 16.** Prayed in faith for her. Immediately she was filled with comfort. Called on Mr. Wild[?],<sup>7</sup> who tells me he lately received forgiveness under my sermon.

**Wednesday, January 17.** George Whitefield gave us so promising account of Oxford that I found myself strongly inclined to go.

**Sunday, January 21.** I was much affected under Mr. Stonehouse's sermon. Preached myself in the afternoon, to a crowded church, on justification by faith.<sup>8</sup>

**Monday, January 22.** Lady Crispe<sup>9</sup> sent for me. Went and found Mr. Stonehouse there. She behaved with great courtesy. I transcribed an hymn for Miss.<sup>10</sup> After supper, her Ladyship spoke largely in praise of marriage. I saw, and pitied, my poor friend, sorely beset. Sang. It was late before we parted.

**Tuesday, January 23.** Mrs. Vaughan seemed deeply humbled, under a sense of her late vain, confident delusions.

**Wednesday, January 24.** I expounded (for the benefit of two clergymen present) on "Know ye not, that your bodies are the temples of the Holy Ghost?"<sup>11</sup> and proved the promise of the Spirit to all, both from Scripture and our own Church.

**Thursday, January 25.** Expounded at [John] Brockmer's. The Lord was present. A woman stopped me departing, confessed herself under the full power of the devil, fell at my feet. We prayed in confidence. On my mentioning in prayer the absolved adulteress,<sup>12</sup> she cried out, "I have received the comfort!" Rose full of love, and joy, and triumph—whereof [1:195] we were all partakers.

I was sent for to Bray. The three Miss Newtons were there. Expounded again with power.

**Friday, January 26.** At Dr. [James] Newton's sang and prayed with them—much affected now, well pleased last night.

**Saturday, January 27.** Carried Bray to Mrs. Whitcomb's. The Claggetts, [Charles] Metcalfe and his mother [Elizabeth], and Hester Hopson were there. Communicated, prayed, and sang with great life and comfort. I slept at Blendon.

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<sup>7</sup>There is slip of the pen here; the name looks like "Wvlde" with the right side of the "v" going much higher than the left side. This is likely the Mr. Wild of Islington who appears later.

<sup>8</sup>A copy in shorthand of the text of this sermon on Rom. 3:23–24 has survived (MARC, MA 1977/597/10), including on the flyleaf a list of the occasions on which it was given. See the sermon collection on this website (or CW, *Sermons*, 167–82).

<sup>9</sup>Elizabeth (Sayer) Crispe (d. 1741), wife of Sir John Crispe (c. 1676–1728). CW spells "Crisp."

<sup>10</sup>Mary Crispe (1722–51), daughter of Sir John and Lady Crispe, and soon to be wife of George Stonehouse.

<sup>11</sup>1 Cor. 6:19.

<sup>12</sup>See John 8:1–11. This may have sparked CW's interest in preparing the sermon on this text that he preached Apr. 15, 1739.

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**Sunday, January 28.** Preached “the three states” at Bexley.<sup>13</sup> Some went out of church. And more in the afternoon, while I expounded, “Woe is unto me, if I preach not the gospel.”<sup>14</sup> Quite spent, yet renewed my strength for the poor people at night.

**Wednesday, January 31.** Told Mr. [Peter] Delamotte he was not converted, had not the Spirit or faith, and begged him to pray God to show him wherein he was wanting. He could not receive my saying, yet was not angry. Mrs. [Elizabeth] Delamotte was quite transported with joy and love.

In the stagecoach with my sister Kezzy I found three women and [was] very loathe to speak. Yet broke through and laboured to convince them of sin and of righteousness. They all assented to the truth and were, I hope, in some measure awakened to pursue the “one thing needful.”<sup>15</sup> Left Kezzy at my aunt’s in Islington.<sup>16</sup> Assisted to expound at the society. Slept at John Bray’s in peace.

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**February 1739**

**Friday, February 2.** With Charles Metcalfe visited that worthy man [Sebastian] Zouberbuhler, in the Marshalsea<sup>1</sup> for debt. Much moved at his afflictions.

**Sunday, February 4.** At night walked over the fields from Islington, several of us, with the voice of joy and thanksgiving.<sup>2</sup>

**Thursday, February 8.** Carried Zouberbuhler the news of his goods being redeemed by Mr. [William] Seward. Visited him again on Saturday, and was drawn in compassion towards him and faith for him. At Islington rejoiced over a dying believer.

**Saturday, February 10.** Expounded to many hundreds at a society in Beech Lane.

**Sunday, February 11.** We prayed for utterance this day. My brother preached. I was comforted in the sacrament. Prayed again at Mr. Stonehouse’s for a blessing upon my ministry. (Lady Crispe with my brother.) I read prayers and preached without notes on blind Bartimeus,<sup>3</sup> the Lord being greatly my helper. Let him have all the glory.

Returned to pray at Mr. Stonehouse’s. Miss Crispe asked to be admitted. Close searching talk, before I expounded to the society.

**Monday, February 12.** Mrs. Wheeler tells me she received Christ last Saturday, being weighed down with the fear of death, and delivered in a moment, melted into love, able to apply Christ and all the promises to herself.

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<sup>13</sup>His sermon on 1 John 3:14.

<sup>14</sup>1 Cor. 9:16.

<sup>15</sup>See Luke 10:42.

<sup>16</sup>Mary (Annesley) Richardson (1652–1746).

<sup>1</sup>The Marshalsea was a debtors prison in London.

<sup>2</sup>See Ps. 42:4.

<sup>3</sup>There are several references to CW preaching this sermon on Mark 10:46–52 over the next few years. If he ever committed it to paper, it has not survived.



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Mr. Stonehouse informed me of a woman who had rejected him last week, but now sent for him, received the sacrament, was reconciled to God and him, and died in peace.

**Tuesday, February 13.** Read a letter from Sarah Hurst, pressing me to Oxford and Cowley (which is now vacant).<sup>4</sup> Quite resigned, I offered myself. Opened the book upon those words, “With stammering lips, and with another tongue [1:197] will he speak to this people.”<sup>5</sup> Thought it a prohibition, yet continued without a will.

With Captain Flatman at the Marshalsea.<sup>6</sup> Read prayers and preached from Luke 7:36[–50], the woman washing Christ’s feet. The word was with power; all attentive and thankful. I visited Zouberbouler, [who was] removed to the Fleet.<sup>7</sup>

**Wednesday, February 14.** Read prayers at Newgate and preached, the law first and then the gospel. We sang “Invitation to Sinners.”<sup>8</sup> All were affected.

**Thursday, February 15.** Preached again at the Marshalsea. Sent for by an harlot (supposed to be dying), and preached Christ, the friend of sinners, I trust to her heart.

Read prayers at Islington. Miss [Mary] Crispe asked me home. My Lady [Crispe] there. Pertinent discourse. The younger went with me to Mrs. Hankinson’s; extremely desirous of faith. Prayed for her with great earnestness. At the society expounded the woman of Samaria.<sup>9</sup> When I had done, she ran to me, and cried, “I do, I do believe! Those words which you spoke came with power, ‘Him that cometh unto me, I will in no wise cast out.’<sup>10</sup> An unknown peace flowed with them into my soul.” We sang, rejoiced, and gave thanks to the pardoning God in her behalf.

**Sunday, February 18.** Preached at Islington on the woman that was a sinner,<sup>11</sup> at the Marshalsea from Romans 3. Prayed by the sick woman. Expounded at Syms’s to two several companies.

**Monday, February 19.** Payed in the prison with Anne Dodd, well disposed, weary of sin, longing to break loose. Preached powerfully on the [1:198] last day.<sup>12</sup> Prayed after God for

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<sup>4</sup>Little is known about Sarah Hurst other than that she lived in Cowley and was active among the Oxford Methodists 1738–39. This letter is not known to survive.

<sup>5</sup>Isa. 28:11.

<sup>6</sup>CW likely meant Captain Thomas Gladman, who had been converted by George Whitefield in 1738 and was being drawn toward the Moravians.

<sup>7</sup>Another London prison, a little north of Ludgate Hill.

<sup>8</sup>CW may be referring to “Christ, the Friend of Sinners,” *HSP* (1739), 101–03; which includes in its seventh stanza: “Come, O my guilty brethren, come .... He calls you now, invites you home!” Or he may mean the hymn titled “The Invitation,” taken from George Herbert’s *The Temple*, that was included in *HSP* (1739), 125–26.

<sup>9</sup>John 4.

<sup>10</sup>John 6:37.

<sup>11</sup>Luke 7:36–50.

<sup>12</sup>Likely on John 6:39–40.

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the poor harlots. Our sisters carried away one in triumph.<sup>13</sup> I followed to Mrs. Hanson's,<sup>14</sup> who took charge of the returning prodigal. Our hearts were overflowed with pity for her. She seemed confounded, silent, testifying her joy and love by her tears only. We sang and prayed over her in great confidence.

At 3:00 met Miss Crispe at Mrs. [Martha] Claggett's, who helped me to rejoice for the lost sheep which I have found. In the evening I expounded at Mr. Hind's. A lady was deeply wounded.

**Tuesday, February 20.** Waked full of concern for the poor harlot and began an hymn for her.<sup>15</sup> At 5:00 called on Miss Crispe, then on Mr. Stonehouse, where I expounded the woman taken in adultery.<sup>16</sup>

**Wednesday, February 21.** Heard that [the] Cowley living was disposed of and rejoiced. With my brother, I awaited on the Archbishop.<sup>17</sup> He showed us great affection, spoke mildly of Mr. Whitefield. Cautioned us to give no more umbrage than was necessary for our own defence, to forbear exceptionable phrases, to keep to the doctrines of the Church.

We told him we expected persecution, would abide by the Church till her Articles and Homilies were repealed. He assured us he knew of no design in the governors of the Church to innovate, and neither should there be any innovation while he lived. Avowed justification by faith only, and his joy to see us as often as we pleased.

From him we went to the Bishop of London, who denied his having condemned or even heard much of us. George Whitefield's *Journal*, he said, was tainted with enthusiasm, though he was himself a pious, well-meaning youth.<sup>18</sup> He [1:199] warned us against antinomianism, and dismissed us kindly.

Went in quest of a lost sheep, and found her coming with Bray from public prayers. She had been in deep distress; pierced with every word at the two last expoundings; almost fainted away this morning, weary and heavy-laden. She told Bray God could not forgive her, her sins were so great. She could not bear our triumph. We wrestled in prayer for her, and she declared her burden taken off and her soul at peace. The more we prayed, the clearer still she was, till at last she testified that she did believe in Jesus with her whole heart.

We continued in mighty prayer for all gross sinners, and I offered myself willingly to be employed peculiarly in *their* service.

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<sup>13</sup>Henny Todd; mentioned in William Oxlee's letter to JW, Apr. 13, 1739.

<sup>14</sup>Apparently the Mary Hanson mentioned by JW in his diary, Nov. 6, 1738 (*Works*, 19:361), etc.

<sup>15</sup>Published as "On the Conversion of a Common Harlot," *HSP* (1739), 103–04.

<sup>16</sup>John 8:1–11. It is likely this exposition was extempore, but it led to a more formal sermon that CW preached Apr. 15, 1739 at St. Mary's church in Islington.

<sup>17</sup>John Potter.

<sup>18</sup>See Aug. 3, 1738 entry above on the initial installment of Whitefield's *Journal*. The Bishop of London (Edmund Gibson) included an extensive critique of the first three installments in his *Pastoral Letter to the People of his Diocese* (London: S. Buckley, 1739). CW comments on Whitefield's response to Gibson in the Aug. 15, 1739 entry below.

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**Sunday, February 25.** Preached justification by faith at Bexley.<sup>19</sup> In the beginning of my discourse about twenty went out of church. They were better pleased with (or at least more patient of) me in the afternoon, while I preached on the woman at our Saviour's feet.<sup>20</sup>

Faint and spent at Blendon, I revived by exhorting above two hundred of the poor.

**Monday, February 26.** In our chapel I read Beveridge's sermon on the ministry.<sup>21</sup> Too much wanted [i.e., lacking] by Betsy and others, who are running into wild notions. The people came at night, and we were all comforted together by the word.

**Wednesday, February 28.** Met the bands at John Bray's, and cautioned them against schism. [I was] violently opposed by one who should have seconded me. They urged me to go to Oxford, but I understood them and begged to be excused.

[1:200]

**March 1739**

**Saturday, March 3.** Expounded to upward of 300 hearers at Beech Lane.

**Sunday, March 4.** Read prayers, and preached, and administered the sacrament at St. Katherine's;<sup>1</sup> at Islington from John 3; then expounded with much life at Mr. Syms's; and lastly at Mr. Bell's.<sup>2</sup> Concluded the labour of the day with prayer among the bands.

**Thursday, March 8.** In the midst of earnest prayer at John Bray's a woman received power to become a child of God.

Felt pity for poor Mr. [Thomas] Broughton (accused by H[enny] T[odd]<sup>3</sup>), but not pity *enough*.

**Saturday, March [10].** Went to Newgate with my usual reluctance. I preached with freedom, and in prayer had great power, as all present seemed to confess.

Expounded at Beech Lane. In prayer I asked some token if our gospel really is a ministration of the Spirit and inquired if any had received an answer. One, and another, and another testified their sense of the divine presence. We rejoiced as men that divide the spoil.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>19</sup>His sermon on Rom. 3:23–24; cf. MARC, MA 1977/597/10, flyleaf.

<sup>20</sup>Luke 7:36–50.

<sup>21</sup>See Sermon II, "The Institution of Ministers," in Beveridge, *Works*, 1:13–22.

<sup>1</sup>CW preached his sermon on Titus 3:8; cf. MARC, MA 1977/597/7, flyleaf. It is unclear in this case whether CW was at St. Katherine Coleman church, or St. Katherine Cree church; JW preached at both during this same general period. CW spells "St. Catherine."

<sup>2</sup>Richard Bell, a watchcase maker of Vine Court, Bishopsgate Street, was active early in the Fetter Lane society and sided with the Moravians in the later split within the society. See Benham, *Hutton*, 89.

<sup>3</sup>Almost certainly Henny Todd, mentioned in William Oxlee to JW, Apr. 13, 1739. The specifics of the charge are unclear; she conveyed it to CW on Mar. 1; see Mar. 13, 1739 entry.

<sup>4</sup>See Isa. 9:3.

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**Sunday, March 11.** Preached justification at St. Katherine's.<sup>5</sup> Baptized two women at Islington (five adults I baptized sometime before<sup>6</sup>), and preached with great liberty from the woman of Samaria.<sup>7</sup>

My friend Stonehouse was very peevish with me (for a trifle), and very warm. I kept my temper, but was hindered in my expounding by his disputes. Encouraged Miss Crispe, now persecuted by her relations. Envied the dead at Mrs. Vaughan's. Serious talk with Stonehouse, in defence of Miss Crispe. Both humbled.

**Monday, March 12.** Mr. Broughton talked to me about H[enny] T[odd]'s charge. Called upon [1:201] God to strike him dead if it were true. I declared my belief of his innocency and the woman's rashness. Proposed bringing her to be confronted by him.

Expounded in the Minories, where I met and asked her about it before Mrs. [Martha] Claggett. She still persisted in her accusation.

**Tuesday, March 13.** Called on Mr. Broughton at his lodgings. Burton present. Still I believe him innocent. James Hutton fetched H[enny] T[odd]. She strongly insisted, as in the presence of God. He as strongly denied. I hoped both were innocent; urged her to caution, would fain have her believe herself mistaken, but in vain. Broughton said he would prosecute her, still appearing innocent, acquitted me of the subornation.

I talked with her afterwards at sister [Mary] Hanson's, to convince her of her fatal mistake. She said she was confirmed in the truth by seeing and hearing him. Called again in the afternoon, set before her the consequences, and urged her to retract. Went from her to Broughton.

[Broughton:] "Well, what says she now?"

[CW:] "She insists upon her not being mistaken."

[Broughton:] "I believe her suborned not by you, but by some [of] your followers."

[CW:] "That is very uncharitable. You have no ground for such belief."

[Broughton:] "I think you ought to withdraw your countenance from her."

[CW:] "And what shall I answer, if she perish through my neglecting her? I cannot consent to that."

[Broughton:] "Then you will not forsake her? It will fall upon yourself."

[CW:] "God do so to me, and more also,<sup>8</sup> if I choose to stand with the guilty rather than fall with the innocent."

[Broughton:] "Then you think me guilty."

[CW:] "No. I judge nothing before the time."

[Broughton:] "I declare what way I shall take. I shall first go to the Bishop of London, tell him I preached [1:202] such a sermon, and immediately this followed."

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<sup>5</sup>His sermon on Rom. 3:23–24; cf. MARC, MA 1977/597/10, flyleaf.

<sup>6</sup>The baptism registry for St. Mary's, Islington, lists 5 adults baptized on Tuesday, Jan. 25, 1739: Sarah Peppet, Judith Probert, John Smith, Anna Taylor, and Ann Turner. There is no listing for two women on Mar. 11.

<sup>7</sup>John 4.

<sup>8</sup>See 2 Kings 6:31.

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[CW:] “Your conscience knows it is false. The account was given and written by me March 1, before that sermon was preached.”

[Broughton:] “Well, it was for my other sermons then. The world will lay it to you.”

[CW:] “I defy the world and the devil. They cannot hurt me. Neither can you, though you was to swear that I suborned her.”

[Broughton:] “Would I have believed such a story of you?”

[CW:] “Who tells you I believe it?”

[Broughton:] “Last night you thought me innocent.”

(Burton here came in)

[CW:] “I did so, but am now quite confounded, and can form no judgment at all concerning you.”

[Broughton:] “But you think I have no faith, and she has; therefore you believe her, and not me.”

[CW:] “Who told you so? I suspend my judgment. God knows the heart.”

[Broughton:] “Suppose I prove myself absent at the time, what would you say?”

[CW:] “I should rejoice in your innocence, and believe her mistaken.”

[Broughton:] “But you would not discard her.”

[CW:] “If I do, and she should be lost by that means, would you answer for me at the day of judgment?”

[Broughton:] “But you own she has been a vile sinner.”

[CW:] “Yes, and God sent me to seek this lost sheep, and shall I now cast her off? No, but I would again leave the ninety-nine sheep to seek the one,<sup>9</sup> and though I lost my life in so doing, I should find it again.”

[Broughton:] “I suppose she will run away shortly.”

[CW:] “I cannot say for that. But this I can say, that if she is a child of God (*she was a child of the devil, as we were*), then you cannot hurt her. God will be her support.”

[Broughton:] “A fine story this! She shall stand in the pillory.”

[CW:] “Well, may God direct you, and make this turn to your salvation.<sup>10</sup> I wish you as well as I do myself.”

At Newgate with Bray. Prayed, sang, exhorted with great life and vehemence. Talked in the cells to two papists, who renounced all [1:203] merit but that of Jesus Christ.

Expounded at Bray’s on the day of judgment. The power of the Lord was present to wound. A woman cried out as in an agony. Another sank down overpowered. All were moved and melted, as wax before the fire.

At 8:00 expounded at Dowgate Hill.<sup>11</sup> Two were then taken into the fold.

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<sup>9</sup>See Luke 15:4.

<sup>10</sup>See Phil. 1:19.

<sup>11</sup>A society met at the home of Mr. Crouch in this neighbourhood (cf. Mar. 27, 1739 entry). It is unclear whether this is the Thomas Crouch who was a local preacher in JW’s connexion 1747–49 (see *Works*, 10:189, 206).

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**Wednesday, March 14.** Found one of the papists full of peace and joy in believing, immediately after we prayed.

**Friday, March 16.** Hearing Mr. Broughton had been seeking me, I waited upon him at his lodgings. He said he had called to carry me to Sir John Gonson.<sup>12</sup> Read me his account of our conversation. I excepted to his saying I first asked to have the woman confront him, whereas his words were, “I will be confronted by this woman.”

He was very abusive. *Hoped* my brother and I were not guilty of the subornation, yet applied Naboth and the lying spirit in the prophets to us.<sup>13</sup> Charged me with bringing her out of prison for this purpose; threatened what mysteries of our iniquity he would discover; accused me with calling her sister. God kept me from speaking. Only at parting I said, “I lay under a much viler interpretation than you. I shall not be in haste to vindicate myself. When the time is, I shall simply print my journal.”

**Saturday, March 17.** Sir John Gonson<sup>14</sup> sent me a message desiring to speak with me. I went, and met Mr. Broughton. Talk of the woman, her sincerity doubtful; the reproach to Mr. Broughton, who charged me with crediting and supporting her.

“Sir John, I appeal to you. As for crediting her—I believe her mistaken, Mr. Broughton innocent. I charged her at first to mention [1:204] it to none, which she observed. Mr. Stonehouse told it [to] me. I discourage it among my friends. Did not take her out of prison, but prevailed upon a pious woman to take her in, else she was under a necessity of continuing in sin. How should such a poor creature ever reform, if all virtuous people spurn them away?”

To this he agreed. Mr. Broughton mentioned my character’s suffering.

“My character is in the hands of God. They cannot say more than all manner of evil against me falsely,<sup>15</sup> and that I expect. I beg your advice, Sir John, what can I do more?”

Mr. Broughton said, “You should discourage, not encourage her.”

I answered, “I shall encourage her to repent, till she is *proved* an hypocrite. But I declare to all, my belief in your innocence.”

Sir John said it was all I could do, except making affidavit of this, and giving it under my hand. This Broughton insisted upon.

“I will, upon this condition, that you in like manner vindicate me from a much blacker charge; and my friends also. Consider of it, as I will, and give you my answer tomorrow.”

“People will believe it notwithstanding,” said Sir John. He treated me with great civility and invited me to visit him again.

Satan by all this would frighten me from preaching the gospel to publicans and harlots, but I am not ignorant of his device.

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<sup>12</sup>On this first occasion CW writes “Garstone,” but certainly means the same person who contacts him the next day. Sir John Gonson (c. 1693–1765) was a Middlesex magistrate sympathetic to the Methodists.

<sup>13</sup>See 2 Kings 9:25–26.

<sup>14</sup>CW here and hereafter spells “Gunson.”

<sup>15</sup>See 1 Pet. 3:16.

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**[Sunday, March 18.]**<sup>16</sup>

**Tuesday, March 20.** Heard the poor H[enny] T[odd] persists in the truth of her report, notwithstanding the writ which is taken out against her. Mr. Stonehouse voluntarily said to Bernard,<sup>17</sup> “Go to the harlot from me, and tell her I believe her innocent, and will therefore bear all the expense of the suit.”

A double power and blessing accompanied my word at Fetter Lane.<sup>18</sup>

**Thursday, March 22.** At Marshalsea with Mr. Okeley.<sup>19</sup> Prayed with the sick, read prayers, [1:205] and expounded the lesson.

**Saturday, March 24.** With the Bishop of London. Said,

[CW:] “Mr. Broughton has been with your Lordship. I wait upon you to know how far you think me blameable with respect to him.”

[Bishop:] “Did you hear that I blamed you?”

[CW:] “Yes, I heard that you was angry, and said, ‘Will he to save a sheep destroy a shepherd?’”

[Bishop:] “I never blamed you, nor said those words.”

Here I declared my belief of Mr. Broughton’s innocence, and asked advice whether I should vindicate myself against the charge of subornation.

[Bishop:] “Has anyone accused you in particular? I dare say nobody believes it. I advise you to take no notice. It will soon die.”

[CW:] “But your Lordship advised Mr. Broughton to prosecute, for a much lighter accusation.”

[Bishop:] “No, I did not. But what I say is mentioned again, which forces me to be upon my guard, though my nature is to be quite open.”

I assured him I never mentioned anything of what he was pleased to say, thanked him for his advice, and promised to follow it.

**Sunday, March 25.** Betty Hopson came, and prayed that today we might have a feast of fat things.<sup>20</sup> Mr. Stonehouse was full of love, preached an excellent sermon on faith. After sacrament, we continued our triumph. I preached with power, “Lazarus raised.”<sup>21</sup> Then sang and prayed at the room. Great was our rejoicing in the Lord.

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<sup>16</sup>CW recorded on the manuscript of his sermon on 1 John 3:14 that he preached the first half of it this day at St. Katherine’s church in London; see MARC, MA 1977/597/5, flyleaf.

<sup>17</sup>Likely Francis Bernard (1712–79), who overlapped with CW at Christ Church, Oxford, and was currently a barrister in London. He would eventually serve as governor of New Jersey and the Massachusetts Bay colony, and be named a baronet.

<sup>18</sup>This was the occasion when Maria Price received assurance of the forgiveness of sins; see Price to CW, May 18, 1740.

<sup>19</sup>CW interacted with both Francis Okeley (1719–94) and his brother John Okeley (1721–92). Their last name is often spelled “Okely,” Most references in the MS Journal leave unclear which brother is intended. CW spells “Oakley.”

<sup>20</sup>See Isa. 25:6.

<sup>21</sup>John 11.

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Buried a corpse and exhorted the congregation. Expounded at Mr. Stonehouse's with great enlargement. An opposer was troublesome, till we prayed him down. Visited Mr. Lloyd and then Mrs. Vaughan, both as full of love and joy as they could contain. By midnight rested with Okeley at John Bray's. [1:206]

**Tuesday, March 27.** At Mr. Crouch's expounded on persecution. A man cried out, "That's a lie." We betook ourselves to prayer and singing. The shout of a king was in the midst of us.<sup>22</sup> The man came up quite affable. After another asked what that comfort and joy meant, I calmly invited him to experience it.

**Wednesday, March 28.** We dissuaded my brother from going to Bristol, from an unaccountable fear that it would prove fatal to him. A great power was among us. He offered himself willingly to whatsoever the Lord should appoint. The next day he set out, commended by us to the grace of God. He left a blessing behind. I desired to die with him.

**April 1739**

**Sunday, April 1.** Preached at St. Katherine's,<sup>1</sup> where I met my old friend Mrs. Payne, of East Grinstead.<sup>2</sup> I administered the sacrament. Dined at Chryssy Anderson's.<sup>3</sup> Went in a coach with her and Esther [Hopson] to Islington, comforted in the way while singing. Expounded the Good Samaritan with divine assistance.<sup>4</sup>

Prayed at Fetter Lane that the Lord might be in the midst of us. Received a remarkable answer: Brother Nowers, in strong pangs, groaned, screamed, roared out.<sup>5</sup> I was not offended by it—nor edified. We sang and praised God with all our might. Could not get home till 11:00.

**Wednesday, April 4.** At Mr. [John] West's rejoiced over an happy soul who received faith under my last expounding.

**Friday, April 6.** Convinced a woman of sin; found another convinced of righteousness.<sup>6</sup> A man who had rejected me was now overpowered. Mrs. Daniel and Winstone were

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<sup>22</sup>See Num. 23:21.

<sup>1</sup>The second half of his sermon on 1 John 3:14; see MARC, MA 1977/597/5, flyleaf. A letter of Mary (Francis) Maddern to CW in Jan. 29, 1762, mentioning she heard this sermon, specifies that at least on this occasion CW was at St. Katherine Cree church.

<sup>2</sup>East Grinstead, Sussex, 8 miles east of Crawley. CW spells "Paine."

<sup>3</sup>Christiana Anderson (1713–78), a mantua maker, would marry Joseph Hodges in 1744, and both remained active in the Moravian community. See Benham, *Hutton*, 95.

<sup>4</sup>Luke 10:29–37; see his hymn on this passage from the time period: *HSP* (1742), 101–03.

<sup>5</sup>Edward Nowers (fl. 1740) came to London from the Moravian congregation at Herrnhag. He would side with JW and CW in the controversy over quietism in early 1740; and appears along with his wife in the Foundery Band Lists (1742–46).

<sup>6</sup>One of these was likely Margaret Austin, hearing CW at the Wapping society; see the entry for Apr. 5, 1740 and Margaret Austin to CW, May 19, 1740.



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apprehended by Christ.

[1:207]

**Sunday, April 15.** At Islington, vestry, the churchwardens demanded my licence. I wrote down my name. Preached with increase of power on the woman taken in adultery.<sup>7</sup> None went out. I gave the cup.

At night I waited upon Count Zinzendorf with Bray and Hutton. He received us very cordially. Told us of six hundred Moors converted, two hundred Greenlanders, three hundred Hottentots. “*Saluta meo nomine fratres et sorores. Christi Spiritum illis apprecor.*”<sup>8</sup>

Found his prayers answered at the society. Two received forgiveness. Many were filled with unutterable groanings. All received some spiritual gift. Could not part, but continued our triumph till the morning.

**Monday, April 16.** The Count visited us in Fetter Lane and answered the several questions we proposed to him.

Today I first saw Miss Raymond<sup>9</sup> and Mr. Rogers,<sup>10</sup> at the expounding.

**Tuesday, April 17.** Tried in vain to check Mr. Shaw in his wild rambling talk against the Christian priesthood.<sup>11</sup> At last I told him I would oppose him to the utmost, and either he or I must quit the society.

Assisted Mr. [George] Stonehouse again (as every day this great and holy week) in administering the sacrament. The presence of the Lord was much with us; and again at night, in the word expounded.

**Wednesday, April 18.** Met Shaw at James [Hutton]’s. He insisted that there is no priesthood, but he himself could baptize and administer the other sacrament as well as any man.

At Mrs. [Martha] Claggett’s met Mr. Rogers and Miss Raymond, and prayed earnestly for her.

In my expounding warned them strongly against schism, into which Shaw’s notions must necessarily lead. The society were [1:208] all for my brother’s immediate return.

**Thursday, April 19.** Found Mr. Stonehouse exactly right. Warned Mrs. Vaughan (Hunter, half-perverted) and Brockmers against Shaw’s pestilent errors. Spoke strongly at the Savoy society in behalf of the Church of England.

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<sup>7</sup>Two shorthand copies of this sermon on John 8:1–11 has survived (MARC, MA 1977/597/8 a & b), with an annotation of this presentation on the flyleaf. A transcription is available in the sermon collection of this website (or CW, *Sermons*, 241–58).

<sup>8</sup>“Salute the brothers and sisters in my name. I pray Christ’s Spirit will be with them.”

<sup>9</sup>Dinah Raymond (d. 1756), future wife of the Moravian Henry Conrad de Larisch.

<sup>10</sup>Jacob Rogers (1714–79), who graduated BA from Trinity College, Cambridge in 1737 and was ordained deacon that year by the Bishop of Lincoln. He came to Bedford to serve initially as a curate at St. Paul’s. On being converted to Methodism by Benjamin Ingham (with whom he went to grammar school), he was expelled from his curacy, and began preaching outdoors with George Whitefield. He soon gravitated to the Moravians, among whom he served congregations in North America and England.

<sup>11</sup>John Shaw (fl. 1730s) was one of the founding members of the Fetter Lane society in May 1738. He would soon be removed because he rejected the Church of England.

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**Good Friday, April 20.** Mrs. Acourt was justified, in answer to our prayer. I felt life under Mr. Stonehouse's sermon. From church I went to the house to pray. John Bray gave me the gospel for the day to expound. I besought them, in strong words, not to rend the seamless coat by their divisions. John Bray himself, that pillar of our church, begins to shake. At night preached to the society in Wapping.<sup>12</sup>

**Saturday, April 21.** With James [Hutton] at the Count's, who spoke much against the intended separation of our brethren.

Met [Charles] Metcalfe, wholly perverted, a rank Quaker!

**Easter Day, April 22.** Talked with the Count about motions, visions, dreams; and was confirmed in my dislike to them.

**Wednesday, April 25.** Began Potter on *Church Government*,<sup>13</sup> a seasonable antidote against the growing spirit of delusion. Heard George Whitefield, very powerful, at Fetter Lane. With him and Howell Harris,<sup>14</sup> a man after my own heart. George related the dismal effects of Shaw's doctrine at Oxford. Both Howell and he insisted on Shaw's expulsion from the society. Poor Metcalfe had little to say for his friend and master.

**Friday, April 27.** Heard George Whitefield in Islington churchyard. The numerous congregation could not have been more affected within the walls. Exhorted them at Fetter Lane to continue steadfast in the means of grace. [1:209]

**Saturday, April 28.** Mr. Stonehouse was much concerned that we should so misunderstand, as if he had forbid George Whitefield's preaching in his church. Today he preached out[side] again. After him, Bowers got up to speak.<sup>15</sup> I conjured him not, but he beat me<sup>16</sup> down and *followed his impulse*. I carried many away with me.

In the evening I expounded at [William] Exall's. A woman received the atonement.

**Sunday, April 29.**<sup>17</sup> At Islington vestry the churchwardens forbade my preaching, demanded my local licence. I said nothing but that I heard them. [Mr.] Scions was very abusive,

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<sup>12</sup>An Anglican religious society meeting in the chapel to St. John the Baptist in Wapping, had also been addressed in previous years by Thomas Broughton and George Whitefield; see James Hutton to CW, Sept. 3, 1736.

<sup>13</sup>John Potter, *A Discourse of Church Government* (London: T. Childe, 1707). Cf. June 19, 1739 entry below.

<sup>14</sup>Howell Harris (1714–73), a Welsh schoolmaster, began to preach and found societies in Wales within a few months of his conversion in 1735. With Daniel Rowland, he was the founder of Welsh Calvinistic Methodism. Although on doctrinal grounds he was more attracted to Whitefield, Harris sought to avoid theological rivalries, and had generally friendly relations with the Wesley brothers. See *ODNB*; Vickers, *Dictionary*, 149–50. CW spells "Howel."

<sup>15</sup>George Bowers (1691–1757), a wholesale dealer in clocks in George Yard, Little Britain, was active early in Fetter Lane and emerged as a leading Moravian in the early 1740s. See Benham, *Hutton*, 89, 97.

<sup>16</sup>Orig., "my"; a mistake.

<sup>17</sup>CW wrote the date in Block Letters, for emphasis.

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bidding me shake off the dust of my feet, etc.;<sup>18</sup> and said, “You have all the spirit of the devil,” mentioning Mr. Whitefield, Stonehouse, and me by name.

After prayers Mr. Stonehouse made way for me to the pulpit. I offered to go up, when one [Mr.] Cotteril and a beadle forcibly kept me back. I thought of, “The servant of the Lord must not strive,”<sup>19</sup> and yielded. Mr. Streat preached.<sup>20</sup> I assisted at the sacrament.

Preached afterwards at our house, and prayed fervently for the opposers. Waited on Justice Elliot. He had gone with Sir John Gonson into the vestry and severely chided the churchwardens, who had made the [parish] clerk read the canon, call a vestry, etc. Mr. Streat advised to ask Mr. Stonehouse to discharge me from ever preaching again.

In the afternoon Scions abused Streat himself at the vestry; abused us; owned he said, “the devil was in us all.”

I read the prayers. Mr. Scott preached.<sup>21</sup> At night I was greatly strengthened to expound and pray for our persecutors. All were mild and peaceable among the bands. Heard that George [Whitefield] had had above ten thousand hearers. [1:210]

**Monday, April 30.** I preached at the Marshalsea. Mr. Stonehouse told us he had been with the bishop [Gibson], but left him close, shut up, sour, refusing to answer but to the written case.

At James [Hutton]’s rejoiced to find Charles Metcalfe coming back.

**May 1739**

**Tuesday, May 1.** During the time of prayers the churchwardens still kept guard on the pulpit stairs. I was not inclined to fight my way through them. Mr. Stonehouse preached a thundering sermon (unless their consciences are seared). I took notes of it.

Took water with James for Hastings.<sup>1</sup> A poor harlot was struck down by the word. She, and all, were melted into tears, and prayers, and strong cries for her. I have a good hope this brand will also be plucked out of the fire.<sup>2</sup>

**Wednesday, May 2.** She was at Fetter Lane, where I expounded the Prodigal.<sup>3</sup>

**Thursday, [May] 10.**<sup>4</sup> Expounded at Blendon, many fine folk from Eltham attending.

**Friday, [May] 11.** Prayed at Welling with a dying man, full of humility and faith and love.

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<sup>18</sup>See Luke 9:5.

<sup>19</sup>2 Tim. 2:24.

<sup>20</sup>Rev. Richard Streat (1691–1767), who had been vicar at St. Mary’s prior to George Stonehouse.

<sup>21</sup>Thomas Scott was lecturer at St. Mary’s church, Islington, 1731–40.

<sup>1</sup>I.e., travelled there by boat.

<sup>2</sup>See Zech. 3:2.

<sup>3</sup>Luke 15:11–32.

<sup>4</sup>Orig. has “April” for this and the next two days, in error.

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**Sunday, [May] 13.** Enabled to discourse from the Prodigal<sup>5</sup> at Bexley.

**Monday, May 14.** At [John] West's my mouth was opened to expound Romans 8. Miss [Dinah] Raymond was among my hearers.

**Tuesday, May 15.** She was brought so strongly to my mind, that I was even constrained to pray for her with tears.

**Wednesday, May 16.** Preached with power and freedom in the Marshalsea. Prayed by Mrs. Cameron, who owned herself convinced. She had been a deist, because it is so incredible the Almighty God should condescend to die for his creatures.

I attended George Whitefield to Blackheath.<sup>6</sup> [1:211] He preached in the rain to many listening sinners.

At Fetter Lane a dispute arose about lay preaching. Many, particularly [John] Bray and [William] Fish, very zealous for it. Mr. Whitefield and I declared against it.

**Saturday, May 19.** At the Common, George preached from "The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee."<sup>7</sup> In the evening I found my brother at Mr. Hodges's.<sup>8</sup>

**Sunday, May 20.** Received the sacrament at St. Paul's, with best part of our society.

**Monday, May 21.** At Mrs. [Martha] Claggett's I found Miss Raymond, [Jacob] Rogers, John Cennick,<sup>9</sup> [Howell] Harris, Whitefield, Piriam, Mason, the Delamottes. Mr. [Wyseman] Claggett was very friendly and invited me to Broadoaks.<sup>10</sup>

**Tuesday, May 22.** Miss Raymond carried me in her coach to Islington. My friend Stonehouse was delighted to see me. We sang together and prayed, as in the months that are past.

**Thursday, May 24.** John Bray took upon him[self] to reprove me for checking the course of the Spirit. I made him no answer. But I believe not every spirit,<sup>11</sup> nor any till I have tried it by the fruits and the written Word.

Met Miss Raymond (as almost every day), and joined with her and our friends in prayer and singing. Mr. Claggett pressed me now, with the utmost importunity, to go with him

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<sup>5</sup>Luke 15:11–32.

<sup>6</sup>Blackheath, Kent, England; 1 mile northeast of Lewisham.

<sup>7</sup>Luke 1:35.

<sup>8</sup>Joseph Hodges (1710–78), a smith, was one of the members of the Fetter Lane society who briefly joined the Wesley brothers at the Foundery. Partly through the influence of Westley Hall, he had recently sided with the Moravians; cf. Benham, *Hutton*, 93, 411.

<sup>9</sup>John Cennick (1718–55) experienced a religious transformation on Sept. 1737, and sought out the Methodists in Oxford in late 1738. In 1739 JW employed him to teach at the Kingswood school, but he also preached occasionally and helped administer the society there. Within two years, however, he broke with JW, aligning first with Whitefield, and then throwing in his lot with the Moravians—for whom, in 1745, he became a pioneer preacher in Ireland.

<sup>10</sup>Broadoaks Manor, the Claggetts' country home, is located near Wimbish, just northwest of Thaxted, Essex. The school for the Moravian congregation in London was moved here in Nov. 1742.

<sup>11</sup>See 1 John 4:1.

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tomorrow.

**Friday, May 25.** At noon I set out on horseback, our sisters in the chaise. By 2:00 the next day we surprised Miss Betty [Delamotte] at Broadoaks. Full of prayer that the Lord would gather a church in this place.

**Sunday, May 27.** Still Mr. [Wyseman] Claggett opposed my preaching. Went to church, where I preached the new birth.<sup>12</sup> We returned singing. Mr. Claggett still more violent. I told him he was doing the devil's work. Between jest and earnest he struck me; raged exceedingly to see the [1:212] people come flocking to the word. God gave me utterance to make known the mystery of the gospel to four or five hundred listening souls.<sup>13</sup>

**Tuesday, May 29.** Franklyn, a farmer, invited me to preach in his field. I did so, to about five hundred, on "Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand."<sup>14</sup> I returned to the [manor] house rejoicing.

**Wednesday, May 30.** Convinced a sick man of unbelief. Another on his deathbed received forgiveness, and witnessed a good confession. I invited near a thousand sinners (with whom the whole house was filled at night) to come weary and heavy-laden to Christ for rest.<sup>15</sup>

**Thursday, May 31.** A Quaker sent me a pressing invitation to preach at Thaxted.<sup>16</sup> I scrupled preaching in another's parish, till I had been refused the church. Many Quakers, and near seven hundred others, attended while I declared in the highways, "The Scripture hath concluded all under sin."<sup>17</sup>

**June 1739**

**Friday, June 1.** My subject, to above one thousand attentive sinners, was, "He shall save his people from their sins."<sup>1</sup> Many showed their emotion by their tears.

**Saturday, June 2.** At 6:00 set out for London, with a quiet mind, leaving my beloved friends in the hands of God. The first thing I heard in town was that my poor friend Stonehouse was actually married.<sup>2</sup> It is a satisfaction to me that I had no hand in it.

**Sunday, June 3.** George Whitefield advised me (I thank him for his love) to follow Mr. Stonehouse's example. He preached in the morning in Moorfields, and in the evening at Kennington Common to an innumerable multitude.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>12</sup>Likely on John 3:1–10.

<sup>13</sup>See Eph. 3:1–13.

<sup>14</sup>Matt. 3:2.

<sup>15</sup>See Matt. 11:28.

<sup>16</sup>CW spells "Thackstead."

<sup>17</sup>Gal. 3:22.

<sup>1</sup>Matt. 1:21; see his contemporaneous hymn on this passage: *HSP* (1740), 68–69.

<sup>2</sup>Stonehouse married Mary Crispe on June 1, 1739 at St. Michael's, Highgate.

<sup>3</sup>A large park in Kennington, Surrey, about 1 mile south of London, across the River Thames.

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**Monday, June 4.** Walked with a young [1:213] Quaker to Islington church. Satan hindered me, so Mr. [Thomas] Scott baptized him.<sup>4</sup> He told me afterwards, “When the words were speaking, I sensibly found the Holy Ghost descend into my soul. The joy arose higher and higher, till at last I could neither speak nor move, but seemed rapt into the third heaven.”<sup>5</sup>

Had some conversation with Mrs. [Mary] Stonehouse; surely a gracious, lovely soul! Then with him. We joined in prayer, and was better reconciled to their sudden marriage.

Met [John] Shaw, the self-ordained priest. He was brimfull of proud wrath and fierceness. His spirit suited to his principles. I could do him no good, but was kept calm and benevolent towards him. Therefore he could do me no harm.

Stood by George Whitefield while he preached on the mount in Blackheath. The cries of the wounded were heard on every side. What has Satan gained by turning him out of the churches?

**Tuesday, June 5.** With him at Blendon. [George] Bowers and [John] Bray followed us thither, drunk with the spirit of delusion. George [Whitefield] honestly said “They were two grand enthusiasts.”

**Wednesday, June 6.** Above sixty of the poor people had passed the night in Mr. [Peter] Delamotte’s barn, singing and rejoicing. Sang and prayed with them before the door. George’s exhortation left them all in tears.

At the society in the evening, Shaw pleaded for his spirit of prophecy. Charged me with love of preeminence, with making my proselytes twofold more children of the devil than before. [William] Fish said he looked upon me as delivered over to Satan, etc. They declared themselves no longer members of the Church of England. We were kept tolerably meek, and parted at 11:00. Now am I clear of them. By renouncing the [1:214] Church [of England], they have discharged me.

**Thursday, June 7.** Many of our friends have been pestered by the French prophets,<sup>6</sup> and such-like *pretenders* to inspiration. John Bray is the foremost to listen to them, and often carried away with their delusions. Today I had the happiness to find at his house the famous prophetess Lavington. She was sitting by Bowers and Mrs. Sellers on the other side.<sup>7</sup> The prophet Wise asked, “Can a man attain perfection here?” I answered, “No.” The prophetess began groaning. I turned and said, “If you have anything to speak, speak it.” She lifted up her voice, like the lady on the tripod,<sup>8</sup> and cried out vehemently, “Look for perfection, I say, absolute perfection!” I was minded to rebuke her. But God gave me uncommon recollection, and command of spirit, so that I sat quiet, and replied not. I offered at last to sing, which she allowed, but did not join. Bray pressed me to stay and hear her pray. They knelt, I stood. She prayed most pompously, addressing to Bray with particular encomiums. I durst not say Amen. She concluded with a horrible, hellish laugh, and endeavoured to turn it off.

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<sup>4</sup>His name, as recorded in the St. Mary baptism registry, was George Cawdry.

<sup>5</sup>See 2 Cor. 12:2.

<sup>6</sup>See the Dec. 11, 1738 entry above.

<sup>7</sup>Lydia Sellers was an early participant in the Fetter Lane society.

<sup>8</sup>An allusion to the priestess at the Delphi Oracle, outside Corinth.

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She showed violent displeasure against our baptized Quaker, saying God had showed her he would destroy all outward things.

**Friday and Saturday, June 8 and 9.** I took the deposition of Anne Graham,<sup>9</sup> Mrs. Biddle, and Mrs. Rigby concerning her lewd life and conversation, and warned our friends everywhere against her. Joined at [John] West's with [John] Hutchings and Miss Kinchin<sup>10</sup> in earnest prayer for the promise of the Father.<sup>11</sup>

**Whitsunday, June 10.** Read the society my account of the prophetess.<sup>12</sup> All were shocked but poor John Bray. He now *appeared*, and strongly withstood me and vindicated that Jezebel. [1:215] I gave no place to him; no, not for a moment. My natural temper was kept down, and changed into a passionate concern for him, which I expressed in prayers and tears. All besides him were melted down. I kissed him, and testified my love, but could make no impression.

**Monday, June 11.** Expounded with great liberty of spirit, and found the blessing of opposition.

**Tuesday, June 12.** Heard more of my prophetess, who told a brother that she can command Christ to come to her in what shape she pleases—as a dove, an eagle, etc. The devil owed her a shame by bringing her again to Bray's. Wise, her gallant, came first; whom I urged with a plain question whether he had or had not cohabited with her. He was *forced* to confess he had. John Bray was vehement in her defence. When she came in, flew upon us like a tigress; tried to outface me; insisted that she was immediately inspired. I prayed. She cried the devil was in me, I was a fool, a blockhead, a blind leader of the blind, put out the people's eyes, etc. She roared outrageously. Said it was the lion in her (true, but not the Lion of Judah). She *would* come to the society in spite of me. If not, they would all go down.

I asked, "Who is on God's side?"<sup>13</sup> Who for the old prophets rather than the new? Let them follow me." They followed me into the preaching room. I prayed and expounded the lesson with extraordinary power.<sup>14</sup> The women, several of them, gave an account of their conversion through my ministry. Our dear brother Bowers confessed himself convinced of his error. We rejoiced and triumphed in the name of the Lord our God.

**Wednesday, June 13.** My brother returned. Had over the prophetess's affair before the society. Bray and Bowers were much humbled. [1:216] All agreed to disown the prophetess.

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<sup>9</sup>Anne Graham appears as a member of a band for single women in the Foundry Band Lists through the 1740s.

<sup>10</sup>Mary ("Molly") Kinchin was the sister of Charles Kinchin.

<sup>11</sup>The Holy Spirit; cf. Acts 1:8.

<sup>12</sup>This account, titled "Prophetess Lavington's Case" survives in a form covering through June 12 (MARC, DDCW 8/12); see CW, *Journal Letters*, 35–42.

<sup>13</sup>See Exod. 32:26.

<sup>14</sup>The assigned lesson was 1 John 4:1–2.

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Brother [Westley] Hall proposed expelling [John] Shaw and Wolfe.<sup>15</sup> We consented, *nemine contradicente*,<sup>16</sup> that their names should be erased out of the society book, because they disowned themselves members of the Church of England.

**Thursday, June 14.** Heard my brother preach on Blackheath, “Christ our wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption.”<sup>17</sup> We continued at the Green Man’s,<sup>18</sup> singing and rejoicing. George Whitefield gave a lively exhortation to about thirty of us. I slept with [William] Seward and my brother.

**Friday, June 15.** The last time I had met Mr. Stonehouse and our opposers in the vestry, he astonished by telling me he had consented that I should preach no more. I thought in myself, “What is man? Or what is friendship?” and said nothing. Today, in company with my brother and him, I mentioned, without intending it, my exclusion through his consent. He pleaded that the Bishop of London had justified his churchwardens in their forcible expulsion of me; but at last was quite melted down, would do anything to repair his fault. Resolved no other should be excluded by him, as I had been.

**Sunday, June 17.** My brother preached to above ten thousand people (as was supposed) in Moorfields, and to a still larger congregation on Kennington Common. I preached twice in the prison.

**Monday, June 18.** Sang and prayed at Mrs. Ewsters’s<sup>19</sup>—a lively, gracious soul, but too apt to depend on her inward feelings.

**Tuesday, June 19.** At Lambeth with Mr. [Henry] Piers.<sup>20</sup> His Grace expressly forbade him to let any of us preach in his church—charged us with breach of the canon. I mentioned the Bishop of London’s authorizing my forcible exclusion. He would not hear me, said he did [1:217] not dispute. Asked me what call I had? I answered, “A dispensation of the gospel is committed to me.”<sup>21</sup> “That is, to St. Paul. But I do not dispute, and will not proceed to excommunication *yet*.” “Your Grace has taught me in your book on church government<sup>22</sup> that a man unjustly excommunicated is not thereby cut off from communion with Christ.” “Of that I am the judge.” I asked him if Mr. Whitefield’s success was not a spiritual sign, and sufficient

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<sup>15</sup>Shepherd Wolfe, a barber, was one of Peter Böhler’s first converts in London. CW spells “Wolf.”

<sup>16</sup>With no one voting in opposition.

<sup>17</sup>1 Cor. 1:30.

<sup>18</sup>A public house at the top of Blackheath Hill.

<sup>19</sup>Susanna (Hathorne) Ewsters (c. 1691–1763). Her husband George Ewsters was a goldsmith with a shop on Aldermanbury Lane. CW spells “Eusters.” Both of the couple were active in the Fetter Lane society.

<sup>20</sup>Lambeth Palace, London residence of the Archbishop of Canterbury. CW was meeting again with John Potter.

<sup>21</sup>1 Cor. 9:17.

<sup>22</sup>See Apr. 25, 1739 entry.



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proof of his call; recommended Gamaliel's advice.<sup>23</sup> He dismissed us—Piers, with kind professions; me, with all the marks of his displeasure.

I felt nothing in my heart but peace. Prayed and sang at Bray's. But some hours after, at West's, sank down in great heaviness and discouragement. Found a little relief from the scripture that first offered: Acts 17:3, "Opening and alleging that Christ must needs have suffered, and risen again from the dead, and that this Jesus whom I preach unto you is Christ."

**Friday, June 22.** The sower of tares<sup>24</sup> is beginning to trouble us with disputes about predestination. My brother was wonderfully owned at Wapping last week, while asserting the contrary truth. Tonight I asked in prayer that if God would have all men to be saved, he would show some token for good upon us. Three were justified in immediate answer to that prayer. We prayed again; several fell down under the power of God, present to witness his universal love.

**Saturday, June 23.** Some of the persons set at liberty came and called on me to return him thanks in their behalf. Twelve received forgiveness, it seems, last night; another in this hour. Dined at Mr. Stonehouse's. [1:218] My inward conflict continued. Perceived it was the fear of man; and that, by preaching in the field next Sunday, as George Whitefield urges me, I shall break down the bridge and become desperate. Retired and prayed for particular direction, offering up my friends, my liberty, my life, for Christ's sake and the gospel's. Somewhat less burdened, yet could not be quite easy till I gave up all.

**Sunday, June 24. St. John Baptist's day.**<sup>25</sup> The first scripture I cast my eye upon was "Then came the servant unto him, and said, Master, what shall we do?"<sup>26</sup> Prayed with Wests, and went forth *in the name of Jesus Christ*.<sup>27</sup> Found near 10,000 helpless sinners waiting for the word in Moorfields. I invited them in my Master's words, as well as name: "Come unto me, all ye that travail, and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest."<sup>28</sup> The Lord was with me, even me, his meanest messenger, according to his promise. At St. Paul's the psalms, lessons, etc., for the day put fresh life into me.<sup>29</sup> So did the sacrament. My load was gone, and all my doubts and scruples. God shone upon my path, and I knew this was his will concerning me.

At [Stoke] Newington the rector, Mr. Motte, desired me to preach. My text was, "All have sinned, and come short of the glory of God; being justified freely . . ."<sup>30</sup> I walked on to the [Kennington] Common, and cried to multitudes upon multitudes, "Repent ye, and believe the gospel."<sup>31</sup> The Lord was my strength, and my mouth, and my wisdom. Oh that all would

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<sup>23</sup>See Acts 5:34–39.

<sup>24</sup>See Matt. 13:25.

<sup>25</sup>CW wrote the date in Block Letters, for emphasis.

<sup>26</sup>See Luke 3:12.

<sup>27</sup>Cw wrote this phrase in Block Letters, for emphasis.

<sup>28</sup>Matt. 11:28; see his related hymns of this passage: *HSP* (1742), 91–92, and *HSP* (1749), 2:161–62.

<sup>29</sup>The assigned lessons were Mal. 3 and Matt. 3.

<sup>30</sup>Rom. 3:23.

<sup>31</sup>Mark 1:15.

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therefore praise the Lord for his goodness!

Was refreshed with the society, at a primitive love feast.

**Friday, June 29.** At [High] Wycombe heard of much disturbance and sin, occasioned by [George] Bowers's preaching in the streets. Reached Oxford the next day. [1:219]

**Saturday, June 30.** Waited upon the Dean,<sup>32</sup> who spoke with unusual severity against field preaching and Mr. Whitefield; explained away all inward religion and union with God.

That the world and their god abhor our manner of acting, I have too sensible proof. This whole week has the messenger of Satan been buffeting me with uninterrupted temptation.

**July 1739**

**Sunday, July 1.** Preached my sermon on justification before the university with great boldness.<sup>1</sup> All were very attentive. One could not help weeping. At night received power to expound; several gownsmen were present, some mocked.

**Monday, July 2.** Mr. [John] Gambold came. He had been with the Vice Chancellor,<sup>2</sup> and well received. I visited the Vice Chancellor, at his own desire. Gave him a full account of the Methodists, which he approved. But [he] objected the irregularity of our doing good in other men's parishes; charged Mr. Whitefield with insincerity, and breach of promise; appealed to the Dean, and appointed a second meeting there. All were against my sermon, as liable to be misunderstood.

**Tuesday, July 3.** Poor wild Bowers had been laid hold on for preaching in Oxford. Today the beadle brought him to me. I spoke to him very home.<sup>3</sup> He had nothing to reply, but promised to do so no more, and thereby obtained his liberty.

At night had another conference with the Dean, who cited Mr. Whitefield to judgment. I said, "Mr. Dean, he shall be ready to answer your citation." He used his utmost address to bring me off from preaching abroad, from expounding in houses, from singing [1:220] psalms. Denied justification by faith only, and all vital religion. Promised me, however, to read [William] Law and [Blaise] Pascal.

**Wednesday, July 4.** Returned to London.

**Sunday, July 8.** Near ten thousand, by computation, gave diligent heed to the word preached in Moorfields: "Thou shalt call his name Jesus, for he shall save his people from their sins"[Matt. 1:21]. Numbers seemed greatly affected.

Walking over an open field to Kennington Common, I was met by a man who threatened me for a trespass. I preached "Christ our wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and

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<sup>32</sup>John Conybeare, Dean of Christ Church.

<sup>1</sup>The manuscript text of this sermon on Rom. 3:23–25 has survived (MARC, MA 1977/597/9). A transcription is available in the sermon collection on this website (or CW, *Sermons*, 183–210).

<sup>2</sup>Theophilus Leigh (1693–1784) was Vice Chancellor of Oxford University, 1738–40.

<sup>3</sup>I.e., directly, or to the point.

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redemption,"<sup>4</sup> to double my morning congregation, and the Lord Almighty bowed their hearts before him.

**Monday, July 9.** Corrected Mr. Cennick's hymns for the press.<sup>5</sup>

**Tuesday, July 10.** Stopped Okeley,<sup>6</sup> just going to Germany, and brought him quite off his design. Mrs. H.,<sup>7</sup> a brand plucked out of the burning through my brother's ministry, told me her wonderful history, which filled my heart with pity and love.

**Saturday, July 14.** Many were pierced through this evening with the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God.<sup>8</sup>

**Sunday, July 15.** My subject in Moorfields, "God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself."<sup>9</sup> On the Common, "Blessed are the poor in spirit."<sup>10</sup>

**Sunday, July 22.** Never knew till now the strength of temptation, and energy of sin. Who that conferred with flesh and blood would covet great success? I live in a continual storm. My soul is always in my hand. The enemy thrusts sore at me, that I may fall. And a worse enemy than the devil is my own heart. *Mirror aliquem praedicatorum salvari!*<sup>11</sup> [1:221] Received, I humbly hope, a fresh pardon in the sacrament at St. Paul's. Would have preached at the Fleet, but the warden forbade. Preached at the Marshalsea.

**Monday, July 23.** Talked in Newgate with five condemned malefactors.

**Wednesday, July 25.** Served with a writ by Mr. Goter, for walking over his field to Kennington.<sup>12</sup> Sent Okeley to the lawyer, who confessed he did not so much as know what his client sued me for.

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<sup>4</sup>1 Cor. 1:30; see CW's contemporaneous set of four hymns on this passage, with these headings: *HSP* (1740), 94–99.

<sup>5</sup>These hymns did not go directly to print. John Cennick had only recently become involved with the revival, and in the coming months he would side with Whitefield and the predestinarians over against the Wesley brothers (cf. Nov. 4, 1740 entry). This stance is reflected in the eventual published hymns: *Sacred Hymns for the Children of God, in the Days of Their Pilgrimage* (London: John Lewis, 1741).

<sup>6</sup>If this was John Okeley, he was only temporarily dissuaded by CW. He went to Germany with Henry Cossart the following month.

<sup>7</sup>Possibly the "sister Howard" mentioned in William Oxlee to JW, Apr. 13, 1739.

<sup>8</sup>See Eph. 6:17.

<sup>9</sup>2 Cor. 5:19.

<sup>10</sup>Matt. 5:3.

<sup>11</sup>"I marvel that any preacher is saved!"

<sup>12</sup>This writ, brought by Richard Goter, which instructed CW to appear at the Court of Common Bench to be held at Westminster on Oct. 20, 1739, has survived (MARC, DDCW 4/3). In CW's hand is the annotation: "Thou shall answer for me, O Lord my God!" Cf. the Oct. 18, 1739 entry.

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Saw Dr. Doddridge at Mr. Burnham's, but did not see much of him.<sup>13</sup>

**Thursday, July 26.** The Lord applied his word at Bray's, so that one received forgiveness under it.

**August 1739**

**Saturday, August 4.** Dined with my friend George Whitefield at Mrs. Sparrow's in Lewisham.<sup>1</sup> In the evening at Mrs. [Susanna] Ewsters's, whom I visit most days for my own sake.

**Sunday, August 5.** In the fields I discoursed on the promise, "I will pray the Father, and he shall send you another Comforter."<sup>2</sup> My subject was the same at Kennington. In the bands, one witnessed her having received her pardon. We gave thanks with her, whom the Lord hath redeemed.

**Tuesday, August 7.** Preached repentance and faith at Plaistow,<sup>3</sup> and at night expounded in a private house Lazarus dead and raised.<sup>4</sup> The next day [**August 8**] called with Hodges on Thomas Keene, a mild and candid Quaker;<sup>5</sup> preached at Marylebone.<sup>6</sup> Too well pleased with my success, which brought upon me the buffetings of Satan. Preached on Kennington Common, "Repent ye, and believe the gospel."<sup>7</sup>

**Friday, August 10.** Gave George Whitefield some account both [**1:222**] of my labours and my conflicts.

Dear George,

I forgot to mention the most material occurrence at Plaistow; namely that a clergyman was there convinced of sin. He stood under me and appeared, throughout my discourse, under the strongest perturbation of mind. In our return we were much delighted with an old spiritual Quaker, who is clear in justification by faith only. At Marylebone a footman was convinced of more than sin, and now waits with confidence for all the power of faith. Friend [Thomas] Keene seems to have experience, and is right

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<sup>13</sup>Rev. Dr. Phillip Doddridge (1702–51), a leading Independent minister, of Castle Hill church in Northampton.

<sup>1</sup>Jane (Kemp) Sparrow (d. 1748), a widow, lived in a manor house in Lewisham called The Limes. She was introduced to CW by George Stonehouse in 1739, and became an active supporter of both Wesley brothers.

<sup>2</sup>John 14:16.

<sup>3</sup>Most likely, Plaistow, Essex, six miles east of London.

<sup>4</sup>John 11.

<sup>5</sup>Thomas Keene (c. 1693–1766), of London. CW spells "Keen."

<sup>6</sup>This area was largely open fields at the time, suitable for field preaching. CW spells "Marybone."

<sup>7</sup>Mark 1:15.

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in the foundation.

I cannot preach out on the weekdays for the expense of coach. Nor accept of dear Mr. [William] Seward's offer, to which I should be less backward would he take my advice. But while he is so lavish of his Lord's goods, I cannot consent that his ruin should in any degree *seem* to be under my hand.

I am continually tempted to leave off preaching and hide myself like John Hutchings. I should then be freer from temptation, and at leisure to attend my own improvement. God continues to work *by* me, but not *in* me, that I can perceive. Do not reckon upon me, my brother, in the work God is doing, for I cannot expect he should long employ one who is ever longing and murmuring to be discharged. I rejoice in your success and pray for its increase a thousandfold.

Today I carried John Bray to Mr. [William] Law, who resolved all his feelings and experiences into fits or natural affections, and advised him to take no notice of his comforts, which he had better be without than with. He blamed Mr. Whitefield's *Journals*, and way of proceeding; said he [1:223] had had great hopes that the Methodists would have been dispersed by little and little into livings, and have leavened the whole lump. I told him my experience. "Then am I," said he, "far below you (if you are right), not worthy to bear your shoes." He agreed to our notion of faith, but would have it that all men held it; was fully against the laymen's expounding, as the very worst thing both for themselves and others. I told him he was my schoolmaster to bring me to Christ,<sup>8</sup> but the reason why I did not come sooner to him was my seeking to be sanctified before I was justified. I disclaimed all expectation of becoming some great one.

Among other things, he said, "Was I so talked of as Mr. Whitefield is, I should run away and hide myself entirely." "You might," I answered, "but God would bring you back like Jonah." "Joy in the Holy Ghost," he told us, "was the most dangerous thing God could give." I replied, "But cannot God guard his own gifts?" He often disclaimed advising, "seeing we had the Spirit of God," but mended upon our hands, and at last came almost quite over.

**Sunday, August 12.** Received power, great power, to explain the Good Samaritan.<sup>9</sup> Communicated at St. Paul's, as every Sunday. Convinced multitudes at the Common from "Such were some of you, but ye are washed ...."<sup>10</sup> And before the day was past felt my own sinfulness so great, that I wished I had never been born.

**Monday, August 13.** Wrote in a letter to [William] Seward,

I preached yesterday to more than ten thousand hearers. Am so buffeted, both before and after, that, was I not forcibly detained, I should fly from every human face. If God does not make a way for me to escape, I shall not easily be brought back again. I cannot like advertising. It looks like [1:224] sounding a trumpet.

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<sup>8</sup>See Gal. 3:24.

<sup>9</sup>Luke 10:29–37.

<sup>10</sup>1 Cor. 6:11.

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I hope our brother Hutchings will come forth at last, and throw away (which he seems to have taken up) my mantle of reserve. But then he will no longer make Mr. [Thomas] Broughton his counsellor.

**Tuesday, August 14.** Carried Cossart, a Moravian, to Mr. [William] Law, and left them together.<sup>11</sup> The whole congregation at Kennington seemed moved by my discourse on those words, “He shall reprove the world of sin, of righteousness, and of judgment.”<sup>12</sup> I could hardly get from them. We hear every day of more and more convinced or pardoned.

**Wednesday, August 15.** Wrote to George Whitefield,

Let not Cossart’s opinion of your letter to the bishop weaken your hands.<sup>13</sup>  
*Abundans cautela nocet.*<sup>14</sup> It is the Moravian infirmity. Tomorrow I set out for Bristol. I pray you all a good voyage, and that many poor souls may be added to the church by your ministry, before we meet again. Meet again, I am confident we shall; perhaps both here and in America. The will of the Lord be done with us and by us, in time and in eternity.

Called on our brother Bell just as his wife received “like precious faith.”<sup>15</sup> We were all partakers of her joy.

**Thursday, August 16.** Rode to [High] Wycombe and, being refused the church, would have preached in an house. But [George] Bowers’s preaching here has shut the door against me, by confirming their natural aversion to the gospel. The next day we came to Oxford, and the day after that to Evesham.

Sent my brother and friends accounts of our going on from time to time. The following to my brother:

Bengeworth and Evesham,  
August 20, 1739

Dear Brother,

We have left the brethren at Oxford much edified, and two [1:225] gownsmen, besides Charles Graves, thoroughly awakened. On Saturday afternoon God brought us hither. Mr. Seward being from home, there was no admittance for us, his wife being an

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<sup>11</sup>Heinrich Friedrich Cossart (1714–63), a German Moravian, was currently in London.

<sup>12</sup>John 16:8.

<sup>13</sup>George Whitefield, *The Rev. Mr. Whitefield’s Answer to the Bishop of London’s Last Pastoral Letter* (London: W. Strahan, 1739).

<sup>14</sup>“Abundant caution does harm”; the inverse of a standard legal phrase: “*Abundans cautela non nocet.*”

<sup>15</sup>2 Pet. 1:1. This is Richard Bell and Alice (Chittendon) Bell.

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opposer, and having refused to see George Whitefield before me.<sup>16</sup> At 7:00 Mr. Seward found us at our inn, and carried us home. I expounded at 8:00 in the schoolroom, which contains two hundred; and held out the promises from John 16, “I will send the Comforter ....”<sup>17</sup> On Sunday morning I preached from George Whitefield’s pulpit, the wall, “Repent ye, and believe the gospel.”<sup>18</sup> The notice being short, we had only a few hundreds, but such as those described in the morning lesson, “These were more noble than those of Thessalonica, in that they received the word with all readiness of mind.”<sup>19</sup> In the evening I showed to near two thousand their Saviour in the Good Samaritan.<sup>20</sup> Many, I am persuaded, found themselves stripped, and wounded, and half-dead, and are therefore ready for the oil and wine. Once more God strengthened me at 9:00 to open the new covenant at the schoolhouse, which was crowded with deeply attentive sinners.

**Monday, August 20.** Spoke from Acts 2:37 to two or three hundred market-people and soldiers, all as orderly and decent as could be desired.

I now heard that the mayor had come down on Sunday to take a view of us and soon after an officer struck a countryman in the face, without any provocation. A serious woman besought the poor man not to resist evil, as the other only wanted to make a riot. He took patiently several repeated blows, telling the man he might beat him as long as he pleased.

Took a walk with Mr. [Benjamin] Seward, whose eyes it has pleased God to open, to see he would have all men to be saved. His wife [Elizabeth], who refuses to see me, is miserably bigoted to the [1:226] particular scheme.<sup>21</sup>

We had the satisfaction of meeting with Mr. Seward’s cousin Molly, whom I had endeavoured to convince of sin at Islington. The Spirit has now convinced her of righteousness also. Today she told us a young lady here upon a visit had been deeply struck on Sunday night, under the word, seeing and feeling her need of a physician; and earnestly desired me to pray for her. We immediately joined in thanksgiving and intercession. After dinner I spoke with her. She burst into tears; told us she had come hither thoughtless and dead in pleasures and sin, but fully resolved against ever being a Methodist; that she was first alarmed at seeing us so happy and full of love; had gone to the society, but never found herself out till the word came with power to her soul; that all the following night she had been as in an agony; could not pray; could not bear our singing, nor have any rest in her spirit. We betook ourselves to prayer, and God hearkened. She received forgiveness in that instant, and triumphed in the name of the Lord *her* God. We were all

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<sup>16</sup>This was Benjamin Seward (c. 1705–53), a brother of William Seward. Benjamin had married Eleanor Knapp in 1728, who bore his two daughters; but Eleanor was deceased by this time and Benjamin’s second wife Elizabeth Seward (d. 1754) was ardently committed to the Particular Baptists.

<sup>17</sup>John 16:7–11.

<sup>18</sup>Mark 1:15.

<sup>19</sup>Acts 17:11.

<sup>20</sup>Luke 10:29–37.

<sup>21</sup>I.e., to limited atonement and particular election; rather than a universal offer of grace.

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of us upon the mount the rest of the day.

At 6:00 I explained the nature of faith from “Not I, but Christ liveth in me—Who loved *me*, and gave himself for *me*.”<sup>22</sup> Afterwards showed them, in the schoolhouse, their own case in dead Lazarus.<sup>23</sup> Some of those that were dead, I trust, begin to come forth. Several serious people from the neighbouring towns came home with us. We continued our rejoicings till midnight.

**Tuesday, August 21.** Besought my hearers to be reconciled unto God. I found Miss P. had been greatly strengthened by last night’s expounding, and could scarce forbear crying [1:227] out she was that Lazarus; and if they would come to Christ, he would raise them as he had her. All night she continued singing in her heart, and discovers more and more of that genuine mark of his disciples’ love.

Was prevailed upon to stay over this day. God soon showed us *his* design in it. Our singing in the garden drew two sincere women to us, who sought Christ sorrowing. After reading the promises in Isaiah we prayed,<sup>24</sup> and they received them accomplished in themselves. We were upon a mount, which reminded us of Tabor,<sup>25</sup> through the joy wherewith our Master filled us. How shall I be thankful enough for his bringing me hither! While we were singing, a poor drunken servant of Mr. Seward’s was struck. His master had last night given him warning, but now he seems effectually called. We spent the afternoon most delightfully in Isaiah. At 7:00 the society met. I could hardly speak through my cold, but it was suspended while I showed the natural man his picture in blind Bartimeus.<sup>26</sup> Many were ready to cry after Jesus for mercy. The three that had lately received their sight were much strengthened. Miss P. declared her cure before two hundred witnesses, many of them gay young gentlewomen. They received her testimony, flocked round about her, and pressed her on all sides to come to see them. By this open confession, she purchased to herself great boldness in the faith.

**Wednesday, August 22.** This morning the work upon poor Robin<sup>27</sup> appeared to be God’s work. The words that made the first impression were:

Tis mercy all, immense and free,  
For O! my God, it found out me!<sup>28</sup>

He now seems full of sorrow, and joy, and astonishment, and love. The world, too, set to their seal that he belongs to Christ.

Here I cannot but observe the narrow [1:228] spirit of those that hold particular redemption. I have had no disputes with them, yet they have me in abomination. Mrs. Seward is

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<sup>22</sup>Gal. 2:20.

<sup>23</sup>John 11.

<sup>24</sup>See Isa. 30:18–19, 40:1, 43:1–3, etc.

<sup>25</sup>Mount Tabor is a traditional site for the Transfiguration of Jesus; cf. Mark 9:2.

<sup>26</sup>Mark 10:46–52.

<sup>27</sup>Apparently the first name of the drunken servant of Benjamin Seward.

<sup>28</sup>CW, “Free Grace,” st. 3, *HSP* (1739), 118.



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irreconcilably angry with me, “for he offers Christ to all.” Her maids are of the same spirit, and their Baptist teacher insists that I ought to have my gown stripped over my ears.

When Mr. Seward, in my hearing, exhorted one of the maids to a concern for her salvation, she answered, “It was no purpose,” she could do nothing. The same answer he received from his daughter of seven years old.<sup>29</sup> See the genuine fruits of this blessed doctrine!

Gloucester  
August 23

By 10:00 last night the Lord brought us hither through many dangers and difficulties. In mounting, I fell over my horse, and sprained my hand. Riding in the dark I bruised my foot. We lost our way as often as we *could*. Two horses we had between three, for Robin bore us company. Here we turned back from a friend’s house by his wife’s sickness. Last night my voice and strength wholly failed me. Today they are in some measure restored. At night I with difficulty got into the crowded society; preached the law and the gospel from Romans 3. They received it with all readiness. Three clergymen were present. Some without attempted to make a disturbance by setting on the dogs, but in vain. The *dumb* dogs rebuked the rioters.

Gloucester  
August 24

Before I went forth into the streets and highways, I sent, after my custom, to borrow the church. The minister (one of the better disposed) sent back a civil message; would be glad to drink a glass of wine with me, but durst not lend me his pulpit for fifty guineas.

Mr. Whitefield durst lend me his field,<sup>30</sup> which [1:229] did just as well. For near an hour and [a] half God gave me voice and strength to exhort about two thousand sinners to repent and believe the gospel.<sup>31</sup> My voice and strength failed together; neither do I want them when my work is done. Being invited to Painswick,<sup>32</sup> I waited upon the Lord and renewed my strength. We found near one thousand gathered in the street. I have but one subject, on which I discoursed from 2 Cor. 5:19, “God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself.” I besought them earnestly to be reconciled, and the rebels seemed inclinable to lay down their arms. A young Presbyterian teacher clave to us.

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<sup>29</sup>Frances Seward (1732–66).

<sup>30</sup>Likely Richard Whitefield (b. 1708), brother of George, who had taken over control of the Bell Inn in Gloucester after his father’s death.

<sup>31</sup>His sermon on Mark 1:15.

<sup>32</sup>Painswick, Gloucestershire; 3 miles northeast of Stroud.

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I received fresh strength to expound the Good Samaritan<sup>33</sup> at a public house, which was full above stairs and below.

**Saturday, August 25.** I showed them in the street that to them and to their children was the promise made.<sup>34</sup> Some are, I trust, on the point of receiving it. Three clergymen attended.

Prayed by a young woman, afraid of death because it had not lost its sting.<sup>35</sup> I showed her the promise was to those that are afar off,<sup>36</sup> even *before* they actually receive it, if they can but trust that they *shall* receive it. This revived her much, and we left her patiently waiting for the salvation of God.

At 9:00 I exhorted and prayed with an house full of sincere souls, and took my leave, recommended by their affectionate prayers to the grace of God.

At Gloucester received an invitation from F[riend?] Drummond. Dined with her and several of the Friends, particularly Josiah Martin, a spiritual man, as far as I can discern.<sup>37</sup> My heart was enlarged, and knit to them in love.

I went to the field at 5:00. An old intimate acquaintance (Mrs. Kirkham<sup>38</sup>) stood in my [1:230] way, and challenged me, “What, Mr. Wesley, is it you I see? Is it possible that you who can preach at Christ Church, St. Mary’s,<sup>39</sup> etc., should come hither after a mob?” I cut her short with, “The work which my Master giveth me, must I not do it?” and went to my mob, or (to put it in the Pharisees’ phrase) this people which is accursed.<sup>40</sup> Thousands heard me gladly, while I told them their privilege of the Holy Ghost, the Comforter,<sup>41</sup> and exhorted them to come for him to Christ as poor lost sinners. I continued my discourse till night.

Randwick<sup>42</sup>  
August 26

The minister here lent me his pulpit. I stood at the window (which was taken down), and turned to the larger congregation of above two thousand in the churchyard.

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<sup>33</sup>Luke 10:29–37.

<sup>34</sup>See Acts 2:39.

<sup>35</sup>See 1 Cor. 15:55–56.

<sup>36</sup>See Acts 2:39.

<sup>37</sup>Josiah Martin (1683–1747), author of *A Letter from one of the People called Quakers to Francis De Voltaire, occasioned by his Remarks on that People in his Letters concerning the English Nation* (London: Raylton and Hinde, 1741).

<sup>38</sup>Damaris (Boyse) Kirkham (b. 1677), the mother of his former student, Robert Kirkham.

<sup>39</sup>Christ Church cathedral and St. Mary’s church, both in Oxford.

<sup>40</sup>See John 7:49.

<sup>41</sup>I.e., his sermon on John 16:7–11.

<sup>42</sup>Randwick, Gloucestershire, just north of Ebley, and about 7 miles from Gloucester (as JW notes in his *Journal*, Oct. 7, 1739, *Works*, 19:102). CW spells “Runwick.”

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They appeared greedy to hear, while I testified, “God so loved the world, that he gave his only-begotten Son . . .”<sup>43</sup> These are, I think, more noble than those at Evesham.

After the sermon a woman came to me who had received faith in hearing Mr. Whitefield. She was terrified at having lost her comfort. I explained to her that wilderness state into which the believer is *generally* led by the Spirit to be tempted, as soon as he is baptized by the Holy Ghost. This confirmed her in a patient looking for his return whom her soul loveth.

We dined at Mr. Ellis’s of Ebley.<sup>44</sup> Met our brother Ellis,<sup>45</sup> who has the blessing of believing parents, two sisters awakened; one only brother continues an abandoned prodigal.

In the afternoon I preached again to a Kennington congregation.<sup>46</sup> The church was full as it could crowd. Thousands stood in the churchyard. It was the most beautiful sight I ever beheld. The people filled the gradually rising area, which was shut up on three sides by a vast perpendicular hill. On the [1:231] top and bottom of this hill was a circular row of trees. In this amphitheatre they stood, deeply attentive, while I called upon them in Christ’s words, “Come unto me, all that are weary.”<sup>47</sup> The tears of many testified that they were ready to enter into that rest. God enabled me to lift up my voice like a trumpet, so that all distinctly heard me. I concluded with singing an Invitation to Sinners.<sup>48</sup>

It was with difficulty we made our way through this most loving people, and returned amidst their prayers and blessings to Ebley. Here I expounded the second lesson for two hours,<sup>49</sup> and received strength and faith to plead the promise of the Father. A good old Baptist pressed me to preach at Stanley<sup>50</sup> in my way to Bristol.

**Monday, August 27.** Accordingly I set out at 7:00. The sky was overcast, and the prince of the power of the air<sup>51</sup> wetted us to the skin. This, I thought, portended good. We could not stay

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<sup>43</sup>John 3:16.

<sup>44</sup>Apparently John Ellis, converted by JW while visiting Bristol Apr. 17, 1739; see JW to James Hutton, Apr. 21–26, 1739, *Works*, 25:636. Ebley, Gloucestershire, 2 miles west of Stroud. CW spells “Ebly.”

<sup>45</sup>Joseph Ellis, a member of the men’s band in Bristol; see JW to James Hutton, Apr. 21–26, 1739, *Works*, 25:636.

<sup>46</sup>CW is speaking metaphorically here, implying that the congregation was as large as those that gathered in Kennington Common in London.

<sup>47</sup>Matt. 11:28.

<sup>48</sup>See note for Feb. 14, 1739 entry.

<sup>49</sup>The assigned lesson was 2 Kings 23.

<sup>50</sup>I.e., King’s Stanley, Gloucestershire. JW found a ready audience there a month later; cf. *Journal*, Oct. 7, 1739, *Works*, 19:102.

<sup>51</sup>See Eph. 2:2.

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to dry ourselves, there being, contrary to our expectation, a company of near one thousand waiting. I preached from a table (having been first denied the pulpit), upon, “Repent, and believe the gospel.”<sup>52</sup> The hearers seemed so much affected that I appointed them to meet me again in the evening. The minister was of my audience.<sup>53</sup>

Rode back to Ebley, and was informed by brother [Francis] Okeley<sup>54</sup> that he had fastened upon the poor prodigal and spoke to his heart. His convictions were heightened by the sermon. We prayed and sang alternately, till faith came. God blew with his wind, and the waters flowed. He struck the hard rock, and the waters gushed out.<sup>55</sup> And the poor sinner, with joy and astonishment, believed the Son of God loved him, and gave himself for him. Sing, ye heavens, for the Lord hath done it; shout, ye lower parts of the earth!<sup>56</sup>

In the morning I had told his mother the story of St. Augustine’s conversion. Now I carried her the joyful news, “This thy son was dead, and is [1:232] alive again.”<sup>57</sup>

Expounded at a gentlewoman’s house in my way to Stanley, but could hardly speak through my cold. Went forth in faith and preached under a large elm tree on the Prodigal Son;<sup>58</sup> and returned to Ebley rejoicing, where I expounded the woman of Samaria.<sup>59</sup>

On **Tuesday evening, August 28**, I accompanied my brother to the preaching room, in the Horsefair, Bristol.<sup>60</sup> A drunken Quaker (Benjamin Rutter) made a great disturbance by bawling out for his wife.<sup>61</sup> Some of the brethren hardly saved him from the mob.

**Wednesday, August 29.** At six o’clock, prayers with a large company of our brethren and sisters, who have learned of Christ to come to the temple early in the morning.<sup>62</sup> None of them as yet think of it part of their Christian liberty to forsake the means of grace.

Spent the day with my brother in visiting several of the society.

**Thursday, August 30.** My brother expounded and took leave of them. His short absence cost them many tears.

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<sup>52</sup>Mark 1:15.

<sup>53</sup>Rev. Kinard Baghott was currently rector of King’s Stanley.

<sup>54</sup>Surely Francis, since John Okeley had left for Germany. The “prodigal” was the brother of John and Joseph Ellis.

<sup>55</sup>See Exod. 17:6.

<sup>56</sup>See Isa. 44:23.

<sup>57</sup>Luke 15:24.

<sup>58</sup>Luke 15:11–32.

<sup>59</sup>John 4.

<sup>60</sup>The meeting room JW had just built for Methodist gatherings in central Bristol. CW repeatedly refers to it as “the Room” in subsequent entries.

<sup>61</sup>Benjamin Rutter (d. 1768), a bellows maker, went bankrupt in 1742; see *Gentleman’s Magazine*, June 1742. His wife’s name was Jane (d. 1749).

<sup>62</sup>See Luke 21:38.

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**Friday, August 31.** Entered upon my ministry at Weavers' Hall,<sup>63</sup> and began expounding Isaiah with much freedom and power. They were melted into tears all around. So again at 1:00, when the bands met to keep the church fast. We were all of one heart and of one mind. I was much carried out in pleading the promises, forgot the contradiction wherewith they grieved my spirit at London.<sup>64</sup> Fell all at once into the strictest intimacy with these delightful souls, and could not forbear saying, "It is good for me to be here."<sup>65</sup>

I spoke to the poor colliers on "The blind receive their sight, the lame walk ...."<sup>66</sup> Then began the gospel at Gloucester Lane,<sup>67</sup> and preached with power on "Thou shalt call his name Jesus, for ...."<sup>68</sup> I went home to Mrs. Grevil's,<sup>69</sup> stronger in body than when I rose.

**September 1739**

**Saturday, September 1.** At 5:00 preached for the first time at the Bowling Green, in the heart of the city, [1:233] and called all the weary and heavy-laden to Christ.<sup>1</sup> None offered to go away, though it rained hard. The power of the Lord was in the midst, which forced one woman to cry out vehemently.

Began the [Book of] Romans at Weavers' Hall. The hearers appeared deeply affected.

**Sunday, September 2.** There was supposed to be above 4,000 at the Bowling Green. My subject was, "To you and to your children is the promise made."<sup>2</sup> Many experienced the great power of truth.

Received the sacrament at St. Nicholas.<sup>3</sup> Dined at Mrs. Nichols's, full of faith and love.<sup>4</sup> Prayed by Mr. Colston, desirous to be with Christ.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>63</sup>Weavers' Hall, in the Temple Meads section of Bristol, became another regular preaching point for CW and JW.

<sup>64</sup>See the dialogue with passages in Isaiah during his evangelical renewal above; May 12, 21–22, 25, 28, 1738.

<sup>65</sup>See Matt. 17:4.

<sup>66</sup>Matt. 11:5ff.

<sup>67</sup>A society meeting was held here; see JW, *Journal*, Apr. 1, 1739, *Works*, 19:46.

<sup>68</sup>Matt. 1:21.

<sup>69</sup>Elizabeth (Whitefield) Grevil (b. 1713), recently widowed sister of George Whitefield.

<sup>1</sup>See Matt. 11:28.

<sup>2</sup>Acts 2:39.

<sup>3</sup>St. Nicholas's church, in central Bristol near the River Avon.

<sup>4</sup>Likely Ann (Barnes) Nichols (b. 1671), the mother of Charles Nichols (see Sept. 24).

<sup>5</sup>Joseph Colston (1713–81) of Bristol, a well-to-do haberdasher, who married Elizabeth Sansome in 1732. His sister Sarah (1716–67) was active in the Bristol society between 1745 and her death—see Sarah Colston to JW, June 6, 1745; and the list of the Wednesday evening band in Bristol in CW, MS Spencer. CW spells "Coulston."

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Preached at Rose Green,<sup>6</sup> to near 5,000 souls, upon, “God so loved the world.”<sup>7</sup> They heard me patiently, and some gladly. Quite spent by the time I got to Weavers’ Hall. The scoffers gave me new life. For two hours I preached the law, and then was fresh for the lovefeast. We could not depart before 11:00.

**Monday, September 3.** Had some discourse with a gentleman who had been offended at the cryings out. My sermon upon the Holy Ghost had been blessed to his conviction, and stripped him of his outside Christianity. Found Weavers’ Hall as full as it could hold, proceeded in Isaiah.

Dined with the gentleman above mentioned, and spoke fully and strongly of the things of the kingdom. Then read him my own case.<sup>8</sup> He laid down his arms, confessed he knew nothing yet as he ought to know, and is now looking for that faith which is the gift of God.

Preached at the brickyard to upwards of 5,000, from 1 Corinthians 6:9.<sup>9</sup> I marvelled at their taking it so patiently when I showed them they were all adulterers, thieves, idolaters, etc. Then expounded John 1 in Gloucester Lane, with demonstration of the Spirit.

Spent a delightful hour in prayer with a band, and were all melted into a sense of our deep poverty. [1:234]

**Tuesday, September 4.** I talked with poor despairing Lucretia.<sup>10</sup> Never did I find greater faith in pleading the promises for anyone—yet no answer, which convinces me that it [is] good for the choicest of God’s children to receive (and that for a long time) the sentence of death in themselves. I have not found such depth of distress; no, not in Hetty Delamotte.

At 4:00 I preached over against the school in Kingswood to some thousands (colliers chiefly), and held out the promises from Isaiah 35: “The wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad for them and the desert shall rejoice, and blossom as a rose.”<sup>11</sup> I triumphed in God’s mercy to these poor outcasts (for he hath called them a people who were not a people<sup>12</sup>), and in the accomplishment of that scripture, “Then the eyes of the blind shall be opened, and the ears of the deaf shall be unstopped. Then shall the lame man leap as an hart, and the tongue of the dumb sing, for in the wilderness shall water break out, and streams in the desert.”<sup>13</sup> O how gladly do the poor receive the gospel! We hardly knew how to part.

Just as I began in Weavers’ Hall the devil set up his throat in Benjamin Rutter. I took that occasion to convince the hearers of sin, of the very sin of that poor reprobate. The chapter

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<sup>6</sup>A park in northeast Bristol, near Fishponds.

<sup>7</sup>John 3:16.

<sup>8</sup>That is, CW’s account of his Pentecost experience in his manuscript journal.

<sup>9</sup>A brickyard on St. Philip’s Plain, owned by John Norman (d. 1744); he allowed both JW and CW to preach there.

<sup>10</sup>A Quaker gentlewoman of Bristol, Lucretia Smith was converted by JW and baptized in Apr. 1738; see JW, *Journal* (Apr. 18, 1739), *Works*, 19:49–50.

<sup>11</sup>Isa. 35:1.

<sup>12</sup>See Hosea 2:23.

<sup>13</sup>Isa. 35:6; see his hymn on the passage written at the time: *HSP* (1740), 107–10.

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expounded was Romans 2. To God be all the glory that I spoke convincingly.

**Wednesday, September 5.** I was much discouraged by a farther discovery of the disorderly walking of some, who have given the adversary occasion to blaspheme by their rioting and their drunkenness. I am a poor creature on such occasions, being soon cast down, as in the case of Shaw and the prophetess.<sup>14</sup> Yet I went and talked with them. God filled me with such love to their souls as I have not known before. They could not stand before it. I joined with [Francis] Okeley and [John] Cennick in prayer for them. M—— trembled exceedingly. The others gave us great cause to hope for their recovery. [1:235]

The same power continued with me at the women's society, whom I reprov'd in love and simplicity for their lightness, dress, self-indulgence. I then exhorted the men to self-denial and a constant use of the means [of grace] *as* means. God greatly enlarged our hearts in prayer.

**Thursday, September 6.** Had my gentleman (now a little child) to breakfast, and surprised him much by Isaiah's promises. I dined at Mrs. Ayers's, "sick of desire, if not of love."<sup>15</sup> Rode with Deschamps to Publow,<sup>16</sup> where I preached from, "God so loved the world."<sup>17</sup> Spoke with boldness at night on my favourite subject, justification by faith only,<sup>18</sup> and triumphed in the irresistible force of that everlasting truth.

**Friday, September 7.** At Weavers' Hall expounded Isaiah 3, where the prophet alike condemns notorious profligates, worldly-minded men, and well-dressed ladies.

God was with us in our meeting to keep the fast. I went to see one in her last agony, but throughly sensible of her dreadful condition. Preached Christ to her, and prayed in faith. She showed all imaginable signs of eager desire, and died within an hour. How comfortable it is that I can now hope for her, so often as I have disputed the possibility of a death-bed repentance!

The house and yards of sister England were crowded as usual.<sup>19</sup> The scripture from which I discoursed was John 1. God was with my mouth. I preached and prayed believing. I was led to ask a sign of God's universal love. He always answers that prayer. A poor ignorant man stood up, as God's witness, that in Christ he had redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of his sins; that he knew and felt it [1:236] by such a love to every human soul, as he was hardly able to bear. He spoke with a simplicity which was irresistible. We all confessed that God was with him of a truth. Our prayers were answered on Mrs. Ayers likewise, which she testified before us all.

**Saturday, September 8.** Two women came to me who had received the atonement last night, while the man was speaking, and were filled with unknown love to all mankind.

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<sup>14</sup>See the June 12, 1739 entry.

<sup>15</sup>CW, "Longing After Christ," st. 3, *HSP* (1740), 62.

<sup>16</sup>John Deschamps (b. 1704) was in the married men's band in Bristol in 1741; see *Bristol Bands* (1741), and *WHS* 19 (1934): 164.

<sup>17</sup>John 3:16.

<sup>18</sup>His sermon on Rom. 3:23–24.

<sup>19</sup>Rachel England (d. 1755) was one of the initial women members of a band in Bristol; cf. JW to James Hutton, Apr. 16, 1739, *Works*, 25:631.

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We observed the thanksgiving day at Mrs. England's, and found the benefit of joint prayers and praises.

At the Bowling Green I prayed God to direct me what to preach upon, and opened on Ezekiel's vision of the dry bones: "So I prophesied as I was commanded, and as I prophesied, there was a noise, and, behold, a shaking!"<sup>20</sup> The breath of God attended his word. A man sunk down under it. A woman screamed for mercy, so as to drown my voice. Never did I see the like power among us. Coming home, I met Mrs. Skinner, who told me she had found Christ at the expounding last Monday, and went home full of melting joy and love.

At the Room I preached from Romans 4. God set to his seal. A woman testified she had then received the witnessing Spirit; was sure her sins were forgiven; full of love and joy in the Holy Ghost; knew Christ was hers; and could even, as she said, fly away to heaven.

Another declared she had never been able to apply the promises till last night, but then received the power; knew Christ died for her. Said she had laboured many years to justify herself and warned us earnestly not to do as she had done; not to mingle our own works with the blood of Christ. [1:237]

**Sunday, September 9.** At the Bowling Green, preached on "When he is come, he shall convince the world of sin and of righteousness . . ." <sup>21</sup> The Green was quite full. I never spoke more searchingly. I would have passed on to the second office of the Spirit, convincing of righteousness, but was again and again brought back, and constrained to dwell upon the law. As often as I returned, some pharisees quitted the field, feeling the sharpness of the two-edged sword.<sup>22</sup>

Two thousand at Rose Green stood patient in the rain while I explained how the Spirit convinces of righteousness and of judgment.<sup>23</sup> After sermon, a poor collier afforded me matter of rejoicing (his wife received the atonement some days before). He had been with me before. Owned he was the wickedest fellow alive a month ago, but now finds no rest in his flesh by reason of his sin. Observing him much dejected yesterday at the thanksgiving, I asked him if he was sick. "No, no," he answered, "my sickness is of my soul." Here he informed me he had come home with such a weight upon him that he was ready to sink. It continued all night, but joy and deliverance came in the morning. He was lightened of his load, and now declared that he believed in Jesus.

The Room was excessively crowded. I spoke to their hearts from Romans 5. Two who had been scoffing desired our prayers for them. For between two and three hours God strengthened me for his work.

**Monday, September 10.** At the [Weavers'] Hall, while I was expounding Isaiah 4,<sup>24</sup> a man perceived his filth purged away by the Spirit of judgment and burning. Sarah Norton, a Presbyterian, followed me home under strong convictions. [1:238] We prayed and trembled

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<sup>20</sup>Ezek. 37:7.

<sup>21</sup>John 16:8ff.

<sup>22</sup>See Heb. 4:12.

<sup>23</sup>John 16:8ff.

<sup>24</sup>See CW's hymn on Isaiah 4 from the same period: *HSP* (1742), 187–89.



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before the face of God. She is not far from the kingdom of heaven. Two simple souls, Mary Fry and Jane Clancy,<sup>25</sup> now informed me that God filled them on Friday evening with love and joy unspeakable. They expressed so much of it, and have been so tempted since, that I could not doubt of their being accepted.

Conversed and prayed with Mrs. Hooper.<sup>26</sup> I have a good hope that the Sun of righteousness is risen upon her, with healing in his wings.<sup>27</sup>

Preached in the brickyard, where I think there could not be less than 4,000. It rained hard, yet none stirred. I spoke with great freedom and power. A woman cried out, and dropped down. I spoke to her at Mrs. Norman's,<sup>28</sup> and found she had sunk under the weight of sin.

At Gloucester Lane I discoursed two hours on John 3. A notorious drunkard gave glory to God, declaring he had found mercy last night, through faith in Jesus Christ. This stirred the pharisee in a woman's soul, and she cried out against him most vehemently. I took and turned her inside out, and showed her her spirit in those who murmured at Christ for receiving sinners. A woman of a broken spirit testified she had found redemption through his blood, when I preached last at Baptist Mills. We daily discover more and more who are begotten again by the word of God's power, or awakened to a sense of sin, or edified in the faith.

**Tuesday, September 11.** Took horse with [John] Deschamps and Wigginton.<sup>29</sup> The wind and rain almost confounded us. Got to Bradford[-on-Avon] by noon. Many were gone away, despairing of my coming. However, I found upward of a thousand, whom I called upon to repent, and believe the gospel.<sup>30</sup> [1:239] I was forced to exert my voice to the utmost. They appeared much affected, especially a young woman and a very old man, who wept all the time like children.

We dined at Freshford in our return. I could scarce sit my horse, the wind and rain were so troublesome. Got, almost senseless, to Bristol, and to the Room, but could not stand. Yet spoke, I know not how, for an hour, and hastened to bed, utterly exhausted.

The pharisee who protested last night against Christ's receiving sinners sent tonight to desire our prayers, being in an agony of conviction. Some have since informed me that they observed her turn pale while I spoke. Her soul and body sympathize now. The Lord show himself the physician of both!

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<sup>25</sup>CW spells "Clansy."

<sup>26</sup>Elizabeth (Brown) Hooper and her husband John (a maltster) lived in Old Market Street, Bristol and were members of the society. When CW got sick in Aug. 1740, he was nursed back to health at their house; and on her death in May 1741 he led in singing a hymn he had written for the occasion (see below, May 8, 1741).

<sup>27</sup>See Mal. 4:2.

<sup>28</sup>Mary (Oxford) Norman (1695–1779), wife of John Norman (d. 1744), who owned the brickyard where JW and CW preached.

<sup>29</sup>Ebenezer Wigginton (d. 1745), head of a significant Quaker family in Bristol, whom CW would baptize on Oct. 26.

<sup>30</sup>Mark 1:15.

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The woman, I have just heard, whose soul and spirit were pierced and divided asunder last Sunday, was a stranger, wholly unawakened till that moment—an opposer, say some, and little better than an atheist. When they rebuked her that she should hold her peace, her answer was, “I am not mad, or out of my senses. But I must cry, and I will cry to Christ for mercy while I have any breath in me.”

**Wednesday, September 12.** Rose half dead with the headache. I breakfasted at Mr. Page’s,<sup>31</sup> but could neither lift up my head nor speak. Went to a friend’s, where I met poor Mr. W—n, a sweet youth. I was much concerned for him. I cannot doubt his sincerity, or despair of his return. He was ready to hear, childlike and teachable, convinced of his fall. He thanked, and I believe loves, me. The world have taken the alarm, that he designs to desert them a second time.

This conference abated my headache. Expounding at the Hall gave me more strength.<sup>32</sup> After talking two hours with the poor people [1:240] that came to me, and preaching at Baptist Mills, I was perfectly well.

**Thursday, September 13.** Breakfasted at Mrs. Davis’s,<sup>33</sup> a genius child of God, and stayed till noon, transcribing Isaiah.<sup>34</sup> Providence threw me on Mr. W—n, just as he was leaving Bristol. He cannot long hold out without an alteration; is himself sensible of it, and the promises are not fulfilled in him; but trusts they shall before he goes hence. I have great love and faith for him.

Many were convinced at the Room this evening, by my exposition of Romans 7.

**Friday, September 14.** Talked with two more women who lately received peace through my ministry. In the evening, while I was expounding the woman of Samaria,<sup>35</sup> Christ called forth two of his witnesses, who declared they now believed because they had heard him of his own mouth.

**Saturday, September 15.** Having been provoked to speak unadvisedly with my lips, I preached on the Bowling Green in great weakness on “Lazarus, come forth!”<sup>36</sup> Was surprised

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<sup>31</sup>Apparently Henry Page, a Presbyterian with whom JW met on occasion; see JW, diary, May 8, 1740, *Works*, 19:419.

<sup>32</sup>This is likely when Sarah Pearce heard CW preach on “He justifieth the ungodly” (Rom. 4:5). Ann Chapman describes: “In the progress of this discourse he showed who where the ungodly, and so exactly described her case that she seemed to herself the only person pointed at, and the vilest sinner upon earth. He lastly enlarged on that word ‘He justifieth,’ showing the only ground of acceptance with the Father, the sufficiency of the atoning sacrifice and mediating office of Jesus Christ as procuring pardon and peace for the guilty and ungodly. It was then she was enabled to venture her soul upon him, and then indeed experience that truth.” See Ann Chapman to CW, c. Oct. 25, 1773 (MARC, DDCW 6/87a/2).

<sup>33</sup>This is most likely Elizabeth Davis (d. 1741), who was hosting a Bristol band meeting in her home at this time; see JW to James Hutton, Apr. 16, 1739, *Works*, 25:632.

<sup>34</sup>CW was likely transcribing several hymns he had composed on Isaiah, that would be published in *HSP* (1740), 1–6, 107–10, 165–67, 200–04.

<sup>35</sup>John 4.

<sup>36</sup>John 11:43.

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that any good should be done, but God quickens others by those who are dead themselves. A man came to me and declared he had now received the Spirit of life. So did a woman at the same time, which she openly confessed at Weavers' Hall. We had great power among us, while I displayed the believer's privileges from Romans 8. Another woman then stood forth and testified, "I have the witness of God's Spirit with my spirit, that I am a child of God." It was a most triumphant night indeed.

**Sunday, September 16.** Took coach at 6:00 with Mr. and Mrs. Wigginton,<sup>37</sup> Lucretia Smith, and Mrs. [Elizabeth] Grevil, for Hanham Mount.<sup>38</sup> I expounded the Good Samaritan<sup>39</sup> to between three and four thousand, with power. While I was repeating that in Jeremiah, "Is not my word like a fire, saith the Lord, and [1:241] like a hammer that breaketh the rock in pieces?"<sup>40</sup> a woman fell down under the stroke of it. I found afterwards that the good Samaritan had poured in his oil and made her whole. Another declared he had then bound up her wounds also. I heard on all sides the sighing of them that were in captivity, and trust more than I know of were set at liberty, for the Lord was among us of a truth.

Met between thirty and forty colliers with their wives at Mr. Willis's, and administered the sacrament to them.<sup>41</sup> But found no comfort myself, in that or any ordinance. I always find strength for the work of the ministry. But when my work is over, my strength, both bodily and spiritual, leaves me. I can pray for others, not for myself. God by me strengthens the weak hands, and confirms the feeble knees, yet am I myself as a man in whom is no strength. I am weary and faint in my mind, longing continually to be discharged.

Today I found power to pray for myself. Confessed it good for me to be in desertion, and asked God to give me (if it was not tempting him) a sign from his word. The answer was from Isaiah 54:7, "For a small moment have I forsaken thee, but with great mercies will I gather thee. In a little wrath I hid my face from thee for a moment, but with everlasting kindness will I have mercy on thee, saith the Lord thy Redeemer."

At 2:00 I preached in the Bowling Green, by computation, to 6,000 people. Before I began, and after, the enemy raged exceedingly. A troop of his children, soldiers and polite gentlemen, had taken possession of a corner of the Green, and roared like their brethren the two Gergesenes, before the devils were sent into the civiler swine.<sup>42</sup> They [1:242] provoked the spirit of jealousy to lift up a standard against them. I never felt such a power before, and promised the people that they should feel it too. For I saw God had a great work to do among us by Satan's opposition. I lifted up my voice like a trumpet, and in a few minutes drove him out of the field.

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<sup>37</sup>Ebenezer (d. 1745) and Ann (Bundy) Wigginton (d. 1757). See CW's hymn on the occasion of her death in *Funeral Hymns* (1759), 31–34.

<sup>38</sup>Hanham Mount, Gloucestershire; meadow on small hill 4 miles east of Bristol. CW spells "Hannum."

<sup>39</sup>Luke 10:29–37.

<sup>40</sup>Jer. 23:29.

<sup>41</sup>Thomas Willis owned a coal mine in Hanham, about 4 miles east of Bristol city center.

<sup>42</sup>See Matt. 8:28.

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For above an hour I preached the gospel with extraordinary power, from blind Bartemeus,<sup>43</sup> and am confident it could not fall to the ground.

**Monday, September 17.** This morning a woman received pardon through the word. The rain eased as I began, and began again as I left off.

Expounded the Prodigal Son<sup>44</sup> near the brickyard. Many, I hope, saw themselves. They come to me daily, who have found Christ, or rather are found by him, so that I lose count of them.

This afternoon I conferred with Thomas Tucker and Elisabeth Shirdock, both clearly justified.<sup>45</sup> Matthew Davis, a notorious drunkard, etc., till last Saturday was sennight,<sup>46</sup> came then to the Green and was justified in a moment. John Lewis was filled with joy last night.<sup>47</sup> Prudence Nichols knows that her Redeemer liveth. Several who had lost their peace are daily brought out of darkness, as was a woman this evening at Gloucester Lane. Another, while I was discoursing from John 5, received forgiveness, and testified it before us all. I did expect great things, for I was utterly exhausted *before* I began. “When I am weak, then I am strong”<sup>48</sup>—for others, not myself. After preaching, the messenger of Satan came. He seldom fails me after success. But God, I knew, will avenge me of mine adversary.

**Tuesday, September 18.** Gave the sacrament to a dying woman, who triumphed over death, disarmed of his sting.<sup>49</sup> Preached to above 2,000 over against the [Kingswood] schoolhouse, and pressed them [1:243] to come to Christ weary and heavy laden.<sup>50</sup> Finished Romans 8 at Weavers’ Hall, which is always crowded within and without. Mr. [Benjamin] Rutter attempted to raise a disturbance, but none regarded him. Mrs. Labee<sup>51</sup> followed me to Mrs. Grevil’s, with a young gentlewoman, to whom the word had come with power. Upon Mr. [Francis] Okeley’s speaking to her the first serious word she had ever heard, she asked if the gentleman was not crazy. But now in the same hour God slew and revived her. She felt and made confession of her faith, being full of astonishment and love.

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<sup>43</sup>Mark 10: 46–52.

<sup>44</sup>Luke 15:11–32.

<sup>45</sup>Beginning with Tucker and Shirdock, CW underlines several names as he lists people helped by his ministry. But this practice is uneven and no clear reason for including or excluding those underlined has been discerned. We have opted to use standard font for all names.

<sup>46</sup>“Sennight” is a contraction of “seven-night.” Thus, the transformation took place “a week ago last Saturday.”

<sup>47</sup>A John Lewis is listed in the band for single men on Bristol Bands (1741).

<sup>48</sup>2 Cor. 12:10.

<sup>49</sup>See 1 Cor. 15:55–56.

<sup>50</sup>Matt. 11:28.

<sup>51</sup>Francis Labee (d. 1755) was a surgeon/midwife in Bristol. He and his wife Sarah appear repeatedly in JW’s diary from Apr. 1739 through June 1741. JW spells the name “Labbè.” CW spells “Labu” on this occasion.

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**Wednesday, September 19.** I breakfasted at Mrs. Labee's. The roaring lion had tried to tear her to pieces,<sup>52</sup> setting before her her sin (harmlessness) in all its aggravations, and persuading her she was lost, were it only for her telling me her sins were forgiven. She raised the family, not daring to be alone, and continued all night offering up prayers and supplications, with strong crying and tears, to him that was able to save. Toward morning she was heard in that she feared, fell into a slumber, and waked in perfect peace. I spent an hour with her. She could do nothing but cry, and wonder, and rejoice.

At the Hall a poor man bore a noble testimony, that God had shed abroad his love in his heart last night, so that "I waked," said he, "this morning full of heaven." Another in the afternoon, formerly a papist, declared himself set at liberty after he had been hearing me expound. Ann Bladworth likewise informs me, that she has clear and strong evidence of her acceptance, ever since Sunday night.

Preached at Baptist Mills, on "The Son of man hath power to forgive sins upon earth."<sup>53</sup> I found him with my mouth, and [1:244] knew he would set to his seal. Had great power in preaching, and greater in prayer. A woman sunk down with groaning that could not be uttered. I had not time to stay with her, but hastened to pray by Sally Murray, who lay a-dying and triumphing over death.<sup>54</sup> I *felt* her spirit, and longed to be in her place.

Weak, spiritless, dead, among the men bands, I wanted to get away without speaking or praying, because they were all as dead, it seemed, as I. Overruled to stay and pray, and had the spirit of prayer as never before. We were all in a flame, prayed again and again, not knowing how to part.

**Thursday, September 20.** Was glad to be interrupted by Anne Clayton, who tells me that on Tuesday night, after expounding, she had had Jesus Christ evidently set forth before her eyes (of faith), as crucified.<sup>55</sup> This lasted from 10:00 to 12:00. At the same time, she saw herself inconceivably vile, and was filled with love and confidence of *her* Saviour. In that evening it was, that a man declared he had been seeking righteousness fourteen years, as it were by the works of the law, but never attained to it; and was now in despair of ever attaining it, unless by faith. One of the bands testified, "I feel the Spirit of Christ in me, continually springing up into everlasting life."

At the Hall explained Romans 9. Through mercy we could none of us see aught of *the horrible decree* there,<sup>56</sup> but only his justice in rejecting them who had first rejected him. Christ the saviour of all men was in the midst of us. Two of his witnesses set to their seal, having received forgiveness yesterday at the Mills.

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<sup>52</sup>See 1 Pet. 5:8.

<sup>53</sup>Matt. 9:6.

<sup>54</sup>Apparently the 13 year-old girl mentioned in JW to James Hutton, July 2, 1739, *Works*, 25:665.

<sup>55</sup>See Gal. 3:1.

<sup>56</sup>That is, the decree of unconditional reprobation.

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**Friday, September 21.** Appointed any who had been reconciled through my ministry to call upon me after expounding. Among others there came Daniel Morris,<sup>57</sup> a gross sinner, till God [1:245] awakened him by George Whitefield. On Saturday in the Bowling Green, faith came by hearing. “I was filled with joy,” said he, “above what tongue can express. Went home leaping and rejoicing – know my sins are forgiven – hate them worse than death – love every man, and particularly those who make a scoff at me.”

Anne Cole declares that Monday was seven-night,<sup>58</sup> at Mrs. [Rachel] England’s, she was filled at once with inexpressible peace and comfort, “so that now I know I am forgiven. All my doubts and fears are vanished, and I could rejoice to die this moment.”

John Quick was set at liberty from sin after many years of Egyptian bondage.

Elisabeth Parsons, while I was preaching at Baptist Mills that forgiveness is a present grace, experienced it such. “You said we must have our sins forgiven here, or not at all; upon which, I thought I have not forgiveness now, but believe God can, and will, give it me. Immediately I was as sure God had pardoned me as if he himself had spoken it to me, and have ever since been full of a comfort and peace which I never knew before.”

Virtuous Whetman, long dead in sin, has now, she tells me, a full confidence that Christ died for her, and finds her whole dependence is on him.

J. T. in a flood of tears, informed me Christ showed himself *her* saviour at that word, “The *harlots* and publicans go into the kingdom of heaven before you.”<sup>59</sup> Such was she till last night, but she is washed, but she is justified! And loves much, because much is forgiven her.

Richard Bourn, while I was speaking last Friday of the brazen serpent, looked up to the antitype, and was healed.<sup>60</sup> The devil raged exceedingly, and tore him with temptations, till Jesus about midnight got himself the victory, and filled his soul with love. All he desires now is to be with Christ. [1:246]

**Friday, September 21.**<sup>61</sup> We had much of God with us in our general intercession. From Gloucester Lane I went to Mrs. [Sarah] Labee, and met with John Wilder’s sermon.<sup>62</sup> While we were reading the blind man’s protestation against colours (that is, the natural man’s against any sensible operations of the Holy Ghost), Miss Gotley, a girl of fifteen, helped us to a most convincing answer.<sup>63</sup> She burst into tears, fell back in her chair, and discovered the strongest

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<sup>57</sup>Morris, a corkcutter, remained part of band for married men in Bristol Bands (1741); see also, *WHS* 19 (1934): 162.

<sup>58</sup>I.e., “a week ago Monday.”

<sup>59</sup>Matt. 21:31.

<sup>60</sup>See John 3:14.

<sup>61</sup>This repetition of “Friday, September 21,” comes at the turn of a page in the MS.

<sup>62</sup>John Wilder (1680–1742), *The Trial of the Spirits; or, A Caution Against Enthusiasm or Religious Delusion* (Oxford: Sheldonian Theatre, 1739). Wilder was rector of St. Aldate’s in Oxford. CW spelled his name “Wildair.”

<sup>63</sup>Apparently Rachel Gotley; see JW, diary, May 17, 1739, *Works*, 19:389. CW spells “Godly.”

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emotion of soul—but such as might well proceed from the God of order. I thought it was the accuser of the brethren troubled her. Inquired, but could not get an answer. We were greatly assisted in prayer for her. She took no notice till about half an hour after, when she waked, as out of a pleasant dream, and asked, “Where am I? Where have I been? I returned her question, “Where have you been?” and she answered with loving simplicity, “In heaven, I think.” Her every word, and sigh, and tear, evidenced the truth of what she told me, that it was grievous to her, after such communion with God, to find she must continue longer in the body.

**Saturday, September 22.** Esther Brook called and told me she had been awakened (as others who now believe) by George Whitefield’s ministry; convinced of sin by Mr. [John] Bray’s; set at liberty under mine. That she believed in general while I repeated those words “The promise is to all that are afar off,”<sup>64</sup> and had them strongly applied while hearing me at Baptist Mills. In a moment she was assured that all her sins were forgiven, and filled with such joy that she could scarce live under it. It quite overpowered her body for two days. “But now, methinks,” said she, “all the Scripture was written for me.” Asked whether she was afraid to die. A visible joy in her face gave me the answer, which her tongue confirmed. Was I in her state, I should desire nothing so much as death. [1:247]

In the afternoon spoke a word of caution to one who seems strong in the faith, and begins to be lifted up—the sure effect of her growing acquaintance with some of Calvin’s followers.

In the Bowling Green showed the nature and life of faith from Gal. 2:20; and then justification by faith alone,<sup>65</sup> at the Hall. Two clergymen were present. I proved from Scripture and our own Church that all were papists, pharisees, antichrists, and accursed who brought any other doctrine. Some of my hearers were forced to turn their backs.

**Sunday, September 23.** Took coach for Hanham. A genteel Quaker was one of the company. Going and coming I laboured to convince her of sin, and spoke more closely than ever I did in my life, yet without convincing. Such power belongeth unto God.

Discoursed from 2 Corinthians 5 to 4,000 sinners, then gave the sacrament at Mr. [Thomas] Willis’s. Among the communicants was Susanna Milsom, who has been oppressed by the devil. I prayed with a dying man beyond Hanham. He was overjoyed to see me; had been awakened by field preaching, but not yet found mercy.

Missed hearing a railing sermon at St. James [church]. Notwithstanding all opposition, we ride on because of the truth. So I found it at the Bowling Green, where I preached from Isaiah 61, “The Spirit of the Lord God is upon me, because the Lord hath anointed me to preach good tidings unto the meek . . .”<sup>66</sup> Near 6,000 heard me, quietly at least. I spoke with uncommon power, especially to the unawakened.

The 11th of Romans led me unawares to speak of final perseverance, whereby some, I would hope, were cut off from their vain confidence.

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<sup>64</sup>Acts 2:39.

<sup>65</sup>Rom. 3:23–24.

<sup>66</sup>See CW’s hymn on this chapter in *HSP* (1749), 1:25–30.

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**Monday, September 24.** Carried out at Weavers' Hall to speak to the blind guides, from Isaiah 29. Several followed me home; particularly Charles Nichols<sup>67</sup> [1:248] and Betty Brown,<sup>68</sup> who were fully satisfied (at the Hall on Thursday night) of their pardon. So was Joseph Mountstevens, at the Bowling Green yesterday—confident, had he died before, he must have gone to hell; but that he should be saved, was he to die now.<sup>69</sup>

Margaret Evans, in heaviness next to despair, found *the* comfort at 11:00 on Friday. The word applied was, "O Lord, our God, other lords besides thee have had dominion over us, but by thee only will we make mention of thy name."<sup>70</sup> The burden, she said, went off in a moment, and she has been full of joy ever since.

Sarah Rutter now informs me, that she first found power to believe while I was explaining Romans 5.<sup>71</sup>

I prayed, in my way to the brickyard, with a poor dying drunkard, who was glad to say, "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord."<sup>72</sup> Whether I did not come too late, God only knows.

Cried from Isaiah 55, "Ho, everyone that thirsteth, come ye to the waters!"<sup>73</sup> Between two and three thousand attended. I found great freedom in speaking to them, who *are* altogether such as I *was*. Had a weary walk to Nicholas Street society, and thence to Mrs. [Rachel] England's, where I discoursed for two hours on John 7.

Here Susanna Milsom made open confession of the faith, which had come to her by hearing yesterday. Her soul is delivered out of the snare of the fowler.<sup>74</sup> God hath avenged her of her adversary, and she now treads upon serpents and scorpions.<sup>75</sup>

**Tuesday, September 25.** Preached at Bradford[-on-Avon] to about 2,000. For an hour and half I described their state by nature and grace in the man that fell among thieves,<sup>76</sup> and I did not spare them that were whole and had no need of a physician.<sup>77</sup> They bore it surprisingly.

Received invitation to several neighbouring towns. May I never run before God's call, or stay one moment after it.

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<sup>67</sup>Charles Nichols (b. 1702), the son of Charles and Ann (Barnes) Nichols, was the husband of Joanna (Bown) Nichols.

<sup>68</sup>See her spiritual biography, written at CW's request in Apr. 1742.

<sup>69</sup>Joseph Mountstevens died in Aug. 1753 in Bristol.

<sup>70</sup>Isa. 26:13.

<sup>71</sup>Sarah Rutter was baptized in Dec. 1718, the daughter of William Rutter. In Aug. 1741 she married George Walker (1718–67).

<sup>72</sup>Mark 11:9.

<sup>73</sup>See his extended hymn on this passage, from this time period: *HSP* (1740), 1–6.

<sup>74</sup>See Ps. 91:3.

<sup>75</sup>See Luke 10:19.

<sup>76</sup>Luke 10:29–37.

<sup>77</sup>See Mark 2:17.



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Dined at a carnal Quaker's, who pleaded [1:249] for a *moderate* pursuit of riches, and I was grieved to find no more of the spirit of religion among those who ought to have the most of it. But the desire of other things disproves their pretensions to the Spirit. "He that drinketh of the water shall thirst no more."<sup>78</sup>

We waited at a good Dissenter's near Bath, who seems to have the root of the matter in him. It was near 8:00 before I reached the Hall. The chapter in course was Romans 12, but I could not press particular duties till they had the foundation, and therefore exhorted them to get forgiveness *before* they could perform the best part of the law. The *brethren* I besought to present their bodies a living sacrifice, and pointed out the part of Acts 2 of this devotion.

**Wednesday, September 26.** Received much light and strength to expound Isaiah 30. A woman sunk down in deep distress. Several, who wait for faith, were affected greatly. From one to three more came that I was able to talk with, all seeking what many have found. In particular:

Anne Spanin was filled with joy in believing, while we were at prayers last Monday. So was Mrs. Williams in going home from church.<sup>79</sup> Susanna Trapman likewise sees *her* interest in the blood of Jesus. Elisabeth Parsons, whom the evil spirit has often torn, is sensible now that he is cast out. It is observable of the two last that they have never been baptized. I now require no farther proof that one be an *inward* Christian without baptism. They are both desirous of it, and who can forbid water?<sup>80</sup>

Abraham Staples informs me that on Saturday was three weeks, while I was preaching "Lazarus, come forth,"<sup>81</sup> he was called out of his natural state and raised to the life of faith. "I felt," said he, "that my sins were forgiven by a peace and warmth within me, which have continued ever since." "Then you know," said I, "that the Spirit of God is a Spirit of burning?"<sup>82</sup> "Yes," he answered, "and [1:250] a Spirit of shaking too, for he turns me upside down. I am full of joy and life, and could be always a praying—should be glad to die this moment. What knowledge I have, I have given me of God, for I am no scholar, I can neither write nor read."

Sarah Pearce declares she received the first comfort in hearing Romans 5 explained.<sup>83</sup> She was then justified but did not draw nigh in full assurance of faith till last night. Every word I spoke came with power. She had the witness of her own spirit or conscience that all the marks I mentioned were in her. And the Spirit of God came in with his testimony, and put it beyond the possibility of doubt. Some of her words were: "I was once extremely bigoted against my brethren, the Dissenters, but am now enlarged toward them and all mankind in an inexpressible manner. I do not depend upon a start of comfort, but find it increase, ever since it began. I perceive a great change on myself, and expect a greater. I feel a divine attraction in my soul.

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<sup>78</sup>John 4:14.

<sup>79</sup>Judith Williams; see Oct. 1, 1739 entry below.

<sup>80</sup>See Acts 10:47.

<sup>81</sup>John 11:43.

<sup>82</sup>See Isa. 44:4.

<sup>83</sup>Sarah Pearce remained active in the society until her death in 1773; see the account of her death in John Pawson to CW, c. Oct. 25, 1773 (MA 1977/501/117). Pearce later recalled the sermon where she was awakened as on Rom 4:5 (see note on Sept. 12, 1739 above).

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Was once so afraid of death that I durst not sleep but now I do not fear it at all. I desire nothing upon earth. I dread nothing but sin. God suffers me to be strongly prompted. But I know, when he gives faith, he will try it.”

See here the true assurance of faith! How consistent an humble, not doubting, a filial, not servile, fear of offending! I desire not *such* an assurance as blots out those scriptures: “Be not high-minded, but fear”;<sup>84</sup> “Work out your salvation with fear and trembling”;<sup>85</sup> etc. God keep me in continual fear lest by any means, when I have preached to others, I myself should be a castaway.

At the Mills I preached upon “As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so . . .”<sup>86</sup> Spoke plainly to the women’s bands of their unadvisableness, their want of love, and bearing one another’s burdens. We found an immediate effect in the enlargement of our hearts. Some [1:251] were convinced they had thought too highly of themselves, and that their first love, like their first joy, was only a foretaste of that temper which continually rules in a new heart.

**Thursday, September 27.** Returning from early prayers, I met Sarah Putnam, the person that had been so wounded yesterday at the Hall. She informed me that Christ did then break off her yoke, and she felt herself at liberty from sin and sorrow. Soon after news was brought me that the man I had prayed by beyond Hanham was now in the full triumph of faith. On Sunday he desired longer life, but now he only longs, with an holy impatience, to depart and be with the Lord, which is far better.<sup>87</sup>

Gave offence at the Hall by professing the doctrine of non-resistance from Romans 12. What will they say to me tomorrow, when I come to the thirteenth?

**Friday, September 28.** Christianity flourishes under the cross. None who follow after Christ want that badge of discipleship. Wives and children are beaten and turned out of doors, and the persecutors are the complainers. It is always the Lamb that troubles the water. Every Sunday damnation is denounced against all that hear us papists, us Jesuits, us seducers, us bringers in of the Pretender.<sup>88</sup> The clergy murmur aloud at the number of communicants and threaten to repel them. Yet will not the world hear that we should talk of persecution. No! For the world is Christian now! And the offence of the cross ceased.

Alas, what would they farther? Some lose their bread, some their habitations; one suffers stripes, another confinement; and yet we must not call this persecution. Doubtless they will find some other name for it, when they do God service by killing us.<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>84</sup>Rom. 11:20.

<sup>85</sup>Phil. 2:12.

<sup>86</sup>John 3:14.

<sup>87</sup>See Phil. 1:23.

<sup>88</sup>The Wesley brothers were accused of being “Jacobites,” or supporters of James Edward Stuart (1688–1766), exiled son of King James II (hence, the “Pretender”), who had tried to stage a return to power in 1715, with backing of the French.

<sup>89</sup>See John 16:2.

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Today Mary Hanney was with me.<sup>90</sup> While she continued a drunkard, a swearer, and company-keeper, it was very well; she and her father [1:252] agreed entirely. But from the time of her turning to God, he has used her most inhumanly. Yesterday he beat her, and drove her out of doors, following her with imprecations and threatenings to murder her if ever she returned. When she was cast out, Jesus found her, and said unto her by his Spirit, “Be of good cheer, thy sins are forgiven thee.”<sup>91</sup> She continued all the night in joy unspeakable, and can now with confidence call God her Father.

Preached at the Fishponds on “To as many as received him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God.”<sup>92</sup>

**Saturday, September 29.** Breakfasted with six or eight awakened sinners, who are hourly waiting for the consolation of Israel.<sup>93</sup> Prayed by a dying woman, and cut off her confidence in the flesh. As sure as I ask the question, “Why do you hope to be saved?” I receive that woeful answer, “Because I have done no harm”; or “Because I have used my endeavours.” This comes of our telling the people, “God, upon your sincere endeavours, will accept you.” There were several present whom I stripped of their filthy rags, and sent naked to Christ.

At noon Janet Clancy gave me an account of her faith. It came as I was asking at Baptist Mills, “If Christ was now present, and said to you, ‘Believest thou that I am able to do this, to forgive sins upon earth?’ would you say, ‘Lord, I believe help thou my unbelief?’” The word was applied in that moment. “I went home,” said she, “justified; in such peace, and joy, and love, as cannot be described; and I am still sure that the Son of God loved me, and gave himself for me.”

At the Bowling Green I explained the first words that presented: “Now faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of [1:253] things unseen.”<sup>94</sup> Afterwards I enforced obedience to the powers that be from Romans 13, and showed the scandalous inconsistency of your high-churchmen who disclaim resistance and yet practise it; continually speaking evil of dignities, nay, of the ruler of the people, as well as those who are put in authority under him. Fewer than I expected were offended at me.

**Sunday, September 30.** Found my usual congregation at Hanham, and showed them their Saviour, from Isaiah 53.<sup>95</sup> Many tears of love or desire were shed. At the Hall I expounded the woman taken in adultery.<sup>96</sup> Some, convicted by their own conscience, went out.

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<sup>90</sup>Apparently Mary Hanney (bap. Feb. 1723), daughter of William Hanney.

<sup>91</sup>Matt. 9:2.

<sup>92</sup>John 1:12.

<sup>93</sup>See Luke 2:25.

<sup>94</sup>Heb. 11:1.

<sup>95</sup>See his hymn of this passage from the time period: *HSP* (1739), 87–90.

<sup>96</sup>John 8:1–11.

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**Monday, October 1.** Expounded Isaiah 35 with great freedom and power. In the hours of conference the following persons declared to me their faith in him who justifies the ungodly.<sup>1</sup>

Mary Brown, took with strong trembling last night at the Hall, was there set at liberty, both from fear and guilt. “I love all mankind,” she said (the best proof of faith), “and could die for my worst enemy.”

Sarah Gough found the power of God present to heal her while I repeated last Sunday night, “He hath sent me to bind up the broken-hearted.”<sup>2</sup>

Sarah Norton was strongly tempted not to tell me that on Wednesday in the Hall she received forgiveness. I was bidding them “wait for the promise of the Father.”<sup>3</sup> She replied within herself, “Well, I will wait,” and was immediately struck to the heart and filled with joy unspeakable. This was greatly increased at the sacrament.

The same good work was wrought in William Spenser on Saturday night, after hearing the word. [1:254] He is now sure that his sins are blotted out, for the times of refreshment are come.

Eleanor Kitchinor, weak in faith before, received the full assurance last night.

Judith Williams (of whose being justified I heard last week) sends me word that her faith increases daily.<sup>4</sup> Returning from the Hall in deep distress, God had opened her eye of faith to *discern her* Saviour.

Many find power to believe, either in or soon after hearing. So it was with Joseph Black.<sup>5</sup> On Friday night in bed, he was suddenly taken ill, lost all strength, lay speechless. Soon after he found the power of God overshadow him, and a warmth and life spreading through soul and body. He revived in both, and was endued with power to apply Christ to himself in particular.

Satan strove hard to hinder Francis Hud from coming to inform me that he had been my constant hearer, and had always applied what I said of sinners to himself. “I saw,” said he, “that I was in a damnable state till I had forgiveness of sins, but was sure I should have it. The devil was very busy with me, especially in prayer. I told him, ‘Satan, I am thy slave now, but thou canst not hold me long. Christ will soon come and deliver me.’ He did come in my sleep. I was sure it was Christ himself. I waked in great triumph, knowing the devil’s power was at an end. Since then I have been happy indeed.”

In the afternoon I went out into the lanes and streets of the city, to call men in to the great supper.<sup>6</sup> The power of the Lord accompanied me. So again at Gloucester Lane, while I

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<sup>1</sup>See Rom. 4:5.

<sup>2</sup>Luke 4:18.

<sup>3</sup>Acts 1:4.

<sup>4</sup>Judith (Jones) Williams, who married William Williams in 1737.

<sup>5</sup>Joseph Black appears on a band list for single men in Bristol Bands (1741).

<sup>6</sup>Luke 14. CW preached on this passage frequently. His themes are captured in an extended hymn on the text: *Redemption Hymns* (1747), 63–66.

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discoursed on the man born blind.<sup>7</sup> Three pharisees lay concealed at an house adjoining, and they could not have [1:255] come at a more convenient season. God was with my mouth. They could not stand it, but made their escape in the middle of my discourse. The sincere were strengthened and comforted, as several testified at that time.

**Tuesday, October 2.** Dined at George the collier's, an happy soul; as full of joy and love as he can contain. I hope one day to be like him. Exhorted the colliers, by the example of the Syro-Phoenician woman, to pray always, till their requests are granted.<sup>8</sup>

**Wednesday, October 3.** Sarah Townsend informed me that on Sunday evening, while we were singing "Come to judgment, come away,"<sup>9</sup> she found and felt in herself that she *durst* come. The Spirit in that instant sealing her pardon upon her heart. She was filled all night with joy unspeakable.

Another testified that at Kingswood yesterday she caught hold of that word, "Be of good cheer, thy sins are forgiven thee,"<sup>10</sup> and knows she has apprehended him of whom she was first apprehended.

Sarah Stevens, aged seventy-three, confesses that a fortnight ago she was first convinced of sin by my ministry, having been till then, as she and the world thought, a very good Christian. I have hardly known a soul under stronger convictions. Her expressions are full of self-*abhorrence*. She truly renounces her own, and hungers and thirsts after Christ's righteousness. We prayed and she received great comfort; whether *the* comfort, God will soon discover.

I look upon this instance as a peculiar blessing to me, for I had scarce any faith for old people. They are so strong in self-righteousness, so entrenched in their own works, [1:257<sup>11</sup>] so hardened by *the abuse of means*. Surely the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God, if they can pull down such strongholds.

Preached again from the woman of Canaan with double power.<sup>12</sup> Prayed by a dying man. Found him leaning on the broken reed of his own endeavours. I showed him that they could not bear his weight, but he must fall with violence into hell unless he found a better support. Left him desirous to stay his soul on the rock of ages.

**Friday, October 5.** I had been often hindered from seeing Mrs. Granil,<sup>13</sup> the woman that cried out so vehemently in the Bowling Green. He that letteth today was taken out of the way,<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>7</sup>John 9.

<sup>8</sup>Mark 7:26–30.

<sup>9</sup>This is the first line of every stanza of a hymn by George Herbert, which JW included, under the title "Doomsday," in *HSP* (1739), 10–11.

<sup>10</sup>Matt. 9:2.

<sup>11</sup>The recto after p. 254 was left blank and unnumbered in the notebook. The verso (which should have been p. 256) is numbered "255." The next recto resumes numbering as "257," effectively skipping p. 256.

<sup>12</sup>Matt. 15:22–28; see his hymn of this passage from the time period: *HSP* (1742), 96–98.

<sup>13</sup>Probably Elizabeth (Sanford) Granell, who married John Granell in 1725.

<sup>14</sup>See 2 Thess. 2:7.

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and she came to me. She has had no rest for these three weeks; can neither eat nor drink as usual; believes Christ is able to deliver her. We betook ourselves to prayer and she screamed out as before. I broke off and let her pray, for I never heard any pray like her. We laid open the promises, sang, and prayed for her till the Comforter came. She now knows that her Redeemer liveth, came afterwards to return me thanks for her deliverance through my ministry. Lord, not unto me!<sup>15</sup>

The quickening Spirit was with us at Gloucester Lane, while I was discoursing on Lazarus raised.<sup>16</sup> Two women experienced Christ to be the resurrection and the life.<sup>17</sup> There was a great shaking among the dry bones,<sup>18</sup> and they that had life before, now had it more abundantly.<sup>19</sup>

**Saturday, October 6.** Averil Spenser, one that received faith last night, came today and declared it. While she was seeking Christ she had several assurances in prayer that she should shortly find him. Last night she was pierced through with the sword of the Spirit,<sup>20</sup> and [1:258] ascertained of her pardon beyond the possibility of a doubt. Peace, joy, and love flowed in upon her soul. She is of that simple unopposing temper, which yields the freest passage to the grace of God.

My subject at the Bowling Green was, “Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness’ sake.”<sup>21</sup> Great need there is to prepare them for the gathering storm. Already it is come to that, that except a man forsake all that he hath (life only excepted), he cannot be Christ’s disciple.<sup>22</sup>

**Sunday, October 7.** Declared the covenant of grace at Hanham. I never fail finding power among the colliers.

Received the sacrament at St. Phillip’s.<sup>23</sup> I first earnestly asked that God would not send me empty away.<sup>24</sup> Returned to my pew and was immediately overpowered, in a manner inexpressible, not with *the very thing* but with the strongest assurance that I *should* receive ALL I wait for. God mollified my hardness, and I abhorred myself before him, as in dust and ashes. I asked (with all submission) some token from his word. I hardly remember to have read the passage—it came with power, and abased me to nothing: “Thou art my battleaxe, and weapons

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<sup>15</sup>See Ps. 115:1.

<sup>16</sup>John 11.

<sup>17</sup>See John 11:25.

<sup>18</sup>See Ezek. 37:1–14.

<sup>19</sup>See John 10:20.

<sup>20</sup>See Eph. 6:17.

<sup>21</sup>Matt. 5:10.

<sup>22</sup>See Luke 14:33.

<sup>23</sup>St. Philip’s and St. Jacob’s church, Bristol.

<sup>24</sup>See Luke 1:53.

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of war. For in thee I will break in pieces the nations, and with thee ....”<sup>25</sup>

I described the “new creature” at the Bowling Green.<sup>26</sup> Many (as they told me afterwards) were stripped of their vain religion.

Received still greater strength at night to expound Isaiah 43.<sup>27</sup> Our souls did magnify the Lord, and our spirits rejoiced in God our Saviour.<sup>28</sup>

**Monday, October 8.** We found him applying his own promises, which we really believe belong to us, though delivered to the Jews some thousand [1:259] years ago.

Sarah Stevens now finds they were made to her. She tells me the moment she rose from prayer last Wednesday she felt her weight lessened and, before she got to the door, entirely removed. At seventy-three she is indeed converted and become a little child; full as she can be of peace, and love, and joy. She feels the Spirit of God within her, embraces Christ with the arms of faith, and cries out with old Simeon, “Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation.”<sup>29</sup>

Edward Hud testifies his faith in Christ, which came by hearing last week.

Mary Taylor witnesses the same good confession; and Mary Haman. The latter was justified in private prayer.

Called on the dying man with whom I prayed last night. I found him a new creature. He told me he now tasted the peace I spoke of, the joy and comfort of a living faith. I asked whether he was still afraid to die. “No, no,” he replied, “I desire to die. I want to get away.” “Why? Do you love Jesus Christ?” “Yes, dearly,” said he with his voice and looks. I left him ready for the Bridegroom, and published the word of reconciliation at the brickyard.<sup>30</sup> God in Christ was with us of a truth. I never spoke more clearly. The same power was in the society. Mr. [Joseph] Williams of Kidderminster was much edified among us. He followed a letter he wrote, inviting me thither.<sup>31</sup> Of what denomination he is I know not; nor is it material, for he has the mind which

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<sup>25</sup>Jer. 51:20ff.

<sup>26</sup>2 Cor. 5:17–21. Joseph Williams (1692–1755) of Kiddermaster used a business trip to Bristol as the occasion to hear CW preach. He wrote up an extended description of CW’s style and content in this sermon, which he intended to publish in the *Gentleman’s Magazine* as a sympathetic portrayal of Methodism. He sent a copy to CW for approval. The account never appeared in the *Gentleman’s Magazine*, perhaps because CW was not comfortable with its laudatory tone. The manuscript survives (MARC, DDPr 1/92) and can be consulted in *WMM* 51 (1828): 383–85.

<sup>27</sup>See his hymn of this passage from the time period: *HSP* (1739), 153–54.

<sup>28</sup>See Luke 1:47.

<sup>29</sup>Luke 2:29.

<sup>30</sup>Likely preaching on 2 Cor. 5:19.

<sup>31</sup>Joseph Williams’s initial letter inviting CW to Kidderminster, dated Sept. 19, 1739, survives; MARC, DDPr 1/87; published in *WMM* 51 (1828): 382–83. Williams’s account of his time in Bristol specifies that CW expounded John 12 that evening in society.

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was in Jesus.<sup>32</sup>

Met my brother, just returned from London.

**Tuesday, October 9.** Received a letter from Holt, deterring me from coming again to Bearfield—upon which *invitation* I set out with my brother this morning. We called at Mr. Cottle's [1:260] and heard the people were much exasperated against me,<sup>33</sup> it being everywhere reported that I am (*quem minus credere?*)<sup>34</sup> a strong predestinarian. Much pains had been taken to represent me as such. We judged this a call for me to *declare* myself if the weavers, who were to rise, would suffer me.

We found about 2,000 waiting. I let my brother pray and then began abruptly, "If God be for us, who can be against us? He that spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all, how shall he not *with him*, also freely give us all things?"<sup>35</sup> God opened my mouth so as seldom before. I felt what I spoke, while offering Christ to all. In much love I besought the Dissenters not to lose their charity for me because I was of opinion God would have *all* men to be saved. For an hour and a half I strongly called all sinners to the Saviour of the world. My strength do I ascribe unto him. No one opened his mouth against me. The devil fled before us, and I believe he will no more slander me with being a predestinarian.

A Dissenting minister who before came to us came to where we dined and asked me with much passion *how I durst have the impudence to speak against the Dissenters*. I felt no emotion but pity and love. My brother was like-minded. We took notice of his hard speeches, but tried to pacify, and left him somewhat calmer. O that God would always give us that meekness which his cause deserves!

**Thursday, October 11.** Expounded the Prodigal Son among the colliers.<sup>36</sup> Many a one, if not most of them, is ready to say, "I will arise, and go to my Father."<sup>37</sup> At 6:00 I began John 1, at the widow Jones's. It was the first time of [1:261] my preaching by night in the open air. The yard contained about four hundred. The house was likewise full. Great power was in the midst. Satan blasphemed without, but durst not venture his children too near the gospel, when I offered Christ Jesus to them. The enemy hurried them away, and all we could do was to pray for them.

**Saturday, October 13.** Waited with my brother upon a minister about baptizing some of his parish.<sup>38</sup> He complained heavily of the multitude of our communicants, and produced the canon against strangers. He could not admit that as a reason for their coming to his church, that they had no sacrament of their own. I offered my assistance to lessen his *trouble*, but he declined it. "There were a hundred of new communicants," he told us, "last Sunday; and I am credibly

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<sup>32</sup>See Phil. 2:5.

<sup>33</sup>John Cottle (d. 1751) lived in Monkton Farleigh, Wiltshire, just north of Bradford-on-Avon.

<sup>34</sup>Terence, *Self-Tormentor*, 192; "Whom could you think less so?"

<sup>35</sup>Rom. 8:31–32.

<sup>36</sup>Luke 15:11–32.

<sup>37</sup>Luke 15:18.

<sup>38</sup>See the entry for Oct. 30, 1739 below.



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informed some of them came out of spite to me.”

We bless God for *this cause* of offence, and pray it may never be removed.

**Sunday, October 14.** Took horse for Bradford[-on-Avon], the minister having offered me his pulpit.<sup>39</sup> But yesterday his heart failed. He feared his church would be pulled down. He feared the bishop would be displeased. I went to church, and thence to the common, where I preached forgiveness of sins to many serious hearers. In the evening returned to Bristol.

**Monday, October 15.** My brother being gone to Wales, I expounded at 11:00 and was, with others, quite melted down; especially in prayer. At the brickyard I discoursed on Matt. 11:5, “The blind receive their sight, and the lame walk . . .” In the midst of my discourse Satan lifted up his voice in his own children, which increased my boldness. I told the people Christ had a work to do, and they should find it so. The sons of Belial soon quitted the field,<sup>40</sup> but the power of the Lord continued with us. One man received a large increase of faith, [1:262] and confessed it before many witnesses.

I prayed for a poor old woman, departing in the Lord. At the society I met Mrs. Thomas, who testified her having received forgiveness while I spoke to the rioters.<sup>41</sup>

Dined at Rider’s, a collier. Elisabeth Hawkins here told me that she received *the blessing* under the word some weeks since, but quickly lost it. While we were praying, our brother Rider found an unknown warmth and comfort. I told him if it was the work of God begun, God would shine upon it and clearly convince him of righteousness.

In the schoolhouse I preached the promise of the Comforter.<sup>42</sup> A woman fell to the ground with strong crying and tears. Elisabeth Hawkins received her faith, and rejoiced in the light of God’s countenance.

In explaining Isaiah 50, I laid open the self-deceit of some, who rested short of the promises *because* they had a liking to the word, or me. Many were alarmed and stirred up to a restless pursuit of Christ.

**Wednesday, October 17.** Elisabeth Field was with me, declaring she first found power to believe and love on Monday night, while I spoke from John 13, of our Lord’s humility. “I was immediately lightened,” she said, “assured my sins were forgiven, and so full of joy that I was ready to faint under it.”

Mary Branker bore a like testimony, that she was then filled with unknown power and comfort.

**Thursday, October 18.** I would have visited the poor dying woman today, but the churchwarden, Mr. Every, had been with her, and with threatenings declared if ever I came near her again he would turn her out into the street, sick or well.

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<sup>39</sup>John Rogers (d. 1754) was current rector of Holy Trinity church in Bradford-on-Avon.

<sup>40</sup>See 1 Sam. 2:12.

<sup>41</sup>It is unclear whether this is Margaret Thomas, who died in 1740 (see CW to JW, Oct. 24, 1740); or Mary Thomas, who died in 1745 (see account of her death in JW, *Journal*, June 6, 1745, *Works*, 20:82–83).

<sup>42</sup>See John 14:16.

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Received notice from Mrs. [Mary] Stonehouse that her [1:263] husband was ill of the smallpox and could not look after my affair with Goter; that I must come, or send the writ, or be non-suited. I thought it too late (as the writ must be returned October 20) and rested quite content.<sup>43</sup>

**Friday, October 19.** Mrs. Chad informs me she received remission of sins some time ago, in Isaiah 53, and has had continual joy ever since.

Many were comforted at the [Weaver's] Hall, by Isaiah 53.

Abigail Savage says she found *the* comfort yesterday. She had long been in darkness, and could not lay hold on Christ; but is now fully persuaded of her redemption, and could not believe otherwise, if she would.

Read part of Mr. Law on regeneration to our society.<sup>44</sup> How promising the beginning, how lame the conclusion! *Sensi hominem!*<sup>45</sup> Christianity, he rightly tells us, is a recovery of the divine image. And a Christian is a fallen spirit restored and reinstated in paradise, a living mirror of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. After this, he supposes it *possible* for him to be *insensible* of *such* a change—to be happy and holy, translated into Eden, renewed in the likeness of God, one with Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and *yet not know it*. Nay, we are not to expect, or bid others expect, any such consciousness if we listen to one who too plainly demonstrates, by this wretched inconsistency, that his knowledge of the new birth is mostly in theory.

At Mr. Labee's<sup>46</sup> I met Miss Jeffreys, the Quaker whom I had so laboured to convince of sin. I did not perceive any impression my words made at the time. But now it seems they sunk deep. An horrible dread has overwhelmed her. Her flesh trembles for fear of God, and she is afraid of his judgments. She sees herself far worse than I described her, and [1:264<sup>47</sup>] thought at my last expounding she was every moment sinking into hell.

**Saturday, October 20.** Preached at Bradford[-on-Avon] in the townhall, with little power or effect.

**Sunday, October 21.** At the common, in the morning, I described the new creature to above 1500;<sup>48</sup> and in the afternoon, to thrice that number, I preached the word of reconciliation.<sup>49</sup> They all followed me with their prayers. I trust my labour among them hath not been in vain.

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<sup>43</sup>See the July 25, 1739 entry. The fine was for £20 (£19.16s.8d. after taxes). CW finally paid it on Feb. 29, 1740 (MARC, DDWES 7/30A), inscribing the receipt, "I paid them the things I never took. To be re-judged in THAT DAY."

<sup>44</sup>William Law, *The Grounds and Reason of Christian Regeneration: or, the New Birth* (London: W. Innys & R. Manby, 1739).

<sup>45</sup>"I felt for the man!"

<sup>46</sup>Francis Labee (d. 1755), a surgeon/midwife in Bristol; husband of Sarah.

<sup>47</sup>Misnumbered as "263," which had already been used.

<sup>48</sup>2 Cor. 5:17.

<sup>49</sup>2 Cor. 5:19.

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**Thursday, October 25.** Called on one who *did* run well, but is turned out of the way by an unbelieving parent. “Woe unto the world because of offences!”<sup>50</sup> Woe unto the man by whom the offence comes! It were better that a millstone were tied about his neck, and he cast into the depth of the sea, than that he should offend one of these little ones who believe in Jesus.<sup>51</sup>

**Friday, October 26.** I baptized Mr. [Ebenezer] Wigginton in the river by Baptist Mills, and went on my way rejoicing to Frenchay.

The rain did not lessen our usual congregation at the Fishponds, to whom I spoke from Revelation 2:10: “Fear none of those things which thou shalt suffer. Behold, the devil shall cast some of you into prison ....”

**Saturday, October 27.** I preached at the Green on the strong man armed,<sup>52</sup> and disturbed him in his palace.

Pressed the use of means [of grace], as means, from Isaiah 58, which is full of promises to those that walk in the ordinances with a sincere heart. I took occasion to show the degeneracy of our modern pharisees. Their predecessors fasted twice a week, but these maintain their character for holiness at a cheaper rate. In reverence to the Church, some keep their public day on Friday. None of them regard it, though enjoined, as a fast. As to prayer and sacrament, their neglect is equally notorious. And yet [1:265] these men cry out, “The Church, the Church!” when they will not hear the Church [of England] themselves; but despise her authority, trample upon her orders, teach contrary to her Articles and Homilies, and break her canons, *every man* of them who *of late* pretend to press their observance.

**Sunday, October 28.** From Isaiah 57:15, “For thus saith the high and lofty One, ....” I spoke closely to the unawakened, and comfortably to the mourners.

In the hard rain I preached at the Bowling Green, from “Drop down, ye heavens, from above, and let the skies pour down righteousness.”<sup>53</sup>

**Monday, October 29.** Expounded with extraordinary assistance Isaiah 59, that dreadful description of national sin and punishment. While I was speaking war with Spain was proclaimed,<sup>54</sup> which made us take the more notice of those words: “According to their deeds, accordingly he will repay; fury to his adversaries, recompense to his enemies. To the *islands* he will repay recompense. So shall they fear the name of the Lord from the *west*, and his glory from the rising of the sun. When the enemy shall come in like a flood, the Spirit of the Lord shall lift up a standard against him.”<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>50</sup>Matt. 18:7.

<sup>51</sup>See Matt. 18:6.

<sup>52</sup>Luke 11:21.

<sup>53</sup>Isa. 45:8.

<sup>54</sup>The British declared war after prolonged commercial disputes with Spain; it led into the War of Austrian Succession (1739–48).

<sup>55</sup>Isa. 59:18–19.

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**Tuesday, October 30.** My brother preached his farewell sermon to the sorrowful colliers. I wrote as follows to the Bishop of Bristol:<sup>56</sup>

My Lord,

Several persons, both Quakers and Baptists, have applied to me for baptism. Their names are William Crease, Mary Crease, Mary Gregory, Rebecca Dickenson, Anne Spanin, Elisabeth Mills, Elisabeth Parsons. It has pleased God to make me instrumental in their conviction. This has given them such a [1:266] prejudice for me that they desire to be received into the Church by my ministry. They choose likewise to be baptized by immersion, and have engaged me to give your Lordship notice, as the Church requires.

Today I talked with several persons who have lately found rest to their souls, particularly: Joanna Nichols, justified on Sunday in hearing the word.<sup>57</sup> It was then she first said, "I have redemption in his blood."

Jane Connor, at Baptist Mills found the power of the Lord present to heal her.<sup>58</sup>

Jane Parker experienced the same while we were singing.

Mary Connor on Thursday night recovered that unspeakable peace which she first received some weeks ago, but lost by keeping it to herself.

John Hooper,<sup>59</sup> at Baptist Mills saw with the eye of faith our Lord as interceding for him with his Father. The word by which faith came was, "Behold, I have graven thee on the palms of my hands."<sup>60</sup>

While my brother was praying among the bands, one attempted to run out. We stopped and found her in an angry despair, refusing to ask for mercy, continued instant in prayer for her. God was with us of a truth. Several cried out and under strong convictions, others filled with peace and joy in believing.

A few stayed behind the rest, to comfort our despairing sister. God had hid his face from her, and she went on frowardly in the way of her own heart. Inordinate affection is the strong man's armour; and any unmortified desire, which a man allows himself in, will effectually drive and keep Christ out of the heart.

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<sup>56</sup>Joseph Butler (1692–1752) was Bishop of Bristol, 1738–50.

<sup>57</sup>Joanna (Bown) Nichols, the wife of Charles Nichols.

<sup>58</sup>See her earlier conversion under JW, in his *Journal*, June 25, 1739, *Works*, 19:74.

<sup>59</sup>The husband of Elizabeth (Brown) Hooper; they married in 1712.

<sup>60</sup>Isa. 49:16.

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**Thursday, November 1.** Met Miss Burdock<sup>1</sup> at Mr. [Ebenezer] Wigginton's, full of good desires, but kept down by the fear of a man. I told her plainly she would never find peace till she was deeply convinced of her having denied her Master. She now no longer justified herself, but confessed she had loved father and mother more than Christ.<sup>2</sup> I saw her in the toils, earnest for deliverance, but almost despairing. God enlarged my heart in prayer for her. She went away sorrowful, yet not without hope.

**Friday, November 2.** Our thanksgiving notes multiply greatly.

Received a summons from Oxford, to respond in divinity disputations,<sup>3</sup> which, with other concurrent providences, is a plain call to that place.<sup>4</sup>

**Saturday, November 3.** Spent an hour with many of the society in *attempts* to thank God for all, and especially his late mercies. I administered the sacrament at Mrs. Williams's.<sup>5</sup> Began preaching with much reluctance on "Fight the good fight of faith."<sup>6</sup> The Lord was with my mouth, when he had opened it. I trust many found he was.

**Sunday, November 4.** Preached in Kingswood on Isaiah 42:1, "Behold my servant, whom I uphold . . ." We found *that* Spirit was put upon him *for us*. Seldom have I perceived a greater power amongst us.

Gave the sacrament to one whom I had left waiting for Christ. She was now full of his Spirit, ready for the Bridegroom.<sup>7</sup> No cloud interposed between her Beloved and her on the thin veil of flesh and blood, which was well nigh rent asunder. What would I give to be on that death-bed!

Met Miss Burdock once more with her sister,<sup>8</sup> and spent two hours in awakening and exhorting them. I doubt not but they will yet break through the host of the Philistines, and draw

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<sup>1</sup>Susanna ("Suky") Burdock, the daughter of Ebenezer and Agnes (Hatch) Burdock, was baptized on Dec. 11, 1720 at Christ Church, in Bristol. She remained active in Bristol Methodism, becoming a close friend with CW and his wife Sarah when they settled there. In Dec. 1755 she was married to CW's friend, Rev. George Stonehouse.

<sup>2</sup>See Matt. 10:37.

<sup>3</sup>See John Gambold to CW, Oct. 28, 1739.

<sup>4</sup>CW and JW were both considering seeking BD degrees at Oxford (a degree subsequent to the MA, requiring seven years in that rank—which CW had earned in 1733). Cf. JW to Samuel Wesley Jr., Oct. 27, 1739, *Works*, 25:692.

<sup>5</sup>Likely Anne Williams, an early band leader in Bristol; cf. JW letter to James Hutton, Apr. 16, 1739, *Works*, 25:631.

<sup>6</sup>1 Tim. 6:12; see CW's hymn of this passage from the time period: *HSP* (1742), 254–56.

<sup>7</sup>See Matt. 25:1–13.

<sup>8</sup>Mary Burdock (1719–49).

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water out of the well of Bethlehem.<sup>9</sup>

Expounded the parable of the sower;<sup>10</sup> and in the evening our Lord's divine prayer, John 17. Many I trust found him *then* interceding for them. [1:268]

**Monday, November 5.** Met some of the bands at our sister Linford's. In prayer one received forgiveness.

We had a greater blessing at the [Weavers'] Hall than ever before. I summed up all I had said, either to publicans or pharisees, to the comfort or discomfort of everyone present.

Spent the time of conference with the candidates for baptism. All seem prepared for that holy ordinance.

In the brickyard discoursed on the woman with the issue of blood.<sup>11</sup> God magnified his strength in my weakness.<sup>12</sup> Several cried out they were healed! Virtue was gone out of him. They heard his voice, "Thy faith hath made thee whole. Go in peace."<sup>13</sup>

Many had fellowship with Christ in his sufferings, while I spoke of them in the words of St. John. He melted me into tears of love. I knew not how to leave them, so many testified that they then tasted the good word of God, and the powers of the world to come.<sup>14</sup>

**Tuesday, November 6.**<sup>15</sup> I was called to a woman at Bedminster. I have seldom seen a soul more deeply plunged into the spirit of bondage, or under stronger pangs of the new birth. She received immediate relief in prayer, and came at noon to tell me that her yoke was wholly broken off.

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<sup>9</sup>See 2 Sam. 23:15.

<sup>10</sup>Matt. 13:3–23.

<sup>11</sup>It is clear in the June 28, 1738 entry that CW was looking then at the account in Matt. 9:20–22. But this and later sermons on this incident may have focussed on the parallel passages in Mark 5:25–34 and Luke 8:40–56.

<sup>12</sup>See 2 Cor. 12:9.

<sup>13</sup>Mark 5:34.

<sup>14</sup>See Heb. 6:5.

<sup>15</sup>CW's older brother, Samuel Wesley Jr., died on this day, which helps explain why the MS Journal breaks off at this point for four months.

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[2:1]

March 1740

**Friday, March 14.** By 11:00 I reached Gloucester, where the very last spark, I think, is gone out. In the evening I preached to a few people in Mr. Whitefield's field,<sup>1</sup> on Isaiah 53:1: "Who hath believed our report?" I was a little revived just before by Mrs. Wynn of Painswick telling me she and two more of her family had lately received forgiveness. There was more stirring among the dry bones than I expected.<sup>2</sup>

**Saturday, March 15.** Between 2:00 and 3:00 we came to Bengeworth. I sent for Mr. [Benjamin] Seward. Answer was returned that he had taken physic, but would send his brother Henry to me. Mr. Henry [Seward]<sup>3</sup> followed me to Mr. Canning's,<sup>4</sup> and fell upon me without preface or ceremony: I was the downfall of his brother, had picked his pocket, ruined his family, come now to get more money, was a scoundrel, rascal, and so forth, and deserved to have my gown stripped over my ears. He concluded with threatening how he would beat me, if he could catch me on Bengeworth Commons. I spoke little, and with temper.

All letters, I find, have been intercepted since Mr. [Benjamin] Seward's illness; his fever called madness; his servants set over him as spies, etc. Be sure he is to know nothing of my being here! But I mean to give him an hint of it tomorrow, by shouting from the top of the wall.

**Sunday, March 16.** I preached the law and gospel last night, from Isaiah 40,<sup>5</sup> with much freedom and power. Appointed the usual place for preaching. Mr. Henry [Seward] came to dissuade me. Said, "Four constables ordered to apprehend you, if you come near my brother's wall. So come at your peril."

I walked toward the place. An officer from the mayor met and desired me to come to him. I said I would first wait upon my Lord, and then upon him, whom I revered for his office's sake. Went on. Mr. Henry [Seward] met me with threats and revilings. I began singing,

[2:2]

Shall I, for fear of feeble man,  
Thy Spirit's course in me restrain?<sup>6</sup>

He ran about raving like a madman, and quickly got some men for his purpose, who laid hold on me. I asked by what authority? Where was their warrant? Let them show that, I would save them the trouble of using violence. They said they had none but I should not preach there, and hurried

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<sup>1</sup>Likely Richard Whitefield, see Aug. 23, 1739 entry above.

<sup>2</sup>See Ezek. 37:1–14.

<sup>3</sup>CW uses only the first name of Benjamin Seward's brother in the next few entries. We have added the last name in brackets for clarity.

<sup>4</sup>Thomas Canning (1698–1782), who was headmaster of John Deacle's charity school, founded in 1736 on Port Street in Bengeworth.

<sup>5</sup>See CW's hymn on this chapter, from the same period: *HSP* (1742), 1–8.

<sup>6</sup>"From the German," st. 1, *CPH* (1738), 65. JW's translation of Johann Joseph Winckler's hymn "Sollt ich, aus Furcht für Menschenkinder."

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me away amid the cries of the people. Truly their tongues were set on fire of hell. Henry [Seward] cried, “Take him away, and duck him.” Broke out into singing with Thomas Maxfield,<sup>7</sup> and let them carry me whither they would. At the bridge in the lane they left me. There I stood, out of the liberty of the corporation, and gave out,

Angel of God, whate’er betide,  
Thy summons I obey.<sup>8</sup>

Some hundreds they could not frighten from hearing me, on “If God be for us, who can be against us?”<sup>9</sup> Never did I feel so much what I spoke. The word did not return empty,<sup>10</sup> as the tears on all sides testified.

Then I waited upon Mr. Mayor. The poor sincere ones followed me trembling. He was a little warm at my not coming before. I gave him the reason, and added that I knew no law of God or man which I had transgressed. If there was any such, desired no favour. He said he should not have denied me leave to preach, even in his own yard. But Mr. Henry Seward and the apothecary had assured him it would quite cast his brother down again. I said it would rather restore him, for our gospel was life from the dead.

A lawyer began declaiming against my making the poor gentleman mad. I granted, “You fools must count his life madness.” Here a clergyman spoke much—and nothing. As near as I could pick out his meaning, he grumbled at [2:3] Mr. Whitefield’s speaking against the clergy in his *Journal*. I told [him], if he himself was a carnal, worldly-minded clergyman, *I* might do what he would call railing: warn God’s people to beware of false prophets.<sup>11</sup> I did not *say* (because I did not know) that he *was* one of those shepherds that fed themselves, not the flock; of those dumb dogs that could not bark; of those greedy dogs that could never have enough. If he was, I was sorry for him, and must leave that sentence of Chrysostom with him, “Hell is paved with the skulls of Christian priests.”<sup>12</sup>

He charged me with making a division in Mr. Seward’s family. I asked, “Are you a preacher of the gospel, and do not know the effect it has among men? ‘There shall be five in an house, two against three, and three against two’.”<sup>13</sup> He laughed, and cried to his companion, “Did

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<sup>7</sup>Thomas Maxfield (d. 1784), a native of Bristol, was converted by Whitefield in 1739. Maxfield began assisting JW with pastoral duties there, and followed JW to London, where he became a trusted leader at the Foundery. He eventually became the first lay traveling preacher.

<sup>8</sup>CW, “At Setting out to Preach the Gospel,” st. 1, *HSP* (1740), 113.

<sup>9</sup>Rom. 8:31–32.

<sup>10</sup>See Isa. 55:11.

<sup>11</sup>See Matt. 7:15.

<sup>12</sup>This quote was attributed broadly to St. John Chrysostom. JW cites it too: Letter to “John Smith,” Mar. 25, 1747, §12, *Works*, 26:237; and Sermon 125, “On a Single Eye,” §5, *Works*, 4:129. However, it has not been located in the works of Chrysostom.

<sup>13</sup>Luke 12:52.



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not I tell you he would bring that?" I urged the necessity of persecution, if one of a family was first awakened. "Awakened!" said he, "I don't know what you mean by that." "I mean, your speaking truth, when you tell God the remembrance of your sins is grievous to you, the burden intolerable."<sup>14</sup>

I turned from him, and asked the mayor whether he approved the treatment I had met with. He said, "By no means"; and if I complained, he would bind the men over to answer it at the sessions. I told him I did not complain, neither would I prosecute them, as they well knew. I assured him I had waited upon him, not out of interest, for I wanted nothing of him; not out of fear, for I had done no wrong, and wanted no human support; but out of true respect, and to show him I believed the powers that be are ordained by God.<sup>15</sup>

In church the minister I had talked with, Mr. Price,<sup>16</sup> seemed utterly confounded at the second lesson, John 3. That saying in the epistle, [2:4] likewise, was sadly inconsistent with some of his: "But as then he that was born after the flesh persecuted him that was born after the Spirit, *even so it is now.*"<sup>17</sup> In his pulpit (Nicodemus's stronghold), he strained hard to draw a parallel between the Pharisees and Methodists. I suppose because we preach self-justification. In the evening I preached without interruption, "The blind receive their sight ...."<sup>18</sup> Our Lord was present. None stirred for the rain. The schoolhouse was crowded at 7:00. I spoke convincingly, to some scoffers in particular, who could not long stand it.

Sing ye to our God above  
Praise eternal as his love!<sup>19</sup>

We have seen wonderful things today.

**Monday, March 17.** My yesterday's treatment has provoked many to love. They receive me the more gladly into their houses, because Mr. Seward's is shut against me.

Breakfasted at a loving Quaker's. Preached at 3:00 by the river's side, on "Blow ye the trumpet in Sion, sound an alarm in my holy mountain ...." (Joel 2:1). God put strong words into my mouth, and inclined the people's hearts to hearken.

Mr. Henry Seward, mad with passion at my stay, spreads the news of it everywhere, and much increases my audience. Tonight I proceeded in the Beatitudes.<sup>20</sup> When I came to the last, "Blessed are they which are persecuted,"<sup>21</sup> our enemies, not knowing the Scriptures, fulfilled them. A troop poured in from a neighbouring alehouse, and set up their champion, a

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<sup>14</sup>See BCP, Holy Communion, general confession.

<sup>15</sup>See Rom. 13:1.

<sup>16</sup>Rev. John Price, vicar of All Saints church and St. Lawrence's church, Evesham.

<sup>17</sup>Gal. 4:29.

<sup>18</sup>Matt. 11:5.

<sup>19</sup>CW, "Hymn to the Trinity," *HSP* (1740), 101.

<sup>20</sup>Matt. 5:3–12; see CW's related hymn in *HSP* (1749), 1:35–40.

<sup>21</sup>Matt. 5:10.

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schoolmaster, upon a bench over against me. For near an hour he spoke for his master, and I for mine. But my voice prevailed. Sometimes we prayed, sometimes sang and gave thanks. The Lord our God was with us and the shout of a king [2:5] was amongst us.<sup>22</sup> In the midst [of] tumult, reproach, and blasphemy, I enjoyed a sweet calm within, even while I preached the gospel with most contention. These slighter conflicts must fit me for greater.

**Tuesday, March 18.** Last night's disturbance, we now hear, was contrived at the alehouse by the squire and rector.

Preached at the usual place, from Isaiah 11, "The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb ...."<sup>23</sup> Set my eyes on the man that had been most violent with me on Sunday, and testified my love. He thanked me, and seemed melted.

While I was concluding, my friend the schoolmaster set up his throat. We had recourse to singing, which quite spoiled his oration. Henry [Seward] had kept him in town, warm with drink, for this purpose. I could hardly restrain the people from falling upon him.

Went up to my other rough friend, the sergeant, and shook him by the hand with hearty good-will. He could not well tell how to take it. Said he had only done what he was ordered, and seemed glad to get out of my hands.

Some had come merely to make a riot, but my God was stronger than theirs.

I had a message before preaching from Mr. Price, the minister, that if I did not immediately quit the town Mr. Henry Seward could easily raise a mob, and then let me look to myself.

Mr. Canning and others dissuaded me from going to the society, for my enemies were resolved to do me a mischief, which I ought to avoid by going out of the way for a while. I answered in the words of Nehemiah, "Should such a man as I flee?"<sup>24</sup> Not in self-confidence (for I am naturally afraid of everything), but I was told in the morning psalms, "Whoso dwelleth under the shadow of the Most High, shall abide under the defence of the Almighty ...."<sup>25</sup> [2:6]

I went, and set upon the opposers. Bade them glory of me, for they had terrified me now. I was really afraid—to leave Evesham. I durst no more do it than forsake my Captain, or deny my Master, while any one of them opened his mouth against the truth. No man answered a word, or offered to disturb me in my following exhortation. Many were convinced. Mrs. Canning was in the depth of mourning.<sup>26</sup> We spent an hour in songs of triumph. Some Quakers joined us, and found their giving God praises with their lips did not at all obstruct the melody of the heart.

I received great comfort from those words in the first lesson, "The men of the city said to Joash, Bring out thy son that he may die, because he hath cast down the altar of Baal. And Joash said unto all that stood against him, Will ye plead for Baal? Will ye save him? If he be a god, let him plead for himself, because one hath cast down his altar."<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>22</sup>See Num. 23:21.

<sup>23</sup>Isa. 11:6ff.

<sup>24</sup>Neh. 6:11.

<sup>25</sup>Ps. 91:1 (BCP).

<sup>26</sup>Jane Belcher (b. 1702) married Thomas Canning in 1729 in Pebworth, Gloucestershire.

<sup>27</sup>Judg. 6:30.

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In the afternoon there was none to plead for him, or to molest me in the work of God, while I showed God's method of saving souls: "For he maketh sore, and bindeth up; he woundeth, and his hands make whole."<sup>28</sup> The tears that were shed gave comfortable evidence that my labour had not been in vain.

**Wednesday, March [19].**<sup>29</sup> Laboured to convince my many hearers of sin, from the law, as interpreted by our Lord. The floods began to lift up their voice. I went and stood by the door. The enemy still murmured without, and attempted to force their way in. I turned upon them, and invited them to Christ, till all their opposition ceased. I then took my leave of the little flock, but for no long season.

After much wandering, by 3:00 we found out Mr. Morgan's.<sup>30</sup> They received us very affectionately. Mrs. Morgan was very open. God gave her a kind prejudice in my behalf. She [2:7] related what passed the week they spent at Mr. Bray's. He urged her to cast off all the means of grace—not to go to church, or sacrament; not to read the Scriptures; not to pray in private, but *be still*; and the "New Light," as he called it, would come of itself. She would very soon have it, he promised her, *for he felt her spirit*. The effect of his discourse was, it made her utterly regardless of religion. For the new light would come, she thought, when it would. Mr. Morgan they dissuaded from family prayer, or preaching, till he should receive it. George Whitefield, they told her, was quite in the dark, and had done great mischief by preaching. So had my brother and I, but of me they had great hopes. Mrs. [Susanna] Ewsters and Mrs. Vaughan were also brought to bear their testimony against the ordinances, and spoke much concerning the *pernicious* use of them.

Great was the offence which these two poor souls took at [the hands of] our London friends. Mrs. Morgan they dealt with apart, and would have her go to Germany, setting her against her husband. He complains that since she came under their teaching she has lost all desire of being a Christian. I can never enough thank God for this unexpected warning against their diabolical stillness. Was I engaged in the devil's service to turn back an awakened soul, I would send him to them for instruction.

We spent the evening in defacing bad impressions, and mutual unmystical exhortation. Next morning we left our weaker friend, delivered out of the snare of the devil, we trust, and again resolved to work out her salvation.

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<sup>28</sup>Job 5:18.

<sup>29</sup>From Wed., Mar. 19 through Fri., Mar. 28, CW's correlation of days of the week with dates is off by one; we have corrected.

<sup>30</sup>Rev. William Morgan (b. c. 1715) and his wife. A native of Merthyr, Glamorganshire, Morgan matriculated Christ Church in 1734, took his BA in 1738 and was ordained deacon by the Bishop of Oxford in May 1738. He was appointed as curate at Church Westcote and Idbury, Oxfordshire, and began some field preaching among the colliers of Kingswood (preceding Whitefield!). His openness to CW and the revival likely led to him being removed from his curacy, as later this summer he was in London, participating in the Fetter Lane society, and soon drawn to join the Quakers. There is some evidence he then left ministry and trained for medicine. See *WHS* 6 (1908): 102–03, 124–27.

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Mr. Morgan attended us as far as Woodstock, and was astonished at Thomas Maxfield's experience. By 3:00 we got to Oxford, where the little [2:8] flock is kept together by our brother Viney,<sup>31</sup> whose stillness does not yet consist in trampling upon God's ordinances.

**Saturday, March [22].** We returned to Mr. Morgan, having before agreed that I should preach in his churches, and then once more look the world in the face at Evesham. He now told me more of John Bray, and his new guides. John advised him first to get preferment, and then declare himself. They caressed all his natural inclinations, on condition he would come into their notion of stillness. They taught him a Christianity which had no cross in it, no work of faith, no patience of hope, no labour of love.

**Sunday, March [23].** I read prayers and preached once more in a church at Westcote.<sup>32</sup> It was full of attentive hearers. My text, "What must I do to be saved?"<sup>33</sup> I never spoke with greater plainness. Many seemed pricked at the heart. Mrs. Morgan cried all sermon-time. I went home full of comfort. Preached at Idbury,<sup>34</sup> to a much larger congregation, from our Lord's invitation, "Come unto me, all that labour ...."<sup>35</sup> Never preached more closely. I returned to Westcott, and showed the legal and evangelical states from 2 Tim. 1:7, "God hath not given us the spirit of fear, but of power, and of love, and of a sound mind." Still our Lord was faithful to his promise, "Lo, I am with you."<sup>36</sup>

**Monday, March [24].** Returned to Evesham, met Mr. Henry [Seward]. He asked me to step into the Crown. I answered I did not frequent taverns.

[Henry:] "What business have you with my brother?"

[CW:] "Can you imagine, if I have any business with him, as a Christian, I shall communicate it to you?"

[Henry:] "Why not to me?"

[CW:] "Because you are a natural man."

[Henry:] "Why, are not you a natural man as well as I?"

[CW:] "You are a *mere* natural man, in your sins and in your blood."

[Henry:] "What do you mean by that? [2:9] I say, have you any particular business?"

[CW:] "I have business at present, somewhat different from talking with you."

**Tuesday, March [25].** News was brought us that Mr. Benjamin Seward was carrying out to Badsey, to be secured, no doubt, till I turn my back on Evesham. I walked out that way, and met Henry. He excused his past behaviour, said anger was rooted in his nature.

[Henry:] "But, indeed, sir, you are the downfall of my brother Benjamin. He has certainly been out of his senses."

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<sup>31</sup>Richard Viney (fl. 1738–44) was an early member of the Fetter Lane society, and interpreted for Peter Böhler, a German Moravian missionary, when he passed through London.

<sup>32</sup>Church Westcote, Oxfordshire; 3.5 miles east of Burton-on-the-Water. CW spells "Westcott."

<sup>33</sup>Acts 16:30.

<sup>34</sup>Idbury, Oxfordshire; 4 miles east of Burton-on-the-Water.

<sup>35</sup>Matt. 11:28.

<sup>36</sup>Matt. 28:20.

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[CW:] “Yes; and so have I been before now in a fever.”

[Henry:] “O, but we all really think him mad through means of you gentlemen.”

[CW:] “Very likely you may. And if it should ever please God to make *you* a Christian, you will be thought mad too.”

[Henry:] “God make me a Christian! I am a better Christian than you are.”

[CW:] “You was once in the way of being one, but you have stifled your convictions.”

[Henry:] “I say I am a better Christian than you are. I have good ministers and the Scriptures to teach me.”

[CW:] “Yes; and those Scriptures say a man that loves money is no more a Christian than an adulterer.”

[Henry:] “What, sir! Must not a man love money? How shall he go to market without it? Not that I value it, not I. —But what do you mean by making divisions in our family? You come now to get money.”

[CW:] “Indeed sir, you know not what I come for. You cannot tell what to make of me. You have no standard to measure me by but yourself. I don’t wonder at your outcries. Micah cried after them that ran away with his gods, and should they ask him what ailed him? Money is your god, and you think I come to rob you of it.”

He rode to a good convenient distance, then, turning back, cried out, “You are a rascal, and a villain, and a pickpocket!” and setting spurs to his horse, [2:10] rode off as fast as he could. Brother Maxfield and I walked on, calmly praising God.

Mr. Canning’s little daughter told us she had watched in the lane and put a note into Mr. Benjamin [Seward]’s hand.<sup>37</sup> Soon after his chariot stopped at our door, and I went out and found my friend. He invited me to his house. Henry was upon the coach-box, a place he full well became, and which nothing could make uneasy to him but my presence. Yesterday he told me I should never see his brother, and today he himself brings him to me.

**Tuesday, March [25].** Dined at Mr. Keech’s, who is somewhat awakened, his daughter more so, his wife a true mourner.<sup>38</sup> Drank tea with one that *was* a sinner, but now looks unto Jesus. Walked out with brother Maxfield to the riverside, and spent a comfortable hour in prayer and singing. Then we went to Mr. Benjamin Seward’s. Found Henry and his wife [Elizabeth] with him, both surprisingly civil and full of apology. Henry begged my pardon, and waited upon me to the gate.

I finished Matthew 5 with the society. All was quiet till the last hymn. Then I heard the enemy roaring, and gave out another. They left off first, and the people departed. Not all, I hope, in peace, for the strong man armed is disturbed in many.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>37</sup>Either Martha (b. 1730) or Mary (b. 1732), daughters of Thomas and Jane (Belcher) Canning.

<sup>38</sup>John Keech (1689–1751) and his wife Martha (Glover) Keech (1693–1752) had recently moved to Evesham, where John was a barber. Their daughter Martha (“Patty,” b. 1724) would marry Charles Yardington in Evesham in 1752.

<sup>39</sup>See Matt. 12:29.

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**Wednesday, March [26].** Breakfasted at Mr. Seward's. We were all diverted at Mr. Henry [Steward]'s making, and continually breaking, his promise not to be angry. Who maketh me to differ?

Expounded John 3, and was much assisted in the application. A poor harlot spoke out after her manner, but the devil durst not let her stay. He soon hurried her out of the reach of the gospel, as he did two or three more who, as soon as they had spoken a word for him, made off.

**Thursday, March [27].** Finished John 3 in as strong words as I could speak. What a stony heart has the natural man, till the hammer [2:11] of God's word breaks the rock in pieces!<sup>40</sup>

**Friday, March 28.**<sup>41</sup> Met Mr. Henry [Seward] at his brother's, and with all plainness of love endeavoured to convince him of sin. Never have I found a man of so little sense, with so many evasions. I simply told him that if he died in his present condition, he must die eternally; that he raged in vain, my hook was within him; I had warned the sinner, and delivered my own soul. "Your hook!" cried he; "what do you mean by your hook?" Benjamin [Seward] answered, smiling, "You know, brother, Mr. Wesley is a fisher of men." As a minister, I added, I now showed him *his* lost estate, and that whether he would hear, or whether he would forbear.

In the schoolhouse I summed up all I had said, and encouraged them to build up one another, promising to see them again, when the Lord directed my way to them. We had a few noisy ἀγοραῖοι<sup>42</sup> to quicken us. Our parting was as it ought to be.

**Saturday, March 29.** Took my leave of Mr. Seward. Henry [Seward] fell upon me, for advising his brother to keep up the society. "Rogue, rascal, villain, pickpocket," were the best titles he could afford me. Mr. Benjamin [Seward] interposed. I begged him not then to answer a fool according to his folly.<sup>43</sup> Henry started up, and courageously took me by the nose. The cries of Mrs. Seward stopped any farther violence. I was filled with comfort, felt the hand of God upon me, and sat still. Said to Mrs. Seward, "Be not disquieted, madam. I have learned to turn the other cheek." Henry was as the troubled sea. Benjamin, perfectly composed, said to me, "You have now received one mark of Christ"; to his brother, "Was I what you are, I should turn you out of my house [2:12] this moment." I would not let him proceed. Begged pardon for the disturbance I had been the innocent occasion of, and departed, rejoicing that I was counted worthy to suffer shame for the name of Christ.

Came to Westcott. Found Mrs. Morgan hungering and thirsting for righteousness.<sup>44</sup> The last was become the first.<sup>45</sup> They desired me to expound the lesson, St. Paul's Epistle to Philemon. In speaking to the fifteenth verse, "For perhaps he therefore departed for a season,

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<sup>40</sup>See Jer. 23:29.

<sup>41</sup>For Mar. 28 – Apr. 1, 1740, see also CW's more detailed journal letter to JW, in *Journal Letters*, 43–49.

<sup>42</sup>ἀγοραῖος means literally one "in, of, or belonging to the market place," and often in the plural has the connotation of "noisy rabble." Cf. its only biblical use in Acts 19:38.

<sup>43</sup>See Prov. 26:5.

<sup>44</sup>See Matt. 5:6.

<sup>45</sup>See Matt. 19:30.

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that thou shouldest receive him for ever,” the Spirit was present in his demonstration. Brother Maxfield felt it, and told me, he *knew* Mrs. Morgan had received the blessing. She retired to prayer; informed us (afterwards) that she had been filled with inexpressible comfort, from an assured sense of pardon; that, while she was praying, a sudden damp came over her, for having *blasphemously* thought her sins forgiven. She knew not then, though we did, from whence this fear proceeded.

**Sunday, March 30.** My late discourses have worked differently. Some are wounded, some hardened. I hear of no neuters. The word has turned them upside down.

In the pulpit I opened the book on “The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because the Lord hath anointed me to preach the gospel to the poor.”<sup>46</sup> I described our Lord’s prophetic office, and the persons on whom *alone* he could perform it. We returned from the altar with the voice of praise and thanksgiving, among such as keep holiday. Mrs. Morgan felt every word we sang.

From [here] we hasted to the meat which the world knoweth not of.<sup>47</sup> Idbury church and churchyard were full. I showed them wherein that holiness consisted; answered their objections, dividing [2:13] to them the word of truth,<sup>48</sup> both law and gospel. Many were pierced to the dividing asunder their soul and spirit. One woman the commandment plainly slew, and she was carried off in a fit. O that all hardened sinners were so wounded in spirit!

We hasted back to Westcott, where I preached the pure gospel from the Good Samaritan.<sup>49</sup> Surely he was in the midst, pouring in his oil and wine.

Adjourned to Mr. Morgan’s. His house was crowded as a minister’s ought to be. In the morning I had thoughts of expounding Rom. 7. And now a woman told me she had read that Mr. William Seward had been convinced by my explaining Romans 7, and therefore begged me to expound it now. I did so, with great assistance. The woman heard (as her tears confessed) her own state, not St. Paul’s, described. Another serious Dissenter was equally moved.

**Monday, March 31.** Got, well weary, to Oxford.

**April 1740**

**Tuesday, April 1.** Encouraged Charles Graves against the fear of man, which had almost separated him from the despised followers of Christ. Preached to the society “Christ, our wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption.”<sup>1</sup> Brother [Richard] Viney allows we speak the same words with him—if he disallowed it, it makes no matter with me.

**Thursday, April 3.** Reached London by 2:00. Found my brother [Westley] Hall quite cold and unconcerned.<sup>2</sup> He seems never to have heard of the gospel, or that God is reviving his work in these latter days.

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<sup>46</sup>Luke 4:18.

<sup>47</sup>See John 4:32.

<sup>48</sup>See 2 Tim. 2:15.

<sup>49</sup>Luke 10:29–37.

<sup>1</sup>1 Cor. 1:30.

<sup>2</sup>Westley Hall had moved his family to London around Mar. 1739.

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At the Foundery<sup>3</sup> preached on “The kingdom of God is not meat and drink, but righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost.”<sup>4</sup> We joined to meet in the name of Jesus. My heart was enlarged in prayer for the infant society.

Talked with poor perverted Mr. Simpson.<sup>5</sup> The *still ones* have carried their point. He said [2:14] some were prejudiced against the Moravian brethren, and particularly against Molther,<sup>6</sup> but that he had received great benefit from them. I asked whether he was *still in* the means of grace, or *out* of them. “Means of grace!” he answered, “there are none. Neither is there any good to be got by those you call such or any obligation upon us to use them. Sometimes I go to church and sacrament for example sake, but it is a thing of mere indifference. Most of us have cast them off. You must not speak a word in recommendation of them. That is setting people upon working.”

What shall we say to these things? I then *said* little, but thought, “Ah, my brother! You have set the wolf to keep the sheep.”

**Good Friday, April 4.** Called on a multitude of sinners at the Foundery, “Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world.”<sup>7</sup> Many were melted into tears. But their tears, our brother Simpson observed, were a sign that they were *not* affected.

After preaching, James Hutton came to fetch me to Molther, at John Bray’s. I chose rather to fast than eat, and to pray in God’s house than dispute in another’s.

Called with [Thomas] Maxfield on Molther in the afternoon. He did not much open himself, only talked in general against *running after ordinances*. We parted as we met, without either prayer or singing. The time for these poor exercises is past. Brother Maxfield was scandalized at their trifling, which is perfectly consistent with stillness, though Christian exhortation is not.

At 6:00 read several bills of thanksgiving for comforts received under the word in the morning. Our Lord was powerfully with me, while I described his sufferings (Isaiah 53).

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<sup>3</sup>A former factory for making cannons, in Moorfields, which JW acquired early in 1740 (having preached there in Nov. 1739), in anticipation of the split in the Fetter Lane society. It became the London headquarters for the Wesleyan wing of the revival. See Martin, *Wesley’s Chapels*, 20–29.

<sup>4</sup>Rom. 14:17.

<sup>5</sup>John Sympton (b. c. 1710) of Gainsborough, Lincolnshire, was admitted to Lincoln College, Oxford, in 1728, where in 1730 JW became his tutor. After graduation in 1731 Sympton was ordained and served as curate in Grayington, Lincolnshire for a while. By 1739 Sympton was in London, and became one of the leaders in the Fetter Lane society advocating stillness or quietism; cf. JW, *Journal*, Apr. 19, 1740, *Works*, 19:146. CW spells “Simson.”

<sup>6</sup>Rev. Philip Henry Molther (c. 1714–80) was ordained by Count Zinzendorf in 1739 and appointed to missionary work in Pennsylvania. In London while in transit, James Hutton introduced him to the Fetter Lane society, where he was distressed with the popular charismatic phenomena. In reaction he encouraged a type of quietism nearing complete separation from all church-related activities. This would lead to the disruption of the society on July 20, 1740.

<sup>7</sup>John 1:29. See CW’s hymn of this passage from the time period: *HSP* (1742), 27–28.



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**Saturday, April 5.** Spent an hour with Charles [2:15] Delamotte. The Philistines have been upon him, and prevailed. He has given up the ordinances, as to their being matter of duty. Only his practice lies a little behind his faith. He uses them still.

He would not have me plead for them. "They are mere outward things. Our brethren have left them off. It would only cause divisions to bring them up again. Let them drop, and speak of the weightier matters of the law." I told him I would hear them of their own mouth, who talked against the ordinances; first have my full evidence, and then speak and not spare.

Breakfasted with my mother, who has been dealt with, but in vain.<sup>8</sup> Bishop Beveridge would as soon have given up the ordinances.<sup>9</sup>

I disturbed Mr. [George] Stonehouse before his time. It was but eight o'clock. However, he rose and came to me.

"If thou art he! But O, how changed! how fallen!"<sup>10</sup> How a mere, mere Moravian all over! He is now taught to teach that there are no degrees of faith, no forgiveness of faith where any unbelief remains; any doubt, or fear, or sorrow. He himself was never justified, is going to leave his parish, and *transport* himself—to Germany!

I have given an account of his wife [Mary] in him.

From 11:00 to 1:00 is devoted to conference. The first that came was Stephen Dupee, a soldier, who informs me he received forgiveness this week *in* hearing the word, and could lay down his life for the truth of it.<sup>11</sup> But forasmuch as faith came not by hearing the Moravians, I suppose in his first temptation they will remand him to the prison of Satan, and not allow him to have faith till he subscribes to theirs.

Margaret Austin tells me she has longed for my coming as a child for the breast.<sup>12</sup> "I was justified," she said, "the first Friday you [2:16] was at Wapping;<sup>13</sup> with those many others, saw my Saviour bringing me a pardon written in his blood. But their telling me I had no faith if I had any doubt, brought me again into darkness. I have been in an agony ever since. But last night my Saviour returned. I received your words as coming from his mouth, and with the eye of faith I again saw my pardon, written in his blood."

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<sup>8</sup>Susanna (Annesley) Wesley was now living at the Foundery in London.

<sup>9</sup>See William Beveridge (1637–1708), *The Great Necessity and Advantage of Public Prayer and Frequent Communion* (London: R. Smith, 1708). Beveridge was Bishop of St. Asaph, 1704–08.

<sup>10</sup>Compare Satan's reaction to first seeing the effects of the angelic fall upon one of his followers in John Dryden, *The State of Innocence and the Fall of Man, an Opera* (London: Herringman, 1677), 2: "If thou art he. But ah! how changed from him, / Companion of my Arms! how wan! how dim!"

<sup>11</sup>Stephen Dupee appears as a married man in the Foundery Band Lists (1742–46).

<sup>12</sup>Margaret Austin appears as a married woman in the Foundery Band Lists (1742–46). See also her account of her spiritual experience, written for CW, dated May 19, 1740.

<sup>13</sup>A society met on Fridays in Wapping; CW spoke there regularly when in London, from as early as Apr. 1739. His first time may have been Apr. 6.

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Walked with brother Maxfield, praying and praising God. A sweet confidence he gave us that he would not leave us alone, but by us weak things confound the things that are strong.

Sister Jackson called, and much strengthened my hands.<sup>14</sup> Most of the women have renounced the ordinances. Our sister Muncy<sup>15</sup> has left their society, for their treatment of *her* ministers.

A separation I foresee unavoidable. All means have been taken to wean our friends of their esteem for us. God never used us, say they, as instruments to convert one soul. Indeed, I have just received a noble testimony of William Seward's to the contrary. But he and George Whitefield are reprobated for unbelievers. In a letter now received, George writes, "Remember what Luther says, 'Rather let heaven and earth come together, than one tittle of truth perish.'"<sup>16</sup>

I preached at Bowers's society. Many *still* ones were there, watching for my halting. As yet I fight in the cloud, and think it safest not to converse with such of our misled, misleading brethren as I love best—particularly Mr. Stonehouse and Mr. [Wyseman] Claggett.

**Easter Day, April 6.**<sup>17</sup> At the Foundery I strongly preached Christ, and the power of his resurrection, from Phil. 3:9–10. My intention was, not to mention one word of the controverted points till I had spoke with each of the seducers. But God ordered it better, and led me, I know not how, *in ipsam aciem et certamen*.<sup>18</sup> My mouth was opened to ask, "Who hath bewitched you, [2:17] that you should let go your Saviour?"<sup>19</sup> That you should cast away your shield and your confidence, and deny you ever knew him?"<sup>20</sup> More to this purpose I said, and then followed a burst of general sorrow. The whole congregation was in tears. I called them back to their Saviour, even *theirs*, in words which were not mine. Pressed obedience to the divine ordinances, and prayed my Lord to stay his hand, and not set to his seal, unless I spoke as the oracles of God.

After preaching, he sent me a witness of his truth which I had delivered. A sister, long in darkness through doubtful disputations, came and declared Christ has again appeared unto her and imprinted forgiveness on her heart. My heart, for the time, was as hers. Brother Maxfield was in full triumph of faith.

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<sup>14</sup>Jane Jackson appears as a married woman in the Foundery Band Lists (1742–46).

<sup>15</sup>Jane Muncy sided with the Wesley brothers when Fetter Lane divided. CW spells "Munsy."

<sup>16</sup>See Luther, *Commentary on Galatians*, on Gal. 5:12, that "every tittle" of Scripture "is greater than heaven and earth." Whitefield's letter to CW is not known to survive.

<sup>17</sup>For Apr. 6–8, 1740, see also CW's more detailed journal letter to JW, in *Journal Letters*, 50–57.

<sup>18</sup>Cf. Cicero, *Epistulae ad Familiares*, XV.iv.16; "in the very line of battle and contest."

<sup>19</sup>See Gal. 3:1.

<sup>20</sup>See Luke 22:57.

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Dined at Hilland's,<sup>21</sup> halting between two.<sup>22</sup> [Richard] Bell, [John] Simpson, and others, when the bell rung for church, said "It is good for us to be here." "Well, then," said I, "I will go myself, and leave you to your antichristian liberty." Upon this they started up and bore me company.

One of them told a poor man in my hearing, "That comfort you received at the sacrament, was given you by the devil." I should less blasphemously have called it, the drawing of the Father,<sup>23</sup> or preventing grace.

The Foundery at night was filled both within and without. I showed them their natural estate and the way to come out of it in blind Bartimeus,<sup>24</sup> who sat by the wayside begging. I could not have *so spoken* of the ordinances, had not God instituted them. Every word brought its own evidence to their hearts.

Walked with Maxfield to [George] Bowers's, where the bands were to meet, the door was shut against us. I carried the few sisters to John Bray's. More joined us in prayer and praise. God blessed my words, and enlarged our hearts in love to each other. The [2:18] poor scattered sheep *knew my voice*. A stranger they will not follow.<sup>25</sup>

John Bray came with [John] Edmonds, took me aside, and desired brother Maxfield might be turned out.<sup>26</sup> I submitted it to the sisters, who all desired he might stay. Then, without losing an hour in dumb show, I gave out an hymn, and prayed according to God. For an hour I spoke freely, no one forbidding me. Avowed my love to them, my disinterestedness, my success. Told them what God had done for my soul, and others through me. Gloried in the cross of Christ. Lamented their having been so troubled. Exhorted them to hold fast whereunto they had attained, and never to forsake the holy ordinances; to renounce the Moravians; to avoid all reasonings and disputes about their faith; and to go on to perfection.

Many close things God enabled me to speak, concerning those that troubled them, and would exclude us, that they might affect them; yet all in the spirit of meekness.

I asked Bray whether he denied the ordinances to be commands. He answered directly, "I grant them to be great privileges." (Edmonds confessed more honestly that he had cast them off.) Whether he had not denied George Whitefield to have faith? This question he answered by begging to be excused it. He denounced grievous woes against the women for suffering Maxfield to be present, contrary to order. That order, they said, had been imposed upon them when no

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<sup>21</sup>John Hilland (or Hyland, d. 1749), a hog butcher, of Old Street; and his wife Martha (née Ireland; d. 1767). See Benham, *Hutton*, 91. CW spells "Hiland."

<sup>22</sup>See 1 Kings 18:21: "How long halt ye between two opinions?"

<sup>23</sup>See John 6:44.

<sup>24</sup>Mark 10:46–52.

<sup>25</sup>See John 10:4–5.

<sup>26</sup>The group of men who organized the Fetter Lane society adopted guidelines on Sept. 26, 1738 that allowed for a meeting of a group of women, under the stipulation that no men would be present except their respective husbands, and the (clergy) persons who pray and expound the Scriptures; see *WHS* 17 (1929): 30–32. Since Maxfield was neither ordained nor married at that time, his presence violated this rule.

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minister was present, and they were threatened to be turned out unless they consented to it. I put my brother Bray in mind of his respect for the prophethess Lavington,<sup>27</sup> to show he was not infallible.

We plainly saw his stillness was ruffled. He *showed* it by threatening to renounce all care of the bands till they refused Maxfield admittance. I told him I did not see what good he had done [2:19] them since our leaving London. Asked if he could charge us with preaching another gospel,<sup>28</sup> preferred Molther to myself. Yet declared I would not give place to him by subjection; no, not for an hour. But whosoever cast off the ordinances, I would cast off him, although it was my own brother.

Concluded our conference with thanksgiving.

Below, John Bray asked me whether I should come to my band on Monday. I answered, "No." He modestly replied, "Then you shall be expelled."

**Monday, April 7.** Cried to above five thousand at Kennington Common, "Ho everyone that thirsteth, come ye to the waters."<sup>29</sup> The love this people bear me requires the counterbalance of our stronger brethren's contempt.<sup>30</sup>

My companions in the coach had been Quakers, but left them for their worldly-mindedness, and clave to us. They begin to feel themselves sinners.

Came to brother Maxfield's assistance, who was engaged in dispute with [Richard] Bell, but an over-match for him, and much wiser in the things of God than his teacher. Bell graciously allows him to be a child of God, although never brought into confusion by the still brethren.

**Tuesday, April 8.** Met Simpson and Oxlee at the Foundery.<sup>31</sup> The former told me plainly, if I recommended the ordinances, he must preach against me. I avowed my resolution never to give them up, as he and our poor deluded brethren had done. He tried all his Moravian questions upon Maxfield: *illidens solido*.<sup>32</sup>

Preached on Mark 2:10, "The Son of man hath power on earth to forgive sins." Anne Young, one who has been brought into confusion, testified that power, having now received the witness into herself. Several others come out of darkness daily, and recover their comfort. [2:20]

Many poor sinners came to confer with me today about their souls. Two hours is full little for this work.

At 1:00 the woman bands met by my appointment. I began praying and we were all overwhelmed. I spoke largely of their being brought into the wilderness, of their folly and ingratitude in giving up not his ministers only but their Saviour himself. My love and sorrow ran through them all. I told them that their forsaking the ordinances sufficiently accounted for their

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<sup>27</sup>See the entry above for June 7–12, 1739.

<sup>28</sup>See Gal. 1:6.

<sup>29</sup>Isa. 55:1.

<sup>30</sup>Over the next two months CW typically uses "brethren" with specific reference to those in the Fetter Lane society now aligning with Moravian (i.e., the Unity of the Brethren) emphases.

<sup>31</sup>William Oxlee (1713–78), a clog maker and one of the early members of the Fetter Lane society, became a leading London Moravian layman. CW spells "Oxley."

<sup>32</sup>"Remained resolute under the attack."

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being forsaken by Christ. Warned them against disputing; against vindicating *me*, or saying, “I am of Paul, and I of Apollos”;<sup>33</sup> against the double extreme of resting in the means, of slighting them; but, above all, against stopping short of the glorious image of God.

Jane Jackson and others witnessed what God had done for their souls through our ministry.<sup>34</sup> If Christ be not with us, who hath begotten us these? His power overshadowed us at this time. Therefore our heart danced for joy and in our song did we praise him.

I drank tea at Mr. Hawthorne’s, who seems, with his wife and sisters, not far from the kingdom of God.<sup>35</sup> I spoke of the love of Christ crucified to the misses of the school, and melted them into tears. How easily might children receive their Saviour, if he were tendered to them!

Preached at the Common to six thousand poor, maimed, halt, and blind. Glory to him, who is with his messengers *always*!

At Mr. Crouch’s I opened the book upon Phil. 1:25, “And having this confidence, I know that I shall abide and continue with you all, for your furtherance and joy of faith . . .” I gave some account of our colliers, and prayed that their spirit might be with us. He was so, indeed. One received his testimony in her heart; all some spiritual gift. [2:21]

**Wednesday, April 9.** I began Isaiah. At 1:00, met the women. Prayed in faith that some might receive a second gift. Sister Hinsom recovered the sight of *her* Saviour.<sup>36</sup> So did sister Barber.<sup>37</sup> He was with us of a truth. How vainly does man deny, when God confirms!

Dined at Mr. Dawson’s, a sincere soul, his wife unawakened.<sup>38</sup> As we were going, two gentlewomen came in. One was seeking Christ. We prayed, and had free access. We prayed again, and wrestled for an answer. The work went visibly forward in her soul. She trembled exceedingly. The Spirit cried and groaned from her heart. Her sighs shook my soul, till deliverance came. The clouds were scattered more and more. Her doubts and fears died away, and at last she confidently laid claim to Jesus *her* Saviour.

I never saw a soul so sweetly rising to the assurance of faith. In our thanksgiving she triumphed. Full of the spirit of love and supplication. I lent words to her faith. Mrs. Dawson trembled. Her husband mourned. I was filled with confidence. Brother Maxfield was almost out of the body.

This was to prepare us for Fetter Lane, whither I carried brother Maxfield. I was in a mild, open, loving frame. The brethren could not contain long. Hutton began with objecting to

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<sup>33</sup>1 Cor. 1:12.

<sup>34</sup>Jane Jackson appears as a married woman in the Foundry Band Lists (1742–46) through Nov. 1742.

<sup>35</sup>William Hawthorne (d. 1743), with his wife and his sisters Ann (d. 1741) and Rachel (d. 1757), ran a boarding school. JW records Ann’s death in his *Journal*, May 7, 1741, *Works*, 19:194. CW spells “Hawthorn.” Rachel appears in the Foundry Band Lists (1742–46). She informed CW of William’s death in a letter dated Apr. 15, 1743.

<sup>36</sup>Elizabeth Hinsom appears as a single woman in the Foundry Band Lists (1742–46).

<sup>37</sup>Sarah Barber appears as a single woman in the Foundry Band Lists (1742–46).

<sup>38</sup>Robert Dawson appears as a married man repeatedly in the Foundry Band Lists (1742–46); his wife does not appear. See also Dawson’s letter in the entry for Apr. 10.

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Maxfield's presence at the women's lovefeast. I spoke as reconciling as I could (but the strong cannot bear with the weak). Desired their prayers that what I knew not, the Lord would show me.

James [Hutton] welcomed Maxfield by telling him, "If ever you speak to any of the women as you used to do at Bristol, you must not come here." Maxfield was the only *still* person among us. The old man rose in me,<sup>39</sup> but my Lord kept me within bounds.

[John] Simpson took upon him next to reprove me for mentioning myself in preaching, and [2:22] showing such vehemence, which was all animal spirits. I took him up short, that I should not ask him, or any of the brethren, how an ambassador of Christ should speak.

The strong ones were now brim full of dispute. I was to declare my success at Bristol, but they would not permit me. After much thwarting, I told them they did not deserve a true minister of Christ. James began giving me good words, but Simpson spoiled all again by accusing me with "preaching up the ordinances." Got home, weary, wounded, and bruised, and faint, through the contradiction of sinners. *Poor* sinners, as they call themselves, these heady, violent, fierce contenders for stillness. I could not bear the thought of meeting them again.

[Thursday, April 10.] Finished Isaiah 1 at the Foundery, which led me to speak explicitly on the ordinances. God gave me great power—or, as our brethren will have it, animal spirits—sealing my words upon many hearts.

Mrs. Seaton's in particular.<sup>40</sup> The hammer had broke the rock.<sup>41</sup> "*I had so built her up in ordinances,*" as they phrase it, that she saw herself a damned sinner, a pharisee, and hypocrite, trusting in a form of godliness all her life, but not knowing the power.<sup>42</sup> She now felt her heart-sins, and that she was capable of all manner of wickedness.

Prayed by a faithful soul, whom Simpson had buffeted. But she would not quite let go her Saviour. She was greatly confirmed. And Mrs. Seaton, too, was fully set at liberty, and rejoiced, believing with all her heart.

Simpson and the rest have dissuaded them, and indeed all our friends, from ever hearing my brother or me, or using any of the means. They condemn all doing good, whether to soul or body. "For, unless you *trust* in them," say they, "you would not do good works, so called." [2:23]

Yesterday Simpson declared, "No soul can be washed in the blood of Christ unless it be first brought to a true believer, or one in whom Christ is fully formed. But there are only *two such ministers* in London, which are [Philip] Molther and [Richard] Bell." If this is not calling man rabbi,<sup>43</sup> what is? Nay, it is worse. It is making the excellency of the power to be of man, and not of God.<sup>44</sup> It is robbing Christ of his glory, and making his creature *necessary* to him in his peculiar work of salvation. First perish Molther, Bell, and all mankind, and sink into nothing, that Christ may be all in all.

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<sup>39</sup>See Rom. 6:6.

<sup>40</sup>This is likely Arabella Seaton, a widow who resided on Aldersgate Street and appears briefly in a trial band at the Foundery in 1742; see Foundery Band Lists (1742–46).

<sup>41</sup>See Jer. 23:29.

<sup>42</sup>See 2 Tim. 3:5.

<sup>43</sup>See Matt. 23:8.

<sup>44</sup>See 2 Cor. 4:7.

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I am astonished at the divine goodness. How seasonably did it bring us hither, and lead us since! The adversary roared in the midst of the congregation, and set up his banners for tokens. A new commandment, called “stillness,” had repealed all God’s commandments and given a full indulgence to lazy, corrupt nature. The *still* ones rage above measure against *me*—for my brother, they *say*, had consented to their pulling down the ordinances, and here come I and build them up again.

God overruled me to declare myself *before the time* I intended, which cut off their *πιθανολογία*.<sup>45</sup> O what a deliverance was this! For they would deceive the very elect. Satan has transformed himself into an angel of light.<sup>46</sup> What havoc would these “dogs of hell” have made, had not our Lord arose to maintain his own cause! But, glory be to him, when the enemy was come in like a flood, then the Spirit of the Lord lifted up a standard against him.

Met such of the sisters as have not forsook the ordinances. Our Lord divides the spoil with the mighty, and I doubt not but a little one will become a thousand. Some or [2:24] other continually recover their comfort.

Received the following letter from him we dined with yesterday:

O praise the Lord with me, and let us magnify his name together! Reverend sir, I cannot forbear acquainting you how mercifully God heard your prayers for me. After you left me, I was deeply depressed, and went mourning all the evening, as I had done for months before; my prayers seldom reaching farther than sighs and groans. At waking, I offered up my first thoughts, and was presently answered with a comfortable power to say, “I know that my Redeemer liveth.”<sup>47</sup> My heavy load is vanished. Blessed be his eternal goodness! Now can I praise him with joyful lips. O pray for me, my dear pastor, for to you and your brother I am a debtor more than I can pay. But my Lord will pay it for me. And now I *know* he has paid all my debts above, he will not forget these below.

From your young son in Christ,

Robert Dawson

At 6:00 I began St. John’s gospel. The true light shone in our darkness.<sup>48</sup> Several saw his glory. Some testified it in the society, and more in their notes of thanksgiving. I prayed in confidence. Bell was present. God called forth his witnesses. Four made confession of the faith then given or restored. I carried Bell to each. He had nothing to object to their strong and full testimony. Two declared they had apprehended Christ before, but on their forsaking his ordinances he had forsook them. I warned them all from hence not to trust in the ordinances, lest God in judgment should suffer them to cast them off. Spoke strongly and mildly of those who had turned the lame out of the way. Prayed for their return, and for the increase of this little

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<sup>45</sup> “Persuasive speech” or “art of persuasion.” It is used here, as in its only biblical occurrence (Col. 2:4), with a negative sense of “false but persuasive words.”

<sup>46</sup>See 2 Cor. 11:14.

<sup>47</sup>Job 19:25.

<sup>48</sup>See John 1:5.

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flock.

God himself could not [2:25] convince one who *would* not be convinced; no, not though he made bare his arm before us.<sup>49</sup> “Christ commands me to say,” said Bell, if we would believe him, “that the ordinances are no commands.” I forbade all dispute, telling him it should rest here. He said they were no commands; I said they were—let the word of God determine. In Fetter Lane none durst speak for them. Here none should speak against them. If he could forbear, he should be welcome here; otherwise, not.

**Friday, April [11].**<sup>50</sup> The still brethren confront me with my brother’s authority, pretending that he consented not to speak of the ordinances (i.e., in effect to give them up), but leave it to everyone’s choice whether they would use them or not. That necessity is laid upon us to walk in them, that “Do this in remembrance of me”<sup>51</sup> has the nature of a command, they absolutely deny. From “Woe unto the world because of offences . . .,”<sup>52</sup> I argued that their having offended or stumbled one of these little ones was no proof that he did not believe in Jesus, but a dreadful proof that the offender had better never have been born.<sup>53</sup>

Poor Simpson was present, but could not stand it. He withdrew dejected (I hope, shaken), for a mighty power accompanied the word.

Anne Parker, in conference, told me, they had darkened, but could not quite destroy, the work of God in her soul.<sup>54</sup> Her faith she would not give up, though she lost the comfort of it through their doubtful disputations. But on Thursday, while we were praying, she recovered it with large increase.

Hannah Kent declares she felt Christ’s blood applied last night.<sup>55</sup> So did Elisabeth Morrison upon my asking, “Believest thou that he is able to do this? That the Son of man can forgive [2:26] you this moment?”<sup>56</sup> Elisabeth Bowen, likewise, received her pardon last night in hearing.

I am forced to allow more time for conference. Today the weak ones found me full employment from 3:00 to 11:00.

At Wapping I was directed to, “Go, wash in the pool of Siloam,” John 9:7. Well is the Spirit compared to a mighty rushing wind. We heard the sound of it now, and the flame was kindled. Many felt the pangs of the new birth. Behold, a cry, “The bridegroom cometh!”<sup>57</sup> I knew not when to leave off preaching, praying, singing. Four witnesses stood forth and testified, “A

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<sup>49</sup>See Isa. 52:10.

<sup>50</sup>Orig., April “10”; an error.

<sup>51</sup>Luke 22:19.

<sup>52</sup>Matt. 18:6–7.

<sup>53</sup>This reflects the Matt. 18:6–7 quotation, but also Matt. 26:24.

<sup>54</sup>Anne Parker appears as a single woman in the Foundery Band Lists (1742–46).

<sup>55</sup>This is likely the Anna Kent who appears as a married woman in the Foundery Band Lists (1742–46).

<sup>56</sup>Elisabeth Morrison appears as a single woman in the Foundery Band Lists (1742–46).

<sup>57</sup>Matt. 25:6.



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man that is called Jesus hath opened mine eyes.”<sup>58</sup> From him they received power to believe, and they worshipped him.

Mr. Simpson called, and laid down his two postulatums that: 1) the ordinances are no commands; 2) it is impossible to doubt after justification. I maintained the contradictory; plainly told him they were fighting against God, robbing him of his glory, offending his little ones, and were under a strong delusion.

While I was going to bed, he came again with Bell and disputed against the ordinances and degrees of faith. He often repeated to himself, “*O my Jesus!*” I asked him, “Have you a new heart?”

[Simpson:] “No.”

[CW:] “Have you faith?”

[Simpson:] “No.”

[CW:] “Would you not be damned, if you died this moment?”

[Simpson:] “Yes.”

[CW:] “Then how dare you, a damned unbeliever, say, ‘*My Jesus?*’”

He was struck, and had nothing to answer.

**Sunday, April 13.** Spoke strong words of waiting for Christ *in* the use of means. In vain do our brethren dissuade. They have set the house on fire, and now say they will be quiet if I will.

Before preaching, a woman came to me in the agony of despair. After [2:27] preaching, I saw her rejoicing in Christ *her* Saviour. Such seals he gives me, as often as I speak in his name. And while he does so, I am content that man should withhold his testimony.

Received the sacrament at St. Paul’s. The last time I communicated there was in company with our whole society. Who hath bewitched them,<sup>59</sup> that they should not obey their Saviour? A Moravian, by declaring some months ago he had long sought Christ in the ordinances in vain but on his leaving them off immediately found him. Nature caught the word, and our brethren cast off all means at once.

I am now informed that Mrs. Sutherland was to hear me on Thursday evening and, when she got home, filled with all peace and joy in believing.<sup>60</sup>

My soul was exceeding sorrowful at the lovefeast to find so little love, and so much dispute. I spoke as healingly as I could. Declared what God had done for the colliers. Put them in remembrance of his work begun in *them* by our ministry, and what manner of entrance in we had among them. Concluded with expostulation how injuriously our brethren had dealt with us, by dissuading all from hearing us and hindering, as much as in them lay, the farther course of our ministry. Clark (another [John] Shaw) denied the fact.<sup>61</sup> I appealed to [John] Simpson, who had

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<sup>58</sup>John 9:11.

<sup>59</sup>See Gal. 3:1.

<sup>60</sup>Elizabeth Sutherland appears as a married woman in the Foundery Band Lists (1742–46).

<sup>61</sup>Apparently John Clarke (b. 1716), who was still present in the Moravian congregation at Fetter Lane in 1742, but later left. See Benham, *Hutton*, 90.

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confessed to me that he had dissuaded such and such persons from either hearing or seeing me. Our brother [Joseph] Hodges next began talking at random against peace, and joy, and love as if they were any marks of faith. He had much of them before he had any faith at all—i.e., any stillness. The women stopped his mouth. Many bore testimony to the truth of our doctrine, and that the Moravians, since Peter Böhler, had added nothing to us.

In singing [2:28] and prayer my spirit revived. We praised the Lord with *supernatural* joy, and magnified his name together.

**Tuesday, April [15].** Received the following letters:

My Friend in Christ,

I cannot help letting you know that the Lord carries on the work he began in me. He has showed me you are a minister of his own sending. He hath taken the scales from my eyes. I was lame; he has made me walk. I was bound as with chains of darkness; he has burst my bonds in sunder. He has plucked me as a brand out of hell, and shall I dare to hide this? Shall I not declare what he hath done for my soul? I am not ashamed to say I sat by the wayside begging, and, as Jesus passed by, I received my sight. I am not afraid to say a servant of Christ uncovered the roof, and Jesus saw me brought unto him, poor and helpless. He looked on me, and said, “Thy sins are forgiven thee; thy faith hath made thee whole.”

O, this small grain of faith is of matchless value! “Thy sins are forgiven thee!” O, that word was Christ! Christ was the word that spoke it. Behold a miracle indeed! A greater one than if a dead body had been raised out of the earth. I was dead in sin, and Jesus raised me. He brought me from the pit of hell into the kingdom of light. Flesh and blood could not have revealed this, but the Spirit of God, which dwelleth in me. O, Jesus, make this light a continuing spring of life!

The Lord confirmed the word you delivered on Friday concerning Satan’s devices. He regards the low estate of his handmaid. I have some strivings, but he that keepeth me neither slumbers nor sleeps. I lean on him. I am as a new-born babe. He gently leads me. My Lord has brought me into [2:29] his banqueting house, and his banner over me is love. That the Lord may bless your ministry, and that there may never be wanting a constant supply of faithful labourers, is the most earnest prayer of

Yours in Christ,

E. Bristow<sup>62</sup>

Sir,

I beg leave to ask your opinion about my state. I do not doubt myself. For through the grace given me, I am confident God for Christ’s sake hath forgiven and made me free. But it has been questioned by a believer, whether I have received faith or not.

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<sup>62</sup>Apparently Elizabeth Bristow, who died May 1741 in London. Her name appears in the Foundry Band Lists with “dead” written beside it in shorthand. The complete letter, dated Apr. 12, 1740, from which this is abridged, survives: MARC, MA 1977/501/11.

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I was brought up an heathen in a D.D.'s house. After that I went to the Lord's table, and then thought myself a good Christian. But, blessed be God, I now see that I was an abominable pharisee. For my pride God cast me out of his house, and I fell into the foulest crimes I could commit.

After some time, I had a sight of my damnable estate, and that I was nothing but sin. I daily dreaded God's vengeance. I durst not offer to pray, knowing my prayer was an abomination to that God who is of purer eyes than to behold iniquity. I could not think it possible there should be forgiveness for me.

I had my punishment in view.  
I felt a thousand hells my due.<sup>63</sup>

I went twice to hear Mr. Whitefield, but thought it did not signify. My misery still increased. But it pleased God, the last time you, his faithful minister, preached at Kennington, from [2] Corinthians 6:9, my blessed Saviour was revealed in me, in so glorious a manner, that I rather thought myself in heaven than upon earth. I thought I could meet death with boldness. I was ready to cry out to everyone, "O taste and [2:30] see how good the Lord is!"<sup>64</sup> I would not for a thousand worlds be in my former state again.

May God prolong your life and health in his service and kingdom!

Dined at Mr. Crouch's with Mrs. Seaton. Young West came in.<sup>65</sup> I asked him abruptly, "Should you be as glad to see me at your house now as before I left London?" He was honest not to answer in the affirmative.

Our brethren have set themselves to take off all the authority with our friends, even before they knew we should not come in to their notions. It was best to make all sure, for fear we should not call them rabbi.<sup>66</sup> West would not believe they had warned any against hearing us, till Mrs. Seaton declared they had absolutely forbade her running after my brother, and gave this reason, "He owned to us that he had not the Spirit of God. Why, then, should you go to hear him?" Which shall I most admire, his simplicity in making such a confession, or their baseness in making *such* an use of it?

From our Lord's temptation I reasoned, that our being immediately tempted is no proof of our not being baptized with the Holy Ghost; that the devil's questioning our sonship is no disproof of it; that we may be in heaviness through manifold temptations, and yet have faith; that we are not to tempt God by neglecting the use of means, etc. The words reached many hearts,

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<sup>63</sup>Cf. CW, "Hymn on Gal. 3:22," st. 11, *HSP* (1739), 94.

<sup>64</sup>Ps. 34:8 (BCP).

<sup>65</sup>John West Jr. (1717–98), black silk dyer of Thames Street, London, who became a pillar of the Moravian community in London.

<sup>66</sup>See Matt. 23:8.

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particularly Mrs. West's.<sup>67</sup>

**Wednesday, April [16].** Breakfasted with two sisters who I think, from their own relation, were justified on Sunday last. Hear of fresh seals at all the times of conference.

Went to Deptford with Mrs. [Susanna] Ewsters. Bray had lately been with her, and tried to bring her [2:31] *into confusion*, telling her if she still heard me she never could be justified, but would have all her work to begin again. Simpson too draws away all he can, bidding them to go to [Philipp] Molther, or they cannot come to Christ.

Their behaviour is all of a piece, and perfectly consistent with that charitable assertion of John Bray's that it is impossible for anyone to be a true Christian *out* of the Moravian church.

Expounded with great enlargement at a society in Whitechapel. Some were deeply wounded. I lost count of them that are cured. Let God have all the glory.

Met the society at the Foundery. Recommended true stillness *in* the use of means. Sang, prayed, and exhorted with much freedom and love, till Mr. Simpson declared against the sacrament and asserted that no unjustified person ought to receive it, for if he did he ate and drank his own damnation.<sup>68</sup> I replied it was not fitting for *us* to dispute there. I would leave him to speak what he thought good to the society. I retired, but returned unseen, that I might undo any mischief he might occasion. A few of the women cried, "Let him go. We will hear Mr. Simpson." Poor Mrs. Hamilton extolled him for contradicting me, and protested against those who had snatched her as a brand out of the fire. The far greater part were filled with grief and love.

After Mr. Simpson had spoke all he had to say, I appeared and concluded with the hymn on the means of grace.<sup>69</sup>

In conference heard of more who have tasted the word of life by our ministry.

Expounded in Rotherhithe. The people are quite untamed but there was power among us, which drove out several. At Wapping I preached the pure gospel from the woman washing her Saviour's feet.<sup>70</sup> Many joined their [2:32] tears with hers.

At Mr. Mason's found an old believer, who had never been taught by Molther. I met Mrs. MacCune, who is now wholly perverted (our brethren would judge) and wants unsettling and confounding as much as if she had never heard the new gospel of stillness.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>67</sup>Wife of John Sr. and mother of John Jr. A widow West remained in membership of the Moravian community at Fetter Lane in 1742.

<sup>68</sup>See 2 Cor. 11:29.

<sup>69</sup>CW had just published "The Means of Grace" as a broadsheet, in response to the controversy at Fetter Lane. He and JW then included it in *HSP* (1740), 35–39, which was published in July.

<sup>70</sup>Luke 7:36–50.

<sup>71</sup>JW and CW visited with Daniel and Priscilla MacCune several times through mid-1742, when they aligned with the Moravians; cf. JW, *Journal*, May 29, 1741, *Works*, 19:196–97.

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Was informed that our brothers Parker and [William] Fish had been in quest of me.<sup>72</sup> How applicable the scripture I last expounded: “They all lie in wait. They hunt every man his brother with a net. The best of them is as a briar, the most upright is sharper than a thorn-hedge. Trust ye not in a friend, put ye not confidence in a guide” (Micah 7).<sup>73</sup>

**Sunday, April 20.** God confirmed his word, “If we confess our sins (unto God), he is faithful . . . .”<sup>74</sup> And while he does so, let who will despise prophesyings.

Preached at the Marshalsea forgiveness by Christ Jesus, from Acts 13:38. Thence Mrs. [Jane] Sparrow carried me to Kennington Common, where I divided the word of truth to upward of seven thousand hearers.<sup>75</sup>

At the Foundery I discoursed on Lazarus raised.<sup>76</sup> The sons of Belial blasphemed.<sup>77</sup> I *invited* them, till they were quiet as lambs. Then I strongly recommended the use of means from those words, “Take ye away the stone”;<sup>78</sup> and showed the weakness of faith from those, “He that was dead came forth, *bound hand and foot*.”<sup>79</sup> The word came with *divine* evidence. We rode triumphantly. Mrs. Sparrow thankfully acknowledged she was now delivered out of the snare of stillness, which they had laid for her. Mrs. MacCune was very full of what they call *animal spirits*!

I was greatly refreshed in the society, who are all of one heart and of one mind. Two orders were now agreed upon: 1) that no order shall be valid, unless the minister be present at the making of it; 2) that whosoever denies the ordinances to be commands shall be expelled [from] the society. [2:33]

**Tuesday, April 22.** Met Molther at Mr. Ibbison’s.<sup>80</sup> He expressly denies that grace, or the Spirit, is transmitted through the means, particularly through the sacrament. This, he insists, is no command; is for believers *only*, that is, for such as *are* sanctified, have Christ fully formed in their hearts. Faith, he teaches, is inconsistent with any following doubt or selfish thought. Forgiveness and the witness of the Spirit, the indwelling, the seal, are *always* given *together*.

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<sup>72</sup>A Mr. Parker hosted a society in Wapping in 1739; see JW to Whitefield, Feb. 26, 1759, *Works*, 25:602. This may be the Mr. Parker who aligned by 1743 with the Moravian congregation at Fetter Lane. Or it may be John Parker, who appears repeatedly as a married man in Foundery Band Lists (1742–46).

<sup>73</sup>Mic. 7:2–5.

<sup>74</sup>1 John 1:9.

<sup>75</sup>See 2 Tim. 2:15; this was likely the text of CW’s sermon, as he had been preaching from 2 Tim. 1 on Mar. 23.

<sup>76</sup>John 11.

<sup>77</sup>See 1 Sam. 2:12.

<sup>78</sup>John 11:39.

<sup>79</sup>John 11:44.

<sup>80</sup>Margaret Coultis (b. c. 1707) married Robert Ibbison (b. c. 1706) in 1731 in London. They both appear in the Foundery Band Lists (1742–46) for Apr. 1742, but not after. They may have immigrated about that time to North America and become Quakers. CW spells “Ibison.”

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Faith, *in this sense*, is a prerequisite of baptism. That is, the candidate must have received the Holy Ghost, must have Christ living in him, must be justified, and sanctified, must be born of God—in order to—his being born of God.

He mentioned it as a sign of my carnal state that I complained of our brethren for withdrawing the people's love from me and my brother. I answered, "So did St. Paul on the like occasion. 'They zealously affect you, but not well; yea, they would exclude *us*, that ye might affect *them*.'<sup>81</sup> If I desired their love for my own sake, it was wrong and carnal; if for theirs, it was right and apostolical."

Dined at Islington with Mr. Wild and others,<sup>82</sup> who cannot yet to be prevailed upon to throw away either their weak faith or the ordinances. They pressed me much to expound. I answered, "When Mr. Stonehouse (whom they ought still to reverence) desired it, then I would."

At Crouch's society many were wounded. I left among them the hymn entitled "The Means of Grace," which I have printed as an antidote to stillness.<sup>83</sup>

Found my brother at the Foundery and praised God for his seasonable return. Mr. Simpson, etc. had sent for him, to stop my "preaching up the ordinances."

Attended my brother to Fetter Lane. The first [2:34] hour passed in dumb show, as usual; the next in trifles not worth naming. John Bray, who seems to be a pillar, if not the main one, expelled one brother and reproved me for not attending my band. We parted as we met, with little of singing, less of prayer, and nothing of love. However, they carried their point, which was to divert my brother from speaking.

**Thursday, April 24.** My brother spoke after my own heart. His text, "Thou fool, that which thou sowest is not quickened, except it die."<sup>84</sup> Simpson and other disputers heard him describe that wilderness state. They will not now say that my brother and I preach different gospels.

To the society he demonstrated the ordinances to be both means of grace and commands of God. His power rested on us. None opened their mouth against the truth. We trust the little flock, who were following their new leaders into ruin, will now, through grace, come back again.

**Friday, April 25.** Had a conference with Molther and our still brethren, but could come to no agreement. They contend for the impossibility of doubting after justification, and an absolute liberty from the means of grace, as we falsely call them, when they are neither means nor commands. We could not consent to say nothing, and so parted.

Talked in the evening with James Hutton concerning the division which must soon ensue. I asked, "Have you the witness in yourself?" "No." "How then can you have faith?" "I have it not in the full proper sense. But I am in no fear. I have the full assurance of hope, and know my Saviour will give it me." This, in my opinion, is giving up the point. Here is a lower faith, where the abiding, indwelling Spirit is *not yet*. And I see no necessity of denying the [2:35] imperfect

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<sup>81</sup>Cf. Gal. 4:17; CW changed "exclude you" to "exclude *us*."

<sup>82</sup>Possibly the John Wild (d. 1767) and his wife Eleanor, whose daughter Mary was baptized at St. Mary's in Islington in 1736.

<sup>83</sup>See *HSP* (1740), 35–39.

<sup>84</sup>1 Cor. 15:36.

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faith, in order to gain the perfect.

Sent a friend at Bristol the following account:

My brother came most critically. The snare, we trust, will now be broken and many simple souls delivered. Many here insist that a part of their Christian calling is liberty *from* obeying, not liberty *to* obey. The unjustified, say they, are *to be still*; that is, not to search the Scriptures, not to pray, not to communicate, not to do good, not to endeavour, not to desire; for it is impossible to use means without trusting in them. Their practice is agreeable to their principles. Lazy and proud themselves, bitter and sensorious toward others, they trample upon the ordinances, and despise the commands, of Christ. I see no middle point wherein we can meet.

**Saturday, April 26.** Received a most insolent letter from [Richard] Ridley, threatening my downfall and destruction!<sup>85</sup>

**Sunday, April 27.** Heard my brother preach at the Common, to a multitude of ten thousand. The still brethren at the lovefeast were kept down.

**Monday, April 28.** Brother [Robert] Ibbison declared his having found peace through my ministry. Likewise my sister Hall<sup>86</sup> gave me reason to hope she is accepted in the Beloved.

**Wednesday, April 30.** At Fetter Lane I read Ridley's letter. James [Hutton] strove to palliate it. Ridley himself justified it. They fell upon me about the women reading *their* rule for the exclusion of the brethren. We answered, "Whence had you your authority over them? We will save you any farther trouble, and *do now take them out of your hands.*" They would fain have kept them still. I insisted that they should not. Much dispute ensued. The question about the ordinances was debated. My brother exhorted to love, in vain. We left them daunted and overawed, having rescued our lambs out of their hands.

[2:36]

**May 1740**

**Thursday, May 1.** Met sister Soane's band,<sup>1</sup> full of love, and longing for the Lord's appearing. Conferred with more who were lately justified. Visited a sick man, just sent forth out of the pit by the blood of the covenant.<sup>2</sup>

**Friday, May 2.** Prayed at Islington with Anne Gates, believing we had the petitions we asked. Then baptized a child and her.<sup>3</sup> We all felt the descent of the Holy Ghost. Before, she was

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<sup>85</sup>This letter is not known to survive.

<sup>86</sup>Martha (Wesley) Hall was currently living in London.

<sup>1</sup>JW mentions being in the home of Martha Soane in London several times between Mar. 1739 and Apr. 1740. She appears as an older single woman in the Foundry Band Lists (1742–46). CW spells "Soan."

<sup>2</sup>See Heb. 13:20.

<sup>3</sup>The baptism registry of St. Mary's church, Islington, lists Anne Gates and Ann Synal(?) (daughter of Thomas and Alice) baptized this day.

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in the spirit of heaviness and bondage. The moment the water touched her, she declares, she felt her load removed and sensibly received forgiveness. Sorrow and sighing fled away.<sup>4</sup> The Spirit bore witness with the water,<sup>5</sup> and she longed to be with Christ. We gave glory to God, who so magnified his ordinance.

Began observing the weekly church fast with a few at the Foundery. Rebuked one of the bands who was fallen asleep. Instead of spending the Sunday in carnal ordinances she passed it partly in idleness, partly in her common business. For what signified her endeavours to keep the commandments before she had faith?

Preached the gospel at Wapping to the poor. Their groans and tears testified their inward affection.

Received the following simple letter. Let our brethren of Fetter Lane answer it.

My Reverend Father in Christ,

My heart being now open before God, I write as in his presence.

The first gift of faith I received after I had seen myself a lost sinner, bound with 1,000 chains, and dropping into hell. Then I heard his voice, "Be of good cheer, thy sins are forgiven thee"<sup>6</sup> and could say, "The Son of God loved me, and gave himself for me."<sup>7</sup> I thought [2:37] I saw him at the right hand of his Father, making intercession for me. I went on in great joy for four months. Then pride crept in, and I thought the work was finished, when it was but just begun. There I rested, and in a little time fell into doubts and fears whether my sins were really forgiven me, till I plunged myself into the depth of misery. I could not pray; neither had I any desire to do it, or to read, or hear the word. My soul was like the troubled sea. Then did I see my own evil heart, my cursed, devilish nature, and feel my helplessness, that I could not so much as think a good thought. My love was turned into hatred, passion, envy, and "I felt a thousand hells my due,"<sup>8</sup> and cried out in bitter anguish of spirit, "Save, Lord, or I perish."<sup>9</sup>

In my last extremity, I saw my Saviour full of grace and truth for me, and heard his voice again whispering, "Peace, be still."<sup>10</sup> My peace returned, and greater sweetness of love than ever before.

Now my joy is calm and solid, my heart drawn out to the Lord continually. I know that my Redeemer liveth for me. He is my strength and my rock, and will carry on his work in my soul, to the day of redemption.

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<sup>4</sup>See Isa. 35:10.

<sup>5</sup>See 1 John 5:8.

<sup>6</sup>Matt. 9:2.

<sup>7</sup>Cf. Gal. 2:20.

<sup>8</sup>CW, "Hymn on Galatians 3:22," st. 11, ln. 4, *HSP* (1739), 94.

<sup>9</sup>Cf. Matt. 8:25.

<sup>10</sup>Mark 4:39.



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Dear Sir, I have spoke the state of my heart, as before the Lord. I beg your prayers, that I may go on from strength to strength, from conquering to conquer, till death is swallowed up in victory.

Grace Murray<sup>11</sup>

**Saturday, May 3.** My spirit revived at the sight of the scoffers in the Foundery. I was directed to Hebrews 12:18, “For ye are not come to the mount that might be touched, and that burned with fire, nor unto blackness ....” God put strong words [2:38] in my mouth, and in battles of shaking did he fight with them. The effect was both seen and heard—therefore would our still brethren say it had no effect at all.

**Sunday, May 4.** I dwelled on that word, “Thou art a God that hidest thyself, O God of Israel the Saviour,”<sup>12</sup> and spoke with much liberty and power of the wilderness state and the means of grace.

After sermon I was accosted by Howell Harris, whom God sent to my assistance. He had first called on James Hutton, who directed him to go hear [Richard] Viney preach. But he blundered to the Foundery. “His conscience in the Holy Ghost,” he said, “bore witness to the truth I spoke, and he found his heart immediately knit to me.” We took sweet counsel together, and went to the altar of God as friends.

In the evening I opened the book on “And as ye go, preach, saying, ‘The kingdom of heaven is at hand’.”<sup>13</sup> He who sent was with me, in his promised power. The fire was kindled in many hearts. “Ascribe unto the Lord the honour due unto his name.”<sup>14</sup>

Carried Howell to the bands. He spoke in simplicity concerning Satan’s devices, and repeated the very words which the tempter has so often spoke to us by the mouth of our still brethren. All his arguments touching false joy, animal spirits, presumption, etc., had been tried upon our brother, to make him let go his shield.

**Monday, May 5.** Carried him to sister [Christiana] Anderson’s, to whom he spoke in words which man’s wisdom doth not teach. The Spirit of love and supplication was poured out. There was as in us all one soul.

We met the bands at 5:00. I bear them witness that their love abounds yet more and more in knowledge and in all judgment.

I preached from John 3. The word made great havoc. They cried out on all sides, and fell down under it. I spoke afterwards to two [2:39] or three of them. In the same hour God had made

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<sup>11</sup>Grace (Norman / Murray) Bennet (1716–1803) was born in Newcastle upon Tyne (maiden name unknown) and married a Mr. Norman. Left a widow, in 1736 Grace Norman married Alexander Murray, a seaman, who also died six years later. She first heard JW preach in Moorfields on Sept. 9, 1739, and in the early 1740s was a member of bands for married women at the Foundery. In 1748 JW nearly married Grace. But CW intervened, and quickly officiated her union with John Bennet.

<sup>12</sup>Isa. 45:15.

<sup>13</sup>Matt. 10:7.

<sup>14</sup>Ps. 96:8 (BCP).

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them sore and bound them up; he had wounded, and his hands made them whole.

**Tuesday, May 6.** In the hours of conference Elizabeth Holmes informed me she had been filled with the Spirit of love while we were praying at sister Anderson's.<sup>15</sup> Cordelia Critchet, a papist till convinced by us, appeared not far from the kingdom of heaven. I want time to take a particular account of them who are daily convinced of sin or of righteousness. Our brethren, I bless God, are mistaken in saying he no longer works by our hands.

Heard Howell Harris expound at Crouch's. He is indeed a son of thunder and of consolation.<sup>16</sup>

**Wednesday, May 7.** Was much enlarged to expound and plead the promise Isaiah 50:10, "Who among you is there that feareth the Lord, that obeyeth the voice of his servant, that walketh in darkness, and hath no light? Let him trust in the name of the Lord, and stay upon his God." Here the fear of the Lord, which is the beginning of wisdom,<sup>17</sup> and obedience which is the fruit of faith, are attributed to one that walketh in darkness and hath no light. Nay and the Spirit saith expressly that this *dark* disconsolate soul *may* be a believer. "Let him trust in the name of the Lord, and stay upon his God"—even while he walketh in darkness and hath no light. Therefore a believer *can* doubt.

God put it into our hearts to pray for the poor malefactors passing to execution,<sup>18</sup> and his Spirit made intercession. I am sure (how much more the rest of us!) that our prayer was heard, and answered, upon some of our dying brethren.

At 11:00 Cordelia Critchet came to let me know she received the atonement yesterday, while we were at prayers.<sup>19</sup> The work, as far as I can discern, is real.

Another who, after justification, had fallen [2:40] into gross sin informs me God has again received him to his mercy in Christ Jesus. His deep humility and abundant love are good evidences for him.

Lucy Spring, who, on Monday night, fell into the pangs of the new birth, came today, full of peace and comfort.

Howell Harris, whom I carried to the still bands,<sup>20</sup> delivered a full and noble testimony that he had been drawn to the sacrament while dead in sin, and received forgiveness there. *Afterwards* the love of God was shed abroad in his heart by the Holy Ghost, then given him. From *thence* commenced the fight of faith. Fears, doubts, darkness returned, and he was brought through fire and water into a wealthy place.

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<sup>15</sup>Elizabeth Holmes appears as a single woman in the Foundery Band Lists (1742–46).

<sup>16</sup>See Mark 3:17, Acts 4:36.

<sup>17</sup>See Prov. 1:7.

<sup>18</sup>This was the date of the second public execution of 1740 at Tyburn. An account of those executed can be found in: The Ordinary of Newgate, *His Account of the Behaviour, Confession, and Dying Words, of the Malefactors who were Executed at Tyburn on Wednesday the 7th of May* (London: John Applebee, 1740).

<sup>19</sup>Cordelia Critchet appears as a married woman in the Foundery Band Lists (1742–46).

<sup>20</sup>That is, the bands associated with the Fetter Lane society.

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His words were contradictory to all our still brethren have been teaching this half year. They were scandalized and confounded; the weak comforted. Much cavilling followed. Howell, be sure, had no faith. [John] Bray attempted to explain away what he said; [Richard] Bell and [William] Oxlee to confute it. The latter compared him to Cain, when God lightened his burden, upon his complaining it was too heavy for him to bear.<sup>21</sup> All agreed that he had not seen his heart, and because he had some strivings, had no faith. I invited them to hear more of him on Thursday evening.

**Thursday, May 8.**<sup>22</sup> He declared his experience before our society. O what a flame was kindled! Never man spoke, in my hearing, as this man spoke. What a nursing-father has God sent us! He has indeed learned of the good Shepherd to carry the lambs in his bosom. Such love, such power, such simplicity was irresistible. The lambs dropped down on all sides into their shepherd's arms. Those words broke out like thunder, "I now find a commission from God to invite all poor sinners, justified or unjustified, to his altar; and I would not for [2:41] ten thousand worlds be the man that should keep any from it. There I first found him myself. That is the place of meeting." He went on in the power of the Most High. God called forth his witnesses. Several declared they had found Christ *in* the ordinances.

Poor [John] Simpson stood by, hardening his heart. I suppose now he will call Howell, as he does my brother, "a subtle deceiver of the people." Scarce any from Fetter Lane were present; too good care had been taken to prevent them.

**Friday, May 9.** Went to Islington, intending to baptize Bridget Armsted.<sup>23</sup> Satan hindered, by *his* churchwardens. But can anyone forbid water? Not unless they can dry up the Thames.

In conference Mrs. Dupee informed me she had received forgiveness last week while I was preaching it.<sup>24</sup> Is his hand shortened at all, that he cannot save?<sup>25</sup> Or, because we are weak, hath he no power to deliver!<sup>26</sup>

Met about one hundred of the society to keep the fast. Christ owned *his* ordinance and melted us into prayer, through his Spirit helping our infirmities.<sup>27</sup>

Went to give the sacrament to a dying woman. I found her an old, subtle pharisee. Could have no access in speaking and betook myself to prayer. The sin-convincing Spirit came

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<sup>21</sup>See Gen. 4:13.

<sup>22</sup>For May 8–15, 1740, see also CW's more detailed journal letter to JW, in *Journal Letters*, 58–66.

<sup>23</sup>Bridget Armsted (b. c. 1716), a single woman raised a Quaker, appears repeatedly in the Foundery Band Lists (1742–46). CW spells "Armstead"; we follow the spelling in the lists and in JW's *Journal*.

<sup>24</sup>Margaret Breckley had married John Dupee in Mar. 1738. She appears repeatedly in the Foundery Band Lists (1742–46), and died in 1750.

<sup>25</sup>See Isa. 59:1.

<sup>26</sup>See Isa. 50:2.

<sup>27</sup>See Rom. 8:26.

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mightily upon her, so that she roared for the very disquietness of her heart. The strong man who had peaceably kept his palace for above seventy years, was now disturbed, tormented, bound, cast out.<sup>28</sup> She broke forth into strong cryings, and soon after into blessings and thanksgivings. As far as I can discern, she is quite delivered. We showed forth our Lord's death, and he was with us of a truth.

**Saturday, May 10.** Spoke closely to those who trusted to their faith of adherence, and insisted on that *lowest mark* of the new birth, forgiveness of sins.<sup>29</sup> [2:42]

My back was scarcely turned when Oxlee took his opportunity to draw away Howell Harris to deaf [Richard] Bell's. I came time enough to break off their conference with my unwary friend. He now, without distrusting God, resolves to go nowhere without me. Two are better than one. Their word doth eat as a canker; especially Oxlee's, that viper, whom we have cherished in our bosom. God help me to love *him!* I abhor both his principles and practices.

At [George] Bower's society I found Bell, Bray, Hutton, Oxlee, Holland, Ridley, and others of the same class.<sup>30</sup> I withstood them to the face, and appealed to the God that answered by fire<sup>31</sup> for the truth of my doctrine that the ordinances bind all, both justified and unjustified. A woman testified that the last time I expounded here, and bade them who had been confounded ask Jesus Christ *alone* whether they had faith, she did ask in our prayer and immediately the love of God overflowed her heart.

I preached at the Foundery on 1 John 2:12, "I write unto you, little children ...." Hence, I showed the three particulars which difference a *child* from a *young* man. The young man is *strong*, the child *weak*. The young man *hath* overcome the wicked one, the child is *overcoming* him. In the young man the word of God *abideth*; that is, he hath the *constant* witness of the Spirit. In the child the word *abideth not*; i.e., he hath not the *abiding witness*, but only visits now and then, as pledges and tokens that he *will* shortly come and make his abode with him forever. I never spoke with greater strength.

In the society Howell spoke excellently of good works, searching the Scripture, and loving one another.

**Sunday, May 11.** Met the women leaders for the first time,<sup>32</sup> and after a lively prayer led them to the Lord's table at St. Paul's.

Went forth to Kennington Common. The hand of the Lord was upon me and I prophesied, "O ye dry [2:43] bones, hear the word of the Lord."<sup>33</sup> Truly there were very many in the open valley, and lo they were very dry. But as I prophesied there was a noise, and behold a

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<sup>28</sup>See Matt. 12:29.

<sup>29</sup>CW first wrote "the new birth"; then struck it out and replaced it with "forgiveness of sins."

<sup>30</sup>CW is using "class" here in the sense of "same beliefs." Formal "class meetings" emerged only in 1742, and appear in CW's MS Journal first in the entry on Feb. 4, 1743.

<sup>31</sup>See 1 Kings 18:37-38.

<sup>32</sup>This would be the women band leaders as now organized at the Foundery.

<sup>33</sup>Ezek. 37:4.

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shaking, which we both saw and heard.<sup>34</sup> Into some, I am confident, the breath came, and they lived.

**Monday, May 12.** Employed three hours most profitably in conferring with the poor people, more of whom daily receive forgiveness or the witness of the Spirit. Three or four were now set at liberty, in immediate answer to prayer.

With Miss Branford,<sup>35</sup> who has been in darkness ever since her eyes were first opened (two years ago, at St. Helen's) to see her sins forgiven. In prayer, the love of God was now shed abroad in her heart, and she was translated into his marvellous light.<sup>36</sup>

An aged gentlewoman here testified that she had long denied that article of her creed, "forgiveness of sins," but was yesterday experimentally convinced of it under Mr. [Westley] Hall's ministry. Others I meet with, who have passed from death unto life in hearing our brother Whitefield. Our brethren of Fetter Lane deny the fact that any soul has been justified by our ministry, since "no one gives what he has not himself."

**Tuesday, May 13.** Sarah Redford, justified under the word last Sunday; Mary Barraby and Anne Broad, a few days ago.<sup>37</sup> And others were with me today, testifying the work of God in their souls.

Mrs. Ricard told me at sister Witham's<sup>38</sup> that in the depth of despair Christ had given her rest, but Satan came in with the still brethren and gained such advantage over her that she even denied the faith, and its Author. Our Lord again confirmed his love to her—through a worm, the very scorn of men, and outcast of the still ones.

Met the men leaders at Bray's and was surprised to find about twenty of the still brethren there; and more, to hear they constantly meet on Thursday [2:44] and Sunday, while I am preaching at the Foundery. The reason is obvious.

I bore my testimony for the ordinances and weak faith.<sup>39</sup> Asked whether they did not hold: 1) that the means of grace are neither commands nor means; 2) that forgiveness is never given but together with the abiding witness of the Spirit? James Hutton would not have them give me any answer. I said, if they durst not avow their principles I should take their silence for confession, and warn God's people against them.

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<sup>34</sup>See Ezek. 37:1–7.

<sup>35</sup>Likely the Elizabeth Brandford who appears as a single woman in the Foundery Band Lists (1742–46).

<sup>36</sup>See Rom. 5:5 and 1 Pet. 2:9.

<sup>37</sup>Sarah Redford is found on the earliest surviving list of bands for single women at the Foundery; Mary Barraby was still active in a married women's band in 1745, and Ann Broad in a single women's band. See Foundery Band Lists (1742–46).

<sup>38</sup>Elizabeth (Harrison) Witham was an early supporter of the Wesley brothers, appears in the Foundery Band Lists (1742–46), and remained active at the Foundery until her death on Nov. 29, 1747; see CW's elegy "On the Death of Mrs. Elizabeth Witham," *HSP* (1749), 1:282–86.

<sup>39</sup>CW's concern to defend the validity of *degrees* of faith led to publishing another hymn as a tract, a paraphrase of Heb. 11 titled *The Life of Faith* (published by William Strahan on May 24). This hymn was also included subsequently in *HSP* (1740), 6–20.

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**Wednesday, May 14.** Talked with a woman to whom Jesus lately appeared, but immediately vanished out of her sight. Never did I see a soul more inconsolable.

Esther Owen was with me, pierced, melted, overpowered with love.<sup>40</sup>

At Blackheath I preached redemption in the blood of Jesus.<sup>41</sup> He gave me power “to sound the unbelieving heart.”<sup>42</sup> A woman screamed out so loud that I could not be heard and therefore had her removed, but not out of hearing. To the scoffers I spoke with much contention. Many were driven off, and others constrained to stay. I am sure the word did not return void.

Found Mr. [Westley] Hall at Fetter Lane, asking them whether they would try their spirits by the word, or the word by their spirits.<sup>43</sup> I enforced the question, which they strove to evade. Rabbi Hutton forbade their answering me.<sup>44</sup> I warned the few remaining brethren to beware of the leaven of stillness; showed them the delusion of those who had cast off the ordinances, and confined the faith to *themselves only*; foretold the dreadful consequences of their enthusiasm; set the case of Greger<sup>45</sup> before their eyes; besought, entreated, conjured them not to renounce the means, or deny the Lord that bought them; read a letter from one who had been strongly tempted to leave off the sacrament but, in receiving, powerfully convinced that her dissuader was [2:45] the devil. [Joseph] Hodges, Hall, and Howell Harris confirmed my words. Others were hereby emboldened to bear their testimony to the divine ordinances. By the strength of the Lord we have stood between the living and the dead, and the plague, we trust, is stayed.

Poor James [Hutton] was all tergiversation.<sup>46</sup> O how unlike himself! The honest, plain, undesigning Jacob, is now turned a subtle, close, ambiguous Loyola.<sup>47</sup> [Richard] Bell was more frank, and I therefore put him upon speaking. He expressly denied the sacrament to the unjustified; that is, in effect, to all but Molther, Mary Ewsters,<sup>48</sup> and himself, for these three are all the church Christ has in England.

I mentioned [John] Simpson’s advice to Mrs. Seaton that if she would but leave off the sacrament, prayer, and reading the Scriptures for *one week*, she should then find what she never found before in her life. He justified his advising her and several others to lay aside their Bibles, *because they trusted in them*. The rest abated somewhat of their stiffness, and much pressed me

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<sup>40</sup>Esther Owen appears as a married woman in the Foundery Band Lists (1742–46).

<sup>41</sup>CW’s longer journal letter gives the text as Eph. 1:7.

<sup>42</sup>Cf. “Hymn on the Descent of the Holy Ghost at Pentecost (altered from Henry More),” st. 8, *HSP* (1739), 186.

<sup>43</sup>See 1 John 4:1.

<sup>44</sup>CW is using “rabbi” ironically; see Apr. 10, 1740 entry.

<sup>45</sup>This spelling is clear in the MS, but the referent is unknown.

<sup>46</sup>*OED* defines “tergiversation” as the act of being evasive or ambiguous.

<sup>47</sup>I.e., Ignatius Loyola (1491–1556), founder of the Jesuit order.

<sup>48</sup>Mary Ewsters (b. 1713), the daughter of George and Susanna, was made Warden of the single sisters’ choir when the London Congregation of the Moravians organized in 1742. CW spells “M. Eusters.” She married William Pearson the following year.

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“to preach Christ the foundation”<sup>49</sup>—meaning that I should not recommend the ordinances, but let them trample on them undisturbed. I did not *say* that I *understood* them.

**Ascension Day, May 15.** I preached from Romans 8:33–34. Great power accompanied the word; but greater still, while I exhorted the society to wait for the promise of the Father.<sup>50</sup> Many cried out in the birthpangs. After a long and violent struggle, Eleanor Tubbs testified that God had now showed her her heart, and broke it in pieces, and bound it up.

Sarah Church informed me she had received forgiveness the night Mr. Simpson expounded at Rag Fair;<sup>51</sup> not under his preaching, which was quite dead to her, but in singing an hymn which I gave out. So did Anne Roberts, after hearing the word in the same carnal ordinance of singing.<sup>52</sup> [2:46]

Mary Shiveley, who has been groaning under the burden of sin from the time she first heard me preach, was last night relieved by the coming of Jesus and now goes on her way rejoicing.<sup>53</sup> Jane Bourne also informs me that she received forgiveness in the society, and was sprinkled from her idols.<sup>54</sup>

**Friday, May 16.** Almost the whole society met at 1:00. A spirit of contrition ran through all.

Received the following letter:<sup>55</sup>

My friend,

I hear there are divisions among you. For some say “I am of Wesley,” and others “I am of Molther.”<sup>56</sup> But I say I am of Christ, and what he bids me do I will do, and not trust in any man.

Here some will say, “What Christ bids you do, is to believe and be still.” True, but does he bid me do nothing else? He bids me let my light so shine before men, that they may see my good works, and glorify my Father which is in heaven.<sup>57</sup>

He likewise says, “The scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses’ chair. All therefore whatsoever *they bid you* to observe, that observe and do.”<sup>58</sup> But how can I know what they bid me do, except I go to hear them?

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<sup>49</sup>Cf. 1 Cor. 3:11.

<sup>50</sup>See Acts 1:4.

<sup>51</sup> A clothing market area in London.

<sup>52</sup>Anne Roberts appears as a single woman in the Foundery Band Lists (1742–46).

<sup>53</sup>See Acts 8:39. Mary Shiveley appears as a single woman in the Foundery Band Lists (1742–46). CW spells “Shrieveley.”

<sup>54</sup>Jane Bourne appears as a single woman in the Foundery Band Lists (1742–46).

<sup>55</sup>The letter is from Thomas Keene; see *WMM* 63 (1839): 995–96.

<sup>56</sup>See 1 Cor. 1:12.

<sup>57</sup>See Matt. 5:16.

<sup>58</sup>Matt. 23:2–3.

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Again, Christ bids me observe all things which he commands the apostles, and with such he will be to the end of the world.<sup>59</sup> But if I do not observe and do his commands, he will not be with me.

He bids me “do this in remembrance of” him.<sup>60</sup> Now, if any man can prove this is not a command, I will obey it no longer. “But whosoever breaketh one of these least commandments, and teacheth men so, shall be called least in the kingdom of heaven.”<sup>61</sup>

As to stillness, our Saviour saith, “The kingdom of heaven suffereth violence, and the violent take it by force.”<sup>62</sup> And “strive to enter in at the straight gate.”<sup>63</sup> And St. Paul saith, “Work out your salvation with fear and trembling.”<sup>64</sup> And, “God is a rewarder of them that *diligently seek him*.”<sup>65</sup> Now these scriptures imply somewhat more than barely sitting still. [2:47]

Some deny that there are any means of grace. But I will be thankful for them, since it was in them I first heard you preach faith in Christ; and had I not been there, I might have been without faith unto this day.

One told me when you preached you had nature in your face. So will everyone have who speaks with zeal. But no matter for that, if he has but grace in his heart.

My friend, there are many teachers, but few fathers. But you are my father, who begot me in the gospel and, I trust, many more.

May the Lord lead you into all truth!

**Saturday, May 17.** Expounded the chapter in course, Isaiah 53. One could not bear my enlarging on that “The Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us all,” but often interrupted me with “Stop his mouth.” Alas, thought I, if meekness be the mark of the elect, I fear thou art still a reprobate!

Dined at Mr. Williams’s. His wife had formerly found favour with God under the word, but Satan reasoned her out of it. After our praying, she said she had an answer in herself at every word. All doubt and unbelief fled away, and she clearly saw *her* interest in the Saviour of all men.

**Sunday, May 18.** Preached to near ten thousand at the Common, from 1 Corinthians 6:9ff. The Lord was with us in his convincing power. I *would* give him the glory.

**Monday, May 19.** Our brethren complain that we unjustly charge them with speaking against the ordinances. Yet they teach that your using them *before* faith *necessarily* keeps you out of it, and your using them *after* faith necessarily makes you lose it. Particularly when you

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<sup>59</sup>See Matt. 28:20.

<sup>60</sup>Luke 22:19.

<sup>61</sup>Matt. 5:19.

<sup>62</sup>Matt. 11:12.

<sup>63</sup>Luke 13:24.

<sup>64</sup>Phil. 2:12.

<sup>65</sup>Heb. 11:6.



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find comfort, by no means offer to pray (they say); if you pray then, you will forfeit it immediately.

Ridley is famous for saying, “You may as well go to hell in praying as in thieving.”<sup>66</sup> Mr. [2:48] [John] Browne’s words are, “If we read, the devil reads with us. If we pray, he prays with us. If we go to church or sacrament, he goes with us.”

In the time of conference Mary Benham declared her faith, which she has lately received.<sup>67</sup> Ann Judge found power to believe under the word last Monday;<sup>68</sup> Thomas Boreman, while we were at prayers.<sup>69</sup>

While I expounded the woman of Samaria<sup>70</sup> the word reached many hearts, particularly Mrs. Ash the Quaker’s, a great enemy to crying out.<sup>71</sup> However she could not now forbear, for the love of Christ constrained her.<sup>72</sup> Jesus had said, “I that speak unto thee am he!”<sup>73</sup> Her sister appeared under strong convictions at the sight of her. O that the flame might spread throughout all the earth!

**Tuesday, May 20.** Poor desperate John Dickinson received the word of reconciliation, Isaiah 54, “For a small moment have I forsaken thee, but with great mercies will I gather thee . . . .”<sup>74</sup> After having been long afflicted, tossed with tempests and not comforted, in this hour he found rest to his soul.

At 11:00 Elizabeth Bird testified her having lately felt the atoning blood, as likewise Astrea Edzard<sup>75</sup> and Thomas Haddock; all by the ministry of the word. Mary Wotlen too can set to her seal that God is true.

Found sister Sutherland strong in the Lord.<sup>76</sup> Several others were present, whom I took knowledge of that they have been with Jesus.

Went with Maxfield to Bray’s, as a fool to the correction of the stocks.<sup>77</sup> I laboured for peace, but only the Almighty can root out those cursed tares of pride, contempt, and self-

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<sup>66</sup>JW quotes the same saying by Richard Ridley in his letter to Zinzendorf summarizing concerns about the Moravian community in England (see *Works*, 19:261–62).

<sup>67</sup>Mary Benham appears as a married woman in the Foundery Band Lists (1742–46).

<sup>68</sup>Ann Judge appears as a single woman in the Foundery Band Lists (1742–46).

<sup>69</sup>Thomas Boreman appears as a married man in the Foundery Band Lists (1742–45).

<sup>70</sup>John 4.

<sup>71</sup>This is likely the Elizabeth Ash whom JW baptized on July 9, 1740; see his diary, *Works*, 19:426.

<sup>72</sup>See 2 Cor. 5:14.

<sup>73</sup>John 4:26.

<sup>74</sup>Isa. 54:7.

<sup>75</sup>Astrea Edzard, wife of Gustave Jacob Edzard, died in 1762.

<sup>76</sup>Likely Elizabeth Sutherland, who appears as a married woman in the Foundery Band Lists (1742–46).

<sup>77</sup>See Prov. 7:22.

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sufficiency with which our Moravianized brethren are overrun.

**Wednesday, May 21.** Carried Bridget Armsted to Bloomsbury church,<sup>78</sup> where the minister baptized her.<sup>79</sup> She had been bred a Quaker. I was one of the witnesses. We were all in great heaviness before, but perceived that Christ [2:49] was always with us in his ordinances. The Spirit infallibly bears witness on this occasion. Our youngest sister assuredly knows that she is born of water and of the Spirit.<sup>80</sup>

**Thursday, May 22.** Found our dear brother [Benjamin] Ingham at Mrs. West's. He is clear in that truth that forgiveness and the witness of the Spirit are distinct gifts and generally given at different times. The holiday mob was very outrageous at the Foundery. God filled my mouth with threatenings and promises. Both, I believe, took place; for at last we got the victory, and the fiercest rioters were overawed into silence.<sup>81</sup>

**The Day of Pentecost, May 25.** Discoursed on the first pouring out of the Spirit, Acts 2. He gave me utterance. Many felt his descent in an invisible power, and even trembled at his presence.

At the Common I again declared *the promise* to many thousands.<sup>82</sup> At the lovefeast I was overwhelmed with the burden of our brethren, with such visible signs of dejection, that several, I was since informed, were in great hopes that I was now coming down in my pride, or unsettling, and coming into confusion. Indeed, my faith did well nigh fail me, for in spite of the seeming reconciliation which brother Ingham *forces* them into, it is impossible we should ever be of one mind, unless they were convinced of their abrogating the law of *Christian* ordinances, and taking away the children's bread.<sup>83</sup>

**Monday, May 26.** A woman from Islington complained to me that she had brought Mr. [George] Stonehouse to her mother, who lay a-dying but waiting for redemption. Her minister told her, "it signified nothing to pray either publicly or privately. Reading the Scriptures, or taking the sacrament, were equally useless. These outward things must all be laid aside." She had nothing to do but to be still. He refused to pray for her, and *so* left her. [2:50]

The work of grace goes on in several that were with me today, and God still gives fresh seals to my ministry.

**Tuesday, May 27.** Rejoiced to find no difference betwixt my brother Ingham and me. He has honestly withstood the deluded brethren, contradicted their favourite errors, and constrained them to be *still*. That blot he easily hit: "You say no man must speak of what he has not experienced. You, Oxlee and Simpson, say that one in gospel-liberty can have no stirrings of sin." "Yes." "Are you in gospel-liberty?" "No." "Then out of your own mouth I judge you: you

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<sup>78</sup>St. George's church, Bloomsbury, London. Rev. Edward Vernon (1695–1761) was rector.

<sup>79</sup>She is recorded in the registry as baptized this day, aged 24 years.

<sup>80</sup>See John 3:5.

<sup>81</sup>See the account of CW's ministry that apparently took place on Friday, May 23, in Margaret (Coultis) Ibbison to CW, May 23, 1740.

<sup>82</sup>Acts 2:37–39.

<sup>83</sup>See Matt. 15:26.

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“speak of the things which you know not of.”

Expounded in Snowfields, and met the bands at the Foundery. An extraordinary power overshadowed us. Sister Hunting received the witness in herself. Richard Ridley was even lost in love.

**Wednesday, May 28.** At Blackheath discoursed from Matt. 21, “He that falleth on this stone shall be broken ....”<sup>84</sup> There were a multitude of scoffers, but all forced to fly before the sword of the Spirit.<sup>85</sup>

Talked once more with our wild brethren, and laboured heartily for peace and union. But it cannot be, while they are so full of bitter, proud contempt of all except themselves.

**Thursday, May 29.** Expounded Isaiah 57, a chapter most contradictory to the doctrine of our brethren.

I dined at Friend [Thomas] Keene’s, a Quaker and a Christian, and read George Whitefield’s account of God’s dealings with him.<sup>86</sup> The love and esteem he expresses for me, filled me with confusion, and brought back my fear, lest, after having preached to others, I should be myself a castaway.

At Marylebone the scoffers fulfilled the scripture I explained: “The wicked are like the troubled sea, when it cannot rest, whose waters cast up mire and dirt.”<sup>87</sup> I addressed myself to one of them after another, and silenced them [2:51] on whatever side I turned. Sometimes a stray coach would stop, but my doctrine did not suit them. Our Lord vouchsafed us much of his presence at the society. We find him daily uncovering our hearts, casting down imaginations, and bringing every thought into captivity. The souls of many were smitten asunder as with a sword; and I am sure, if God wounds, he will bind up again.

**Friday, May 30.** Had yet another conference, but could not convince our dear brother Simpson. He cannot allow there are more than four Christians in London, which are Molther, Mary Ewsters, Wheeler’s maid, and Bell. Of the last he roundly affirms that he is holier than Moses, the meekest of men; than Abraham, the friend of God; than David, the man after God’s own heart; than Elijah and Enoch, who walked with God, and were translated. As to our father Abraham, he denies him to have had any right faith at all.

**Saturday, May 31.** Took sweet counsel with Benjamin Ingham and Howell Harris. A threefold cord cannot easily be broken.

Heard that the Foundery was lately presented at Hick’s Hall<sup>88</sup> for a seditious assembly. Sir John Gonson interposed, and objected that no persons were named in the presentment. Upon this they presented Charles Wesley, clerk; James Hutton, bookseller; Timothy Lewis, printer; and Howell Harris, *alias* the Welsh Apostle. But our friend Sir John quashed the whole.

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<sup>84</sup>Matt. 21:44.

<sup>85</sup>See Eph. 6:17.

<sup>86</sup>George Whitefield, *A Short Account of God’s Dealings with the Reverend Mr. George Whitefield* (London: W. Strahan, 1740).

<sup>87</sup>Isa. 57:20.

<sup>88</sup>A courthouse in London.

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[2:52]

June 1740

**Sunday, June 1.** I was much refreshed in spirit among the women bands. They have rest, and walk in the comfort of the Holy Ghost, and are edified.

**Monday, June 2.** *Preached up* the ordinances, as they call it, from Isaiah 58. But first with the prophet I preached them *down*. Töltshig, Ingham, etc. were present, which made me use greater plainness, that they might set me right if I mistook.

Talked with several in whom the work of conversion is effectually begun. Particularly Mary Russel, convinced and deeply wounded by my last discourse at Kennington; Mary Peck, whom God showed her heart in singing;<sup>1</sup> Sarah Redford, to whom faith lately came by hearing; and Mary Litchfield, who, by all I can yet discern, was justified the last time I preached at Blackheath.

Preached on Job 23:8[–10], I would hope, to the comfort of many whose hearts God is directing into the love of Christ, and into the patient waiting for him.

**Tuesday, June 3.** Met with Amos Comenius's moving exhortation of the Bohemian churches to the Church of England.<sup>2</sup> O that we might see, at least in this our day! Who knows but *our* eyes may behold "the last surviving bishop of the Church of England!"

**Wednesday, June 4.** Preached at Marylebone on "What must I do to be saved?"<sup>3</sup> The opposers had threatened me hard, but all they now could do was to curse and swear. I only *invited* them to Christ. But I am more and more persuaded that the law has its use, and Moses must bring us to Christ.<sup>4</sup> The promises to the unawakened are pearls before swine.<sup>5</sup> First the hammer must break the rocks, then we *may* preach Christ crucified.<sup>6</sup>

**Thursday, June 5.** My brother returned from Bristol.

[2:53<sup>7</sup>]

**Friday, June 6.** Spoke with Bilhah Aspernell, who had lately been with me in the depth of mourning.<sup>8</sup> A still brother had been troubling her, and deterring from the word and sacrament.

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<sup>1</sup>Mary Russel appears as a single woman, and Mary Peck as a married woman in the Foundery Band Lists (1742–46).

<sup>2</sup>Johann Amos Comenius (1592–1670), *An Exhortation of the Churches of Bohemia to the Church of England* (London: Thomas Parkhurst, 1661). Comenius was the last surviving bishop of the Bohemian branch of the Unity of the Brethren church.

<sup>3</sup>Acts 16:30.

<sup>4</sup>See Gal. 3:24.

<sup>5</sup>See Matt. 7:6.

<sup>6</sup>See Jer. 23:29 and 1 Cor. 1:23.

<sup>7</sup>Two leaves, containing pages 57–60, are misplaced in the manuscript between the leaf numbered 52 on the verso and that numbered 53 on the recto. We restored to the proper order.

<sup>8</sup>Bilhah Aspernell (d. 1774) appears repeatedly as a single woman in the Foundery Band Lists (1742–46). JW presided at her burial service on Jan. 28, 1774; see *Journal, Works*, 22:397. CW spells "Billal Aspernel."

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Last night it pleased our Lord to lift up her head above all her enemies. He spoke to her in the word and she had joy again, and her joy shall no man take from her.

Martin Chow and Margaret Martin at the same time found the power of the Lord present to heal them;<sup>9</sup> as did Eleanor Gambol the Thursday before.<sup>10</sup>

Went with my brother, and Howell Harris, and John Purdy,<sup>11</sup> to see Molther at Islington. Wished George Stonehouse joy of his good bargain, and left him to justify to my brother the selling of his living.<sup>12</sup>

Half persuaded a Dissenter out of her faith of adherence.

Explained the progress of grace by our Lord's comparison of the grain of mustard seed, and the little leaven.<sup>13</sup>

**Saturday, June 7.** Recommended the woman of Canaan as a pattern of triumphant importunity.<sup>14</sup> (It is plain she had not heard of the doctrine of stillness.)

**Monday, June 9.** Dined at Mr. Wild's in Islington and rejoiced over a few *unperverted* souls. The shepherd alas is smitten, and the sheep are scattered.<sup>15</sup> But not all. God has left himself a very small remnant.<sup>16</sup>

**Tuesday, June 10.** Rode with [Thomas] Maxfield to Bexley and was greatly comforted with my brother [Henry] Piers. The weak stand when the strong fall. In spite of all the *still* ones, he had held fast the truth, neither forsaking the ordinances nor denying his *weak* faith.

Went thence to Blendon—no longer Blendon to me. They could hardly force themselves to be barely civil. I took an hasty leave and with an heavy heart, weighed down by their ingratitude, returned to Bexley. [2:54] Here I preached the gospel to a little flock, among whom the grievous wolves are not entered.

**Wednesday, June 11.** Was constrained to bear my testimony for the last time at Blendon. Maxfield accompanied me. I desired to speak with Mrs. [Elizabeth] Delamotte alone. She did not well know how to refuse, and walked with me into the hall. I began, "Three years

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<sup>9</sup>Margaret Martin appears as a married woman in the Foundery Band Lists (1742–46).

<sup>10</sup>Eleanor Gambol appears as a married woman in the Foundery Band Lists (1742–46); CW spells "Gambel."

<sup>11</sup>John Purdy (c. 1717–55), born in Ryton, County Durham, was in London by 1738 working as a tailor and active in the Fetter Lane society. Purdy accompanied JW to Bristol in 1739 and remained there, assisting JW for a time until he decided to marry. Purdy was active as a local preacher in communities just north of Bristol and settled in Stapleton. His first wife died in Nov. 1742, and he married again in 1746, to Mary (Highman) Reynolds (c. 1703–57).

<sup>12</sup>Stonehouse had just sold his Islington living, in order to retire to the Dornford estate of his wife Mary (Crispe) Stonehouse, near Wootton, Oxfordshire.

<sup>13</sup>Matt. 13:31–33.

<sup>14</sup>See Matt. 15:22–28.

<sup>15</sup>See Matt. 26:31; Zech. 13:7.

<sup>16</sup>See Isa. 1:9.

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ago God sent me to call you from the form to the power of godliness.<sup>17</sup> I told you what true religion was, a new birth, a participation of the divine nature.<sup>18</sup> The way to this I did not know myself till a year after. Then I showed it to you, preaching Jesus Christ and faith in his blood. You know how you treated me. God soon after called you to a living faith by my ministry. Then you received me as an angel of God. Where is now the blessedness you spoke of? Whence is this change? This jealousy, and fear, and coldness? Why are you thus impatient to hear me speak?"

She offered several times to leave me; said "She did not know what I meant," "did not want to dispute," etc.

"I do not come to dispute. Why are you afraid of me? What have I done? You gave as a reason for not seeing me in town that you did not care to be unsettled. Once I unsettled you through the strength of the Almighty, stirred you up from your lees, took you off your own works, and grounded you upon Christ. Other foundation than this can no man lay.<sup>19</sup> I only desire to settle you more firmly upon him, to warn you against the danger of being removed from the hope of the gospel. Our brethren, whom now you follow, are making a schism in the church. Follow them not in this." She would not bear any more, but hurried into the parlour. When I came in, Betty left it,<sup>20</sup> but afterwards returned. She has not been at the sacrament for several months. I warned them against casting off the ordinances, [2:55] which were divine commands, binding all, whether justified or unjustified.

They continually interrupted me asking why I talked to them. I answered, because I durst not forbear but must deliver my own soul. Betty said she had received great benefit from Molther and should therefore hear none but him. I told her I had nothing to say against her hearing him, unless he spoke against the ordinances.

Upon their again and again bidding me silence, I asked, "Do you, therefore, at this time, in the presence of Jesus Christ, acquit, release, and discharge me from any farther care, concern, or regard for your souls? Do you desire I would never more speak unto you in his name?" Betty frankly answered, "Yes." Mrs. Delamotte assented by her silence. "Then here," said I, "I take my leave of you, till we meet at the judgment-seat." With these words I rendered up my charge to God.

Then said I, after leaving them, "I have laboured in vain. I have spent my strength for nought. Yet surely my judgment is with the Lord, and my work with God."<sup>21</sup> Surely this is enough to wean and make me cease from man. With Blendon I give up all expectation of gratitude upon earth. Vanity of vanities, all is vanity;<sup>22</sup> even friendship itself.

I rode on softly to Eltham, cast out by my dearest friends. I pray God it may not be laid to theirs or their seducers' charge! Piety and grief for them was uppermost in my heart, and these were much relieved by the scripture that first offered: "And Paul went down, and fell on him,

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<sup>17</sup>See 2 Tim. 3:5.

<sup>18</sup>See 2 Pet. 1:4.

<sup>19</sup>See 1 Cor. 3:11.

<sup>20</sup>Elizabeth Delamotte Jr.

<sup>21</sup>Isa. 49:4.

<sup>22</sup>See Eccles. 1:2.

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and, embracing him, said, Trouble not yourselves, for his life is in him.”<sup>23</sup>

Returned to be exercised by our *still* brethren’s contradiction. My brother proposed [2:56] new-modelling the bands and setting by themselves those few who were still for the ordinances. Great clamour was raised by this proposal. The noisy *still* ones well knew that they carried their point by wearying out the sincere ones, scattered among them, one or two in a band of disputers, who had harassed and sawn them asunder, so that a remnant is scarcely left. They grudged us even this remnant, which would soon be all their own, unless immediately rescued out of their hands. Benjamin Ingham seconded us, and obtained that the names should be called over, and as many as were aggrieved put into new bands.

We gathered up our wreck—“*raros nantes in gurgite vasto*,”<sup>24</sup> for nine out of ten are swallowed up in the dead sea of stillness. O why was not this done six months ago? How fatal was our delay and false moderation? “Let them alone and they will be soon weary, and come to themselves of course,” said one—“*unus qui nobis cunctando restituit rem!*”<sup>25</sup>

I tremble at the consequence. Will they submit themselves to every ordinance of man, who refuse subjection to the ordinances of God? — “*Hic fiunt homines!*”<sup>26</sup> The Ziscas, Olivers, and Munsters.<sup>27</sup> — O that I may be a false prophet and disappointed of Luther’s Anabaptists. I told them plainly *I should only continue with them so long as they continued in the Church of England.*<sup>28</sup> My every word was grievous to them. I am a thorn in their sides, and they cannot bear me.

They *modestly* denied that we had any but hearsay proof of their denying the ordinances. I asked them—all and every one, particularly Bray, Bell, etc.—whether they would now acknowledge them to be commands or duties; whether they sinned in omitting them; whether they did not leave it to every man’s [2:57] fancy to use them or not; whether they did not exclude all from the Lord’s table, excepting those whom *they* called believers. These questions I put too close to be evaded, though better dodgers never came out of the school of Loyola. Honest Bell and some others spoke out and insisted upon their antichristian liberty. The rest put by their stillness, and delivered me over to Satan for a blasphemer, a very Saul (for to him they compare

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<sup>23</sup>Acts 20:10.

<sup>24</sup>Virgil, *Aeneid*, i.118; “Swirling about in the vast abyss.”

<sup>25</sup>Virgil, *Aeneid*, vi.846; “One who by *delaying* would restore the state.”

<sup>26</sup>Juvenal, *Satires* ii.167. “Here they will become men!” Juvenal was speaking satirically, mocking the claim that bringing boys from conquered countries to Rome facilitated their development as soldiers and statesmen, suggesting instead that degenerate Roman culture leads to their debauchery.

<sup>27</sup>CW lists three religiously motivated revolutionaries whom he considered to have been misguided: John Zisca (d. 1424), who led a Hussite rebellion in Bohemia; Oliver Cromwell (1599–1658), leader of the Puritan forces in England; and (confusing the spelling) Thomas Müntzer (1489–1525), who led the peasants’ rebellion in Germany.

<sup>28</sup>CW wrote this clause in Block Letters, for emphasis.

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me) out of blind zeal persecuting the church of Christ.<sup>29</sup>

**Thursday, June 12.** The power of the Lord was present in his word, both to wound and heal.<sup>30</sup> The adversary roared in the midst of the congregation; for to him, and not to the God of order,<sup>31</sup> do I impute those horrible outcries which almost drowned my voice and kept back the glad tidings from sinners.

**Friday, June 13.** At Wapping some so disturbed us by their outcries that my preaching was vain. Those who cried “Away with them,” I rebuked; but wish, for the sake of all and myself also, that if it be the will of God this stumbling block may be removed.

At the time of intercession we were carried out for all mankind, especially for our own Church and nation, and the little flock which God is gathering. I prayed believing that Satan might not destroy his work, as in the last age, by that spirit of rebellion and enthusiasm which is so visible in our deluded brethren.<sup>32</sup>

**Monday, June 16.** Mrs. [Jane] Sparrow carried me to Eltham, where I called to many, in King John’s chapel,<sup>33</sup> “Ho, everyone that thirsteth, come ye to the waters.”<sup>34</sup> It was indeed a solemn assembly. We found God had formerly recorded his name there, and that was one place of meeting him. Several of the assembly-ladies heard me patiently while I showed them they were in no wise better than the harlots and publicans. [2:58]

**Tuesday, June 17.** Had an extraordinary meeting of the society, now increased from twelve to three hundred, most of them justified, and took my leave of them with hearty prayer.

**Wednesday, June 18.** Set out at 2:00 for Oxford, with brother Maxfield and an nephew I was going to prentice at Bristol.<sup>35</sup> We stopped half-an-hour at brother [Joseph] Hodges’s. Lost our way through Kensington. Baited<sup>36</sup> an hour at Gerrard’s Cross. Three miles short of [High] Wycombe, several people met and asked us if we had seen an highwayman, who had shot a man on the road not an hour ago. In a mile’s riding we found the poor man weltering in his blood. The minister of Wycombe informed us that he was a little behind, and heard the highwayman threaten to shoot him if he did not deliver his money that instant. He answered, “You shall have all the money I have, but it is not much.” And the other, without any more words, shot him through the head.

I could not but observe the particular providence of God over us. Had we not delayed in the morning, had we not called on Hodges, had we not stopped at Gerard’s Cross, we had just met the murderer.

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<sup>29</sup>See Acts 22:4, etc.

<sup>30</sup>Cf. Luke 5:17.

<sup>31</sup>See 1 Cor. 14:33.

<sup>32</sup>I.e., the seventeenth-century Puritan revolt.

<sup>33</sup>The chapel in Eltham Palace.

<sup>34</sup>Isa. 55:1.

<sup>35</sup>John Lambert, the son of CW’s sister Anne and her husband John, was to apprentice with Felix Farley, the printer, in Bristol; cf. CW to JW, June 28, 1740.

<sup>36</sup>*OED*: (of travelers) “to stop at an inn for food.”



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**Thursday, June 19.**<sup>37</sup> Hearing he was apprehended at a farrier's, his horse having cast a shoe, I went this morning to tell him Christ died to save murderers. But his heart was harder than the nether millstone.

By noon we came to Oxford. Called on Mrs. Ford and found her shut up in Moravian closeness.<sup>38</sup> She besought me *not to speak* in the society, not to make disturbances and divisions, etc. I told her I spoke no other words than I had from the beginning. Whence then her unusual apprehensions? Mr. [John] Simpson's presence accounted for it. Wherever he comes, his first business is to supplant us, which he does by insinuating himself, under the appearance of our friend. [2:59]

To the society I described the stillness of the first Christians, who continued *in* the apostles' doctrine, and *in* fellowship, and *in* breaking of bread, and *in* prayers.<sup>39</sup>

**Friday, June 20.** At the desire of some Baptists in Malmesbury<sup>40</sup> I expounded Romans 7, but not at all to their satisfaction. They could not see any higher state of perfection than what is there described.

**Saturday, June 21.** Such an unaccountable heaviness came over me on the road that I was forced to light and lied down for a quarter of an hour. I rose refreshed with this little sleep, and rode forward till we met a poor old man of eighty; was enabled to preach the gospel to his heart. We left him looking up to Jesus, and went on praising God.

My first greeting in Kingswood was by one of our colliers' daughters. I then rejoiced with William Hooper and Hannah Cennick.<sup>41</sup> In the evening at the Malt-room<sup>42</sup> I addressed myself to those in the wilderness. O what simplicity is this childlike people! A spirit of contrition and love ran through them. Here the seed has fallen upon good ground.

**Sunday, June 22.** Went to learn Christ among our colliers, and drank into their spirit. We rejoiced for this consolation. O that our London brethren would come to school to Kingswood! These *are* what they *pretend* to be. God knows their poverty, but they are rich;<sup>43</sup> and daily entering into rest,<sup>44</sup> without being first brought into confusion. They do not hold it necessary to deny the weak faith in order to get the strong. Their soul truly waiteth still upon God, in the way of his ordinances. Ye many masters, come learn Christ of these outcasts. For

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<sup>37</sup>For June 19–21, 1740, see also CW's more detailed journal letter to JW, in *Journal Letters*, 67–71.

<sup>38</sup>Mrs. Ford, of Oxford, had frequently entertained the Wesley brothers since at least Oct. 1738; see JW, *Works*, 19:357.

<sup>39</sup>See Acts 2:42.

<sup>40</sup>Malmesbury, Wiltshire, 14 miles west of Swindon.

<sup>41</sup>William, the son of John and Elizabeth (Brown) Hooper, born 1725; and Anna Cennick (1721–67), the sister of John Cennick.

<sup>42</sup>This was a large room near Weavers' Hall which the Wesley brothers used for meetings when they could not meet in the latter. CW also calls it the "Malt-house."

<sup>43</sup>See 2 Cor. 8:9.

<sup>44</sup>See Heb. 4:1.

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know, except ye be converted, and become like these little children, ye cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven.<sup>45</sup>

Met several of those whom I had baptized, and found them grown in grace. Some [2:60] thousands waited for me at Rose Green, to whom I expounded Ezekiel 16. And surely the Lord passed by, and said to some in their blood, “Live.”<sup>46</sup> Concluded the day at the men’s lovefeast. Peace, unity, and love are here. We did not forget our poor distracted brethren (that were, till the Moravians came).

How ought I to rejoice at my deliverance out of their hands and spirit! My soul is escaped as a bird out of the snare of the fowler. *Abii, erupi, evasi.*<sup>47</sup> And did I not love the lambs of Christ, indeed the grievous wolves, I would see your face no more. I am no longer a debtor of the gospel to *you*. Me ye have fairly discharged. But if you reject my testimony, others receive it gladly and say, “Blessed be he that cometh in the name of the Lord.”<sup>48</sup>

**Tuesday, June 24.**<sup>49</sup> Preached Christ, the way, the truth, and the life,<sup>50</sup> to one thousand little children at Kingswood. At the Room I proceeded in St. John. Some were present who fancy themselves elect, and therefore sink back into their old tempers. Without meddling in the dispute, I rebuked them sharply, yet in much love.

Read my journal to the bands, as an antidote to stillness.

**Thursday, June 26.** Saw Mrs. Turner under the buffetings of Satan, to whom she is plainly delivered over, for her pride and envy.<sup>51</sup> O that she may learn hence not to blaspheme, or mimic the Spirit of God with her imaginary experiences!

In my farther exposition of Ezekiel 16 the secrets of many hearts were revealed. When some cried out, I bade the people be quiet, that Satan might lose his end. Those noisy souls I believed sincere, but he tormented them to make them confound the work and hinder the word of God. Immediately, as if his device was discovered, the enemy withdrew and the outcries ceased.

[2:61]

**Saturday, June 28.** Met the bands in Kingswood, and reproved Hannah Barrow before them all. She would not be convinced of her pride, but was *sure* she had the witness of the Spirit, and the seal, and what not. I tremble to think what will be the end.

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<sup>45</sup>See Matt. 18:3.

<sup>46</sup>Ezek. 16:6.

<sup>47</sup>Cf. Cicero, *In L. Catilinum Oratio*, ii.1.1: “*Abiit, excessit, evasit, erupit*” (“He has left, absconded, escaped, disappeared”).

<sup>48</sup>Matt. 21:9.

<sup>49</sup>For June 23–27, 1740, see also CW’s more detailed journal letter to JW, in *Journal Letters*, 72–76.

<sup>50</sup>John 14:6.

<sup>51</sup>Ann (Holister) Turner, the wife of Capt. Joseph Turner. They were married in 1712 in Bristol and both appear in the Bristol band lists.

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**Sunday, June 29.** Found the spirit of the colliers before I began to speak. Then my mouth was opened to declare the promise of sanctification [from] Ezekiel.<sup>52</sup> Gave the sacrament to about eighty colliers, exhorted the last-baptized, met the men leaders, preached to the usual congregation at Rose Green, and returned without strength to the Horsefair.

When I am weak, then I am strong;<sup>53</sup> and was never more enlarged, nor I think so much, as in speaking from that scripture: “Holding forth the word of life, that I may rejoice in the day of Christ, that I have not run in vain, neither laboured in vain.”<sup>54</sup> Many in that hour found heaven begun upon earth.

**Monday, June 30.** Spent a week at Oxford to little purpose but that of obedience to man for the Lord’s sake. In the hall I read my two lectures on Psalm 130, preaching repentance towards God and faith in Jesus Christ.<sup>55</sup> But learned Gallio cared for none of these things.<sup>56</sup>

Yet even in this place God did not leave himself without witnesses. He *began* to call them forth, but where are they now? All scattered by those refiners on Christianity who make the cross of none effect,<sup>57</sup> and forbid men to remember God in *his* ways.<sup>58</sup> Therefore when I came in the name of the Lord Jesus, there was no man. When I called them to him, there was none to answer, or at most a score, out of the multitude which Mr. [Richard] Viney found.

[2:62]

**July 1740**

**Sunday, July 6.** Preached at Stanton Harcourt in the morning, at South Leigh in the afternoon, then expounded blind Bartimeus at Mr. [John] Gambold’s.<sup>1</sup> The next evening I discoursed on the Good Samaritan.<sup>2</sup>

**Tuesday, July 8.** Came to Malmesbury with Mr. [John] Robson, and the next day to Bristol. Met the Lord among the people. Brother Robson said, “It is good for me to be here”<sup>3</sup> and that the half had not been told him of God’s goodness to this little flock.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>52</sup>Ezek. 36:24–30; see CW’s related hymn “Promise of Sanctification” (1741), also published in *HSP* (1742), 261–64.

<sup>53</sup>See 2 Cor. 12:10.

<sup>54</sup>Phil. 2:16.

<sup>55</sup>See Acts 20:21.

<sup>56</sup>See Acts 18:17. These lectures would have been part of the process toward the BD degree (cf. the Nov. 2, 1739 entry). Both CW and JW soon abandoned their pursuit of this degree.

<sup>57</sup>See 1 Cor. 1:17.

<sup>58</sup>See Luke 22:19.

<sup>1</sup>Mark 10:46–52.

<sup>2</sup>Luke 10:29–37.

<sup>3</sup>See Matt. 17:4.

<sup>4</sup>See 1 Kings 10:7.

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**Friday, July 11.** This morning he preached on Lazarus raised,<sup>5</sup> with the demonstration of the Spirit. I carried him to Kingswood. He was in love with our colliers.

**Saturday, July 12.** Passed the afternoon with them. They grow in grace, and in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ.<sup>6</sup> We cannot be among them, and not perceive the divine presence.

**Sunday, July 13.** Gave the sacrament to above seventy of them, different from those who received the last time. Preached at Rose Green on the fall of man, Genesis 3. I dare not depart from the work while God so strengthens me therein. We walked over the waste to the [Kingswood] school, singing and rejoicing. It was their lovefeast. Two hundred were assembled in the Spirit of Jesus. Never have I seen and *felt* such a congregation of faithful souls! I question whether Herannah can now afford the like.

**Tuesday, July 15.**<sup>7</sup> To the colliers I described what many of them have experienced, religion, a participation of the divine nature.<sup>8</sup> At Bristol I pressed the example of the primitive Christian, Acts 2, and tasted something of their spirit.

**Wednesday, July 16.** I was convincing the natural man of sin when a poor sinner cried out vehemently, “What do you mean by looking at *me*, and directing yourself to *me*, and telling *me* I shall be damned?” I did then address myself [2:63] to him, but he hurried away with the utmost precipitation.

At the time of intercession the Spirit greatly helped our infirmities.<sup>9</sup> We began with particulars, but at last were enlarged in prayer for all mankind.

Dissuaded one who was strongly tempted to leave the fellowship. The devil knows what he does: *Divide et impera*<sup>10</sup> will carry the world before him.

While I was meeting the bands, my mouth was opened to rebuke, reprove, exhort, in words not my own. All trembled before the presence of God. I was forced to cut off a rotten member. But I felt such love and pity at the time, as humbled me into the dust. It was as if one criminal was made to execute another. We betook ourselves to fervent prayer for him, and the society. The Spirit was poured out, and we returned unto the Lord in weeping, and mourning, and praying.

**Thursday, July 17.** We have had put up dismal, sick notes as the following:<sup>11</sup> “A person declares before the congregation that while the minister was appealing to God for the truth of universal redemption and desiring a token thereof on some sort present, the Spirit of the Lord did

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<sup>5</sup>John 11.

<sup>6</sup>See 2 Pet. 3:18.

<sup>7</sup>For July 14–18, 1740, see also CW’s more detailed journal letter to JW, in *Journal Letters*, 77–82.

<sup>8</sup>2 Pet. 1:4.

<sup>9</sup>See Rom. 8:26.

<sup>10</sup>“Divide and rule.”

<sup>11</sup>The journal letter makes clear that CW is using “dismal, sick” ironically, because the note helped rebuke a predestinarian.

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then bear witness with her spirit that the doctrine there delivered was the truth of God, and she would have staked her eternal salvation thereupon.”

Admitted near thirty new members into the society.

**Sunday, July 20.**<sup>12</sup> Our poor colliers being repelled from the Lord’s table by most of the Bristol ministers, I exhorted them, notwithstanding, to continue daily with one accord in the temple,<sup>13</sup> where the wickedest administrator can neither spoil the prayers nor poison the sacrament. *These poor sinners have ears to hear.*<sup>14</sup>

**Wednesday, July 23.** Talked with Mrs. [Ann] Turner, who justifies God and the wisdom of his children, taking shame to herself and confessing that spiritual pride [2:64] was the sole occasion of her fall.

In the bands I reproved one who was fallen asleep again, and yet horribly confident she was in a good way, and should go to heaven if she died that moment.<sup>15</sup> I tried the weapons of our warfare upon her strongholds and pulled them down, to the conviction of all but herself. At last she raged and tore like a mad woman—this child of God, with her full assurance of faith! I showed the rest, through her, the deceitfulness of the heart and the blinding power of Satan.

**Thursday, July 24.** I went to see her, lest Satan should get irrecoverable advantage over her. She was more moderate, but still in the false assurance of unbelief, in the spirit of self-delusion. What an exertion of omnipotence does such a soul require to reawaken it!

**Friday, July 25.** Began examining each member of the society. One came crying out, “I am born of God. I have the indwelling Spirit. I have a new heart.” And she could give no account of her faith, no proof of her pretensions; only she was sure of it and all the world should not persuade her to the contrary. I fear nothing less than her falling into gross sin will be sufficient to open her eyes.

How exceeding cautious ought we to be in receiving people’s testimony of themselves. “*Nil admirari*”<sup>16</sup> should be our rule, and not to take much notice of such as think themselves justified, till self be brought into subjection and they have seen their hearts, which lie hid under that first joy.

Spoke with another who much wants to be *unsettled* from her ties. I plainly see why almost all lose their first comfort. It is expedient for them that it go away. Till nature is quite dead, it will feed upon the gift, instead of the giver; the grace which is in itself, instead of that which is in Christ Jesus.

At night I took [2:65] occasion from Acts 7 to discourse on the sin of resisting the Holy Ghost. He sent the word home to many souls.

**Sunday, July 27.** Heard a miserable sermon at Temple church, recommending religion as the most likely way to raise a fortune. After it, proclamation was made “that all should depart

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<sup>12</sup>For July 19–30, 1740, see also CW’s more detailed journal letter to JW, in *Journal Letters*, 83–88.

<sup>13</sup>Acts 2:42–46.

<sup>14</sup>See Matt. 11:15, etc.

<sup>15</sup>In his journal letter CW identifies this person as Anne Holton.

<sup>16</sup>Horace, *Epistles*, I.vi.1; “Marvel at nothing.”

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who were not of the parish.” While the shepherd was driving away the lambs I stayed, suspecting nothing, till the [parish] clerk came to me and said, “Mr. Becher bids you go away, for he will not give you the sacrament.”<sup>17</sup> I went to the vestry door and mildly desired Mr. Becher to admit me. He asked, “Are you of this parish?” I answered, “Sir, you *see* I am a clergyman.” Dropping his first pretence, he charged me with rebellion in expounding the Scriptures without authority, and said in express words, “I repel you from the sacrament.” I replied, “I cite you to answer this before Jesus Christ at the day of judgment.” This enraged him above measure. He called out, “*Here, take away this man!*” The constables were ordered to attend (I suppose, lest the furious colliers should take the sacrament by force), but I saved them the trouble of taking away this man and quietly retired.

I preached the gospel in Kingswood with double power, from Isaiah 40, “Comfort ye, comfort ye my people, saith your God.”<sup>18</sup> Before sermon I declared our brother [John] Cennick’s entire agreement with me in the belief of universal redemption, and he confirmed my saying with an hymn of his own.<sup>19</sup> Never did I find my spirit more knit to him.

At Rose Green, though my bodily strength was gone, I was carried out beyond myself in speaking of God’s free grace to sinners.

**Monday, July 28.** Spoke searchingly on those words of our Lord: “Nevertheless, I tell you the truth; [2:66] it is expedient for you that I go away. For if I go not away, the Comforter will not come ....”<sup>20</sup>

**Tuesday, July 29.** One pestered with the predestinarians desired me to expound Romans 9. I did, through Christ strengthening me, in an extraordinary manner. The poor creature Wildboar contradicted and blasphemed,<sup>21</sup> and even *called for damnation upon his own soul, if Christ died for all, and if God was willing that all men should be saved.* The power of the Lord was present so much the more. Many believed with their heart, and made confession with their mouth, of Jesus Christ the Saviour of all men.<sup>22</sup> I have not known a more triumphant night since I knew Bristol.

**August 1740**

**Sunday, August 3.** Preached Jesus Christ to the colliers from Isaiah 63, “Who is this that cometh from Edom, with dyed garments from Bosrah?”<sup>21</sup> Great power was in the midst. Many wept. I myself was much affected. At Rose Green my text was, “Drop down, ye heavens, from

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<sup>17</sup>Rev. Henry Becher (1702–43) was currently vicar of Temple church and rector of St. Stephens church in Bristol. CW spells “Beacher.”

<sup>18</sup>Isa. 40:1.

<sup>19</sup>Cennick would later embrace limited atonement.

<sup>20</sup>John 16:7ff.

<sup>21</sup>Jonathan Wildboare; see JW to ‘John Smith’, July 10, 1747, *Works*, 26:245.

<sup>22</sup>See Rom. 10:9.

<sup>1</sup>Isa. 63:1.

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above, and let the skies pour down righteousness.”<sup>2</sup> It rained hard, but that did not interrupt their attention. I was comforted at the women’s lovefeast.

**Tuesday, August 5.** I talked sharply to Jenny Deschamps, a girl of twelve years old,<sup>3</sup> who now confessed that her fits and cryings out (above thirty of them) were all feigned, that Mr. Wesley might take notice of her.

**Wednesday, August 6.** In great heaviness I spoke to the women-bands, as taking my farewell. Sang the hymn which begins—

While sickness shakes the house of clay,  
And, sapp’d by pain’s continued course,  
My nature hastens to decay,  
And waits the fever’s friendly force.<sup>4</sup>

After speaking a few faint words to the brethren, I was immediately taken with a shivering; and then the fever came.

The next morning I [2:67] was bled and carried by Mrs. [Elizabeth] Hooper to her house.<sup>5</sup> There I looked into the Bible, and met with, “The Lord will strengthen him upon the bed of languishing, thou wilt make all his bed in his sickness.”<sup>6</sup> My pain and disease increased for ten days, so that there was no hope of my life. But then Jesus touched my hand, and rebuked the fever, and it left me. I had no apprehension of death myself. It was reported I was dead, and published in the papers. But God had not finished (O that he had effectually begun) his work in me. Therefore, he held my soul in life and made all things work together for my recovery.

Dr. Middleton, an utter stranger to me, God raised up and sent to my assistance.<sup>7</sup> He refused taking any fees, and told the apothecary he would pay for my physic if I could not. He attended me constantly, as the divine blessing did his prescriptions, so that in less than a fortnight the danger was over.

For the next fortnight I recovered slowly, but had little use of my legs, and none of my head. One of our colliers, taken ill of the same fever since me, has died in full triumph of faith.

When I was just able to stand, my brother came from London. We rode out most days in Mr. Wayne’s<sup>8</sup> or an hired chariot, comparing our dangers, temptations, and deliverances.

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<sup>2</sup>Isa. 45:8.

<sup>3</sup>Jane Deschamps, daughter of John Deschamps, was baptized Mar. 1728 in Bristol.

<sup>4</sup>CW, “Written in Sickness,” st. 1, *HSP* (1740), 47.

<sup>5</sup>John and Elizabeth (Brown) Hooper lived in Old Market Street, Bristol.

<sup>6</sup>Ps. 41:3.

<sup>7</sup>John Middleton, M.D. (d. 1760) became a close friend and physician for CW. CW wrote a funeral hymn on his death (MS Funeral Hymns, 12–20), which JW published in *AM* 6 (1783): 445–48, 502–04, 557–58.

<sup>8</sup>John Wayne (1696–1747) was the eldest son and heir of Gabriel Wayne (1653–1722), who had established a major copper smelting operation in Conham. CW often preached at a

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I found myself, after this gracious visitation, more desirous and able to pray, more afraid of sin, more earnestly longing for deliverance and the fullness of Christian salvation.

[2:68]

**September 1740**

**Sunday, September 7.** As soon as my bodily weakness would permit, I returned to my old hours of retirement; but with fear, and earnest prayer that I might not rest in my own works or endeavours.

Mr. Cary's curate informed us that Mr. Cary had ordered him to repel my brother and me from the sacrament.<sup>1</sup>

**Wednesday, September 10.** It rained all day, but cleared up when I went to the bands. A few words I spoke in great weakness; and they seemed not spoken in vain.

**Monday, September 15.** Passed two or three days at Mr. Arthurs's<sup>2</sup> in Kingswood and, by the blessing of God, recovered the use of my understanding, which was so clouded that I could neither read nor think.

**Thursday, September 18.** Out of weakness I was made strong to preach at the Room tonight, not for a quarter of an hour, as I proposed, but for an hour and an half.

**Friday, September 19.** "They that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength."<sup>3</sup> So I found it this morning, both in soul and body. At night I was enabled to preach Anne Hodges's funeral sermon.

**Monday, September 22.**<sup>4</sup> I was setting out for the Downs,<sup>5</sup> when one asked me to ride out toward Mr. [Thomas] Willis's. At the end of the town I was informed the colliers were risen. Above one thousand of them I met at Lawrence Hill. They came about me and saluted me very affectionately, not having seen me since my sickness. The occasion of their rising, they told me, was the dearness of corn. I got to an eminence, and began speaking to them. Many seemed inclined to go back with me to the [Kingswood] school, but the devil stirred up his oldest servants, who violently rushed upon the others, beating and tearing and driving them away from me. I rode up to a ruffian who was striking one of our colliers, and prayed him rather to strike me. He would not, he said, for all the world, and was [2:69] quite overcome. I turned upon one who struck my horse, and he also sank into a lamb. Wherever I turned Satan lost ground, so that he was obliged to make one general assault, and—by the few violent colliers—forced on the quiet ones into the town.

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chapel built and endowed by Sir Abraham Ellison for the workers in this smelt works. CW consistently spells the last name "Wane."

<sup>1</sup>Rev. William Cary (1689–1759) was vicar of St. Philip and St. Jacob church, Bristol, from 1723 to his death.

<sup>2</sup>Charles Arthurs (1714–83), of Kingswood (or his father of the same name); JW gives the first name in his diary, Dec. 20, 1740, *Works*, 19:445.

<sup>3</sup>Isa. 40:31.

<sup>4</sup>For Sept. 22–27, 1740, see also a more detailed journal letter, in *Journal Letters*, 89–93.

<sup>5</sup>A flat limestone area on the northeast outskirts of Bristol.



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I seized on one of the tallest, and earnestly besought him to follow me. That he would, he said, all the world over. About six more I pressed into Christ's service. We met several parties, stopped and exhorted them to join us. We gleaned a few from every company, and grew as we marched along singing to the school. From 1:00 till 3:00 we spent in prayer that evil might be prevented, and the lion chained. Then news was brought us that the colliers were returned in peace. They had quietly walked into the city without sticks or the least violence. A few of the bitter sort went to the mayor and told their grievance. Then they all returned as they came, without noise or disturbance. All who saw were amazed, for the leopards were laid down.<sup>6</sup> Nothing could have more shown the change wrought in them than this rising.

I found afterwards that all our colliers to a man had been forced into it. Having learned of Christ not to resist evil, they went a mile with those that compelled them rather than free themselves by violence.<sup>7</sup> One the rioters dragged out [of] his sick-bed, and threw him into the Fishponds. Near twenty of Mr. Willis's men they got by threatening to fill up their pits, and bury them alive, if they did not come up and bear them company.

**Tuesday, September 23.** Mr. William Seward came, and was very cordial. We prayed, rejoiced, and [2:70] gave thanks. If I did not love him the better for his opinion,<sup>8</sup> I am sure it made me more industrious to confirm my old love towards him.

I carried him to Mr. [John] Wayne's, and then to our colliers, before whom I set the things they would have done in the late rising, had not grace restrained them. One poor man declared, when they forced him away, he would much more willingly have gone to the gallows.

Mr. Seward spoke a few words to them, which did not convince me of his call to preach. In our return he told me Mrs. Grevil and others had urged him to claim the Room in the Horsefair, but he abhorred their baseness.<sup>9</sup>

**Wednesday, September 24.** He told me he was in a mist, the Baptists last night having laboured hard to make him oppose me publicly. Before we parted all was set right again.

Yet a few hours after, he came from them and utterly renounced both me and my brother, in bitter words of hatred which they had put in his mouth.<sup>10</sup> I pray God lay not this sin to their charge, neither all the weakness of word and action when ensued for the following days.

God endues my soul and body also with much strength. This day he has comforted me on every side. To him be all the glory.

**Friday, September 26.** Was greatly assisted in the evening to preach the Christian perfection—that is, utter dominion over sin; constant peace, and love, and joy in the Holy Ghost;

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<sup>6</sup>See Isa. 11:6.

<sup>7</sup>See Matt. 5:41.

<sup>8</sup>That is, his embrace of predestination.

<sup>9</sup>Elizabeth (Whitefield) Grevil and others aligned with the Calvinist wing of the revival in Bristol were pressing claim on the preaching room in the Horsefair, based on Seward and George Whitefield helping raise funds to build it.

<sup>10</sup>Seward had been informed of CW's negative comments about his printed *Journal*, and CW's attacks upon unconditional election. For Seward's account of this interaction see *WHS* 34 (1963): 17–20.

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the full assurance of faith, righteousness, and true holiness. I see more and more into the height of our privileges, and that God will give them to me.

**Sunday, September 28.** At the sacrament I received power to believe sin shall not have dominion over me. Reached many hearts [2:71] in expounding blind Bartimeus.<sup>11</sup>

Our lovefeast was such as deserved the name. We all rejoiced in hope of the glory of God.

**Monday, September 29.** God was wonderfully with our assembly, and opened my eyes to see the promise of holiness or perfection, not in some, but in almost every Scripture.

**October 1740**

**Thursday, October 2.** Rejoiced to hear that Mrs. Purnell was on Sunday morning, under the word, taken into the very borders of Canaan.<sup>1</sup> The patient abiding of the meek shall not perish for ever.

**Sunday, October 5.** Offered myself at the sacrament, and was not refused, though Mr. [William] Cary himself administered. Received it with comfort.

**Monday, October 6.** Prayed by Margaret Thomas. At my first visit, she *hoped* her sins were forgiven. Now she more than hoped it, having received the faith which works by love,<sup>2</sup> and filial fear of offending.

Met the leaders and endeavoured to humble one who begins to grow rich, not by denying what God has done for his soul but by showing him he could no more trust to his graces than his works, but must still come to Christ as a poor sinner that has need of all things.

**Wednesday, October 8.** Took down the case of Catherine Hyfield. She was charged with robbing her master (one Townsend) of £300, whose dying wife my brother had visited.<sup>3</sup> Alderman Day, etc., threatened to put her in irons, etc., if she would not confess she had given the money to my brother. When no proof could be brought against her, they were forced to discharge her; and soon after, her master found the money where [he] himself had lodged it.

**Thursday, October 9.** Was much revived by the sight of Margaret Thomas, dying in [2:72] the highest triumph of faith. I could not help asking,

Is this the soul so late weigh'd down  
By cares and sins, by griefs and pains?  
Whither are all thy terrors gone?  
Jesus for thee the victory gains,  
And death, and sin, and Satan yield

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<sup>11</sup>Mark 10:46–52.

<sup>1</sup>Elizabeth Purnell, who was buried in Bristol on Oct. 23, 1740.

<sup>2</sup>See Gal. 5:6.

<sup>3</sup>Susanna (Pierce) Townsend, wife of William Townsend, was buried in Jan. 1739/40 at Bristol. JW had last visited her Aug. 22, 1739; see JW, diary, *Works*, 19:404.

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To faith's unconquerable shield.<sup>4</sup>

Her hope was now full of immortality. She had no desire of life or death, or ease in her great pain. God had finished his work, and her will was quite swallowed up in his. This is that holiness without which no one shall see the Lord.<sup>5</sup>

**Friday, October 10.** Prayed by Mrs. Purnell, who patiently waits for the seal of her pardon. At night I spoke strongly to the unawakened and beheld, a cry! But such as became poor lost sinners. Great was the stirring among the dry bones.<sup>6</sup>

**Sunday, October 12.** From Isaiah 54 I was assisted to stir up those who had settled upon their lees since they were justified. I visited Margaret [Thomas], now at the haven where she would be, and only waiting the word, "Come up hither!"<sup>7</sup> Her spirit helped me wonderfully in prayer. She told me she had been heard in my behalf, and God would give me an humble heart.

**Monday, October 13.** Breakfasted and gave an exhortation to some of our friends. One *seemed* so deeply affected that her outcries much interrupted me. I took no notice of her, seeing she *could not help it*, only said at last, "I do not think the better of you for this," and immediately her trouble was over and she hushed, unconcerned as before.

**Wednesday, October 15.** At the intercession our casting down was in the midst of us.<sup>8</sup> O that I was always as I am sometimes! But a [2:73] fit or start of humility is not to be depended on.

**Thursday, October 16.** Rejoiced in an opportunity of heaping coals of fire upon the head of an enemy.<sup>9</sup> Poor Mitchell,<sup>10</sup> arrested by Charles Martin, sent me first a reproaching, and then a begging, letter.<sup>11</sup> I paid his debt, and won him a very moderate price.

**Friday, October 17.** I prayed by Mrs. Purnell, near death. She had no fear and no assurance of pardon, but believed she should know her sins forgiven before she went hence. I called again at noon, and then the Lord had showed her his salvation, and she could confidently testify, "God for Christ's sake hath forgiven me."

**Sunday, October 19.** Called on a dying man, who told me he hoped to be saved through Christ because he was none of the worst of sinners. "If that be your plea," said I, "you must be damned without all remedy." Proceeded to set before him the spirituality of the law, and the

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<sup>4</sup>CW, "Congratulations to a Friend, Upon Believing in Christ," st. 12, *HSP* (1739), 206. It has been suggested that CW wrote this 13-stanza poem to his brother JW on the occasion of his "finding peace."

<sup>5</sup>See Heb. 12:14.

<sup>6</sup>See Ezek. 37:1–14.

<sup>7</sup>See Rev. 4:1.

<sup>8</sup>See Mic. 6:14.

<sup>9</sup>See Rom. 12:20; Prov. 25:22.

<sup>10</sup>Likely Thomas Mitchell, an early member of the society in Bristol; see JW to James Hutton, Apr. 16, 1739, *Works*, 25:631.

<sup>11</sup>These letters are not known to survive.

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terrors of the Lord. He fought hard against God, often repeating the words of his predecessor, “I am not like other men,”<sup>12</sup> reproaching my Master, not me, and refusing to humble himself under the mighty hand of God.<sup>13</sup> He told me he never desired to see me more. Yet when I offered to go, he desired me to pray by him. I did, in faith that God might open his eyes to see himself the chief of sinners. He begged me to call again.

Gave the sacrament to Mrs. Purnell, who after receiving the cup cried, “It is finished!”<sup>14</sup> Visited her once more in her last conflict, yet even then by plain signs expressing her confidence. She held out till Wednesday morning, October 22, and then departed to the church triumphant.

Met the leaders and removed one (Jenny Worlock<sup>15</sup>), who was much lifted up, but lay concealed from herself by a voluntary [2:74] humility. She cheerfully resigned an office which she owned herself so unfit for; yet afterwards, I heard, complained with many tears that I should think ill of her from the report of others. The next day she was taken with a fit of humility, and bade a sister go and tell it me. “Anybody now,” she said, “might trample upon me. Do you pray trample upon me. But tell Mr. Wesley.” Verily, “the heart is deceitful above all things. Who can know it?”<sup>16</sup>

**Thursday, October 23.** Met several of the bands at the house of our departed sister Purnell, and solemnly rejoiced over her, with singing. Walked with the funeral as far as the church, then hastened back to the Room, where lay the corpse of Margaret.<sup>17</sup> Her spirit was, with the other’s, returned to God. A wonderful power accompanied the word preached, 1 Corinthians 15. Oh what triumph did we find in the house of mourning! Many strangers were convinced. The society attended her to the grave, and praised God with joyful lips for her translation.

**Friday, October 24.** Was greatly enlarged in enforcing that promise, “The Lord knoweth how to deliver [the godly] out of temptation.”<sup>18</sup> Showed them the only infallible way to conquer sin, namely, “Sin shall not have dominion over me, because I believe in Jesus Christ that it shall not.” A poor drunkard believed, and had a witness that he shall no more turn back to his own wickedness.

**Sunday, October 26.** I heard Mr. Tucker’s (not railing) accusation against the Methodists,<sup>19</sup> “that they went contrary to custom, did not catechise their children, did not reform

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<sup>12</sup>Luke 18:11.

<sup>13</sup>See 1 Pet. 5:6.

<sup>14</sup>See John 19:30.

<sup>15</sup>Jane Worlock had been admitted into a female band Apr. 18, 1739; see JW to James Hutton, Apr. 26, 1739, *Works*, 25:636.

<sup>16</sup>Jer. 17:9.

<sup>17</sup>Margaret Thomas was buried in Bristol, Oct. 23, 1740.

<sup>18</sup>2 Pet. 2:9.

<sup>19</sup>Rev. Josiah Tucker (1712–99), rector of All Saints church, Bristol, had carried on a debate in the papers the previous year with Whitefield and JW; see *Wesley and Methodist Studies* 6 (2014): 126–56.

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men in the regular way.” He told us farther what Mr. Whitefield would say when he returned from Georgia, and [2:75] concluded with an excellent quotation out of Mr. [William] Law. I offered my assistance at the sacrament, which he civilly declined.

**Monday, October 27.** Met a young gentlewoman who was never under the word till the night of our triumphant funeral. Then it laid hold on her heart. Yet I could not persuade her to expect the promise till she had endeavoured, and mourned, and waited *longer*.

In the evening I set the terrors of the Lord in array against sinners,<sup>20</sup> and an horrible dread overwhelmed some of them. May the law be their schoolmaster to bring them to Christ.<sup>21</sup>

**Tuesday, October 28.** Was exceedingly shocked with the news of Mr. Seward’s death.<sup>22</sup> But he is taken from the evil, rescued out of the hands of wicked men.

Calling on the pharisee whom I had visited last week, I found him dead. But at the last hour he had cried unto Jesus as a poor, undone sinner, who *was* like other men.<sup>23</sup>

Led in the evening to preach universal redemption from those words, “The Lord is not willing that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance.”<sup>24</sup> The Spirit mightily confirmed that irresistible truth. I then spoke with unfeigned concern of our dear departed brother [Seward], and with just abhorrence of those unhappy bigots whose headlong zeal had robbed us of him. We sang a funeral hymn over him, and were comforted in the hope of soon meeting him again, where no sower of tares,<sup>25</sup> no reprobating pharisee, shall ever part us more.

**Friday, October 31.** The time for my going to Wales is now come. Today Captain Philips challenged me—said he came to fetch me and Mr. Wells invited me to preach in his churches.<sup>26</sup>

[2:76]

Passed an hour with two very wise Quakers, who were for inverting the order of God and making Christ our sanctification before he is our righteousness. The true Light, I trust, will one day teach them better.

**November 1740**

**Tuesday, November 4.** At Kingswood Mr. [John] Cennick showed me a letter from Howell Harris, wherein he justified poor Mr. Seward, and talked of declaring against us himself.

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<sup>20</sup>See Job 6:4.

<sup>21</sup>See Gal. 3:24.

<sup>22</sup>William Seward died Oct. 22, 1740, as a result of a blow received from detractors while touring South Wales to raise support for Whitefield.

<sup>23</sup>See Luke 18:11.

<sup>24</sup>2 Pet. 3:9.

<sup>25</sup>See Matt. 13:25.

<sup>26</sup>Rev. Nathaniel Wells (1695–1779) was rector of the parish church in St. Andrews Major, Wales. He had hosted Whitefield in 1739.

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With the loss of him and all things, I am commanded to preach the gospel to every creature.<sup>1</sup> I did so to the colliers, from Titus 2:11,<sup>2</sup> and was carried out more than ever before, till all were drowned in tears of love. While I was testifying Christ died for all, Mr. Cennick, in the hearing of many, gave me the lie. I calmly told him afterwards, “If I speak not the truth as it is in Jesus, may I decrease, and you increase.”<sup>3</sup>

**Thursday, November 6.** At 6:00 took boat for Cardiff, and at 6:00 in the evening landed on Welsh ground with the voice of praise and thanksgiving. Mr. [Nathaniel] Wells, who invited me over, waited to give me the first greeting. From his house we went to the society, where God opened my mouth to call, “Ho, everyone that thirsteth, come ye to the waters.”<sup>4</sup> They received the word with all readiness. I lodged at Mr. Glascott’s.<sup>5</sup>

**Friday, November 7.** Rode with Mr. Williams<sup>6</sup> to St. Andrews [Major], a little town four Welsh miles from Cardiff. Mr. Wells was not afraid to trust me in his pulpit. I was greatly assisted to invite many poor sinners to come weary and heavy laden to Christ.<sup>7</sup> They gladly received my saying. Mr. Hodges desired me to preach next Tuesday in his church in Wenvoe.<sup>8</sup> Returned to Cardiff rejoicing and expounded 1 John 1, to the conviction, I [2:77] hope, of many.

**Saturday, November 8.** Had an opportunity to moderate the spirits of some who were greatly exasperated against Howell Harris for preaching predestination among them.

After church I waited with Mr. Wells on the sick minister,<sup>9</sup> who was extremely civil, invited me to dinner, and to preach in his pulpit morning and evening.

Spent the day in singing and close conference with some who would fain persuade themselves they had faith, without forgiveness. My Master, I trust, will soon persuade them that they have both together.

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<sup>1</sup>See Mark 16:15.

<sup>2</sup>See CW’s hymn of this passage from the time period: *HSP* (1742), 265–68.

<sup>3</sup>See John 3:30.

<sup>4</sup>Isa. 55:1.

<sup>5</sup>Thomas Glascott had hosted JW during his visit to Cardiff, Oct. 18–19, 1739; see JW, diary, *Works*, 19:412.

<sup>6</sup>This was likely Thomas Williams (c. 1697–1783), a prominent farmer from Llanishen (where CW will preach five days later), who became a Methodist exhorter. JW stayed with Williams on his trip to Wales the following year Oct. 1, 1741 (cf. *Works*, 19:222). Williams’s son Thomas (c. 1720–87), who was converted a year later, became an itinerant helper to CW and JW for some years (and a source of trouble for CW in 1744).

<sup>7</sup>Matt. 11:28.

<sup>8</sup>Rev. John Hodges (1700–77), rector of Wenvoe, was one of the Welsh clergy most sympathetic with the Wesley brothers’ early work in Wales. CW spells “Wenvo.”

<sup>9</sup>Rev. Thomas Colerick (c. 1680–1761) was the current vicar of St. John’s in Cardiff.

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**Sunday, November 9.** At 6:00 explained the legal state from Romans 7. Read prayers, and preached to a large congregation, “All have sinned and come short of the glory of God.”<sup>10</sup> Administered the sacrament to many strangers. Read prayers in the afternoon, baptized a child, and preached both law and gospel with great plainness. My hearers were surprisingly patient. Only one went out. I continued my discourse till it was dark, and had much comfort in having delivered my message.

The scripture to be expounded at night was, 1 John 2, “If any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father . . .”<sup>11</sup> God opened my mouth to declare the truth of his everlasting love to all mankind. At the same time he enlarged my heart to its opposers. I took the occasion to speak of Howell Harris. Bore such a testimony of him as he deserves, and mildly upbraided them for their ingratitude toward the greatest benefactor their country ever had. We all expressed our love by joining in hearty prayer for him.

**Monday, November 10.** Set out for St. Nicholas. Called at Llandaff on the then officiating minister, to ask the pulpit. He referred me to the [2:78] chapter, but I do not mean to trouble them. The church at St. Nicholas also was shut against me, but we met at a neighbouring Mr. [John] Deer’s,<sup>12</sup> where I offered Christ to all sinners, with much freedom and power.

At Cardiff spoke a word in season to one (Susan Young), who was puffed up and boasted of her graces, and took upon her to teach others. I told her she had deceived her own soul and brought a scandal of religion. She flew out into self-justification: God knew her heart, would not quench the smoking flax, etc. But I cut her short and with six plain words, God accompanying them with his power, struck her down into the deep. She cried out, “I am damned, I am damned,” and was stripped of all, as in one moment.

Sent a messenger to Howell Harris, with the following letter:

My dearest friend and brother,

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

C. W.

**Tuesday, November 11.** The church at Wenvoe was full as it could hold, while I preached the gospel from the Good Samaritan.<sup>13</sup> All were visibly affected. Went to Mr. Hodges. Took sweet counsel with him and Mr. Wells. The former, at parting, in great simplicity desired my prayers and a kiss.

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<sup>10</sup>Rom. 3:23.

<sup>11</sup>1 John 2:1.

<sup>12</sup>CW gives the first name in the entry for Aug. 26, 1741.

<sup>13</sup>Luke 10:29–37.

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**Wednesday, November 12.** In Llanishen<sup>14</sup> church preached on “Repent, and believe the gospel.”<sup>15</sup> Our Lord was never more with me than at this time. I concluded with earnest prayer for the curate.<sup>16</sup> [2:79]

Dined at Mr. Well’s with several of the brethren and Mr. Thomas, a neighbouring curate of great simplicity, who preaches not himself, but Christ Jesus the Lord.<sup>17</sup>

**Thursday, November 13.** Went with reluctance to the prisoners, almost despairing to do any good, when I received faith to believe Christ would be with me. I looked up to him, and never preached the gospel with greater freedom. Two women fell down as dead. The infection ran through us all, and we felt that the gospel was indeed the power of God.

The three ministers, Mr. Wells, Hodges, and Thomas, made part of my evening congregation, to whom I showed in strong words the blessedness of persecution.

**Friday, November 14.** Rode with Mr. Wells, Hodges, to Michaelston-le-pit.<sup>18</sup> He read prayers. I preached Christ from, “Who is this that cometh from Edom with dyed garments? ....”<sup>19</sup> He was evidently set forth before our eyes as crucified.<sup>20</sup> Rode back in the spirit of triumph. Heard the players had sent me a challenge—that is, a ticket and invitation to their play. Suffice for the time past. I now serve another Master.

**Saturday, November 15.** At Mr. Price’s in Watford,<sup>21</sup> preached “Christ our wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption”;<sup>22</sup> and again at 5:00 with double power. An Arian minister of our own Church and a Baptist teacher were present. The latter could not allow either justification or sanctification necessary to salvation.

**Sunday, November 16.** Mr. [Thomas] Williams informed me that many had bound themselves with a curse to make a disturbance in the church, and not suffer me to preach. Then the clerk told me I was not to preach in the afternoon. I answered, “I had not expected to preach there in the morning, or indeed, a second time.”

The psalms began, “O God, the heathen are come into thine inheritance. Thy holy temple [2:80] have they defiled.”<sup>23</sup> The second lesson was very animating, being John 8, that earnest

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<sup>14</sup>CW spells “Lanissan.”

<sup>15</sup>Mark 1:15.

<sup>16</sup>The current curate was Rev. Robert Cooke (d. 1741).

<sup>17</sup>Philip Thomas (1710–81), was currently curate at Gelliger, would later serve with John Hodges at Wenvoe, and eventually receive the living at Michaelston-le-Pit. In all these settings he supported the Methodist cause.

<sup>18</sup>CW spells “Michelston-Lepit.”

<sup>19</sup>Isa. 63:1ff.

<sup>20</sup>See Gal. 3:1.

<sup>21</sup>Thomas Price’s residence of Watford Fawr; Price was a convert of Howell Harris. George Whitefield would be married here.

<sup>22</sup>1 Cor. 1:30.

<sup>23</sup>Ps. 79:1 (BCP).



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contention of our Lord with the Pharisees.

My text was, “If God be for us, who can be against us?”<sup>24</sup> I began abruptly with the opposers, and defied them in the name of the Lord Jesus. The Spirit of power was with me. But I soon perceived him as the Spirit of love, and besought those unhappy sinners to be reconciled unto God. Their master durst not hazard their staying any longer but, in the midst of my discourse, hurried them out of church.

I went on convincing and entreating the pharisees to submit to the righteousness of God. Never was my mouth and heart more enlarged. Upon my repeating, “It pleased God by the foolishness of preaching to save all them that believe,”<sup>25</sup> a gentleman rose and turned his back on the gospel of salvation. I called after him in vain, then earnestly prayed for him and the rest, the Spirit helping my infirmity.<sup>26</sup>

Read prayers in the afternoon. Many hungry souls were disappointed through my not preaching. I sent them to the society. Several players were present, but quickly fled before the sword of the Spirit.<sup>27</sup> When were departing, Mr. Wells stopped us to hear his unexpected apology for me. He strongly enforced the truths I had delivered and, with great humility, asked me to set him right, if had spoken aught contrary to sound doctrine.

**Monday, November 17.** Again my mouth was opened to preach the law and the gospel<sup>28</sup> at Llantrisant.<sup>29</sup> Mr. Harris, the minister, was exceeding civil.<sup>30</sup> He had been dealt with to refuse me the pulpit, but would not break his word.

**Tuesday, November 18.** Preached at St. Bride’s,<sup>31</sup> “Thou shalt call his name Jesus . . .”<sup>32</sup> Here too I cast my net to catch the fisher.<sup>33</sup> We were setting out from the public-house when God brought [2:81] Howell Harris to us. All misunderstandings vanished at sight of each other, and our hearts were knit together as at the beginning. Alas poor world, poor devil, poor Baptists! —*ibi omnis Effusus labor.*<sup>34</sup> We sang an hymn of triumph. God had prepared his heart for this meeting. At the sacrament he had found the spirit of martyrdom falling upon him, and immediately I was brought to his remembrance. His heart overflowed with love, and he thought we were going hand in hand to the stake.

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<sup>24</sup>Rom. 8:31–32.

<sup>25</sup>1 Cor. 1:21.

<sup>26</sup>See Rom. 8:26.

<sup>27</sup>See Eph. 6:17.

<sup>28</sup> Likely from Rom. 3; cf. the Aug. 23, 1739 entry above.

<sup>29</sup>CW spells “Lantrissent.”

<sup>30</sup>Rev. Richard Harris (d. 1763) was vicar of Llantrisant.

<sup>31</sup>St. Bride’s-super-Ely, Glamorgan.

<sup>32</sup>Matt. 1:21.

<sup>33</sup>Likely referring to Rev. William Lacy (d. 1756), rector of St. Bride’s-super-Ely.

<sup>34</sup>Virgil, *Georgics*, iv.492; “At that moment all his toil was spent.”

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Before the society several were with me, desiring me, now I had gotten him, to reprove him openly. Some wanted me to preach against lay preaching, some against predestination, etc. In my discourse on Isaiah 60 a gentleman, who had come thither on purpose, interrupted me by desiring I would now speak to Mr. Harris—since I was sent for to disprove his errors, and Mr. Wells, an experienced clergyman, sat by to moderate between us. God gave me immediate recollection. I smiled at Satan's imprudence, but turned aside the question with mildness, and thanks to the proposer. In vain he urged me to enter the lists with my friend. I quashed all farther importunity by declaring, "I am unwilling to speak of my brother Howell Harris, because when I begin, I know not how to leave off, and should say so much good of him as some of you could not bear." The gentleman, disappointed of his hope, immediately departed.

After this victory over Satan, I proceeded with double power, addressing myself particularly to the ladies, whose company we were favoured with because there was no play tonight. I showed them they were no better than common harlots, if they outwardly differed from them through pride, not virtue. The Lord open [2:82] their hearts to receive my hard saying.

The captain giving me notice that he should sail the next day, I determined to spend the night in taking leave. We supped at the friendly Mr. Well's, and then called at Captain Philip's. Between 10:00 and 11:00, just as I was going, Satan began to show his wrath at the many sore disappointments he has met with this very day. He could not set the children of God against each other, and was therefore forced to make use of his own. The physician who had gone out of church on Sunday stirred up his companions, and unusually heated with wine, came and demanded satisfaction of me for calling him pharisee. I said I was ready to acknowledge my mistake, if he would assure me he had gone out of church to visit his patients. He replied he had gone out because he disliked my discourse.

[CW:] "Then sir," said I, "I cannot ask pardon for telling you the truth."

[Physician:] "But you must for calling me a pharisee."

[CW:] "I still insist you are a pharisee, and cannot endure sound doctrine. My commission is to show you your sins, and I shall make no apology for so doing, to you or any man living. You are a damned sinner by nature, and a pharisee, like me. And this testimony I should bear before rulers and kings. You are a rebel against God, and must bow your stiff neck to him before you can be forgiven?"

[Physician:] "How do you know my heart?"

[CW:] "My heart showeth me the wickedness of the ungodly."<sup>35</sup>

[Physician:] "Sir, I am as good a Christian as yourself."

[CW:] "You are no Christian at all, unless you have received the Holy Ghost."

[Physician:] "How do you prove that you have received the Holy Ghost?"

[CW:] "By searching your heart, and showing you[rself] that you are a pharisee."

Here he lifted up his cane and struck me. Mrs. Philips intercepted and broke the blow. Felix Farley tripped up his heels, and the company rushed in between.<sup>36</sup> My soul was

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<sup>35</sup>Ps. 36:1 (BCP).

<sup>36</sup>Felix Farley (1708–53), son of a printer and pioneering newspaper proprietor, started his own printing business in Bath in 1732 and moved to Bristol in 1734. He printed several items for the Wesley brothers and became a devout Methodist (see Best, *Cradle of Methodism*,

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immediately filled with [2:83] the calm, recollected boldness of faith. There was a great outcry among the women. Several of them he struck and hurt, and raged like one possessed, till the men forced him out and shut the door.

Soon after, it was broken open by a justice and the bailiff, or head magistrate. The latter began expostulating with me upon the affront offered the doctor and said, "As it was a public injury, I ought to make him public satisfaction." I answered, "Mr. Bailiff, I honour you for your office's sake. But was you yourself, or his Majesty King George, among my hearers, I should tell you both that you are by nature damned sinners. In the church, while preaching, I have no superior but God, and shall not ask man leave to show him his sins. As a ruler, it is your duty to be a terror to evildoers, but a praise to them that do well." Upon my thus speaking, he became exceeding civil, assured me of his goodwill, and that he had come to prevent my being insulted, and none should touch an hair of my head.

While we were talking the doctor made another attempt to break in and get at me, but the two justices and others with much trouble at last got him out. They went, and we continued our triumph in the name of the Lord our God. The shout of a king was among us.<sup>37</sup> We sang on unconcerned, though those sons of Belial, the players, had beset the house.<sup>38</sup> The ground of their quarrel with me is that the gospel has starved them. We prayed and sang with great tranquillity till 1:00 in the morning. Then I lay down till 3:00. Rose again, and was scarce got into the room, when they discovered a [2:84] player just by me, who had stole in unobserved. They seized him, and Felix Farley wrested the sword from him. There was no need of drawing it, for the point and blade were stripped an hand-breadth of the scabbard.

When the sword was brought in, the spirit of faith was kindled among us at sight of the danger. Great was our rejoicing within, and the uproar of the players without, who strove to force their way after their companion. My female advisers were by no means for my venturing out, but deferring my journey. I preferred Mr. Wells's advice of going with him, through the midst of our enemies. Called in on the poor creature they had secured. They talked of warrants, prosecutions, etc. On sight of me he cried, "Indeed, Mr. Wesley, I did not intend to do you any harm." That, I answered, was best known to God and his own heart, but my principle was to return good for evil. Wherefore I desired he might be released, assured him of my good wishes, and with Mr. Wells walked peaceably to the waterside, no man forbidding me. Our friends stood on the shore, while we joined in hearty thanksgiving. "The fierceness of men shall turn to thy praise, and the fierceness of them shalt thou restrain."<sup>39</sup>

**Wednesday, November 19.** Between 5:00 and 6:00 we were forced to return for want of water. Found Howell Harris and the flock still at Captain Philips's, and was strengthened to lay open the promise of sanctification, Ezekiel 36.<sup>40</sup> Took leave of my dear Howell and, with Mr. Wells, waited upon the bailiff. Acknowledged his last night's civilities and left him, as a trophy,

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141–42). He was accompanying CW on this trip.

<sup>37</sup>See Num. 23:21.

<sup>38</sup>See 1 Sam. 2:12.

<sup>39</sup>Ps. 76:10.

<sup>40</sup>I.e., Ezek. 36:24–30.

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the player's sword. In public prayer Mr. Wells returned thanks to God for our late deliverance.

[2:85]

At 2:00 I took my leave of the society, and preached the pure gospel from the woman of Canaan.<sup>41</sup> A spirit of love constrained me to beseech them, with tears, to receive Christ Jesus. It ran through all. Some of the greatest opposers wept, especially a young lady—for whose entertainment the players had acted me—sang and prayed and humbled exceedingly. The word was as a fire that melteth the rocks. I saw why God had brought me back. Our parting was such as it ought to be.

About 4:00 Mr. Wells, etc., attended me to the vessel. I laid me down, and slept, and took my rest, “for it is thou, Lord, only, that makest me dwell in safety.”<sup>42</sup>

**Thursday, November 20.** By 5:00 the next morning he who blest our going out blest our coming to Bristol.<sup>43</sup>

Found my brother at the Room, expounding Romans 9. I confirmed his saying, and gave some account of my success in Wales. A great power accompanied the word, and I prayed in the Spirit. Joined with him in administering the sacrament to a young woman I had baptized, but who had not kept her garments unspotted.<sup>44</sup> Yet God healed her backslidings, and soon after she confidently resigned her spirit into the hands of Jesus.

**Friday, November 21.** My brother returned to London.

**Sunday, November 23.** I was very dead in delivering it, yet the word was mixed with faith in some that heard it, as they afterwards testified.

**Thursday, November 27.** At the Malt-house the Spirit of love and supplication fell upon me. I was filled with the tenderest concern for the desolate Church of England, which I could not help expressing before the congregation in tears and strong cries to God for her.

**Sunday, November 30.** Gave the sacrament to our sister Taylor, dying in triumph. Here is another [2:86] witness to the truth of the gospel. Commend me to a religion upon which I can trust my soul while entering into eternity.

Expounded the lesson at Kingswood. It was 6th of Hebrews. I prayed Christ our Teacher to enlighten the people with me, and began my discourse with fear and trembling. The Spirit gave me utterance. I calmly warned them against apostasy, and spoke with great tenderness and caution. But who can stand before envy, bigotry, and predestination? The strong ones were offended. The poison of Calvin has drunk up their spirit of love. Anne Ayling and Anne Davis could not refrain from railing.<sup>45</sup> John Cennick never offered to stop them. Alas! We have set the wolf to keep the sheep! God gave me great moderation toward him, who, for many months, has been undermining our doctrine and authority.

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<sup>41</sup>Matt. 15:22–28.

<sup>42</sup>Ps. 4:9 (BCP).

<sup>43</sup>See Deut. 28:6.

<sup>44</sup>Cf. Rev. 3:4.

<sup>45</sup>See CW's description in CW to JW, Dec. 3, 1740. Anne Davis had been housekeeper for the Room in Bristol, but was removed as part of this split between the Calvinist and Wesleyan wings of the revival there.

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**Monday, December 1.** Passed two hours at Mrs. Parsons's funeral,<sup>1</sup> and looked with envy on the corpse in the coffin. Her soul, before it left the body, was sweetly and fully conscious of its reconciliation with God. The word has been a savour of life to her also.

While I was showing the universality of Christ's redemption the flame was kindled all around, and the Holy Ghost bore witness with many consciences.

**Tuesday, December 2.** Had a conference in Kingswood with Mr. Cennick and his friends, but could come to no agreement, though I offered entirely to drop the controversy, if he would.

I preached on the threefold office of Christ,<sup>2</sup> but never with greater power. It constrained even the separatists to own that God was with us of a truth. Rode back in a glorious storm [2:87] of thunder, lightning, and rain. My spirit rejoiced in hope of the glory of God.<sup>3</sup>

He opened my mouth again at the society, and I spoke in much grief and love of our desolate mother the Church of England. My heart yearns towards her when I think upon her ruins, and it pitieth me to see her in the dust.<sup>4</sup>

**Thursday, December 4.** Administered the sacrament to Mr. [Henry] Page, against hope believing in hope.<sup>5</sup> After receiving, he had power to believe his sins forgiven.

**Friday, December 5.** Was much refreshed in Spirit among some of my friends, the Quakers, by a writer of theirs who strongly insists on the perfect death unto sin, and life unto righteousness, which every Christian experiences.<sup>6</sup> Death must precede life, and condemnation justification. This he as clearly teaches as any of our first Reformers.

**Saturday, December 6.** Wrote my brother a full account of the predestination party, their practices and designs, particularly "to have a church within themselves, and to give themselves the sacrament in bread and water."<sup>7</sup>

**Sunday, December 21.** Took my leave of the colliers in the words of the great apostle (without comparing myself to him), "And now, brethren, I commend you to God, and to the word of his grace."<sup>8</sup> The loving spirit was mightily among us, and more still at our lovefeast, for all the brethren of Kingswood and Bristol.

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<sup>1</sup>Mary Parsons was buried at St. Nicholas church in Bristol on Dec. 1, 1740. She may be the mother of Elizabeth Parsons.

<sup>2</sup>Christ as Prophet, Priest, and King. Perhaps using Luke 4:18. Cf. Aug. 28, 1743 entry.

<sup>3</sup>See Rom. 5:2.

<sup>4</sup>See Ps. 102:14 (BCP).

<sup>5</sup>See Rom. 4:18.

<sup>6</sup>One popular Quaker work that stresses this theme is John Crook, *Truth's Principles* (1662, orig.; reprint: London: T. Sowle, 1700), see pp. 16–18.

<sup>7</sup>This letter is not known to survive (unlike the earlier short letter of Dec. 4).

<sup>8</sup>Acts 20:32.

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**Monday, December 22.** I showed, with demonstration of the Spirit, the (ordinary) necessity of our being bruised and broken *before* the Comforter would abide in us for ever. He who saith, “My work is before me,”<sup>9</sup> set to his seal.

**Wednesday, December 24.** At 5:00 set out for London, which I reached, with Thomas Maxfield, the next [2:88] day by 5:00 in the afternoon. At 6:00 God renewed my strength to preach the glad tidings to a crowded audience at the Foundery. Great was our joy in the Lord, and in each other.

**Friday, December 26.** Rose at 5:00, without feeling my journey, and expounded Isa. 40:9, “O Zion, that bringeth good tidings, get thee up into the high mountain . . . .”<sup>10</sup> He spoke comfortably to his people by mouth, though I am nothing.

Talked with one who has entirely stopped the work of God in her own soul by judging of it in others.

A spirit of contrition fell upon me the moment I entered the society room. We made supplication for all men, especially the household of faith,<sup>11</sup> and that small part of it at Bristol.

**Saturday, December 27.** From 11:00 to 1:00 met five or six hundred, to praise God with the voice of joy and thanksgiving.<sup>12</sup> He had done great things for us already, but we shall see greater things than these.<sup>13</sup>

Dined at a Dissenter’s, armed cap-a-pie<sup>14</sup> with her faith of adherence, brim full of the five points,<sup>15</sup> and going on to the perfection of Romans 7.

At Mr. Craven’s a man abruptly accosted me, “Are you ready to receive my message?” “Yes,” I answered, “if you speak not of yourself.” “I speak to you from God.” “Where are your credentials? What proof show you of your divine commission?” “Nay, nay,” said he, “if you cannot receive my saying, I have nothing to do with you. I have delivered my own soul.” With these he flung away and left his prophecy imperfect.

**Sunday, December 28.** In the evening the scoffers were very outrageous. God filled my mouth with threatenings and promises. I defied and invited them by turns, till he got himself the [2:89] victory, and I freely published the glad tidings, “To us a son is born, to us a child is given.”<sup>16</sup>

I earnestly warned the bands not to fancy they had new hearts before they had seen the deceitfulness of the old; not to think they would ever be above the necessity of praying; not to yield for one moment to the spirit of judging.

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<sup>9</sup>Cf. Isa. 62:11.

<sup>10</sup>See his hymn on this verse, from the same period: *HSP* (1742), 232–34.

<sup>11</sup>See Gal. 6:10.

<sup>12</sup>See Ps. 42:4.

<sup>13</sup>See John 1:50.

<sup>14</sup>*OED*: “head to toe.”

<sup>15</sup>The five points summarizing Calvinism, associated with the Synod of Dort.

<sup>16</sup>Isa. 9:6.

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Mrs. [Bilhah] Aspernell told me strange things, and I fear true, concerning some new creatures of their own making, particularly Anne Morris, Sarah Middleton, B. H., and George Angel,<sup>17</sup> who have been caught in gross lies.

I appointed those who think they have new hearts to come and talk with me. Mrs. Cannon came and stood to it that she neither could nor would pray for anything, that her very flesh was holy, and pure, and sinless as Christ's body.<sup>18</sup>

Among my visitants this morning I had a very ingenious person, who generously proffered to teach me the grand arcanum for the value of five shillings. Having no need of money, I declined his proffer, but gave him sixpence and told him, as he had the art of transmutation, it was the same as if I had given him half a guinea. We had more serious talk before parting: how to change an heart of stone into an heart of flesh.<sup>19</sup>

**Tuesday, December 30.** Exhorted the society at Deptford with convincing power. A woman fell down under it.

**Wednesday, December 31.** Found the Spirit of prayer among the bands in London, and strongly exhorted them to humility.

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<sup>17</sup>Sarah Middleton appears as a single woman in Foundery Band Lists (1742–46); and George Angel as part of a band for single men in Aug. 1742.

<sup>18</sup>JW met with Mary Cannon in June 1740; see JW, diary, June 7, 1740, *Works*, 19:422.

<sup>19</sup>See 2 Cor. 3:3.

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[2:90]

April 1741<sup>1</sup>

**Friday, April [3].**<sup>2</sup> Set out for Bristol, to which God brought me safe by Saturday evening. Expounded at the Malt-house Revelation 2:24, and God was with my mouth.

**Sunday, April [5].** Spoke words of comfort to many mourners from Isaiah 30:18, “And therefore will the Lord wait, that he may be gracious unto you . . .” And again God greatly to be feared<sup>3</sup> was in the midst of our congregation, and revived many drooping hearts.

**Monday, April [6].** Prayed by one supposed at the point of death. He rejoiced to meet the king of terrors<sup>4</sup> and appeared so sweetly resigned, so ready for the Bridegroom, that I longed to change places with him.

Visited three murderers under sentence of death who were ready to say, “Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord.”<sup>5</sup>

**Thursday, April [9].** Got some hours for visiting our numerous sick, most of whom I found in a good way. Only one backslider, brother Hawks, was in the depth of despair.

Preached at Kendalshire<sup>6</sup> and gathered up the wreck. In riding back my horse threw me, but I know who caught me in his arms.

**Friday, April [10].** Found a dying sinner rejoicing in God her Saviour. At sight of me she cried out, “O how loving is God to me, but he is loving to every man. He loves every soul, as well as he loves mine.” Many like words she uttered in triumphant faith, and witnessed in death the universal love of Christ Jesus.<sup>7</sup>

**Saturday, April [11].** Today he called forth another of his dying witnesses, the young woman whom, at my last visit, I left in utter despair. This morning she broke out into, “I see, I see it now, that Jesus Christ died for me, and for all the world.” From that time she testified with

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<sup>1</sup>Jan. through Mar. 1741 is skipped in the MS Journal. During this period CW was briefly drawn toward an antinomianism similar to the doctrine of “stillness” being taught by the English Moravians—though CW attributed it to reading some works of Tobias Crisp and John Saltmarsh (see CW to John Fletcher, c. Jan 15, 1772). This led CW to stop preaching in London, forcing JW to make a quick return from Bristol (see the entries for Jan. [19]–Feb. 12m 1741 in JW, *Journal, Works*, 19:178–81). Lady Huntingdon, who had recently initiated contact with the Wesley brothers, played an important role in helping CW recover emphasis on holy living; cf. her letter to JW, Oct. 24, 1741, *Works*, 26:67–68.

<sup>2</sup>MS is off by one in the numbering of all days in April, including creating an April 31. Hence, all the numbers have been adjusted one day backwards.

<sup>3</sup>See Neh. 1:5.

<sup>4</sup>See Job 18:14.

<sup>5</sup>Ps. 118:26.

<sup>6</sup>Kendalshire (or Kendleshire), Gloucestershire; 7 mi. northeast of Bristol.

<sup>7</sup>Likely Mary Hill, buried Apr. 14, 1741 in Bristol, mentioned by CW in his journal letter covering July 17, 1740.



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much assurance that Christ gave his life a ransom for all.<sup>8</sup> Some of her [2:91] words to me were:  
“Death stares me in the face, but I fear him not. He cannot hurt me,

And death may shake his dart in vain!”<sup>9</sup>

Your report is true. God is love, pure love, love to every man. The Spirit, which is in me, tells me that Jesus Christ died for me and the whole world.

The next I saw was our brother S.,<sup>10</sup>

with joyful eyes and looks divine,  
smiling and pleased in death.<sup>11</sup>

He likewise had in himself the witness of God’s all-redeeming love, and could stake his soul upon the truth of it. Who will show me a predestinarian that dares die for the truth of reprobation?

**Sunday, April [12].** At Kingswood while I was repeating B. H.’s dying testimony,<sup>12</sup> the Spirit came down as a mighty, rushing wind. Just then the predestinarians came in from hearing [James] Cennick. In battles of shaking did he fight with them.<sup>13</sup> We were all in a flame of love.

Gave the sacrament to the bands of Kingswood, not of Bristol, in obedience (as I told them) to the Church of England, which requires a weekly sacrament at every cathedral. But as they had it not there and on this particular Sunday were refused it at Temple church (I myself, with many of them having been repelled), I therefore administered it to them in our school. And had we wanted an house, would justify doing it in the midst of the wood. I strongly urged the duty of their receiving it, as often as they could be admitted at the churches.

Had prayed God to show me some token if this was his will concerning me, and indeed my prayer was answered, for such a sacrament was I never present at before. We received [2:92] the sure pledges of our Saviour’s dying love, and were, most of us, filled with all peace and joy in believing.

Preached a fourth time at Bristol. Read the bands my journal of which has lately passed in London. It occasioned a grief which, mixed with pity, violated not their joy. I gave them all

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<sup>8</sup>See Mark 10:45.

<sup>9</sup>CW, “Written in the Beginning of a Recovery from Sickness,” st. 7, ln 4, *HSP* (1739), 81. Cf. Edward Young, *A Poem on the Last Day* (Oxford: Sheldonian Theatre, 1713), ln. 128: “And death might shake his threatening lance in vain!”

<sup>10</sup>Likely the brother Stanley in the Aug. 5, 1741 entry below.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Isaac Watts, “The Welcome Messenger,” st. 1, *Horae lyricae* (London: Humfreys, 1709), 47.

<sup>12</sup>Apparently the woman quoted on Apr. 11.

<sup>13</sup>See Isa. 30:32.

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the treatise on predestination.<sup>14</sup>

**Monday, April [13].** While I was in great love warning the bands, the Spirit of power came down, the fountain was set open, my mouth and heart enlarged, and I spoke such words as I cannot repeat. Many sunk under the love of Christ crucified, and were constrained to break out, “Christ died for all.” Some confessed with tears of joy, they were going to leave us, but could now die for the truth of the doctrine.

**Tuesday, April [14].**<sup>15</sup> Was enlarged in prayer for the malefactors who are to die tomorrow.<sup>16</sup>

**Thursday, April [16].** One of our old men in the Wood<sup>17</sup> complained to me that the Separatists had got from him the treatise against predestination and burned it. In like manner they *answer* all they can lay hands on. But they do nothing unless they could burn one more book, the Bible.

At Kendalshire God gave me words to maintain his cause. I showed the end of Messiah being cut off, namely, to finish the transgression and to make an end of sin, and to bring in everlasting righteousness.<sup>18</sup> One soul, as I afterwards heard, was added to the witnesses of Jesus.

**Friday, April [17].** For the sake of many poor soldiers present I enlarged on the faithful saying, “that Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners.”<sup>19</sup>

**Saturday, April [18].** Called to one that was a dying. It was Hannah Richardson,<sup>20</sup> etc. (see printed account of her death<sup>21</sup>). [2:93]

**Sunday, April [19].** Returning from Baptist Mills, I heard that our sister Richardson finished her course. My soul was filled with strong consolation and struggled, as it were, to go out after her—“as heavenward endeavouring.”<sup>22</sup> Jesu! My time is in thy hand.<sup>23</sup> Only let me

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<sup>14</sup>*Serious Considerations on Absolute Predestination* (Bristol: Farley, 1741), which JW had extracted from Robert Barclay’s *Apology for the True Christian Divinity* (1678) and published in Mar. 1741.

<sup>15</sup>For Apr. 14–25, 1741, see also CW’s much more detailed draft journal in *Journal Letters*, 94–110

<sup>16</sup>One woman and three men were sentenced to hanging by the Bristol magistrates on Mar. 23, 1741; see George Lamoine, ed. *Bristol Gaol Deliveries 1741–99* (Bristol Record Society, 1989), 1–2.

<sup>17</sup>The larger forested area around the school at Kingswood (orig., King’s Wood).

<sup>18</sup>Dan. 9:24.

<sup>19</sup>1 Tim. 1:15; see CW’s hymn of this passage from the time period: *HSP* (1742), 93–94.

<sup>20</sup>Hannah Richardson was born 1712; her burial record names her “Ann Richardson.”

<sup>21</sup>CW is referring to the publication JW prepared from the extensive account in CW’s journal letter: *A Short Account of the Death of Hannah Richardson* ([London: Strahan, 1741]).

<sup>22</sup>See Phil. 3:14.

<sup>23</sup>See Ps. 31:10 (BCP).

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follow her as she has followed thee!<sup>24</sup>

The voice of joy and thanksgiving was in the congregation,<sup>25</sup> while I spoke of her death. Our sister [Elizabeth] Purnell has proved a true prophet that many of the society would follow her, but God would first finish his work and cut it short in righteousness.

**Monday, April [20].** The hand of the Lord was upon me at Downend,<sup>26</sup> while I enforced his universal call, “Look unto me and be ye saved, *all* the ends of the earth.”<sup>27</sup> Many felt the earthquake which preceded the coming of the Son of Man.<sup>28</sup> We prayed and sang alternately for two hours and the Lord, we trust, enlarged and established our hearts.

**Tuesday, April [21].** Hastened to the joyful funeral of our sister Richardson. The room was crowded within and without. My subject was, “I know that my Redeemer liveth . . .”<sup>29</sup> Spoke searchingly to the hearsay-believers and then largely of her, whose faith they must safely follow. Great was my glorying and rejoicing over her. She being dead, yet spoke in works of faith and love,<sup>30</sup> which ought to be had in remembrance. Surely her spirit was present with us, and we were in a measure partakers of her joy, a joy unspeakable and full of glory.<sup>31</sup>

The whole society followed her to her grave through all the city.<sup>32</sup> Satan raged exceedingly in his children who threw dirt and stones at us, but the bridle was in their [2:94] mouths. After the burial we joined in the following hymn.

Come, let us who in Christ believe  
With saints and angels join.  
Glory and praise and blessing give,  
And thanks to grace divine.

Our friend in sure and certain hope  
Hath laid her body down.  
She knew that Christ will raise her up,  
And give the *heavenly*<sup>33</sup> crown.

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<sup>24</sup>See 1 Cor. 11:1.

<sup>25</sup>See Ps. 42:4.

<sup>26</sup>Downend, Gloucestershire; 5 miles northeast of Bristol. CW spells “Downing.”

<sup>27</sup>Isa. 45:22.

<sup>28</sup>See Rev. 16:18.

<sup>29</sup>Job 19:25; see also the hymn CW wrote on this verse at about this time: *HSP* (1742), 124.

<sup>30</sup>See Heb. 11:4.

<sup>31</sup>See 1 Pet. 1:8.

<sup>32</sup>Ann Richardson was buried Apr. 21, 1741 in the cemetery of St. Augustine’s church, on the NW corner of Bristol.

<sup>33</sup>In the margin CW writes “starry” as an alternative to “heavenly.”

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To all, who his appearing love,  
He opens paradise,  
And we shall join the hosts above  
And we shall grasp the prize.

Then let us wait to see the day,  
To hear the welcome word,  
To answer—Lo! We come away,  
We die to meet our Lord!<sup>34</sup>

**Wednesday, April [22].** Sharply reprov'd three or four inflexible pharisees, then prayed the Lord to give me words of consolation, and immediately I was filled with power, which broke out as a mighty torrent. All our hearts caught fire as in a moment and such tears and strong crying followed as quite drowned my voice. I sat still while the prayer of the humble pierced the clouds and entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth.<sup>35</sup> All present received an answer of peace and from his love in their hearts, testified that Christ died for all.

The Spirit of Jesus is the Spirit of prophecy.<sup>36</sup> One prophesied in words that pierced my soul. At last I lifted up the book and cried, "The spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets. Bow down to the written word." Immediately there was a profound silence, while I read Elijah's contention with the priests of [2:95] Baal. The God that answereth by fire, received my appeal and at those words, "Then the fire of the Lord fell and consumed the burnt sacrifice."<sup>37</sup> A prisoner of hope broke loose and cried out, "Christ died for all." She was even filled with faith and the Holy Ghost. Not one soul was sent empty away. We were all amazed and glorified God the Saviour of all men, saying, "We never saw it on this fashion."<sup>38</sup>

News was brought me that the predestinarians had a design to get Kingswood School into their hands, and had made sure of the mistress [i.e., housekeeper], Hannah Barrow, a bold confident pharisee, a liar, backbiter, swearer, drunkard, and if she is not a whore, it is because others have more grace than herself. I rode over to Kingswood and the next morning—

**Thursday, April [23].** After preaching, paid her above her wages and quickly dismissed her.

In the evening gathered up a stray sheep at Bristol and carried her to the word, which she had long forsaken. Strongly exhorted the people to put on the whole armour of God.<sup>39</sup> God doubly confirms the word when it is denied.

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<sup>34</sup>Cf. CW, "After the Funeral," *HSP* (1742), 131.

<sup>35</sup>See James 5:4.

<sup>36</sup>See Rev. 19:10.

<sup>37</sup>1 Kings 18:38.

<sup>38</sup>Mark 2:12.

<sup>39</sup>Eph. 6:11–17; see CW's hymn of this passage from the time period: *Whole Armour* (1742).

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**Friday, April [24].** At the intercession had great faith in prayer, that all things shall happen for the furtherance of the gospel. The predestinarian was struck as with the pangs of death, and earnestly desired our prayers.

Spent the afternoon in confirming the weak. In the evening I left God to choose me a subject and opening the book where it was written, “And now, I beseech thee, let the power of my Lord be great, according as thou hast spoken . . .,”<sup>40</sup> that famous history of the spies who brought up an evil report of the promised land.

I said, “let us go up at once and possess it, for we are well able to overcome it.”<sup>41</sup> God inclined their hearts to listen unto me rather than [2:96] the men that went up with us, who say, “We are not able to go up against the people, for they are stronger than we.”<sup>42</sup> We can never conquer *all* sin; we must sin sometimes.

Rode to Kingswood where many were come from far to spend the night in watching and prayer.<sup>43</sup> Had much of the divine presence, but remained myself like Gideon’s fleece,<sup>44</sup> till at midnight a cry: “Behold, the Bridegroom cometh!”<sup>45</sup> The flame was kindled and the Lord our God was among us, as in the holy place of Sinai.

**Saturday, April [25].** The word at night was refreshing to our souls. Our thanksgiving notes multiply more and more, being convinced of judgment or that dreadful perfection, the living without sin. One wrote thus, “There was not a word came out of the mouth last night but I could apply it to my own soul and witness it the doctrine of Christ. I know that Christ is a whole Saviour. I know the blood of Christ has washed away all my sins. I am sure the Lord will make me perfect in love before I go hence and am no more seen. ‘O for a thousand tongues to sing / My dear Redeemer’s praise!’”<sup>46</sup>

**Sunday, April [26].** Proceeded in Numbers 14, and warned the hearers, lest a promise being made them of entering into rest, any of them should come short of it through unbelief.

God every day adds fresh seals to my ministry, as many testify in the notes of thanksgiving.

**Thursday, April [30].** Went on in Numbers 14. Many eyes were opened to see that land of promises which God hath sworn to give unto all who believe.

We find a continued increase of faith and strength. It is good for us to be assaulted [2:97] by Satan and his children. They watch *for* our halting, which makes us watch *against* it.

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<sup>40</sup>Num. 14:17–18.

<sup>41</sup>Num. 13:30.

<sup>42</sup>Num. 13:31.

<sup>43</sup>I.e., they were holding a watchnight service.

<sup>44</sup>See Judg. 6:36–40.

<sup>45</sup>Matt. 25:6.

<sup>46</sup>CW, “For the Anniversary of One’s Conversion,” st. 7, *HSP* (1740), 121.

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**Friday, May 1.** Visited a sister, dying in the Lord and then two others, one mourning after, the other rejoicing in God her Saviour.<sup>1</sup>

Found our sister [Elizabeth] Hooper sick of love. Her body too sunk under it.

While I finished my discourse on Numbers 14 God fulfilled his promise, “Lo, I am with you always.”<sup>2</sup>

Was now informed that another of our sisters, Elizabeth Smith, is gone home in triumph.<sup>3</sup> She witnessed a good confession of the universal Saviour, and gave up her spirit with those words, “I go to my heavenly Father.”

**Sunday, May 3.** At Kingswood, as soon as I had named my text, “It is finished!”<sup>4</sup> the love of Christ crucified so constrained me that I burst into tears, and felt strong sympathy with him in his sufferings.<sup>5</sup> In like manner the whole congregation looked upon him, whom they had pierced, and mourned.<sup>6</sup>

Joined the society in thanksgiving for our departed sister [E. Smith]. We found where she was by the sweet power and solemn awe with which the divine presence filled us.

**Monday, May 4.** Passed an hour in weeping with some that wept,<sup>7</sup> then rejoiced over our sister Hooper. The more the outward man decayeth, the inner is renewed.<sup>8</sup> For one whole night she had wrestled with the powers of darkness. This is that evil day, that fiery trial! But having done all, she stood unshaken! From henceforth she was kept in perfect peace, and that wicked one touched her not.

In conference B[etty?] Walker told me [2:98] that last night God had opened her eyes under the word and the love of Christ, the Saviour of all men, quite overpowered her soul.

Saw my dear friend again, in great bodily weakness but strong in the Lord and in the power of his might.<sup>9</sup> “The Spirit,” said she, “bears witness every moment with my spirit that I am a child of God.” I spoke with her physician, who said he had little hope of her recovery. “Only,” added he, “she has no dread upon her spirits, which is generally the worst symptom. Most people die for fear of dying, but I never met with such people as yours. They are, none of them, afraid of death, but calm, and patient, and resigned to the last.” He had said to her, “Madam, be not cast down.” She answered, “Sir, I shall never be cast down.”

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<sup>1</sup>See Luke 1:47.

<sup>2</sup>Matt. 28:20.

<sup>3</sup>Elizabeth Smith was buried on May 3, 1741, at Temple church in Bristol.

<sup>4</sup>John 19:30.

<sup>5</sup>See the development of this focus in the sermon of Aug. 29, 1741 below.

<sup>6</sup>See Zech. 12:10.

<sup>7</sup>See Rom. 12:15.

<sup>8</sup>See 2 Cor. 4:16.

<sup>9</sup>See Eph. 6:10.

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At Downend explained good old Simeon's confession, "Lord, now lettest thou ...."<sup>10</sup> Our sister Hooper was present in spirit. I hastened back and asked, "How are you now?" Her answer was, "Full, full of love."

Met the bands in Kingswood. One, who in fear of God and mistrust of himself had heard Mr. [George] Whitefield, assured me he had preached barefaced reprobation. The people fled before the reprobating lion. But again and again, as he observed them depart, the preacher of sad tidings called them back with general offers of salvation. Vain and empty offers indeed! What availed his telling them that, for *ought he knew*, they might be *all* elect. He did not believe them all elect. He could not. Therefore he only mocked them with an empty word of invitation. And if God sent him to preach the gospel to *every creature*, God, according to his scheme, sent him to *deceive* [2:99] the greatest part of mankind.

**Tuesday, May 5.** Had much of the spirit of supplication among our colliers. Could not but look on it as a good omen that while I was praying for the increase of our spiritual children, a wild collier brought me four of his children and threw the youngest on the table before me crying, "You have got the mother, take the bairns too."

**Wednesday, May 6.** Found our sister Hooper just at the haven. She expressed, while able to speak, her fullness of confidence and love, her desire to be with Christ, her grief at their preaching the other gospel.<sup>11</sup> Some of her words were, "Does Mr. Cennick still preach his wretched doctrine?" O what has he to answer for turning his poor sister out of the way.<sup>12</sup> But my Lord will pity, and not suffer her to die in that delusion.

At my next visit I saw her in her latest conflict. The angel of death was coming and but a few moments between her and blessed eternity. We poured out our souls to God for her, her children, ourselves, the church and ministers, and all mankind. I had some perception of her joy. My soul was tenderly affected for her sufferings, yet the joy swallowed up the sorrow. How much more then did *her* consolations abound! The servants of Christ suffer nothing. I asked her whether she was not in great pain "Yes," she answered, "but in greater joy. I would not be without either." "But do you not prefer life or death?" She replied, "All is alike to me, let Christ choose. I have no will of my own."

This is that holiness, or absolute resignation, or Christian perfection!

Two days ago I asked her if she expected to recover. She answered, God had in the beginning of her sickness given her notice [2:100] of her departure. And I now remember she told me some months ago that Mrs. [Elizabeth] Purnell on her deathbed had said, "You shall shortly follow me."

A few moments before her last, I found such a complication of grief, joy, love, [and] envy as quite overpowered me. I fell upon the bed and in that instant her spirit ascended to God. I felt our souls were knit together by the violent struggle of mine to follow her.

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<sup>10</sup>Luke 2:29.

<sup>11</sup>See Gal. 1:8–9.

<sup>12</sup>Anna ("Hannah") Cennick, who had been close to Elizabeth's son William; see June 21, 1740 entry above.

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When I saw the breathless temple of the Holy Ghost my heart was still,<sup>13</sup> and a calm resignation took place. We knelt down and gave God thanks from the ground of our heart. Then had recourse to the book of comfort and found it written, “He was a burning and a shining light, and ye were willing for a season to rejoice in his light.”<sup>14</sup> The next word was for us, “Let us labour therefore to enter into that rest.”<sup>15</sup> Even so, come Lord Jesus,<sup>16</sup> and give us an inheritance among all them that are sanctified!<sup>17</sup>

After her death they found a memorandum in her handwriting: “On such a day Mr. W[esley] came to town; the next day I received a fresh witness. November 2, early in the morning such a manifestation of God’s love as is not to be expressed.”

One night I remember she told me, she knew when coming to us we should have that extraordinary power among the bands; that in the way God had given her a sight of the new Jerusalem. This she did not mention to others, nor indeed many manifestations of Christ, being exceeding jealous lest she should take any glory to herself. O that all who tell what God hath done for their souls would tell it with like humble reverence!

Met the bands, a solemn assembly. Cautioned the unstable and comforted the [2:101] feeble-minded. My mentioning our sister’s release occasioned much thanksgiving.

**Thursday, May 7.** Visited Hannah Cennick, full of love to her Saviour, crying out “Liberty, liberty! This is the glorious liberty of God’s children!”<sup>18</sup> O who can name the name of Jesus and not depart from iniquity? God loves me. God loves every man. Jesus Christ the Saviour of the whole world.” I could not but observe, and bless God for, this answer to our dying sister’s prayer.

At the Room I opened the book on “And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me.”<sup>19</sup> Was I to search after the strongest scriptures for universal redemption, I could not choose so well as providence chooses for me. God at this time made bare his arm.<sup>20</sup> I knew not how to give over, but continued my discourse till 9:00. Many witnesses stood forth and testified God’s love to all.

**Friday, May 8.** We solemnized the funeral of our sister Hooper and rejoiced over her with singing, particularly that hymn which concludes:

Thus may we all our parting breath  
Into the Saviour’s hands resign!  
O sister! let *me* die thy death,

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<sup>13</sup>See 1 Cor. 6:19.

<sup>14</sup>John 5:35.

<sup>15</sup>Heb. 4:11.

<sup>16</sup>See Rev. 22:20.

<sup>17</sup>See Acts 20:32.

<sup>18</sup>See Rom. 8:21.

<sup>19</sup>John 12:32.

<sup>20</sup>See Isa. 52:10.



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And let thy latter end be mine!<sup>21</sup>

My text was, “Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace.”<sup>22</sup> A great multitude attended her to her grave. There we sang another hymn of triumph and I found myself pressed in spirit to speak to those who contradicted and blasphemed. While I reasoned on death and judgment to come, many humbled. One woman cried out in horrible agony. We returned to the Room and continued our solemn rejoicing, desiring all to be dissolved and to be with Christ.<sup>23</sup>

**Sunday, May 10.** Gave the sacrament to the colliers. Preached on Elijah’s small, still voice.<sup>24</sup> Went out into the highways and concluded the [2:102] happy day with a feast in Kingswood.

**Monday, May 11.** At Downend explained, “I will heal thy backslidings. I will love thee freely.”<sup>25</sup> He who gave the promise applied it. I was quite melted down by it. Several wept much and loved much, because they had much forgiven.<sup>26</sup>

**Thursday, May 14.** Visited our sister Lillington whom her Saviour had brought to a bed of sickness before she knew he was *her* Saviour.<sup>27</sup> She told me two nights ago she saw herself, as it were, dropping into hell, when suddenly a ray of light was darted into her soul and filled her with all peace and joy in believing. All fear of hell, death, and sin fled away in that same moment.

Saw two more of our sick sisters, then two of the brethren in Kingswood, who were all rejoicing in hope of a speedy dissolution. Preached at Kendleshire and visited one of the bands there, who walked through the valley of the shadow of death and feared no evil.<sup>28</sup> Prayed by a seventh in Bristol, who laughed at the king of terrors.<sup>29</sup> If God be not with us, who hath begotten us these?

**Friday, May 15.** Saw our sister [Mary] Lillington again; still without fear, desiring nothing but to be with Christ. “I never felt,” said she, “such love before. I love every soul. I am all love and so is God. He is loving unto every man. He would have all men to be saved.”

**Saturday, May 16.** Visited another of our sisters who was triumphing over death. I asked her, “Do you know Christ died for you?” “Yes,” she answered joyfully, “for me, and for the whole world. He has begun and he will finish his work in my soul.” “But will he save you,” I said, “from *all* sin?” She replied, “I know he will. Then shall no sin remain in me.”

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<sup>21</sup>Cf. CW, “A Funeral Hymn (Used first for Mrs. Elizabeth Hooper),” st. 7, *HSP* (1742), 124–25.

<sup>22</sup>Luke 2:29.

<sup>23</sup>See Phil. 1:23.

<sup>24</sup>1 Kings 19:12.

<sup>25</sup>Hosea 14:4.

<sup>26</sup>See Luke 7:47.

<sup>27</sup>Mary Lillington was buried in Bristol on May 22, 1741.

<sup>28</sup>See Ps. 23:4.

<sup>29</sup>See Job 18:14.

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Sent for to another, who had lastly heard [2:103] a preacher of reprobation. The tempter would not lose the advantage and immediately suggested, “You are one of those for whom Christ did not die.” This threw her into a fever. I found her dying in despair. Preached the true gospel (gospel to every creature), prayed, and left her a prisoner of hope.

**Whitsunday, May 17.** The fire was kindled, while we were singing:

Bear we witness unto thee  
Thou thy light to all dost give  
That the world through it may see  
Their Saviour and believe.<sup>30</sup>

One cried out, “It is the truth!” Several found the same constraint of the all-loving Spirit. We blessed the God and Saviour of all men, who never leaves himself without witness where his true gospel is preached.

**Monday, May 18.** A poor soldier confessed to me that God had opened his eyes to see his universal love. I was repeating that verse

Arise, O God, arise,  
Thy glorious cause maintain,  
Hold forth the bloody sacrifice  
For every sinner slain.<sup>31</sup>

By all I can discern, he did in that moment receive the atonement.

Settled the bands in Kingswood. Toward the end an awful sense of God fell upon us and we trembled, seeing him that is invisible.<sup>32</sup>

**Tuesday, May 19.** I am more and more confirmed in the truth by its miserable opposers. Talked lately with Mr. [William] Hooper and urged him with this dilemma: “For what did God make this reprobate? To be damned, or to be saved?” He durst not say God made even Judas to be damned, and would not say God made him to be saved. I desired to know for what third end he could make him, but all the answer I could get was: [2:104] “It is not a fair question.”

Next I asked whether he that believeth not shall not be damned because he believeth not? “Yes,” he answered. And I replied, “Because he believeth not what?” Here he hesitated and I was forced to help him out with the apostle’s answer, “that they all might be damned who believed not the truth.”<sup>33</sup> “What truth?” I asked again, “but the truth of the gospel of *their* salvation? If it is not the gospel of *their* salvation, and yet they are bound to believe it, then they are bound to believe a lie, under pain of damnation. And the apostle should have said that they

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<sup>30</sup>CW, “Gloria Patri, IV,” st. 2, *Hymns on God’s Everlasting Love*, 2nd series (London: Strahan, [1742]), 55.

<sup>31</sup>CW, Hymn 17, st. 12, *Hymns on God’s Everlasting Love* (Bristol: Farley, 1741), 36.

<sup>32</sup>See Heb. 11:27.

<sup>33</sup>2 Thess. 2:12.

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all might be damned, who believed not *a lie*.”

This drove him to assert that no man was damned for *actual* unbelief but only for what he called *original*; that is, for not believing before he was born. “But where,” said I, “is the justice of this?” He answered, not over hastily, “I confess there is a mystery in reprobation.” Or, to put it in Bèza’s words, which I then read him, “We believe, though it is incomprehensible that [it] is just to damn such as do not deserve it.”<sup>34</sup>

Farther I asked him, “Why does God command all men everywhere to repent? Why does he call and offer his grace to reprobates? Why does his Spirit strive with every child of man for *some* time, though not always?” I could get no answer, and so read him one of his friend Calvin’s: “God speaketh to them that they may be the deafer, he gives light to them that they may be the blinder, he offers instruction to them that they may be the more ignorant, and uses the remedy that they may *not* be healed.” *Calvin’s Institutes*, 3. c. 24.<sup>35</sup>

Never did I meet with a more pitiful advocate of a more pitiful cause. And yet I believe he could say as much for reprobation [2:105] as another. I told him *his* predestination had got a millstone about its neck and would infallibly be drowned, if he did not part it from reprobation.

At Kingswood I preached on those much revisited words, “I pray not for the world, but for them which thou hast given me,”<sup>36</sup> that is, his apostles. He does not take in believers of future ages till v. 20. Then in v. 21 he prays for the unbelieving world that, to use Mr. Baxter’s words on the place, “by *their* concord the *world* may be won to Christianity” (*Paraphrase on New Testament*<sup>37</sup>). See again on v. 23, “That this luster of their excellency and concord may convince the world that thou hast sent me.” So far is our Lord from not praying for the world *at all*. Yet in this very chapter he prays once for his first disciples, once for believers in after-ages, and *twice* for the *world* that believeth in wickedness, that the world may *believe*, that the world may *know*.

He who prays for all men himself and commands us to pray for all men, was with us, and showed us with the demonstration of his Spirit that he is not willing any should perish but that all should come to the knowledge of the truth and be saved.<sup>38</sup>

**Wednesday, May 20.** Was called to a dying woman, who confessed she had often railed on me in her health but was now constrained to send for me and ask my pardon, or she could not die in peace. We prayed our Lord to speak peace and pardon to her soul. Several such instances

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<sup>34</sup>CW’s source for this quote was Thomas Grantham, *A Dialogue Between the Baptist and the Presbyterian* (London: s.n., 1691), 16; who references Bèza’s *post Paleo. in ad Rom.* (? perhaps Bèza’s life of Calvin appended to Calvin’s *Commentarius ...ad Romanos*). The quote overlooks that Bèza taught the non-elect “deserved” damnation for their own sin.

<sup>35</sup>This is a slight paraphrase of Calvin, *Institutes*, Bk. III, Ch. 24, ¶13. CW likely owed this reference to JW who was just publishing it in his *Dialogue between a Predestinarian and his Friend*; see JW, *Works*, 13:234.

<sup>36</sup>John 17:9.

<sup>37</sup>Richard Baxter, *A Paraphrase on the New Testament; with notes, doctrinal and practical* (London: B. & T. Simmons, 1685).

<sup>38</sup>See 2 Pet. 3:9.

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have we had of scoffers, when their feet came to stumble on the dark mountains.<sup>39</sup>

**Friday, May 22.** Preached a funeral sermon over sister Lillington and attended her to her grave,<sup>40</sup> where we rejoiced in hope of quickly following her. Gave an exhortation to repentance, though Satan greatly withstood me, thereby teaching me never to let go unwarned the poor sinners that come on such occasions. [2:106]

Passed the night with my brother at Kingswood in watching unto prayer. I would this primitive custom were revived among all our brethren. The word of God encourages us to be in watchings often.

Returned by 2:00 to Bristol and at 5:00 found strength to expound in my room.

**Sunday, May 24.** Preached on Jacob wrestling for the blessing.<sup>41</sup> Many then I believe took hold on his strength and will not let him go till he bless them and tell them his name.

Heard my brother at the Mills and attended him to the society. We had the cloud on our assembly.<sup>42</sup> A woman was constrained to testify, “God this moment assures me that my pardon is sealed in heaven.” The prince of this world was displeased. One of his subjects threw a stone into the Room, which had no permission to hurt. We accepted it as a challenge to stay and continued an hour longer, singing and praising God.

**Monday, May 25.** Visited one who had been grievously tormented with the spirit of reprobation but now rejoiced on a bed of sickness, free from all her fear, and trouble, and *sense* of pain. “I am confident,” she said, “that Jesus Christ will finish his work in me. That wicked one toucheth me not. He can no more make me doubt of God’s universal love. Jesus is the stronger! He is the Saviour of all mankind. It is a glorious gospel you preach. I stake my soul upon the truth of it.”

While I was passing by the Bowling Green a woman cried out, “The curse of God light upon you” with such uncommon bitterness that I could not but turn and stop to bless her. When I asked her why she cursed me, she answered, “For preaching against Mr. [Cennick?].” I had indeed a suspicion from her dialect that she was one of the self-elect, but stayed heaping coals of his upon her head,<sup>43</sup> till at last she said, “God bless you all.” [2:107]

**Thursday, May 28.** In the evening I expounded Ezekiel 18. Some were grieved, and I myself also, at the necessity laid upon me to convince gainsayers and not to employ both hands in building. Yet our Lord owned me here also and the hammer of his word broke the rock of absolute predestination into pieces.<sup>44</sup> One who had been long entangled with it now testified that he had delivered his soul out of the snare of the fowler.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>39</sup>See Jer. 13:16.

<sup>40</sup>Mary Lillington was buried in the churchyard of St. James in Bristol.

<sup>41</sup>Gen. 32:24–31. If CW had a MS for this sermon, it has not survived. But one of his most famous poems, “Wrestling Jacob,” is based on this passage; see *HSP* (1742), 115–18.

<sup>42</sup>See Exod. 40:34.

<sup>43</sup>See Prov. 25:22; Rom. 12:20.

<sup>44</sup>See Jer. 23:29.

<sup>45</sup>See Ps. 91:3.

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**Saturday, May 30.** Passed an hour with a spiritual Quaker and rejoiced to find we were both of the same religion.

**Sunday, May 31.** Throughout this day I found my strength increase with my labour. Many at the Mills were affected deeply with our Lord's description (Matthew 24) of his coming to judgment.

Read in the society my account of Hannah Richardson's death.<sup>46</sup> She, being dead, yet spoke so powerfully to our hearts that my voice was lost in sorrowful sighing of such as be in captivity. To several God showed himself the God of consolation also, particularly to two young Welshmen whom his providence sent hither from Carmarthen. They had heard most dreadful stories of us—Arminians, freewillers, perfectionists, papists—which all vanished like smoke when they came to hear with their own ears. God applied to their hearts the word of his power. I carried them to my lodgings and stocked them with books, and sent them away recommended to the grace of God which bringeth salvation unto all men.<sup>47</sup>

**[2:108]**

**June 1741**

**Thursday, June 4.** Met with one who said she was in the full liberty of the gospel and much displeased that I did not acknowledge her. "But the spiritual man is discerned of none, though I discern you. You are justified but you have not my gifts." Upon my coming down she was very abusive, called me child of the devil, etc., and denounced judgments against our whole society for not receiving her.

In the evening society God wrought wonderfully. I have seldom known such a night. We rejoiced till near midnight with joy unspeakable.

**Friday, June 5.** The morning word was as a sharp, two-edged sword, a discernor of the thoughts and intents of the heart.<sup>1</sup> Mary Stretton, the poor self-deceiver I spoke with yesterday, could not bear it but cried out, "You are a child of the devil, and the society are all accursed."<sup>2</sup> I let her speak on, that she might *show* herself, then warned the high-minded lest they also should fall into the condemnation of the devil. See the false assurance of unbelief and tremble! One in the gall of bitterness, the bond of iniquity, persuades herself that she is in the glorious liberty of the sons of God!<sup>3</sup>

Visited one who had violently maintained the impossibility of knowing our sins forgiven in this life. But Christ hath taught her better on her deathbed. She was overjoyed to see me. I prayed over her in faith, and left her calmly waiting for the salvation of God.

Prayed by another of the bands, who has recovered in sickness the confidence she had long last.

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<sup>46</sup>*A Short Account of the Death of Hannah Richardson* (London: Strahan, 1741).

<sup>47</sup>See Titus 2:11.

<sup>1</sup>See Heb. 4:12.

<sup>2</sup>See CW to JW, June 28, 1741; where CW wonders how JW could admit Stretton to a band.

<sup>3</sup>See Rom. 8:21.

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Walked out of town to a third, who lay a-dying, and could not rest till she had seen me. She had been a great opposer of this way, which now she confesses to be the only way of salvation.

Sent for to rejoice with our brother G— in an high fever. The witness testified, “I come quickly!”<sup>4</sup> Therefore, consolation did much more abound. [2:109]

**Saturday, June 6.** William Hooper informed me that last night he was delivered under the word from the snare of predestination.

**Monday, June 8.** A woman spoke to me of her husband. He was under strong convictions while he attended the word, but the first time he heard the *other gospel*<sup>5</sup> [he] came home *elect*, and in proof of it *beat his wife*. His seriousness was at an end. His work was done, God doth not behold iniquity in Jacob,<sup>6</sup> therefore his iniquity and cruelty towards her abounds. He uses her worse than a Turk (his predestinarian brother<sup>7</sup>), and tells her if he killed her he could not be damned.

Today I heard of another in the same delusion, Mrs. [Elizabeth] Grevil’s man, who lately favoured me with a letter exhorting me to bow down at the foot of sovereign grace.<sup>8</sup> His mistress has now sent him to Bridewell<sup>9</sup> and dragged her maid out of doors by the hair of the head, although naked, elect, and big with child.

Visited the woman whom I had left waiting for the redemption she had long denied.<sup>10</sup> She cried out at sight of me, “O blessed be God that ever I heard you! You have been the saving of my soul.” I taught her to speak more exactly. Her faith wrought powerfully by love. Her mouth was full of prayers and blessings. She continued for two days praising God and then he took her to himself.

**Wednesday, June 10.** I warned one of the bands who, by his Ahab-like humility,<sup>11</sup> had deceived many. Prayed our Lord, if he approved my plainness of speech, to give us an answer of peace.

Immediately the Spirit of supplication burst forth. We wrestled with God for a blessing on ourselves, on all who wait for full redemption, on those who blaspheme the glorious liberty of his children. The Spirit made intercession with groans unutterable.<sup>12</sup> Many [2:110] called upon God out of the deep. Others rejoiced with joy unspeakable and full assurance that we had the petitions we asked.

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<sup>4</sup>Rev. 22:20.

<sup>5</sup>See Gal. 1:8–9.

<sup>6</sup>See Num. 23:21.

<sup>7</sup>“Turk” was used at the time generically for Muslims, who were understood to teach predestination.

<sup>8</sup>This letter is not known to survive.

<sup>9</sup>A labour prison in Bristol.

<sup>10</sup>The woman visited on June 5.

<sup>11</sup>The story of Ahab’s false humility is found in 1 Kings 21.

<sup>12</sup>See Rom. 8:26.

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**Saturday, June 13.** Some days since I was sent for to one whom I had put out of our society for disorderly walking. He earnestly desired to see me. I found him senseless and at the point of death, as was supposed. Surprised today at learning he was still alive and in his senses. He was overjoyed to see me and I to find the Lord had again been merciful unto him.

**Tuesday, June 16.**<sup>13</sup> Seeking a sick man near Hanham, whose name I had forgot, I called at some of the huts for direction. At last a child informed me of one who lay a-dying. It was not the man whom I meant, but whom God meant, and sent me to bring him good news at the eleventh hour.

The woman asked me how Thomas Read did, the very man I wanted to find and was now directed to.<sup>14</sup> He was one that had drawn back, but gladly received me now. No dying man is grieved to hear Christ died for all!

Spoke with one of the bands, most barbarously used by her husband because she will not forsake God and his people. "An 100 times," she said, "he has carried a knife to bed with him to cut my throat." Her soul is always in her hand. She sleeps in the shadow of death and fears no evil,<sup>15</sup> knowing he can have no power over her except it be given him from above.<sup>16</sup> She ventures her life upon the word, "How knowest thou, O woman, but thou mayst save thy husband?"<sup>17</sup>

Preached in the Wood on the dreadful word, "Sell all!"<sup>18</sup> Never with more assistance. How has the devil baffled those teachers who, for fear of setting men upon works, forbear urging this *first universal* duty! If enforcing Christ's words is to preach works, I hope I shall preach [2:111] works as long as I live.

**Wednesday, June 17.** Gave the sacrament to our sister Brimble, dying in such strong agony as I have not seen before, no not in Hannah Richardson. She had no fear of hell, yet was so deeply convinced of original sin, as made all who heard her tremble. She could not let go her confidence that God would finish his work in her, though there were so few hours between her and eternity.

Met in Kingswood to humble our souls with fasting and deprecate the national judgments.<sup>19</sup> In the evening God gave me words to stir up some who were settled upon their lees. How long have we called him, "Lord, Lord," and not done the things which he bade us, not

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<sup>13</sup>For June 16–28, 1741, see also CW's more detailed journal letter to JW, in *Journal Letters*, 111–120.

<sup>14</sup>Thomas Read was buried in Bitton (just past Hanham) on June 22, 1741. CW spells "Reed."

<sup>15</sup>See Ps. 23:4.

<sup>16</sup>See John 19:11.

<sup>17</sup>1 Cor. 7:16.

<sup>18</sup>Luke 18:22.

<sup>19</sup>The British navy and army had suffered a major defeat at the hands of Spain in March at Cartagena de Indias (Columbia). This led to dissolving Parliament. A new election was held Apr. 30 – June 11, and the leading Whig party (CW's favoured) suffered significant losses.

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denied ourselves and taken up our daily cross?<sup>20</sup>

**Thursday, June 18.** Visited our brother Haskins's father at Siston,<sup>21</sup> whom God had showed that he is a sinner, but not yet that he is the chief of sinners.<sup>22</sup> Left him desirous to know even as he is known.<sup>23</sup> Soon after he entered upon his last agony. By his vehement prayers to the Saviour of sinners, and by the faith which God gave his son, I trust God made a short work in his soul and received it without spot to himself.

**Friday, June 19.** Expounded the fall of Jericho<sup>24</sup> and felt the truth of every word I spoke. Howell Harris was present and afterwards confessed to me that he felt the power by which I spoke, restraining him from denying the truth and filling him with strong desires of its accomplishments.

At the watchnight preached again on the same subject with double power. It was a glorious night indeed. We followed the ark and the shout of a king was in the midst of us.<sup>25</sup>

**Monday, June 22.** Visited one of the society on her deathbed. God sent me to her that she might preach to me. She conjured me not to depart from the work; said, "The ministers will endure a great fight of afflictions, but go on to [2:112] preach Christ the Saviour of all men, whose blood cleanseth from all sin. Christ died for all, none can resist this truth. I have not yet attained, but know he will fill up what is lacking in my faith."

**Wednesday, June 24.** I asked her if she had a new heart. She answered, "No, but I shall receive it with the sacrament." After administering, I repeated the question and she bore witness to the truth, "Everyone that is perfect shall be as his Master."<sup>26</sup> God, she said, had then taken away the evil heart and she had no sin remaining in her. I told her that time and temptation would show.

**Thursday, June 25.** Found her still the same, declaring she had felt no motion of evil or selfwill since the occasion of stumbling, as she thinks, was taken away.

**Friday, June 26.** Suky Harding informed me that Howell Harris, coming from the Room that night to her master's, had stopped their railings, saying he would hear nothing against his brothers Wesley, for they were true ministers of Christ and children of God. He confessed before a large company of our enemies he had found such power under the word that his soul was lifted to the third heaven.<sup>27</sup> He longed to be free from sin, which he hated. He lay open to the light. "And if," said he, "the Scriptures say Christ died for all, I will say so too." By many such words

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<sup>20</sup>See Matt. 7:22; Mark 8:34.

<sup>21</sup>Henry Haskins was buried June 20, 1741 in Siston, Gloucestershire; 7 miles east of Bristol. CW spells "Sison."

<sup>22</sup>See 1 Tim. 1:15.

<sup>23</sup>See 1 Cor. 13:12.

<sup>24</sup>Josh. 6. For a sense of the sermon, see his contemporary hymn on the text: *Taking of Jericho* (1742) = *HSP* (1749), 1:240–44.

<sup>25</sup>See Num. 23:21.

<sup>26</sup>Luke 6:40.

<sup>27</sup>See 2 Cor. 12:2.



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he utterly confounded them. But who can touch pitch and not be defiled?<sup>28</sup> The very next day he came and threatened to declare against me as a deceiver.

**Sunday, June 28.** A day much to be remembered.<sup>29</sup> Preached in Bristol on repentance; at Kendleshire on temptation, with more life. My strength increased with my work so that in the afternoon I was filled with power, and again at Baptist Mills.

Last night Howell Harris told me he would come to our society. I bade him come in God's [2:113] name. We were singing

Thee triumphantly we praise,  
Vie with all thy hosts above,  
Shout thine universal grace,  
Thine everlasting love,<sup>30</sup>

when William Hooper, by my order, brought him. I prayed according to God, gave out an hymn which we might all join in. The hand of the Lord was upon me. I asked Howell whether he had a mind to speak, and sat by for half an hour while he gave an account of his conversion by *irresistible grace*, mixing with his experience the impossibility of falling, God's unchangeableness, etc. I could not but observe the ungenerousness of my friend and, after hearing him long and patiently, was moved to rise up and ask in the name of Jesus, "Ye that are spiritual, doth the Spirit which is in you suffer me still to keep silence, and let my brother go on? Can I do it, without bringing the blood of these souls upon me?" A woman first cried (Mrs. Rawlins, I think), "The wounds of Jesus answer, 'No!'" Then many others repeated, "No, no, no," and a whole cloud of witnesses arose, declaring, "Christ died for all!"<sup>31</sup>

I asked again, "Would you have my brother Harris proceed, or would you not? If you would hear him, I will be silent all night." Again they forbade me in strong words upon which I gave out,

Break forth into joy  
Your Comforter sing, ....<sup>32</sup>

They did break forth as the voice of many waters or mighty thunderings.<sup>33</sup> O what a burst of joy was there in the midst of us! The God and Saviour of all men was provoked to jealousy and magnified his universal love.

Howell Harris would have entered into dispute [2:114] but was stopped. "Then," said he,

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<sup>28</sup>See Eccelus. 15:1.

<sup>29</sup>CW placed an asterisk (\*) in the left margin by this date.

<sup>30</sup>They were already singing a short hymn he would publish the following year: "Gloria Patri, IV," st. 4, *Hymns on God's Everlasting Love*, 2nd series (1742), 56.

<sup>31</sup>2 Cor. 5:15.

<sup>32</sup>CW, [Hymn 17], *Hymns on God's Everlasting Love* (1741), 33.

<sup>33</sup>See Rev. 14:2.

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“you thrust me out.” “No,” said I, “we do not. You are welcome to stay as long as you please. We acknowledge you a child of God.” Yet again he began, “If you do not believe irresistible grace,” and I cut off the sentence of reprobation which I foresaw coming with:

Praise God from whom pure blessings flow,  
Whose bowels yearn on *all* below,  
Who would not have one sinner lost,  
Praise Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.<sup>34</sup>

Here Mr. [Francis] Labee pulled him away and carried him from us. We betook ourselves to prayer in which the Spirit wonderfully helped our infirmities.<sup>35</sup> Great was the company both of mourners and rejoicers. We perceived God had taken the matter into his own hand, and was arose to maintain his own cause. My mouth and all their hearts were opened. I spoke as I never spoke before and all agreed in one testimony. John Doleman and Francis Vigor,<sup>36</sup> a young Quaker, received forgiveness of sins, and all that knew Christ, an increase of faith and love.

I acknowledged the grace given to our dear brother Harris and excused his estrangement from me through the wickedness of his counsellors. Spoke I know not what words of exhortation and instruction.

The Spirit of their Father spoke in many. And this I have found since, that just when I began to stop Howell several felt in themselves that the time was come, and if I had deferred it would themselves have rebuked the madness of the prophet.

**Monday, June 29.** Called on a sister in Bath and exhorted a few to “save themselves from this untoward generation.”<sup>37</sup> At their desire I opened the Scripture and warned them from the [2:115] first words, “Depart, I pray you, from the tents of these wicked men, and touch nothing of theirs, lest ye be consumed in all their sins” (Numbers 16:26).

**July 1741**

**Saturday, July 4.** While the letters were reading,<sup>1</sup> we had a glimpse of the felicity of God’s chosen, and rejoiced in the gladness of his people, and gave thanks with his inheritance.<sup>2</sup>

Visited a dying woman, who fell upon me with revilings for not coming sooner to give her the sacrament. She went on so violently that I feared her last breath would go in curses. I

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<sup>34</sup>Another instance of singing a song prior to publication; see CW, *Gloria Patri V, Hymns on God’s Everlasting Love*, 2nd series (1742), 55.

<sup>35</sup>See Rom. 8:26.

<sup>36</sup>Francis Vigor (1724–42) was the son of Francis (1699–1733) and Elizabeth (Stafford) Vigor (1697–1774). He died on Jan. 19, 1742.

<sup>37</sup>Acts 2:40.

<sup>1</sup>Letters recording conversion experiences and other spiritual growth were read regularly in society and band meetings. CW frequently solicited such letters.

<sup>2</sup>See Col. 1:12.

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hoped she was not in her senses, but the attendants assured me that was her language continually. She had no trouble about her soul. When I told her she would be lost if she died unchanged, she answered, “Ye will go to hell before me.” I could not account for it till they told me she was a constant hearer of the predestinarians. We joined in prayer for her, and God gave us a faint spark of hope.

**Tuesday, July 7.** Visited her a second time and perceived the strong man was bound!<sup>3</sup> If so, he may be cast out. This is the Lord’s doing!

Prayed by another who had been exceeding mad against Christ and his people. But the fierce persecutor is now struck to the ground and asks, “Lord, what wouldst thou have me to do?” I doubt not but the scales will fall from his eyes before they are closed in death.<sup>4</sup>

Received an earnest invitation to Cardiff where some are fallen asleep and some turned back in Egypt.<sup>5</sup>

**Friday, July 10.** Spent most of the afternoon in reading Gell on the Pentateuch.<sup>6</sup> Never man (uninspired) spoke as this man speaks! I wonder where the devil hid him so [2:116] long. But the good providence which has put him into our hands will now, I trust, set him on a candlestick, that he may shine to all that are in the house.

**Saturday, July 11.** Preached at Bristol, then among the colliers, a third time at Bath, a fourth at Saltford,<sup>7</sup> and yet again in the Wood. Let God have the glory. Preaching five times a day, when he calls me to it, no more wearies the flesh than preaching once.

Satan took it ill to be attacked in his headquarters—that Sodom of our land, Bath. While I was explaining the trembling jailer’s question,<sup>8</sup> he raged horribly in his children. They went out and came back again and mocked and at best roared, as if each man’s name was Legion.<sup>9</sup> My power increased with the opposition. The sincere were melted into tears and strong desires of salvation.

**Sunday, July 12.** Preached from Titus 2:11ff. The power and seal of God is never wanting while I declare the *two great truths* of the everlasting gospel: universal redemption and Christian perfection.

At Kingswood I received Jane Sheep into the fold by baptism, which she felt in that moment to be the redemption of sins.

**Monday, July 13.** Set out with our brother [William] Hooper and by 3:00 reached Cardiff. At 6:00 I met and laboured to stir up the society, and the Lord was with my mouth.

**Tuesday, July 14.** Warned them against apostasy from 1 Corinthians 10. Preached in the

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<sup>3</sup>See Mark 3:27.

<sup>4</sup>See Acts 9:18.

<sup>5</sup>This request, from Robert Jones, is not known to survive.

<sup>6</sup>Robert Gell, *An Essay towards the Amendment of the English Translation of the Bible*. (London: R. Norton, 1659). Note that Gell has a sermon on Christian Perfection in the appendix.

<sup>7</sup>CW spells “Sawford,” a variant common in his day.

<sup>8</sup>See Acts 16:30.

<sup>9</sup>See Mark 5:9; Luke 8:30.

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afternoon to the prisoners, “how shall I give thee up, O Ephraim!”<sup>10</sup> Above twenty were felons. The word melted them down. Many tears were shed at the singing that “Outcasts of men, to you I call ....”<sup>11</sup> At night for near three hours I described the grace of God, which bringeth salvation to all men.<sup>12</sup> [2:117]

**Wednesday, July 15.** Encouraged them to expect salvation from indwelling sin by that blessed promise, “Who art thou, O great mountain? Before Zerubbabel thou shalt become a plain.”<sup>13</sup>

Rode to Wenvoe and asked brother [John] Hodges if he had forbid letting me preach. He told me his church, while he had one, should be always open to me. It was full at so short a warning. I read prayers and preached from Isaiah 52: “Awake, awake, put on thy strength, O Zion ....”<sup>14</sup>

Rode on five miles farther with Mr. [Nathaniel] Wells, Hodges, and others to Fonmon Castle. Mr. Jones, who had sent for me, received me very courteously.<sup>15</sup> He civilly apologized for his first questions which he asked me as a magistrate—whether I was a papist, whether a member of the established Church of England, etc. Was fully satisfied with my answers and found we were contemporaries at the same college.<sup>16</sup>

After dinner he sent by Porthkerry, where, at his desire, the minister lent me his pulpit. After Mr. Richards had made him a promise of it, he sent again, desiring him to act without bias or constraint, by either granting or refusing the church as his conscience directed.<sup>17</sup>

I read prayers and preached, “God so loved the world.”<sup>18</sup> God was amongst us and a mighty tempest was stirred up round about him. He shook many souls out of their carnal security. Never hath he given me more convincing words. The poor simple souls fell down at the feet of Jesus. Their shepherd also was deeply affected, and hid his face and wept, especially while I was praying for him. After sermon he begged my pardon for believing the strange reports concerning me. God had spoke the contrary to his heart and the hearts of his people, for when we were gone out of the church it was still filled with the cries of the wounded. [2:118]

I yielded to Mr. Jones’s importunity and agreed to delay my return to Bristol, that I might

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<sup>10</sup>Hosea 11:8.

<sup>11</sup>CW, “Christ the Friend of Sinners,” st. 5, *HSP* (1739), 102.

<sup>12</sup>Titus 2:11.

<sup>13</sup>Zech. 4:7. See CW’s two hymns on this verse from the same period: *HSP* (1742), 234–35, 236–37.

<sup>14</sup>Isa. 52:1ff.

<sup>15</sup>Robert Jones (1706–42), the squire of Fonmon Castle near Cardiff, was converted by Howell Harris in 1741 and quickly emerged as a supporter of Methodism. CW commemorated him the next year, on his untimely death, in *An Elegy on the Death of Robert Jones* (Bristol: Felix Farley, 1742).

<sup>16</sup>Jones matriculated at Christ Church, Oxford in Apr. 1724, a couple years ahead of CW.

<sup>17</sup>Rev. John Richards held the living at Porthkerry (1728–57) as a gift of Robert Jones.

<sup>18</sup>John 3:16.

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preach here once more and pass a night at the castle. Mr. Richards pressed me first to come to his house.

Hastened back to Cardiff and in great bodily weakness showed unawakened sinners their state in dead Lazarus.<sup>19</sup> The word was quick and powerful.

**Thursday, July 16.** Discoursed on Lazarus raised.<sup>20</sup> Dined at Llanishen and preached to the society and a few others, chiefly predestinarians. Without touching the dispute I simply declared the scriptural marks of election, whereby some I believe were cut off from their vain confidence. The sincere ones clave to me. Who can resist the power of love! A loving messenger of a loving God might drive reprobation out of Wales without once naming it.

In the evening, at Cardiff, Mr. Wells and Hodges shamed me by patiently sitting by to hear *me* preach. My subject was wrestling Jacob.<sup>21</sup> Some whole sinners were offended at the sick and wounded, who cried out for a physician, but such offences must needs come.

**Friday, July 17.** Expounded the woman healed of her bloody issue.<sup>22</sup> The power of the Lord was present. We took leave of each other with many tears, and I earnestly exhorted them to continue in the grace of God.

Dropped most of my company on the road that I might meet Mr. Jones at Mr. Richards's. He came with Mrs. Jones,<sup>23</sup> and was met by a minister whom, with some others, he had invited to his house with a view of reconciling them to me. None but Mr. Carne accepted his invitation.<sup>24</sup> His address was not so [2:119] smooth as their's who dwell in king's palaces,<sup>25</sup> but I said little till I could speak as one having authority.<sup>26</sup> With difficulty Mr. Jones restrained him from breaking out.

He flew out on sight of the multitude in the churchyard and a motion made for my preaching there. It was then proposed to take down one of the windows, that those without might hear, but on Mr. Carne's again threatening to go away, we went into the church, as many as could, and the rest stood without.

Mr. Carne stood up all the prayers and sermon time. The first lesson was a remarkable word to me:

Then said I, Ah, Lord God, behold I cannot speak, for I am a child. But the Lord said unto me, Say not, I am a child. For thou shalt go to all that I shall send thee, and whatsoever I command thee thou shalt speak. Be not afraid of their faces, for I am with

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<sup>19</sup>John 11.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., continued.

<sup>21</sup>Gen. 32:24–31.

<sup>22</sup>See the note on this sermon for the Nov. 5, 1739 entry.

<sup>23</sup>Mary Forrest (1712–88), of Minehead, Somerset, married Robert Jones in 1732. Both CW and JW kept up a close relationship with her and her surviving children after Robert's death.

<sup>24</sup>Rev. Charles Carne (b. c. 1708), rector of St. Athan & Llanmaes.

<sup>25</sup>See Matt. 11:8.

<sup>26</sup>See Mark 1:22.

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thee to deliver thee, saith the Lord. Then the Lord put forth his hand, and touched my mouth, and the Lord said, Behold, I have put my words in thy mouth. ... Thou, therefore, gird up thy loins, and arise, and speak unto them all that I command thee: be not dismayed at their faces, lest I confound thee before them. For, behold, I have made thee this day a defenced city and an iron pillar, and brazen walls. ... And they shall fight against thee, but they shall not prevail against thee. For I am with thee, saith the Lord, to deliver thee (Jer. 1).<sup>27</sup>

The second lesson was John 5. The psalms also spoke nothing but encouragement. I expected that to be now fulfilled: "Show some token for good upon thy servant that they who hate me may see it, and be ashamed, because thou, Lord God, hast holpen and comforted me."<sup>28</sup>

I never read prayers with more inward feeling. Like strength was given me to [2:120] explain the Good Samaritan for two hours.<sup>29</sup> Out of the abundance of my heart my mouth spoke. Great was the company of mourners, whose tears God put into his bottle,<sup>30</sup> and they shall reap in joy.<sup>31</sup>

I could not help smiling at Mr. Carne, who had come, as he said, on purpose to judge me, and his judgment was, "Sir, you have got very good lungs, but you will make the people melancholy. I saw them crying throughout the church." Then he turned on Mr. Jones, told him he would make himself ridiculous all over the country by encouraging such a fellow. I was afraid of despising him, and therefore passed on and left them together. Mr. Jones almost overcame his evil with good, but could not prevail upon him to come under the same roof with me.

However, the poor people were glad to accept of his invitation to hear me again at the castle. We eat our bread with gladness and singleness of heart,<sup>32</sup> and at 7:00 I preached to some hundreds in the courtyard. My three brethren, Richards, Wells, and Hodges stood in the midst of them, knelt on the ground in prayer, and cried after the Son of David. He breathed into our souls strong desires. O that he may confirm, increase, and satisfy them!

The voice of praise and thanksgiving was heard in this dwelling place.<sup>33</sup> Before, at, and after supper we sang and blessed God with joyful lips. Those in the parlour and kitchen were continually honouring by offering him praise. I thought it looked like the house of faithful Abraham. We called our brethren of Kingswood to be present with us in Spirit, and continued rejoicing with them till morning.

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<sup>27</sup>Jer. 1:6–19.

<sup>28</sup>Ps. 86:17 (BCP).

<sup>29</sup>Luke 10:29–37.

<sup>30</sup>See Ps. 56:8.

<sup>31</sup>See Ps. 126:5.

<sup>32</sup>See Acts 2:46.

<sup>33</sup>See Ps. 42:4–5.

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**Saturday, July 18.** Took sweet counsel with Mr. Jones alone. The seed is sown in his heart [2:121] and shall bring forth fruit unto perfection.<sup>34</sup> His wife, a simple innocent creature, joined us. I commended them to the grace of God in earnest prayer and then, with my Cardiff friends, went on my way rejoicing.

Consented that some should ask Mr. [Thomas] Colerick<sup>35</sup> for the use of his pulpit. He civilly answered that he would readily grant it but the bishop had forbade him. Doth our law judge any man before it hear him and know what he doth?<sup>36</sup>

At 2:00 set out for the Passage.<sup>37</sup> The boat was just ready for us. By 9:00 found my brother at the Room, the Lord having blest both my going out and my coming in.

**Thursday, July 23.** Sent for by a predestinarian (that *was* till death approached). Her miserable comforters she would none of now, but said, “Blessed be him that cometh in the name of the Lord, and Saviour of all men.”<sup>38</sup>

Visited one of our own flock, a joyful prisoner of hope. The Lord, when he came, found her watching for that great salvation.<sup>39</sup>

Reproved an invincible pharisee at Mr. [Felix] Farley’s, whose whole discourse is of herself. She told us (as she does all the world) how often she goes to prayers and sacrament, how many sermons she hears, what good she does, etc. She breathes out threatenings and woes against our society for not acknowledging her gifts. “God loves no one upon earth as well as her.” Never have I seen a professor more full of pride, and self, and the devil. Yet she pretends to the full assurance of faith.

**Saturday, July 25.** Met at 10:00 to pray for a blessing on my brother’s sermon, which he is preaching at this hour before the university.<sup>40</sup>

**Sunday, July 26.** Our hope was much confirmed by those words which I enforced at Kingwood, “Stand still, and see the salvation of the Lord.”<sup>41</sup> Or as it [2:122] is afterwards expressed, “Speak unto the children of Israel, that they go forward.”<sup>42</sup>

Discoursed in the afternoon on the same subject from Isaiah 64:5, “Thou meetest ... those that remember thee on the ways ....” Hence, I magnified the love of Christian ordinances,

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<sup>34</sup>See Luke 8:14.

<sup>35</sup>CW spells “Coldrach.”

<sup>36</sup>See John 7:51.

<sup>37</sup>This is the ferry across the mouth of the River Severn to Wales. It appears that CW normally crossed at “New Passage,” departing east of Pilning, Gloucestershire and landing near Black Rock, just north of Sudbrook, Monmouthshire (cf. the entries for Oct. 31, 1743 and Oct. 21, 1748 below). The alternative was “Old Passage,” 3 miles further north, running from Aust to Beachley.

<sup>38</sup>Matt. 21:9; 1 Tim. 4:10.

<sup>39</sup>See Heb. 2:3.

<sup>40</sup>See JW, Sermon 150, “Hypocrisy in Oxford,” *Works*, 4:392–407.

<sup>41</sup>2 Chron. 20:17.

<sup>42</sup>Exod. 14:15.

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exhorting those who wait for salvation to be as clay in the hand of the potter *by* stirring themselves up to lay hold on the Lord.<sup>43</sup> God gave me much freedom to explain that most active, vigorous, restless thing: true stillness.

Preached a fourth time at the Mills and a fifth time in the Room on the “one thing needful.”<sup>44</sup>

**Monday, July 27.** The neighbourhood of the [Horse]fair fills our Room with strangers. Again God has put his words in my mouth and set me to root out and to pull down, and to destroy and to throw down, to build also and to plant,<sup>45</sup> if it be his blessed will concerning me.

**Tuesday, July 28.** God be praised, there is some ground for that complaint of a predestinarian that the plague of perfection reigns at Bristol, and many of the Welsh catch it. O that all mankind were infected with this plague, if it is a plague to be healed of every plague.

One serious youth I spoke with today who did run well. But from the time that he was persuaded to believe there was no falling after justification he did begin to fall, as he now confesses, into carelessness, self-indulgence, and at last into known sin.

**Friday, July 31.** Still by patience and comfort of God’s Holy Word many daily lay hold on eternal life. He gave us this night strong consolation. O that in the strength thereof we might travel to his holy mountain!

[2:123]

**August 1741**

**Sunday, August 2.** In my way to Kingswood met Mr. Wynn of Painswick, who informed me that when I was last there a word I directed to another on a sick bed was applied to him, and he in that moment received remission of sins. He had heard of nothing farther and yet wanted something more. He knew not what, till God sent him hither. Now he rejoices in hope of redemption from all iniquity.

I got unawares with my chaise among the coalpits. We were going to alight when the horse started and overturned us. I leaped over both horse and chaise, but our sister Gaseath was thrown out upon her head and the chaise turned topsy turvy over her. She lay beneath the wheels untouched by either. The horse lay quiet upon his back. We all rose unhurt. “Thou, Lord, shalt save both man and beast.”<sup>1</sup> How excellent is thy mercy!

Preached a funeral sermon over sister Rachel Peacock, who died in the Lord most triumphantly. She had continual joy in the Lord, which made her cry out, “Though I groan, I feel no pain at all. Christ so rejoices and fills my heart.” Her mouth also was filled with laughter and her tongue with joy. She sang hymns incessantly. “Christ,” said she, “is in my heart, and one minute with the Lord is worth a million of ages. O how brave it is to banquet with the Lamb!”

She was always praising God for giving her such patience. All her desires were unto the Lord and she continued calling upon him, in all the confidence of love, till he received her into

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<sup>43</sup>See Jer. 18:6, etc.; Isa. 64:7.

<sup>44</sup>His sermon on Luke 10:42.

<sup>45</sup>See Jer. 1:10.

<sup>1</sup>Ps. 36:3 (BCP).



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his immediate presence.

At the sight of her coffin my soul was moved within me and struggled as a bird to break its cage. Some relief I found in tears, but still was so overpowered that, unless God had abated the vehemence of my desires, I could have [2:124] had no utterance. The whole congregation partook with me in the blessedness of mourning.

**Monday, August 3.** Visited our sister Read on a bed of sickness.<sup>2</sup> All her doubts and fears are vanished at the approach of death, and she rejoices in confident hope that the Lord will sanctify her wholly before he takes her hence.

**Wednesday, August 5.** Saw our brother Stanley in the same, if not an higher state, dying with eternal life abiding in him.

**Thursday, August 6.** Tonight God shook many souls by the word of his power. My subject was the pool of Bethesda.<sup>3</sup>

Coming to pray by a poor Welsh woman, she began with me, “Blessed be God that ever I heard you! Jesus, *my* Jesus, has visited me on a bed of sickness. He is in my heart. He is my strength. None shall pluck me out of his hand. I cannot leave him and he will not leave me.” It was the Spirit of her Father spoke in her: “O, do not let me ask for death, if thou wouldst have me live. I know thou canst keep me from ever sinning more. If thou wouldst have me live, let me walk humbly with thee all my days.”

I sat and heard her sing the new song till even my hard heart was melted. She glorified the Saviour of the world, who would have all men to be saved.<sup>4</sup> “I know it, I feel it,” said she, “He would not have one sinner lost. Believe, and he will give you all what he hath given me.”

**Sunday, August 9.** Gave her the sacrament, which she had never received before but was taught to desire it by the Spirit that was in her, even as soon as she had received him. I asked what difference she found *after* communicating. She answered that she saw God and was full of him before, but that in the act of receiving she had the brightness of his presence and [2:125] was filled as it were with all the fullness of God.<sup>5</sup>

**Friday, August 14.** Went after a stray sheep who was turned out of the way by the predestinarians, but the good Shepherd had found her himself and brought her to me rejoicing. For some days she had been under the full influence of that narrow opinion and could not bear any of her brethren and sisters. Then she cried unto the Lord to show her the truth, and he answered her by his own mouth. The true light broke in upon her, and in his light she saw that God is love. She is now humbled in the dust before him for having robbed him of his most darling attribute.

Our Kingswood school was crowded with those that came from all parts to the watchnight. I enforced our Lord’s words “Have faith in God,”<sup>6</sup> and indeed we had. The Spirit of

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<sup>2</sup>This is likely Ann Read of Bitton (wife of Thomas), who was buried Dec. 17, 1741. CW spells “Reed.”

<sup>3</sup>John 5:1–15; see CW’s hymn of this passage from the time period: *HSP* (1742), 98–100.

<sup>4</sup>See 1 Tim. 2:4.

<sup>5</sup>See Eph. 3:19.

<sup>6</sup>Mark 11:22; see CW’s hymn of this passage from the time period: *HSP* (1742), 250–51.

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faith was poured out. Many were there who could not keep it in, but out of the abundance of their heart their mouths spoke. I triumphed till the morning with the voice of joy and thanksgiving among such as keep holiday.<sup>7</sup>

**Monday, August 17.** Visited one who was forsaking the fellowship, when God arrested her in her flight by sickness, convinced, condemned, and justified her again. It is good for her to have been in trouble, since thereby he has plucked her as a brand out of the fire.<sup>8</sup>

**Saturday, August 22.** While I was declaring at Saltford, “he shall save his people from their sins,”<sup>9</sup> the enemy stirred up his servants to great fierceness of opposition. But we defied them in the name of the Lord, who first restrained and then stilled the madness of the people.

**Monday, August 24.** Took horse with Felix Farley for Wales. In the passage I read on, while some gentlemen mocked. At last the chief of them asked, “What are you reading? Let us have a little with you.” I read on the words that followed, [2:126] “And behold I come quickly, and my reward is with me to give every man according as his work shall be.”<sup>10</sup> This struck a damp upon them and silenced them in a moment, so that we reached the land without farther molestation.

The assizes brought many strangers to the society in Cardiff, before whom I declared, “Other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ.”<sup>11</sup> Some, I doubt not, were enabled to receive the strange things I brought to their ears.

**Tuesday, August 25.** I found at 5:00 this morning, by the return of the strangers, that the word had not fallen to the ground.<sup>12</sup>

Found our dear friend and brother at Wenvoe,<sup>13</sup> nothing terrified by his adversaries. Their threats, instead of shaking, have more deeply rooted him in the truth.

They have had the same effect upon Mr. [Robert] Jones. The poor prodigals, who are not yet come to themselves, say of him that he is beside himself; but he is content that they, fools, should count his life madness. Only when any of them come in his way he speaks such words of truth and soberness as they cannot resist.

For three hours we sang, rejoiced, and gave thanks. Then rode to Porthkerry where I read prayers and discoursed near two hours on the pool of Bethesda.<sup>14</sup> The whole congregation were in tears.

Returned to the castle and met some hundreds of the poor neighbours in our chapel, the dining room. Exhorted them to build up one another from Malachi, “Then they that feared the

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<sup>7</sup>See Ps. 42:4.

<sup>8</sup>See Zech. 3:2.

<sup>9</sup>Matt. 1:21.

<sup>10</sup>Rev. 22:12.

<sup>11</sup>1 Cor. 3:11.

<sup>12</sup>See 1 Sam. 3:19.

<sup>13</sup>I.e., Rev. John Hodges.

<sup>14</sup>John 5:1–15.

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Lord spoke often one to another.”<sup>15</sup> And at 10:00 we departed. We kept on rejoicing till 1:00 in the morning.

**Wednesday, August 26.** Prayed by a dying woman, who waits for redemption from *all* iniquity *here*; otherwise, she knows she cannot see God.<sup>16</sup> About noon applied at [2:127] John Deer’s society, “But ye are washed, but ye are sanctified . . .”<sup>17</sup> Never have I spoke more closely to those who rest in the first gift. Some who seemed to be pillars began to find themselves shaken reeds.

Preached again in Wenvoe church and at night in Cardiff.

**Thursday, August 27.** Great power was among us while I spoke on the walls of Jericho falling down;<sup>18</sup> but much greater at the prison, where I recommended to two condemned malefactors the example of the penitent thief.<sup>19</sup> Both were melted into tears. The congregation sympathized, and joined in fervent prayer that our Lord would remember them, now he is come into his kingdom.<sup>20</sup>

Went to a revel at Lanvans,<sup>21</sup> and dissuaded them from their *innocent* diversions in St. Peter’s words, “For the time past of our life may suffice us to have wrought the will of the Gentiles, when we walked in lasciviousness, lusts, excess of wine, revellings, banqueting, and abominable idolatries.”<sup>22</sup> An old dancer of three score fell down under the stroke of the hammer. She could never be convinced before that there was any harm in those innocent pleasures. O that all her fellows might likewise confess “she that liveth in pleasures is dead while she liveth.”<sup>23</sup>

Prayed by a poor persecutor, who had found mercy at the last hour. Then expounded Ezekiel’s vision of dry bones.<sup>24</sup> A poor drunkard spoke the whole time, but without interrupting me or the congregation, for the hand of the Lord was over us.

**Friday, August 28.** Preached again at Porthkerry church. Many cried after Jesus with the woman of Canaan.<sup>25</sup> It was a time of great refreshing.

Returned in the coach with Mr. and Mrs. Jones and a little girl of eight [2:128] years old,<sup>26</sup> who has not outlived the simple life, or that breath of God which is the first enmity to the

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<sup>15</sup>Mal. 3:16.

<sup>16</sup>See Heb. 12:14.

<sup>17</sup>1 Cor. 6:11.

<sup>18</sup>Josh. 6.

<sup>19</sup>Luke 23:40–43.

<sup>20</sup>See Luke 23:42.

<sup>21</sup>CW has surely misspelled the Welsh name for this locale; it may be Llanvithyn, about 1.5 miles north of Fonmon Castle.

<sup>22</sup>1 Pet. 4:3.

<sup>23</sup>1 Tim. 5:6.

<sup>24</sup>Ezek. 37:4.

<sup>25</sup>Matt. 15:22–28.

<sup>26</sup>Mary Jones (b. 1733), daughter of Robert and Mary (Forrest) Jones.

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seed of the subtle serpent.

At 6:00 expounded Isaiah 53 in the courtyard and was greatly assisted to purge out the leaven of Calvin. Spent the evening in conference with those who desired to be of the society, which was now begun in the name of Jesus Christ the Saviour of all men. Sang and prayed with them till 10:00, with the family till midnight.

**Saturday, August 29.** Preached our Lord's seven last cries on the cross and spoke to the men under sentence of death.<sup>27</sup> God showed my thoughts were not as his thoughts,<sup>28</sup> for the most hardened (whom I had least hopes of) appeared truly justified. He told Mr. [Nathaniel] Wells and me he was quite easy, had no fear of death, no ill will to his prosecutors. "But had you never any fear of it?" I asked. "Yes," he replied, "till I heard you preach. Then it went away, and I have felt no trouble ever since."

Who knoweth the power of divine love? O gather this outcast of men, and show forth in him that thine arm is not shortened at all.<sup>29</sup>

Took horse with Mr. Wynn and Mr. Farley. Reached the Passage by 7:00, the English shore by 9:00, and Bristol before midnight.

**Monday, August 31.** Met with a sincere woman who did verily believe my brother to be a papist, because when she asked him he did not deny it. I asked her, "Are you a Turk? ... Yes; for ye do not answer 'no'." Showed her from hence the folly of her conclusion. Would a Jesuit scruple to lie? However I assured her now my brother was a true Protestant and, if it would be any farther satisfaction to her, should tell her so himself.

Met the Kingswood bands and rejoiced in their steadfastness, none having turned either to the right hand or the left, either to stillness or predestination.

[2:129]

**September 1741**

**Wednesday, September 2.** Sent for to Miss Gr.,<sup>1</sup> who has had no rest in her flesh since she left us (papists) to follow Calvin. She often longed to return and would sometimes come by stealth to hear the word. The first time her mother heard of it she turned her out of doors, and has ever since treated her with true predestinarian meanness. All her relations joined in the same spirit, so that at last by their oppression they have fairly drove her distracted.

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<sup>27</sup>This sermon portraying Christ on the cross became a standard for CW, often titled "Christ crucified." As the sentence suggests, it typically climaxed in Christ's dying words to sinners. But these were not just the final words in the gospel accounts; they included the appeal of Lam. 1:12, "Is it nothing to you, all you who pass by?" (which tradition had long associated with the crucifixion). Cf. CW's descriptions of the sermon in the following entries below: Nov. 28, 1746; Sept. 1, 1747; Feb. 24, 1748; Sept. 8, 1748; and Oct. 24, 1756. See also CW's contemporary hymns on Lam. 1:12, *Hymns on God's Everlasting Love* (1741), 7–8; *HSP* (1742), 22–24, 26–27; and *Festival Hymns* (1746), 8–10.

<sup>28</sup>See Ezek. 16:62.

<sup>29</sup>See Isa. 50:2, 59:1.

<sup>1</sup>Perhaps Mary Gregory; cf. JW, *Journal*, Sept. 24, 1742, *Works*, 19:298–99.

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Now they sent for me in all haste. Never did I see a more pitiable spectacle. She was altogether untractable to them, but did just whatever I desired her. I led her to her chamber and returned to Mr. [Walter] Hooper's, but at midnight we were waked by her shrieks and I sent for again. She lay in a manner inexpressible. Such outcries and distortions I have never heard or seen. Every breath they thought would be her last. She prayed to the Virgin Mary, Queen of heaven, in words which I am sure the devil taught her, for she had never seen a mass book. How justly does God suffer the stumbling block for those who have been continually suggesting to her the lies which they now believe!

I rebuked the lying spirit and prayed the One Mediator<sup>2</sup> in his time to bring her out of the furnace. This her relations afterwards represented as "unbewitching her."

In her ravings she would often say she was the lawful wife of Mr. John Wesley. This also they believed. I laboured for an hour and an half to comfort them, who I knew would still return me evil for good, and then retired to rest.

**Thursday, September 3.** Preached a second time at the prison on the lost sheep,<sup>3</sup> for the sake of a poor woman under condemnation, and the next day (**September 4**) on Christ crucified.<sup>4</sup> His dying words came with power to many hearts, being applied by his own Spirit.

**Saturday, September 5.** Heard that Justice Cr— and forty [2:130] more, both the great vulgar and the small, had seized upon Mr. [John] Cennick's house and threatened to take ours on Tuesday next. They forget whose bridle is in their jaws.

**Sunday, September 6.** Preached morning and afternoon at Kingswood on our Lord's last cries,<sup>5</sup> which sunk into the souls of many. At Baptist Mills administered that antidote of spiritual pride, 1 Corinthians 10.

Astonished by a letter from my brother relating his conference with the apostle of the Moravians.<sup>6</sup>

If thou art he! But oh how false!<sup>7</sup> Who would believe it of Count Zinzendorf, that he should utterly deny all Christian holiness! I never could, but for a saying of his which I heard with my own ears. Speaking of St. James's epistle, he said if it was thrown out of the canon, "*ego non restituerem!*"<sup>8</sup>

**Monday, September 7.** Would have preached at Newgate [prison] to the poor penitent thief, but Satan hindered. Thou fool! It is now too late, the prey is plucked out of the teeth. Jesus hath found his lost sheep and brought her home rejoicing. She was a sinner, but she is justified!

I went after another, a backslider who had returned to folly and all outward wickedness.

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<sup>2</sup>See 1 Tim. 2:5.

<sup>3</sup>Luke 15:4–7.

<sup>4</sup>On the sermon preached, see note for the Aug. 29, 1741 entry.

<sup>5</sup>See the note on Aug. 29, 1741.

<sup>6</sup>See JW's *Journal*, Sept. 3, 1741, *Works*, 19:211–24.

<sup>7</sup>See note for the Apr. 5, 1740 entry.

<sup>8</sup>"I would not restore [it]."

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Now in her adversity she considered. God, who lifteth up them that are fallen,<sup>9</sup> returned to her in sickness. And she hears the rod, and him that appointeth it.<sup>10</sup>

**Tuesday, September 8.** Being commended by the church to the grace of God,<sup>11</sup> I took horse at 4:00 with William Hooper for the Passage. Preached Christ crucified at Caldicot to an house full of simple souls,<sup>12</sup> though wet through with the hard rain. But I live by the gospel—what would *kill* another shall not *hurt* a minister. By 6:00 God brought us safe to Cardiff, where we rejoiced with the little flock in the sure word of life and grace through [2:131] Christ Jesus.

**Wednesday, September 9.** Preached to the two condemned malefactors and found them in the passage from death to life eternal.

Rode by Wenvoe to Fonmon and rejoiced with that household of faith. Went to fetch our little society from Aberthaw and returned singing to the castle. Explained the apostle's answer to the jailer: "Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ and thou shalt be saved."<sup>13</sup> God gave me words to awaken some who were lulled fast asleep by the opiate of final perseverance.

**Thursday, September 10.** Read prayers at Porthkerry and applied our Lord's word, Matthew 11:5, "The blind receive their sight ...."

Preached again, from Acts 3, to the self-righteous predestinarians chiefly. Some of them afterwards complained to me that I should say, if they fell from grace after justification, they had better never have been justified at all. *Herra illae lachrymae!*<sup>14</sup> I cannot allow them Christ's righteousness for a cloak to their sins.

**Friday, September 11.** Besought my guilty brethren at Cardiff, especially those who are to be executed tomorrow, to be reconciled unto God. Set out directly for Llantrisant, eight Welsh miles from Cardiff, and pointed them to the Son of man lifted up, "that whosoever believeth on him might not perish, but have everlasting life."<sup>15</sup>

Hastened back, shifted my wet clothes, and attended Mr. [Nathaniel] Wells and [Philip] Thomas to the prison. I asked one of the malefactors, "Are you afraid to die?" "No," he answered, "I should rejoice to die this moment?" Both behaved as believing penitents. We had strong consolation in prayer, the amen, and answer of God in our hearts.

**Saturday, September 12.** Had only time at the society [2:132] to offer up a prayer for the prisoners. At 5:00 went to them, the sheriff being resolved to hurry them away at 6:00, some hours before the usual time. He would hardly let them stay to receive the sacrament. Then he ordered them out, not allowing time to strike off their fetters.

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<sup>9</sup>See Ps. 145:14.

<sup>10</sup>See Mic. 6:9.

<sup>11</sup>See Acts 15:40.

<sup>12</sup>On the sermon preached, see note for the Aug. 29, 1741 entry.

<sup>13</sup>Acts 16:31; see CW's hymn of this passage from the time period: *HSP* (1742), 94–96.

<sup>14</sup>Cf. Terence, *The Lady of Andros*, 126: "*hinc illae lacrumae*" ("that's the source of those tears").

<sup>15</sup>John 3:16.

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They were very calm and composed, nothing afraid of death or its consequences. One of them assured me, if it was now left to his choice, he would rather die than live. I asked the reason and he answered, "Was I to be any longer in this world, I might sin again." He also acknowledged that his punishment was just, not on account of the theft for which he was condemned, as to which he persisted in his innocence to the last, but for another offence of the same sort which the justice of *man* had never taken hold of him.

Mr. Wells rode by the side of the cart; Mr. Thomas and I with the criminals in it. The sheriff's hurry often endangered our being overturned, but could not hinder our singing, till we came to the place of execution. I spoke a few minutes to the people from Galatians 3:13, "Christ hath redeemed us from [the curse of the law] ...." Still I could not observe the least sign of fear or trouble on either of the dying men. They confessed their steadfast faith in Christ crucified, and are now, I make no doubt, with him in paradise.

Preached at night to a numerous congregation of gentry and others. God gives me favour in their sight. O that I could make them displeased with themselves!

**Sunday, September 13.** Preached at Cardiff, and then at Wenvoe, the third time at Porthkerry, and the last at Fonmon. The remainder of the night passed admonishing one another in psalms, and hymns, and spiritual songs.<sup>16</sup>

**Monday, September 14.** Sang on till 2:00. Then I rode to a revel at Dinas Powys.<sup>17</sup> It was [2:133] one of the greatest in the country, but is now dwindled down to nothing. I preached Jesus, the Saviour of his people from their sins.<sup>18</sup> We rejoiced in hope of his great salvation.

**Tuesday, September 15.** At another famous revel in Whitchurch, which lasts a week and is honoured with the presence of the gentry and clergy, far and near, put myself in their way and called, "Awake thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light."<sup>19</sup> I trust there was a great awakening among the dead souls. So again at Cardiff, while I showed the state of modern Christians in the church of Laodicea.<sup>20</sup>

**Wednesday, September 16.** Exhorted the society in private. One accursed thing is discovered and removed, their abominably wicked custom of selling on Sundays.

Kept a watchnight at Fonmon and expounded the ten virgins.<sup>21</sup> Continued singing and rejoicing till 2:00 in the morning. O that all the world were partakers with us!

**Friday, September 18.** Rose at 6:00 and took leave of our dear sister,<sup>22</sup> who cheerfully parted with Mr. [Robert] Jones to visit our beloved colliers.

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<sup>16</sup>See Eph. 5:19.

<sup>17</sup>CW spells it "Dennis-Powis."

<sup>18</sup>Matt. 1:21.

<sup>19</sup>Eph. 5:14.

<sup>20</sup>Rev. 3:14–22; see CW's hymn of this passage from the time period: *HSP* (1742), 296–301.

<sup>21</sup>Matt. 25:1–13.

<sup>22</sup>Mary (Forrest) Jones, of Fonmon Castle.

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**Saturday, September 19.** After exhorting and praying with the society at Cardiff, set out with Mr. Jones and William for Bristol.<sup>23</sup> Thither the Lord brought us by 7:00 in the evening, after a delightful journey.

**Sunday, September 20.** Most of the society were at St. James's [church] sacrament.

I carried Mr. Jones to Kingswood where the Lord was mightily present in his own ordinance. At Baptist Mills I expounded the bloody issue.<sup>24</sup> Great disturbance was made behind me, till I turned upon the disturbers and—by the law first, and then the gospel—entirely silenced them.

It was a glorious time at the society, when God called forth his witnesses. Our guest was filled with consolation and acknowledged [2:134] that God was with us of a truth.

Introduced him to the leaders of the colliers, with whom he had sweet fellowship. Met the bands and strongly urged them to press toward the mark. Read them a letter full of threatenings to take our house by violence. Immediately the power came down and we laughed all our enemies to scorn. Faith saw the mountain full of horsemen and chariots of fire.<sup>25</sup>

Our brother from Wales was compelled to bear his testimony and declare before all what God had done for his soul. "At that time, when the power of the Holy Ghost so overshadowed him," (he assured them) "all bodily sufferings would have been as nothing. Neither would they feel them, if made partakers of the Holy Ghost in the *same measure*."

He warned us to prepare for the storm which would surely fall upon us, if the work of God went on. His artless words were greatly blessed to us all, and our hearts were bowed and warmed by the Spirit of love, as the heart of one man.

**Tuesday, September 22.** He would have carried me to some great friends of his in the city, and particularly to a counsellor, about the threatened seizure. I feared nothing but helping myself and trusting to an arm of flesh.<sup>26</sup> Our safety is to sit still. However, at his importunity I went with him a little way, but stopped and turned him back, and at last agreed to accompany him to Justice Cr—, the most forward of our adversaries.

He received us cautiously. I said I came to wait upon him, in respect to his office, having heard his name mentioned among some who were offended at the good we did to the poor colliers; that I should be sorry to give any just cause of complaint and willing to know from himself if such had been given; that many vile reports were spread, as if he should [2:135] countenance the violence of those who had seized Mr. Cennick's house and now threatened to take away the collier's school.

I caught up an expression he dropped, that it would make a good workhouse, and said, "It is a workhouse already."

[Justice:] "Aye, but what work is done there?"

[CW:] "We work the works of God, which man cannot hinder."

[Justice:] "But you occasion the increase of our poor."

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<sup>23</sup>William was Robert Jones's attendant.

<sup>24</sup>See the note on this sermon for the Nov. 5, 1739 entry.

<sup>25</sup>See 2 Kings 6:17.

<sup>26</sup>See 2 Chron. 32:8.



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[CW:] “Sir, you are misinformed. The reverse of that is true. None of our society is chargeable to you. Even those who were so before they heard us, or who spent all their wages at the alehouse, now never go there at all, but keep their money to maintain their families and have to give to those that want. Notorious swearers have now only the praise of God in their mouths. The good done among them is indisputable. Our worst enemies cannot deny it. None who hears us continues either to swear or drink.”

[Justice:] “If I thought so,” he hastily replied (*in eodem luto haesitans*<sup>27</sup>), “I would come and hear you myself.”

I desired he would, said the grace of God was as sufficient for him as for our colliers, and who knew but he might be converted among us!

I gave him to know Mr. Jones was in the commission, who then asked him on what pretence they had seized Mr. Cennick’s house. He utterly denied his having had any hand in it (his own servant, by the way, was one of the foremost in pulling up the hedge, etc.). Said he should not at all concern himself, “for if what you do, you do for gain, you have your reward. If for the sake of God, he will recompense you. I am of Gamaliel’s mind: ‘If this council or work be of men, it will come to nought.’” “But if it be of God,” I proceeded, “ye cannot overthrow it, lest haply ye be found to fight against God.’ Follow therefore Gamaliel’s advice: [2:136] ‘take heed to yourselves, refrain from these men, and let them alone.’”<sup>28</sup>

He seemed determined so to do, and thus, through the blessing of God, we parted friends.

In our way home admired that hand which directs all our paths. Rejoiced at Bristol to hear that God had laid hold on poor William, Mr. Jones’s man, who is under strong convictions of sin, and continually in tears.

In the evening we found under the word that there is none like unto the God of Jeshurun.<sup>29</sup> It was a time of sweet refreshment. Just when I had concluded, my brother [JW] came in from London, as if sent on purpose to be comforted together with us. He exhorted and prayed with the congregation for another half-hour. Then we went to our Friend [Francis] Vigor’s, and for an hour or two longer our souls were satisfied as with marrow and fatness, while our mouth praised God with joyful lips.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>27</sup>Cf. Terence, *Phormio*, 780, “stuck in the same mud hole.”

<sup>28</sup>See Acts 5:34–39.

<sup>29</sup>See Deut. 33:26.

<sup>30</sup>See Ps. 63:5.

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[2:137]

January 1743<sup>1</sup>

**Sunday, January 1.** I rode to Bexley,<sup>2</sup> and discoursed in the church from Luke 1, “Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, for he hath visited and redeemed his people.”<sup>3</sup> God gave me to speak in mild love, and some of the most rebellious began to melt into conviction.

Returned to town and expounded the barren fig tree at the Foundery.<sup>4</sup> Their hearts were bowed as the heart of one man.

**Monday, January 3.** Preached at Brentford, and stirred up the little society to “look unto Jesus, the author and finisher of their faith.”<sup>5</sup> A young man came and fell down very innocently on his knees to ask my blessing because, he said, I was his spiritual father, faith having come by hearing me one of the last times I preached here.<sup>6</sup>

Rode on to Eton,<sup>7</sup> where I exhorted a few sincere souls to bear their Saviour’s cross and suffer patiently for his sake.

**Wednesday evening, January 5.** Came with George Baddiley to Bristol.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>The surviving MS Journal omits the last three months of 1741 and all of 1742. There is a set of shorthand notes and a journal letter covering Sept. 23–Oct. 2, 1742 (see CW, *Journal Letters*, 121–39), along with few other letters to help fill in this void. Several factors likely contributed to this lacuna. In late Sept. 1741 CW returned to serve in London and was immersed in the debates over quietism, which left him despondent (see Henry Thornton to CW, Nov. 26, 1741). In early 1742 CW would have been busy preparing the sermon he preached on Apr. 4 at Oxford (“Awake Thou that Sleepest”). During this time he was also providing support for a convert, Frances (“Fanny”) Cowper, who died in May. Shortly after her death, CW suffered the loss of his friend Robert Jones, and worked through his grief by composing an extended elegy. Then, on July 30, 1742 CW lost his mother Susanna as well. Finally, while CW ministered in several settings during this year, he was struggling with health issues, requiring him to resort to a transcriber for longer letters (such as his Sept. 23, 1742 journal letter).

<sup>2</sup>CW had ministered in Bexley during 1742, as evidenced by three adult baptisms he officiated contained in the St. Mary’s church register: Ann Wood (on Mar. 27; an Anabaptist), Sarah Barnes (on Mar. 30; an Anabaptist), and Edward Clark (Dec. 7; a Quaker).

<sup>3</sup>Luke 1:68; see CW’s hymn on this passage in *HSP* (1749), 2:156–58.

<sup>4</sup>Luke 13:6–9.

<sup>5</sup>Heb. 12:2.

<sup>6</sup>This was likely Thomas Hardwick Jr. (1725–98), son of Thomas and Jane (Garding) Hardwick of Brentford, Middlesex. CW remained close to the Hardwick family, and on Dec. 31, 1748, officiated at Thomas Jr.’s marriage to Sarah Witham.

<sup>7</sup>CW spells “Eaton.”

<sup>8</sup>This was likely George Baddiley Jr. (b. 1725), son of George and Elizabeth (Collins) Baddiley. Both parents and the son appear on Foundery Band Lists (1742–46) at the time.

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**Friday, January 6.** Visited sister Edgecomb,<sup>9</sup> triumphing over death and waiting every moment for full redemption.

**Saturday, January 7.** Spoke with one who thinks she has already attained. I think not. The event will show.

Met Susanna Designe's<sup>10</sup> band, with the three Quakers,<sup>11</sup> and an extraordinary presence of God among them.

**Sunday, January 9.** Kept a lovefeast at Kingswood. As soon as we met the Spirit of prayer fell upon us, and we were filled with comfort.

**Tuesday, January 11.** Set out for London at 3:00 in the morning and reached it, God being my helper, the next day.

**Friday, January 14.** Visited the condemned malefactors in Newgate and was locked in by the turnkey, not with them but in the yard. [2:138] However, I stood upon a bench, and they climbed up to the windows of their cells, so that all could hear my exhortation and prayer.<sup>12</sup>

The Lord was with us at our public intercession, from which I went to visit the sick. Was much refreshed by our dying brother Milbourne,<sup>13</sup> whose whole cry was "Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly."<sup>14</sup>

At night was comforted with all the society by an account of our sister Pike's departure in the Lord.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>9</sup>Possibly the Elizabeth Edgecomb mentioned in JW to Dorothy Furly, June 18, 1757, *Works*, 27:88.

<sup>10</sup>Susannah Designe (1712–79; maiden name unknown) was born of French parentage near the Isle of Ely. After marriage, she moved to Bristol about 1733 with her husband and opened a private school in their home. She was drawn into the Methodist revival in Bristol in 1738–39, becoming a devout member and band leader in the society. CW spells "Design."

<sup>11</sup>Since it was a band, these would all be women, likely widows like Designe or older unmarried women. Surely one of these was Elizabeth (Stafford) Vigor, now widowed and bereaved of her son Francis. Elizabeth lived in the King's Square / Stoke's Croft neighborhood of Bristol, near at least four unmarried sisters, Ann ("Nancy," c. 1710–92), Mary ("Molly," will proved Jan. 1783), Sarah (will proved Jan. 1783), and Susanna Stafford (1706–90). All five remained connected to the Quaker community but were supportive of the Methodist revival. Another possible Quaker woman that might be included is Sarah Perrin.

<sup>12</sup>CW gives an account of this event in shorthand, including a hymn that he composed at the time, on page 218 of MS Clarke; see CW, *Journal Letters*, 140–41.

<sup>13</sup>Samuel Milbourne appears as a married man in the Foundry Band Lists (1742–46) through the end of 1742. His death would explain his absence from Mar. 1742 onward.

<sup>14</sup>Rev. 22:20.

<sup>15</sup>Sarah Pike of St. James Parish, Westminster, was buried on Jan. 13, 1743. Her husband Thomas appears as a married man in the Foundry Band Lists (1742–46) and below in CW's MS Journal.

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**Saturday, January 15.** Went to Newgate, and was refused admittance. One Townsend thrust me away, though I showed him the sheriff's order. I was let in by another keeper, the only one who has a spark of humanity, and preached through the grates. As before, a Romish priest was there, having free egress and regress. But a clergyman of the Church of England must not hope for the like favours.

**Sunday, January 16.** Communicated at St. Paul's. In going up to the table I met one who had behaved very untowardly. He said, with the look of the publican, "I repent."<sup>16</sup> My heart was filled with consolation and prayer for him. O that I might have the same joy in all who have grieved me by their backslidings.

Felt an unusual weight at our lovefeast till the death of our brother Milbourne revived me. A brother related that he had caught hold on him with his convulsed hands and said, "I have neither doubt nor fear, but my spirit rejoices continually in God my Saviour. He has done more for my soul than tongue can utter."

The like words he had said to me, whom he kissed and could hardly part with. Was sure, he declared, that his Lord would just then receive him. Even when speechless, he showed all the tokens of happiness and died like a lamb of Jesus' fold. [2:139]

**Monday, January 17.** From 3:00 till 9:00 at night continued reading the letters, rejoicing and praying and praising God.

**Tuesday, January 18.** Buried [Milbourne] and spoke of a happy brother. It was with us as heretofore, a funeral is one of our greatest festivals.

**Saturday, January 22.** Prayed with the malefactors and felt great pity for them, especially for a poor ignorant papist.

**Wednesday and Thursday, January 26[-27].** Reproved them for their late negligence, and on **Saturday, January 29**, saw my words had not been lost. They seemed humbled and awakened to a sense of their condition. Their lightness had been occasioned by that poor creature, the Ordinary, who is worse than no minister at all.<sup>17</sup> Six times they were forced to wake him before he got through the prayers. He might just as well read them in Latin. His life and actions are<sup>18</sup> worse than ever his words.

**February 1743**

**Tuesday, February 1.** Again [Mr.] Townsend refused me admittance, telling me I had forged my order from the sheriff. Another let me in with Mr. [Henry] Piers and [John] Bray. Scarce were we entered the cells when the power of God fell upon us, first as a Spirit of contrition, then of strong faith and power to exhort and pray.

At night I expounded Daniel 9, and the Spirit of God burst in upon us like a flood. Surely the Lord will bring again Zion. The commandment is gone forth, and our Jerusalem shall be

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<sup>16</sup>See Luke 18:13.

<sup>17</sup>James Guthrie was still the "Ordinary," or Church of England priest appointed as chaplain, at Newgate prison.

<sup>18</sup>Orig., "is"; a mistake.

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built.<sup>1</sup>

**Friday, February 4.** Spent in examining the classes. Before we parted, the Spirit of supplication was wonderfully poured out. We asked in faith for some who still lay at the pool,<sup>2</sup> and they received immediately knowledge of salvation by the remission of their sins.

**Saturday, February 5.** One among the classes told my [2:140] brother she had a constant sense of forgiveness and he let her pass. I could not help proving her farther, and then the justified sinner appeared full of the gall of bitterness. Said again and again of a sister present, “I do not love her, I hate her,” etc. I assured her if an angel from heaven told me she was justified, I would not believe him, for she was a murderer as such. We prayed for her and she was convinced of unbelief. I fear we have many such believers among us.

**Sunday, February 6.** Met a second time the [parish] clerk of St. Luke’s. In our first conference he was thoroughly convinced and has now experienced the truth. For three days together, he tells me, he has been ready to faint away through love to all mankind.

**Friday, February 11.** Three received forgiveness today, while we were praying among the classes.

**Saturday, February 12.** Showed my old order at Newgate, which was refused. Then a new one sent me by the other sheriff. Coming out, the keeper desired to see it again, and took it away from me. I wrote to the sheriff, who sent me another.

**Sunday, February 13.** When I came to Newgate, the first question was as I expected, “Where is your order?” I produced my new one, which so surprised them that they durst not refuse me admittance.

Found the poor souls turned out of the way by Mr. [Thomas] Broughton. He told them there was no knowing our sins forgiven and if any could expect it, not such wretches as they, but the good people who had done so and so. As for his part, he had it not himself. Therefore it was plain they could not receive it. I spoke strong words to one of them, which the Lord applied, and prayed in fervent faith. Heard the Ordinary read, pray, and preach; then spoke with them all together in the chapel. All but one were brought back to the truth. [2:141]

The God of this world was angry and sent the head jailer to ask me how I came hither. “I wonder, sir,” said I, “that you should ask me that question when you have my order in your pocket. You did not do well in taking it away, and then forbidding my entrance. You have trampled upon the sheriff’s authority.” He answered, “If the sheriff suffers you to come here, he shall keep the jail himself.” I talked to him until he was much softened. But let the world smile or frown, my work goes on. [[This was written to a bosom friend.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>See Dan. 9:25.

<sup>2</sup>See John 5:1–15.

<sup>3</sup>This letter was likely either to Lady Huntingdon (currently in Bristol), or to Sarah Perrin (1708–87). Perrin was a Quaker woman with evangelical leanings, living in Bristol, when she and CW were introduced in 1740 and began corresponding shortly after. While CW preserved numerous letters from Perrin, no holograph letters of CW to Perrin are known to survive.

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[[Rather than live in all earthly comfort, I would choose just now to be cast into the sea with a millstone about my neck—but for the fear of something after death. All this day my heart has been rising in expostulation with God. Have I not left all to follow him? Have I not chosen for near twenty years to be miserable for want of him, rather than happy in the possession of all things else? For his sake I have suffered reproach, denied myself the gratification of my senses, appetites, and passion, took up my cross to suffer temptation, been afflicted, tossed with tempests, and not comforted,<sup>4</sup> suffered so many things in vain, and at last to perish eternally! Who can forbear asking, “Wherefore then hast thou brought me forth out of the womb? O that I had given up the ghost and no eye had seen me!”<sup>5</sup>

[[His judgments are as a great deep,<sup>6</sup> I am lost in them. O that I could think no more!]]

**Tuesday, February 22.** Weary, and through various dangers, the Lord brought me this morning to Bath.

**Wednesday, February 23.** Preached morning and night at the society. In the evening at the lodgings of a sick friend, to several of the rich. They heard me patiently while I showed, “They that be whole have no need of a physician, but they that be sick.”<sup>7</sup>

**Thursday, February 24.** Met Mrs. Carr, a daughter of affliction, and found in prayer for her that the Lifter up of her head is near.<sup>8</sup>

**Sunday, February 27.** Gave the sacrament to our colliers. The love of Christ was shed abroad in many of their hearts.

Expounded the pool of Bethesda at Bath.<sup>9</sup> Mr. Carr and the rest of the gentry were very attentive.

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<sup>4</sup>See Isa. 54:11.

<sup>5</sup>Job 10:18.

<sup>6</sup>See Ps. 36:6.

<sup>7</sup>Matt. 9:12.

<sup>8</sup>See Ps. 3:3.

<sup>9</sup>John 5:1–15.

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[2:142]

May 1743<sup>1</sup>

**Tuesday, May 17.**<sup>2</sup> Set out for the north with Mr. Gurney. In the evening walked from our brother Wynn's to Painswick.<sup>3</sup> Stood in the street and invited sinners to the gospel feast in, "Come, for all things are now ready."<sup>4</sup> Some, even of these dead souls, received the word with joy.

**Wednesday, May 18.** Admitted a dozen new members into the society, who brought a blessing with them. Walked to Stroud and delivered my message at the marketplace to a quiet audience. Made up a difference between two of the brethren, and carried them with me to Evesham.

Here the storm of persecution is a little blown over. He that letteth at present is a Quaker.<sup>5</sup> The mayor likewise keeps off the song of violence.

**Thursday, May 19.** Read prayers in Quinton church,<sup>6</sup> and exhorted several wild, staring people to repent and believe the gospel.<sup>7</sup> I could not refuse their pressing invitation to preach again. God gave me great plainness of speech. Some of the fiercest opposers were brought over. Mrs. Taylor was fully convinced of unbelief.

Hastened back to Evesham and enforced the comprehensive promise, "Whatsoever you shall ask in my name, that will I do."<sup>8</sup> Our Lord himself applied his own words.

The society walk as becometh the gospel.<sup>9</sup> One only person I reprov'd; not suffering her any longer, notwithstanding her great gifts, to speak in the church or usurp authority over the

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<sup>1</sup>There is another lacuna in the MS Journal for Mar.–Apr. 1743. It is likely that CW was physically indisposed during this period, as he again resorted to a transcriber for his letter of Apr. 27, 1743 to the society at Grimsby. CW's apparent practice was to make initial minimal journal notes in shorthand, and transcribe them (or dictate them to an amanuensis) more fully later. He apparently then discarded the shorthand notes, but one of the few examples that has survived covers the period of May 17 – June 27, 1743. It is found at the end of a manuscript volume collecting hymns, MS Clarke (MARC, MA 1977/561), on an unnumbered page that would be 219 counting from the front (or 228 according to numbering that begins from the back on the bottom of pages). For an expansion of these notes see CW, *Journal Letters*, 142–43.

<sup>2</sup>For May 17–25, 1743, see also CW's more detailed draft journal in *Journal Letters*, 144–52.

<sup>3</sup>Painswick, Gloucestershire; 3 miles northeast of Stroud.

<sup>4</sup>Luke 14:17.

<sup>5</sup>In the BCP and AV "letteth" is used in the sense of "hindering"; Cf. 2 Thess. 2:7.

<sup>6</sup>Rev. Samuel Taylor (1711–72), the vicar at Quinton, Worcestershire, was a Methodist sympathizer.

<sup>7</sup>Mark 1:15.

<sup>8</sup>John 14:13.

<sup>9</sup>See Phil. 1:27.

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men.<sup>10</sup>

**Friday, May 20.** Got once more to our dear colliers of Wednesbury.<sup>11</sup> Here the seed has taken root and many are added to the church. A society of above 300 are seeking full redemption in the all-cleansing blood. The enemy rages exceedingly and preaches against them. A few have returned railing for [2:143] railing,<sup>12</sup> but the generality have behaved as the followers of Christ Jesus.

Preached in a garden<sup>13</sup> in the first words I met, 1 Cor. 2:1, “And I brethren, when I came unto you ....” While I spoke of his sufferings he looked upon us, and made us look upon him and mourn. Many wept, as one that mourneth for his first-born.<sup>14</sup> Exhorted and instructed the very lively society. Surely among this people I have not run or laboured in vain.<sup>15</sup>

**Saturday, May 21.** At 5:00 commended the woman of Canaan as an example of prevalent importunity.<sup>16</sup> A young man, who had been generally vexed by the devil, was now set at liberty. Spent the morning in conference with several who have received the atonement under my brother,<sup>17</sup> and saw a piece of ground given us by a Dissenter to build a preaching house upon, and consecrated it with a hymn.

Walked with many of the brethren to Walsall singing.<sup>18</sup> Were received with the old complaint, “Behold, they that turn the world upside down are come here also.”<sup>19</sup> Walked through the town amidst the noisy greetings of our enemies and stood on the steps of the market-house. A host of men was laid against us. The floods lifted up their voice and raged horribly.<sup>20</sup> I opened the book on the first-presented words, Acts 20:24, “But none of these things move me. Neither count I my life dear unto myself, so that I might finish my course with joy, and the ministry which I have received of the Lord Jesus, to justify the gospel of the grace of God.”

The street was full of fierce Ephesian beasts<sup>21</sup> (the principle man setting them on), who roared and shouted, and threw stones incessantly. Many struck without hurting me. I besought

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<sup>10</sup>See 1 Tim. 2:12.

<sup>11</sup>Wednesbury, Staffordshire; 2.5 miles northwest of West Bromwich. CW spells “Wensbury.” See CW’s hymn likely written after this occasion, “After Preaching to the Staffordshire Colliers,” in *HSP* (1749), 1:308–10.

<sup>12</sup>See 1 Pet. 3:9.

<sup>13</sup>The shorthand diary (MS Clarke, 219) identifies the location as “the old parks.”

<sup>14</sup>See Zech. 12:10.

<sup>15</sup>See Phil. 2:16.

<sup>16</sup>Matt. 15:22–28.

<sup>17</sup>CW recorded a list of the people he spoke with that morning in MS Clarke (MARC, MA 1977/561), p. 223 (numbered from the back of the volume).

<sup>18</sup>Walsall, Staffordshire; 4 miles north of West Bromwich.

<sup>19</sup>Acts 17:6.

<sup>20</sup>See Ps. 93:3.

<sup>21</sup>See 1 Cor. 15:32.



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them in calm love to be reconciled to God in Christ.<sup>22</sup> While I was departing a stream [2:144] of ruffians was suffered to bear me from the steps. I rose, and having given the blessing, was brought down again. So the third time. When we had returned thanks to the God of our salvation I then, from the steps, bade them depart in peace, and walked quietly back through the thickest rioters. They mocked us, but had no commission to touch an hair of our heads.

**Sunday, May 22.** Preached to between one and two thousand peaceable people at Birmingham. Heard a miserable sermon to disprove the promise of the Father,<sup>23</sup> by confining it to the apostles. After the sacrament, I called on many, “Repent, and be converted [...] for the promise is unto you.”<sup>24</sup> And several gentlemen stood in the crowd with signs of deep attention.

Preached on the same words at Wednesbury, and the Spirit proved them with his own demonstration.

**Monday, May 23.** Took my leave in those words, Acts 14:22, “Confirming the souls of the disciples, and exhorting them to continue in the faith, and that we must through much tribulation enter into the kingdom of heaven.” With many tears and blessings they sent me away, commended to the graces of God.

Preached at Melbourne to several, who seemed ready for it.<sup>25</sup>

**Tuesday, May 24.** Again I preached the gospel to the poor at Coleorton, who heard it with great eagerness.<sup>26</sup>

Rode to Donington<sup>27</sup> and asked, “Have ye received the Holy Ghost since ye believed?”<sup>28</sup>

At 2:00 I proclaimed the Saviour of all men at Nottingham Cross; and in the evening, at their request, expounded to Mr. How’s society.<sup>29</sup>

**Wednesday, May 25.** At the Cross again, pressed all to receive that faithful saying [that Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners].<sup>30</sup> [2:145] There was no breath of opposition, but a storm must follow this calm. One gave me a kind caution, for which I sincerely thanked him: “Mr. [Jacob] Rogers did run well, and preached the truth as you do here, but what a sad end

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<sup>22</sup>2 Cor. 5:20.

<sup>23</sup>The gift of the Holy Spirit; see Luke 24:49, etc.

<sup>24</sup>A combination of Acts 3:19 and Acts 2:39.

<sup>25</sup>Melbourne, Derbyshire; 7 miles south of Derby.

<sup>26</sup>Coleorton, Leicestershire; 2 miles east of Ashby-de-la-Zouch.

<sup>27</sup>Castle Donington, Leicestershire; 7 miles northwest of Loughborough. Lady Huntingdon’s home, Donington Park, was nearby, but she was not in residence at the time.

<sup>28</sup>Acts 19:2.

<sup>29</sup>John How (or Howe) was a merchant hosier who had come in contact with JW while on business in London and subsequently started a society in Nottingham. CW was exploring their possible connection, but discerned that How was moving toward the Moravians and a month later started a distinct Methodist society in Nottingham (see June 24, 1743 entry).

<sup>30</sup>See 1 Tim. 1:15. This sentence is completed from the Journal Letter account.

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has he made of it! Take care you don't leave the church like him!"<sup>31</sup>

In the afternoon I came to the flock in Sheffield, who are as sheep in the midst of wolves, the ministers having so stirred up the people that they are ready to tear them in pieces. Most of them have passed through the fire of stillness, which came to try them as soon as they tasted the grace of the Lord.<sup>32</sup>

At 6:00 went to the society house next door to our brother Bennet's.<sup>33</sup> Hell from beneath was moved to oppose us. As soon as I was in the desk with David Taylor,<sup>34</sup> the floods began to lift up their voice.<sup>35</sup> An officer (Ensign Gorden) contradicted and blasphemed. I took no notice of him, and sang on. The stones flew thick, hitting the desk and people. To save them and the house, I gave notice I should preach out and look the enemy in the face.

The whole army of aliens followed me. The captain laid hold on me and began reviling. I gave him for answer *A Word in Season, or Advice to a Soldier*,<sup>36</sup> then prayed, particularly for His Majesty King George, and preached the gospel with much contention. The stones often struck me in the face. After sermon I prayed for sinners as servants of their master the devil, upon which captain ran at me with great fury, threatening revenge for my abusing, as he called it, "The king his master." He forced his way through [2:146] the brethren, drew his sword, and presented it to my breast. My breast was immediately steeled. I threw it open and, fixing mine eye on his, smiled in his face and calmly said, "I fear God and honour the king."<sup>37</sup> His countenance fell in a moment, he fetched a deep sigh, put up his sword, and quietly left the place.

To one of the company, who afterwards informed me, he had said, "You shall see, if I do but hold my sword to his breast, he will faint away." So perhaps I should, had I had only his principles to trust to. But if at that time I was not afraid, no thanks to my natural courage.

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<sup>31</sup>See note on entry for Apr. 16, 1739. Rogers had now formally joined the Moravians.

<sup>32</sup>CW again recorded a list of those he met with in MS Clarke (MARC, MA 1977/561), p. 222 (as numbered from the back of the volume).

<sup>33</sup>Edward Bennet, a grinder in Sheffield, and his wife Hannah were drawn into Methodist circles by the preaching of David Taylor and contributed to erecting the chapel there in 1741 which was now being destroyed. Edward Bennet took the lead in quickly building a new chapel in Pinstone Lane, near the location of the first. Note: it was their son Edward (d. 1788) who became a sugar refiner and sided with the Calvinist Methodists. See James Montgomery, 'Memoir of the late George Bennet Esq of Sheffield', *The Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle* (February 1842), 53–54; compared to James Everett, *Historical Sketches of Wesleyan Methodism in Sheffield and the Vicinity* (Sheffield: Montgomery, 1823), 1:34, 43.

<sup>34</sup>David Taylor (1715–83) underwent a spiritual awakening in the mid-1730s while a servant in the household of Lady Huntingdon. With her encouragement he was soon preaching and gathering societies in the Sheffield area, in some association with Benjamin Ingham.

<sup>35</sup>See Ps. 93:4 (BCP).

<sup>36</sup>This tract had just been published by JW (Newcastle: Gooding, 1743).

<sup>37</sup>Cf. 1 Pet. 2:17.

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We returned to our brother Bennet's and gave ourselves unto prayer. The rioters followed and exceeded in their outrage all I have seen before. Those of Moorfields, Cardiff, and Walsall were lambs to these. As there is no king in Israel (no magistrate I mean in Sheffield) every man does as seems good in his own eyes.<sup>38</sup> Satan now put it into their hearts to pull down the society house, and they set to their work while we were praying and praising God. It was a glorious time with us. Every word of exhortation sunk deep, every prayer was sealed, and many found the Spirit of glory resting on them.

One sent for the constable, who came up and desired me to leave the town, "since I was the occasion of all this disturbance." I thanked him for his advice, with all assuring him that I should not go a moment the sooner for this uproar—was sorry for *their* sakes, that they had no law or justice among them. As for myself, I had my protection, and I knew my business, as I supposed he did his. In proof whereof he went from us and [2:147] encouraged the mob.

They pressed hard to break open the door. I would have gone out to them but the brethren would not suffer me. They laboured all night for their master and by morning had pulled down one end of the house. I could compare them to nothing but the men of Sodom,<sup>39</sup> or those coming out of the tombs exceeding fierce.<sup>40</sup> Their outcries often waked me in the night, yet I believe I got more sleep than any of my neighbours.

**Thursday, May 26.** At 5:00 expounded the pool of Bethesda,<sup>41</sup> and stayed conversing with the society till 8:00. Breakfasted with several of the brethren from Yorkshire, Derbyshire, Lancashire, and Cheshire. Met a daughter of affliction, who had long mourned in Zion.<sup>42</sup> God gave me immediate faith for her, which I made proof of in prayer, and in that instant she received *the comfort*.

It being agreed that I should preach in the heart of the town, I went forth nothing doubting. We heard our enemies shouting from afar. I stood in the midst of them and read the first words offered. "If God be for us, who can be against us? He that spared . . ."<sup>43</sup> God made bare his arm<sup>44</sup> in the sight of the heathen, and so repaired the fierceness of many that not one lifted up hand or voice against us.

I took David Taylor and walked through the open street to our brother Bennet's with the multitude at my heels. We passed by the spot where the house stood. They had not left one stone upon another. Nevertheless the foundation standeth sure, as I told one of them, and our house not made with hands eternal in the heavens.<sup>45</sup> The mob attended me to my lodgings with great civility, but [2:148] as soon as I entered the house they renewed their threatenings to pull it

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<sup>38</sup>See 2 Kings 10:5.

<sup>39</sup>See Gen. 13:12–13.

<sup>40</sup>I.e., the demon-possessed; see Matt. 8:28.

<sup>41</sup>John 5:1–15.

<sup>42</sup>See Isa. 61:3.

<sup>43</sup>Rom. 8:31–32.

<sup>44</sup>See Isa. 52:10.

<sup>45</sup>See 2 Cor. 5:1.

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down. The windows were mashed in an instant and my poor host so frightened that he was ready to give up his shield.

He had been for a warrant to Mr. Buck, a justice of peace in Rotherham, who refused it him unless he would promise to forsake this way.

The house was now on the point of being taken by storm. I was writing within when the cry of my poor friend and his family, I thought, called me out to those sons of Belial.<sup>46</sup> In the midst of the rabble I found a friend of Edward [Bennet]'s with the Riot Act.<sup>47</sup> At their desire I took and read it and made a suitable exhortation. One of the sturdiest rebels our constable seized, and carried away captive into the house. I marveled at the patience of his companions, but the Lord overawed them.

What was done with the prisoner I know not, for in five minutes I was fast asleep in the room they had dismantled. I feared no cold, but dropped asleep with that word "Scatter thou the people that delight in war."<sup>48</sup> I afterwards heard that within the hour they had all quitted the place.

**Friday, May 27.** At 5:00 took leave of the society in those comfortable words, "Confirming the souls ...."<sup>49</sup> Had the extraordinary blessing I expected. Our hearts were knit together and greatly comforted. We rejoiced in hope of the glorious appearing of the great God, who had now delivered us out of the mouth of the lions.

David Taylor informed me that the people of Thorpe,<sup>50</sup> through which we should pass, were [2:149] exceeding mad against us. So we found them as we approached the place, and were turning down the lane to Barley Hall.<sup>51</sup> The ambush rose and assaulted us with stones, eggs, and dirt. My horse flew from side to side, till he forced his way through them. David Taylor they wounded in his forehead, which bled much. His hat he lost in the fray. I returned and asked what was the reason a clergyman could not pass without such treatment. At first the rioters scattered, but their captain rallying answered with horrible imprecations and stones that would have killed both man and beast had they not been turned aside by an hand unseen. My horse took fright and hurried away with me down a steep hill, till we came to a lane which I turned up and took a circuit to find our brother Johnson's.<sup>52</sup> The enemy spied me from afar and followed shouting. Blessed be God I got no hurt, but only the eggs and dirt. My clothes indeed abhorred me, and my arm pained me a little by a blow I received at Sheffield. David Taylor had got just before me to

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<sup>46</sup>See 1 Sam. 2:12.

<sup>47</sup>The "Riot Act" was passed by Parliament in 1715, in the midst of fears of a Jacobite uprising and corresponding mob attacks on Dissenting groups. It required groups of more than twelve persons to disperse within an hour of a magistrate reading the text of the act to them.

<sup>48</sup>Ps. 68:30 (BCP).

<sup>49</sup>Acts 14:22.

<sup>50</sup>Thorpe Hesley, Yorkshire.

<sup>51</sup>Barley Hall was a farmhouse near Thorpe Hesley. Cf. JW, *Journal* (June 15, 1742), *Works*, 19:278.

<sup>52</sup>[John?] Johnson owned Barley Hall.

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Barley Hall with the sisters, whom God had hid in the palm of his hand.

Met many sincere souls assembled to hear the word of God. Never have I known a greater power of love. All were drowned in tears, yet very happy. The scripture I met was “Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, for he hath visited and redeemed his people.”<sup>53</sup> We rejoiced in the God of our salvation, who hath compassed us about with songs of deliverance.<sup>54</sup>

By 4:00 we came to a land of rest. For the brethren of Birstall<sup>55</sup> have stopped the mouth of gainsayers and fairly overcome evil with good. At present, peace is in all their borders. The little foxes that spoil the vineyard,<sup>56</sup> [2:150] or rather the wild boars out of the wood that root it up, hath no more place among them. Only the Germans [i.e., Moravians] still prowls about the fences to pick up stragglers.

My mouth was opened to declare “God who spared not his own Son . . .”<sup>57</sup> The great multitude were bowed down by the victorious power of his love. It was a time much to be remembered, for the gracious rain wherewith our God refreshed us.

**Saturday, May 28.** Preached in the morning and at noon with great enlargement to the childlike people; then at Armley<sup>58</sup> in my way to Leeds.

**Sunday, May 29.** Not a year ago I walked to and fro in these streets and could not find a man.<sup>59</sup> But a spark is at last lit on this place also, and a great fire it will kindle.

Met the infant society, about fifty in number, most of them justified, and exhorted them to talk circumspectly, since so much depended on the first witnesses.

At 7:00 stood before William Shent’s<sup>60</sup> door and cried to thousands, “Ho everyone that thirsteth, come to the waters!”<sup>61</sup> The word took place. They gave diligent heed to it, and seemed a people ready prepared for the Lord.

Went to the great church,<sup>62</sup> and was showed to the minister’s pew. Their whole behavior said, “Friend, go up higher.”<sup>63</sup> Five clergymen were there who confounded me by making me take place of my elders and betters. They made me help administer the sacrament. Would not let

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<sup>53</sup>Luke 1:68.

<sup>54</sup>See Ps. 32:7.

<sup>55</sup>CW spells “Birstal.”

<sup>56</sup>See Song of Sol. 2:15.

<sup>57</sup>Rom. 8:32.

<sup>58</sup>CW spells “Armsly.”

<sup>59</sup>See Jer. 5:1.

<sup>60</sup>William Shent (1714–88) was a barber and wigmaker in Leeds. His wife Mary (née Musgrave; married in 1737) was converted by John Nelson and brought her husband into the fold soon after. Shent’s shop in Briggate became the initial home of the Leeds society, and he became its leader.

<sup>61</sup>Isa. 55:1.

<sup>62</sup>St. John the Evangelist church in Leeds.

<sup>63</sup>See Luke 14:10.

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me steal into a corner, but placed me at a table opposite to him that consecrated. I assisted with eight more ministers, for whom my soul was much drawn out in prayer. But I dreaded their favour more than the stones in Sheffield.

At 2:00 found a vast multitude waiting [2:151] for the word. I strongly exhorted them to repent and believe that their sins might be blotted out.<sup>64</sup>

At Birstall called the poor and maimed, and halt and blind to the great supper.<sup>65</sup> My Lord disposed many hearts, I doubt not, to accept the invitation. He shows me several witnesses of the truth, which they have even now received, in the love of it. Had a blessed parting with the society.

**Monday, May 30.** Near Ripley my horse threw and fell upon me. My companion thought I had broke my neck. But my leg only was bruised, my hand sprained, and my head stunned; which spoiled my making hymns, or thinking at all, till the next day [May 31], when the Lord brought us to Newcastle.

At 7:00 went to the room, which contained above 2,000. It was filled from end to end. My subject was, "He that spared not his own . . .,"<sup>66</sup> and God gave testimony to the word of his grace. We rejoiced for the consolation of our mutual faith.

**June 1743**

**Wednesday, June 1.** Preached at Pelton to a people who seem as ignorant almost as the beasts that perish. But if the Lord hath given them a desire to know him, he can of these stones raise up children unto Abraham.<sup>1</sup>

**Friday, June 3.** Our room was crowded at the watchnight. Several gentry from the races stood with great attention while I set forth Christ crucified.<sup>2</sup> It was a season both of guilt and love.

**Saturday, June 4.** Went on at 5:00 expounding the Acts. Some stumbling blocks, with the help of God, I have removed, particularly the fits. Many no doubt were at our first preaching struck down, both soul and body, [2:152] into the depth of distress. Their *outward affections* were easy to be imitated. Many counterfeits I have already detected. Today one, who came from the alehouse drunk, was pleased to fall into a fit for my entertainment and beat himself heartily. I thought it a pity to hinder him, so instead of singing over him, as had been often done, we left him to recover at his leisure. Another girl, as she began her cry, I ordered to be carried out. Her convulsion was so violent as to take away the use of her limbs till they laid and left her without the door. Then immediately she found her legs and walked off. Some very unstill sisters, who always took care to stand near me and tried which should cry loudest, since I had them removed out of my sight, have been as quiet as lambs. The first night I preached here half my words were

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<sup>64</sup>Acts 3:19.

<sup>65</sup>Luke 14:15–24.

<sup>66</sup>Rom. 8:32.

<sup>1</sup>See Matt. 3:9.

<sup>2</sup>On the sermon preached, see note for the Aug. 29, 1741 entry.

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lost through their outcries. Last night, before I began, I gave public notice that whosoever cried so as to drown my voice should, without any man hurting or judging them, be gently carried to the farthest corner of the room. But my porters had no employment the whole night. Yet the Lord was with us, mightily convincing of sin and of righteousness.

**Sunday, June 5.** My soul was revived by the poor people at Chowdene, and yet more at Tanfield,<sup>3</sup> where I called to great numbers, “Behold the Lamb of God . . .”<sup>4</sup> To the society I spoke words not my own.<sup>5</sup> At Newcastle one just come from the sacrament received the seal of forgiveness among us.

I preached in the crowded square, chiefly to the backsliders, whom I besought with tears to be reconciled to God.<sup>6</sup> Surely Jesus looked [2:153] upon some of them as he looked upon Peter.<sup>7</sup>

Wrestled in prayer for them at the society, and found it is for their sake principally that God hath brought me hither.

**Monday, June 6.** Had the great comfort of recovering some of those that had drawn back. They came confessing their sin. I trust we shall receive them again forever.

**Wednesday, June 8.** Spoke to the bands severally and tried if their faith could bear shaking. We have certainly been too rash and easy in allowing persons for believers on their own testimony; nay, and even persuading them into a false opinion of themselves. Some souls it is doubtless necessary to encourage, but it should be done with the utmost caution. To tell one in darkness he has faith is to keep him in darkness still, or to make him trust in a false light, a faith that stands in the words of men not in the power of God.

**Saturday, June 11.** Passed an hour with the keelmen at the hospital.<sup>8</sup> Eight of our brethren there have been gathered into the garner since our parting.<sup>9</sup> The love of the rest is not waxen cold.

**Sunday, June 12.** Preached at 5:00 in the room; at 7:00 to the poor people in Chowdene; at 9:00 in Tanfield; after church, in the hospital square to the usual congregation, whom I warmly pressed to the great supper.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>Tanfield, Co. Durham; 2 miles north of Stanley.

<sup>4</sup>John 1:29.

<sup>5</sup>See John 12:49.

<sup>6</sup>See 2 Cor. 5:20.

<sup>7</sup>See Luke 22:61.

<sup>8</sup>The “keel men” used small boats (keels) to carry coal from shore out to waiting ships in Newcastle. For a description of the Keelmen’s Hospital, see Eneas Mackenzie, *A Descriptive and Historical Account of the Town and County of Newcastle-upon-Tyne* (Newcastle: Mackenzie and Dent, 1827), 550–52.

<sup>9</sup>Since CW’s previous time in Newcastle in Sept. 1742; see *Journal Letters*, 125–39.

<sup>10</sup>Luke 14:15–24.

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**Monday, June 13.** Wrote thus to a son in the gospel,<sup>11</sup>

Be not over sure that so many are justified. “By their fruits you shall know them.”<sup>12</sup> You will see reason to be more deliberate in the judgment you pass on souls. Wait for their conversation. I don’t know whether we can infallibly pronounce *at the time* that [2:154] anyone is justified. I once thought several in that state who I am now convinced were only under the drawings of the Father. Try the spirits therefore, least you should lay the stumbling block of pride in their way; and by allowing them to have faith too soon, keep them out of it for ever.

**Tuesday, June 14.** Preached at South Biddick<sup>13</sup> to a multitude of earnest souls, who lamented my leaving them as soon as I found them.

**Wednesday, June 15.** Dined at Stotes Hall with Mr. Williams,<sup>14</sup> and rode in the bitter weather to Plessy. Here my labour has not been in vain. They even devoured the word while I showed them what they must do to be saved.<sup>15</sup>

Observed at Newcastle that many more of the gentry come now the stumbling block of the fits is taken out of their way, and I am more and more convinced it was a device of Satan to stop the course of the gospel. Since I have preached (if I can discern anything), it never had greater success than at this time. Yet, we have no fits among us and I have done nothing to prevent them, only declared that I do not think the better of anyone for crying out or interrupting my work.

**Thursday, June 16.** Set out for Sunderland with strong aversion to preaching. But I am more and more convinced that “the freedom of heart” which the Moravians and Quakers so much talk of is a rule of the devil’s inventing, to supersede the written word. Dragged myself to about a 1,000 wild people and cried, “O Israel, thou hast destroyed thyself, but in me is thy help.”<sup>16</sup> Never have I seen greater attention in any at their first hearing.

We rode on to Shields.<sup>17</sup> Went to church and the people flocked in crowds after me. The minister could not be heard in reading prayers, [2:155] but I heard him loud enough afterwards calling for the churchwarden to quiet the disturbance, which none but himself raised. I fancy he thought I should preach there like some of the first Quakers. The [parish] clerk came to me

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<sup>11</sup>Surely Thomas Williams, whom CW commended with this title in a letter to the society at St. Ives in a letter dated May 7, 1743.

<sup>12</sup>Matt. 7:20.

<sup>13</sup>Biddick, Co. Durham. CW spells “Biddicks,” and drops “South” after this occurrence.

<sup>14</sup>Mr. Williams, who owned Stote’s Hall, in what is now the Jesmond Dene area of Newcastle upon Tyne, was an engineer who tinkered with designs of the Newcomen steam pump to drain water out of coal pits; see *WHS* 14 (1924): 193–94.

<sup>15</sup>See Acts 16:30.

<sup>16</sup>Hosea 13:9.

<sup>17</sup>I.e., South Shields, Co. Durham.



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bawling out it was consecrated ground, and I had no business to preach on it—was no minister. And when he had cried himself out of breath, I whispered him in the ear that I had no intention to preach there, and he stumbled upon a good saying, “Then, if you have any word of exhortation for the people, speak it to them without.”

I did so at my leisure, an huge multitude waiting in the churchyard, many of them fierce and threatening—to drown me, and what not. I walked quickly through the midst of them and discoursed in strong awakening words on the jailer’s question, “What must I do to be saved?”<sup>18</sup> The churchwardens and others laboured in vain to interrupt by throwing dirt, hay, and money among the people. Having delivered my message, I rode to the ferry, crossed, and met as rough friends on the other side. The mob of North Shields waited to salute me, with the minister at their head. He had got a man with an horn instead of a trumpet, and bade him blow, and his companions shout. Others were almost as violent in their approbation. We went through honour and dishonour (but neither of them hurt us), and by 6:00, with God’s blessing, came safe to Newcastle.

**Saturday, June 18.** A woman told me she had received a great measure of the love of God in her heart and thought it forgiveness. I thought so too, especially as it was an immediate answer to our prayer. Upon my warning her against pride, she very [2:156] innocently told me she “was never proud in all her life.” Now what madness to tell this soul so utterly ignorant of herself if she is justified. She may be so, for what I know, but for me positively to determine it would be the way, I think, to stop the work in its beginning. Several have come with the same report since I have been here. I neither reject nor receive their saying, but require their fruits and bid them go on.

**Sunday, June 19.** Asked the multitudes in the square “Will ye also go away?”<sup>19</sup> And the word prospered in the thing whereunto it was sent, namely, the bringing back the wanderers.<sup>20</sup> Concluded the day with our first lovefeast. Jesus was with his disciples.

Took my leave in those words, “What ye have already, hold fast till I come.”<sup>21</sup> It was a hard parting with the society. Their hearts were all as melting wax, and will, I trust, retain the impression made then by every word spoken. Some cried aloud, others knelt down for my blessing, most laid hold on me as I passed. All wept and made lamentation.

Preached at Swalwell.<sup>22</sup> Never were people better disposed or more eager of instruction. And their love was such that they would, if possible, pluck out their eyes and give them [to] me.<sup>23</sup>

**Tuesday, June 21.** Set out between 3:00 and 4:00. Met by several parties of the society, who had walked before some miles to watch my passing. I travelled but slowly through them, blessing and being blessed.

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<sup>18</sup>Acts 16:30.

<sup>19</sup>John 6:67.

<sup>20</sup>See CW’s hymn on this passage in *HSP* (1749), 1:207–09.

<sup>21</sup>Rev. 2:25.

<sup>22</sup>Swalwell, Co. Durham; 3 miles west of Gateshead.

<sup>23</sup>See Gal. 4:15.

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Rode to Sandhutton. The poor people filled the house where I was. I showed them the way of salvation in the creditor and two debtors.<sup>24</sup> They returned me many thanks. [2:157]

**Wednesday, June 22.** Set out at 3:00. Was met and turned back. When I had gone a mile out of my way, thought how could the loss be repaired and immediately it was suggested that I should pray till I got into the right road. The Spirit helped my infirmity, and I continued instant in prayer for some hours, believing that I shall after all escape safe to land.<sup>25</sup>

I prayed on, till at 10:00 a sailor overtook us. I set upon him, and he rejoiced in my welcome saying. God found me more work at Selby. Dined in a mixed company, where one asked me if there was any good in confirmation. I answered, “No, nor in baptism, nor in the Lord’s Supper, or any outward thing, unless you are in Christ a new creature.”<sup>26</sup> I confounded all my hearers by relating my own experience under the law. Left them some books and went on my way rejoicing. Still the Spirit was upon me, and I felt stronger faith *for myself* than I ever did before.

By 6:00 came to Epworth, my native place.<sup>27</sup> All who met saluted me with hearty joy. At 8:00 preached in Edward Smith’s yard, “He that spared not his own Son,”<sup>28</sup> and many were present and much affected. Laid me down in peace, after one of the happiest days I have ever known.

**Thursday, June 23.** Waking I found the Lord with me, even my strong helper, the God of whom cometh salvation. Preached on “Ask and it shall be given you, seek . . .”<sup>29</sup> Guarded some new converts against spiritual pride, that only hindrance to the work of God. Warned another against the “poor sinners.” One of them (Parker) had frankly told her he did not understand what we meant by talking [2:158] of holiness after forgiveness—that he has all he can have, and looks for no more.

Visited Mrs. Bernard, a widow in affliction, whose husband is just dead suddenly, yet called at the eleventh hour. Went thence to Mr. Maw’s, who received me gladly; being again stirred up and resolved to seek till he finds.<sup>30</sup>

Passed the afternoon with our brethren from Grimsby, in mutual encouragement. At 7:00 went out into the streets to call those that were bidden and cried from the cross: “Come, for all

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<sup>24</sup>Luke 7:41–43.

<sup>25</sup>See Acts 27:44.

<sup>26</sup>See 2 Cor. 5:17.

<sup>27</sup>Epworth, Lincolnshire, the parish served by Samuel Wesley Sr., and CW’s birthplace.

<sup>28</sup>Rom. 8:32.

<sup>29</sup>Matt. 7:7.

<sup>30</sup>John Maw (c. 1680–1753) was one of the principal landholders in the Epworth area, numbered among his best parishioners by Rev. Samuel Wesley Sr. (in a letter to Mr. Stephenson, May 14, 1734). See also JW’s positive comments about Maw in his *Journal*, May 11, 1744, Feb. 22, 1747, and May 20, 1753 (*Works*, 20:28, 158, 458). Cf. *WHS* 5 (1906): 201.

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things are now ready.”<sup>31</sup> The minister heard me at a distance.<sup>32</sup>

Provoked the society to love and good works. Warned them, without intending it, against those that seduce them, and insisted with all earnestness on my constant counsel that none of them should leave the ship<sup>33</sup> till all came safe to land.

**Friday, June 24.** Met them again at 3:00, and parted with the blessing and peace of God.

Rode to Nottingham with the *best company* that earth or heaven could furnish. Found my brother in the market place, calling lost sinners to him that justifieth the ungodly. He gave notice of my preaching in the evening.

From him I had the first account of our brethren’s persecution at Wednesbury.<sup>34</sup> Their unhappy minister<sup>35</sup> was the contriver of all.

The Lord opened my mouth at 7:00. Many thousands attended in deep silence. Surely the Lord hath much people in this place.<sup>36</sup> We began a society of nine members.

**Saturday, June 25.** Came to Birmingham with the night.

**Sunday, June 26.** Several of our persecuted brethren from Wednesbury came to me, whom I endeavoured to comfort. Preached at 8:00 and 1:00, no men forbidding me. After evening service [2:159] I expounded the Prodigal Son to several thousand and many of whom (I observed by their tears) were pricked at the heart and ready to say, “I will arise and will go to my Father.”<sup>37</sup>

In the name of the Lord Jesus I began our society. The number at present is thirteen.

**Monday, June 27.** Left our brother Jones to look after the little flock,<sup>38</sup> and set out for London. By 6:00 in the evening came safe to Oxford. The society is in a flourishing condition, chiefly by means of a discrete sister from London. Met poor, languid, dead Mr. [John] Robson. I have trusted in this child of man, therefore is he to me as *waters* that fail.<sup>39</sup>

**Tuesday night, June 28.** Slept at the Foundery.

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<sup>31</sup>Luke 14:17.

<sup>32</sup>Rev. John Romley (1711–50), who grew up in nearby Finningley, Nottinghamshire (a couple of miles from Wroot). Romley lived with the Wesley family for a time, serving as Samuel’s assistant, and briefly courted Martha Wesley. He was now curate at Epworth, serving under Samuel Hurst, who succeeded Samuel Wesley as rector in 1735.

<sup>33</sup>I.e., desert the Church of England; see the entry for July 19, 1744.

<sup>34</sup>JW eventually published an account of this persecution in *Modern Christianity: Exemplified in Wednesbury ...* (Newcastle: Gooding, 1745), *Works*, 9:132–59.

<sup>35</sup>Rev. Edward Egginton (c. 1693–1743), vicar of Wednesbury (1719–43).

<sup>36</sup>See Acts 18:10.

<sup>37</sup>Luke 15:11–32; quoting v. 18.

<sup>38</sup>James Jones (d. 1783), a man of some property, had just begun traveling as one of JW’s lay helpers. He eventually restricted his work to Staffordshire where he was a greatly beloved and respected local preacher. Born in Tipton, he died in Birmingham in 1783. See Atmore, *Memorial*, 115; and Vickers, *Dictionary*, 184–85.

<sup>39</sup>See Jer. 15:18.

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**Thursday, June 30.** Buried our sister Soane;<sup>40</sup> a mother in Israel she *was*,<sup>41</sup> but she *is* a saint in paradise. We found the blessing which she has left behind.

**July 1743**

**Sunday, July 3.** Mr. [Westley] Hall, poor Moravianized Mr. Hall, met us at the chapel.<sup>1</sup> I did him honour before the people, expounded the gospel as usual, and strongly avowed my inviolable attachment to the Church of England. Mr. Meriton and [Charles] Graves assisted me at the sacrament.<sup>2</sup>

It was our women's lovefeast, but I turned it into mourning by setting before them the things some of them had done and spoken in a lying spirit against their ministers. I challenged them "Which of you convinceth us of sin?" and showed at large their ingratitude to God and man. Great lamentation was among them. The stumbling block will, I trust, be soon entirely removed.

**Monday, July 4.** On our thanksgiving day we received power to wrestle with God for a blessing on all the church and especially our [2:160] persecuted brethren.

**Tuesday, July 5.** Mr. Hall came and spoke large in vindication of the Germans. As for their denying the ordinances, that was all an invention of my brother's, etc. I plainly told him we could have no confidence in him while he clave to them.

**Wednesday, July 6.** Showed from Romans 5 the marks of justification and overturned the confidence of several. Strongly warned them against seducers. Found my heart knit to this people.

**Friday, July 8.** John Bray came to persuade me not to preach till the bishops should bid me. They have not yet forbid me. But by the grace of God, I shall preach the word in season, out of season, though they and all men forbade me.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>40</sup>In the Foundery Band Lists (1742–46) listing for Mar. 1743, Martha Soane's name is followed by the shorthand entry [[died]].

<sup>41</sup>See Judg. 5:7.

<sup>1</sup>JW had recently taken a long-term lease on a chapel on West Street, near the Seven Dials, which stood on ground that previously held an episcopal chapel, and had been opened in 1700 to serve French Protestants fleeing persecution in their homeland. When they moved out in 1728, it was purchased by St. Clement Dane's parish to rent out (using proceeds to support poor widows). In the view of JW and CW this provenance qualified it as a 'consecrated' chapel. It was the first continuing setting in London where Methodists held Sunday worship according to the BCP, including the Lord's Supper. See Martin, *Wesley's Chapels*, 47–49.

<sup>2</sup>Rev. John Meriton (1698–1753), a graduate of Cambridge, was serving in the Isle of Man in 1740 when he encountered opposition to his evangelical preaching. JW befriended him and through the mid-1740s he assisted both brothers in various ways. This relationship eventually cooled off, and they parted. But see CW's appreciative hymn at the time of Meriton's death in *Funeral Hymns* (1759), 28–29. See also *DEB*, 765; and Vickers, *Dictionary*, 229.

<sup>3</sup>See 2 Tim. 4:2.

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**Saturday, July 9.** Read my testimony to the society (the letter in verse, “My more than friend, accept the warning lay. ....”<sup>4</sup>). Cautioned them against Mr. Hall, and rejoiced that I had confidence of them in all things.

**Sunday, July 10.** At our [West Street] chapel, the galleries were filled with strangers. Many are daily added to the church.

Preached once more at the Foundery and earnestly exhorted the society to continue in the faith.

**Monday, July 11.**<sup>5</sup> Set out at 2:00 in hard rain which lashed all day. Yet I reached Hungerford by night, and Bristol the next day.

Both my preaching and exhortation was to convince them of unbelief. I left them examining themselves whether they be in the faith.<sup>6</sup>

**Wednesday, July 13.** A brother<sup>7</sup> accompanied me to Exeter, and twenty miles farther.

On **Friday, July 15**, I set out alone, and by wandering made it threescore miles to Bodmin. Both horse and rider were worked down so that I slept till 5:00 next morning without once waking. It cost me [2:161] four hours to reach Mitchell. My cholic made them seem four days. When I came in, I could not stand. Lay down and rose with fresh strength, which carried me to Redruth. I left it at 4:00, and wandered toward St. Ives. Passed the River Hayle<sup>8</sup> just before the sea came in. Two tinnerns met me first and wished me good luck in the name of the Lord. My next greeting was from the devil’s children, who shouted as I passed and pursued me like the men out of the tombs.<sup>9</sup> Met Thomas Williams. And then Mr. Shepherd,<sup>10</sup> and rejoiced in the Lord our strength and our redeemer.

Between 7:00 and 8:00 entered St. Ives. The boys and others continued their rough salutes for some time at brother Nance’s,<sup>11</sup> but I was too weary to regard them.

**Sunday, July 17.** I rose and forgot I had travelled from Newcastle. Spoke with some of this loving, simple people, who are as sheep in the midst of wolves. The priests stir up the people and make their minds evil affected toward the brethren.

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<sup>4</sup>The poetic epistle was directed to Lady Huntingdon—see MS Shorthand Verse, 10–24; and MS Epistles, 1–35. See also the personal letter CW wrote to Lady Huntingdon this day.

<sup>5</sup>For July 11–29, 1743, see also CW’s much more detailed journal letter, in *Journal Letters*, 153–73.

<sup>6</sup>See 2 Cor. 13:5.

<sup>7</sup>Identified as Captain Joseph Turner in the journal letter; Turner appears on a list of married men in the Bristol society in Jan. 1741; see *WHS* 4 (1903): 92–97.

<sup>8</sup>CW spells “Hall.”

<sup>9</sup>See Mark 5:2.

<sup>10</sup>Little is known of William Shepherd other than he travelled with JW and other Methodist preachers, assisting them, between 1743–48.

<sup>11</sup>John Nance (c. 1717–85) was an early Methodist in St. Ives, and later churchwarden there.

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Yet the sons of violence are much checked by the mayor,<sup>12</sup> an honest Presbyterian whom the Lord hath raised up.

Preached in the room at 8:00 on “Thou shalt call his name Jesus, for he shall . . .”<sup>13</sup> Found his presence sensibly among us. So did the opposers themselves.

Heard the rector<sup>14</sup> preach from Matthew 5:20, “Except your righteousness exceed the righteousness of the scribes and the Pharisees . . .” His application was downright railing at the new sect, as he calls us, those enemies to the Church, seducers, troublers, scribes and pharisees, hypocrites, etc. I had prayed for a quiet heart and a steady countenance, and my prayer was answered. My calmness was succeeded with strong consolation.

Rode to Towednack<sup>15</sup> with almost all the brethren. Mr. Hoblyn,<sup>16</sup> the curate, entertained [2:162] us with a curious discourse on “Beware of false prophets.”<sup>17</sup> I stood up over against him without two yards of the pulpit, and heard such a hodge-podge of railing, foolish lies as Satan himself might have been ashamed of. I had asked that my countenance might not alter, and was kept in perfect peace. The poor people behaved very decently, and all followed me to hear the true word of God.

I stayed and mildly told the preacher he had been misinformed. “No,” he answered, “it was all the truth.” “Sir,” said I, “if you believe what you preach, you believe a lie.” “You are a liar,” he replied. And I put him in mind of the great day [of judgment], testified my good will, and left him for the congregation.

God opened a door of utterance to preach the gospel of Christ Jesus. I know they found the difference between the chaff and the wheat.<sup>18</sup>

Returned to St. Ives and met the society. The enemies of the Lord melt away like wax, more and more being convinced that we speak as the oracles of God.

**Monday, July 18.** Went forth toward the market house. When we came to the place of battle the enemy was ready, set in array against us. I began the 100th Psalm,<sup>19</sup> and they beating their drum and shouting. I stood still and silent for some time, finding they would not receive my testimony. Then offered to speak to some of the most violent, but they stopped their ears and ran upon me crying I should not preach there, and catching at me to pull me down. They had no

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<sup>12</sup>The mayor of St. Ives in 1743 was Richard Harry (d. 1750).

<sup>13</sup>Matt. 1:21.

<sup>14</sup>Rev. William Symonds (c. 1684–1776) was rector of St. Ives, Lelant, Towednack, and Zennor, where much of the persecution that follows takes place.

<sup>15</sup>CW calls it “Wednock,” a slight misspelling of a common shortened version of the town name.

<sup>16</sup>Rev. William Hoblyn (1723–59) was curate to Rev. Symonds. CW spells “Hoblin.”

<sup>17</sup>Matt. 7:15.

<sup>18</sup>See Matt. 3:11–12.

<sup>19</sup>CW typically began with a hymn, so he likely means that he began singing a setting of Psalm 100.

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power to touch me. My soul was calm and fearless. I shook off the dust of my feet,<sup>20</sup> and walked leisurely through the thickest of them, who followed like ramping and roaring lions—but their mouth was shut.<sup>21</sup>

Met the mayor, who saluted me and threatened the rioters. Rejoiced at my lodgings [2:163] in our Almighty Jesus.

Preached on Kennegy Downs<sup>22</sup> to near a thousand tanners, who received the seed into honest and good hearts. While I pointed them to the Lamb of God,<sup>23</sup> many wept; and particularly the captain, general of the sinners, a man famous in his generation for acts of valour and violence, and his usual challenge to fight any six men with his club. He is known through the west by the title of “the destroyer.” This leopard will soon, I trust, lie down with the lamb.<sup>24</sup>

Expounded blind Bartimeus at St. Ives.<sup>25</sup> The power of the Lord overshadowed us, so that many of the opposers [were] humbled and some wept.

**Thursday, July 19.** From, “Surely shall one say, in the Lord I have righteousness and strength,”<sup>26</sup> I showed that the two inseparable marks of justification are peace and power over all sin.

Preached at Pool, in the heart of the tanners. A drunkard got within two or three yards, designing, I suppose, to push me down the hill. I was forced to break off my prayer and warn him to take care of himself. He attempted to lay hold on me, upon which a sinner cried, “Down with him!” In a moment the Philistines were upon him.<sup>27</sup> I strove to rescue him and besought them not to hurt him, otherwise I should go away and not preach at all. They were entreated for him and, taking him by the legs and arms, quietly handed him down from one to another, till they had put him without the congregation and he was heard no more.

I published the faithful, acceptable saying,<sup>28</sup> and their hearts seemed all bowed and opened to receive it. God, I nothing doubt, will call these a people who were not a people.<sup>29</sup> Our prayers for the opposers also began to be answered, for the fiercest of them came in the evening to the room and behaved with great decency. [2:164]

**Wednesday, July 20.** Spoke with more of the society, most of whom have the first knowledge of salvation, as their lives show.

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<sup>20</sup>See Matt. 10:14.

<sup>21</sup>See Dan. 6:22.

<sup>22</sup>Flat chalky plains about 6 miles west of Helston, five miles south of St. Ives. CW spells “Cannegy Downs.”

<sup>23</sup>John 1:29.

<sup>24</sup>See Isa. 11:6.

<sup>25</sup>Mark 10:46–52.

<sup>26</sup>Isa. 45:24.

<sup>27</sup>See Judg. 16:9.

<sup>28</sup>See 1 Tim. 1:15.

<sup>29</sup>See Hosea 2:23.

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A. G. tells me that faith (as he thinks), came by hearing yesterday morning. He has been a sinner above other sinners till, within this fortnight, God called, and made him equal with those who have borne the heat and burden of the day.<sup>30</sup>

Went to church, and heard the terrible chapter Jeremiah 7; enough, one would think, to make even this hardened people tremble. Never were words more applicable than those:

Stand in the gate of the Lord's house, and proclaim there this word, and say, Hear ye the word of the Lord, all ye of Judah, that enter into these gates to worship the Lord. Thus saith the Lord God of hosts, the God of Israel, Amend your ways and your doings, and I will cause you to dwell in this place. Trust ye not in lying words, saying, The temple of the Lord, The temple of the Lord, The temple of the Lord, are these! [...] Behold, ye trust in lying words that cannot profit. Will ye steal, murder, commit adultery, and swear falsely, [...] and come and stand before me in this place, [... truth is cut off from] their mouth."<sup>31</sup>

The second lesson, John 8, was as remarkable, showing the servants' treatment in that of the Master.

Preached at Zennor,<sup>32</sup> one of Mr. [William] Symonds's four parishes, which is come in, to a man, at the joyful news. Some hundreds of the poor people, with sincerity in their faces, received me saying, "The kingdom of heaven is at hand, repent ye, and believe the gospel."<sup>33</sup>

Began at 8:00 expounding the Good Samaritan,<sup>34</sup> but could not proceed for pity to the poor mockers. Many of them were present, but their mocking was over. I urged and besought, and with tears even compelled, them to come in. The Spirit made intercession for them, that God might [2:165] grant them repentance unto life.<sup>35</sup>

**Friday, July 22.** Rode in the rain to Morvah,<sup>36</sup> a settlement of tinnners, to whom I could preach nothing but gospel.

I had just named my text at St. Ives, "Comfort ye, comfort ye my people, saith your God,"<sup>37</sup> when an army of rebels broke in upon us, like those at Sheffield or Wednesbury. They began in a most outrageous manner, threatening to murder the people if they did not go out that moment. They broke the sconces, dashed the windows in pieces, tore away the shutters, benches, poor box, and all but the stone walls. I stood silently looking on, but my eyes were unto the Lord. They swore bitterly that I should not preach there again, which I disproved by immediately

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<sup>30</sup>See Matt. 20:12.

<sup>31</sup>Jer. 7:1–28.

<sup>32</sup>CW spells "Zunnor."

<sup>33</sup>Mark 1:15.

<sup>34</sup>Luke 10:29–37.

<sup>35</sup>See Rom. 8:27.

<sup>36</sup>CW spells "Morva."

<sup>37</sup>Isa. 40:1.



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telling them Christ died for them all. Several times they lifted up their hands and clubs to strike me, but a stronger arm restrained them. They beat and dragged the women about, particularly one of a great age, and trampled on them without mercy. The longer they stayed, and the more they raged, the more power I found from above. I bade the people stand still and see the salvation of God,<sup>38</sup> resolving to continue with them and see the end. In about an hour the word came, “Hitherto shalt thou come, and no farther.”<sup>39</sup> The ruffians fell to quarrelling among themselves, broke the town clerk’s (their captain’s) head,<sup>40</sup> and drove one another out of the room.

Having kept the field, we gave thanks for the victory, and in prayer the Spirit of glory rested upon us. Going home we met the mayor, with another justice, and went back to show him the havoc which the gentlemen and their mob had made. He commended our people as the most quiet, inoffensive subjects; encouraged us to sue for justice; said he was no more [2:166] secure from lawless violence than we; wished us success, and left us rejoicing in our strong Helper.

**Saturday, July 23.** I cannot find one of this people who fears those that can kill the body only.<sup>41</sup> It was next to a miracle that no more mischief was done last night. The gentlemen had resolved to destroy all within doors. They came upon us like roaring lions, headed by the mayor’s son.<sup>42</sup> He struck out the candles with his cane, and began courageously beating the women. I laid my hand upon him and said, “Sir, you appear like a gentleman. I desire you would show it by restraining these of the baser sort. Let them strike the men, or me, if they please, but not hurt poor helpless women and children.” He was turned into a friend immediately, and laboured the whole time to quiet his associates.

Some not of the society were likewise provoked to stand up for us, and put themselves between. Others held the ruffians, and made use of an art of flesh. Some of our bitterest enemies were brought over by the meekness of the sufferers, and malice of the persecutors. They had sworn to drive us all out and then take possession of our house, but their commission did not go so far. One was overheard saying to his companions as they were going off, “I think the desk was insured. We could not touch it, or come near it.”

I proved the devil a liar by preaching in the room at 5:00. The words I first met were Isaiah 54, “For thou shalt break forth on the right hand and on the left. [...] Fear not; for thou shalt not be ashamed. Neither be thou confounded, for thou shalt not be put to shame. [...] Behold, I have created the smith [...] and [...] the waster to destroy. No weapon that is formed against thee shall prosper ....”<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>38</sup>See Exod. 14:13.

<sup>39</sup>Job 38:11.

<sup>40</sup>In the journal letter the town clerk is identified as a Mr. Naul.

<sup>41</sup>See Luke 12:4.

<sup>42</sup>Richard Harry had one surviving son in 1750, William Harry; who is named in the journal letter.

<sup>43</sup>Isa. 54:3–17.

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Preached at Gwennap to near 2,000 hungry souls,<sup>44</sup> who devoured the word of reconciliation.<sup>45</sup> Half my audience were tanners from about Redruth, which I hear is *taken*. God has given us their hearts. If any man speak against us, say they, he deserves to be stoned.

Again expounded in the room at St. Ives,<sup>46</sup> and advised the society to possess their souls in patience,<sup>47</sup> not threatening, or even mentioning the late uproar, but suffering all things for the sake of Jesus Christ.

**Sunday, July 24.** At Towednack many listened to my description of our Lord's sufferings from Isaiah 53. After evening service I would have finished my discourse, but the minister's mob fell upon us, threatening and striking all they came near. They swore horribly they would be revenged on us, *for our making such a disturbance on the Sabbath day*, our taking the people from the church, and doing so much mischief continually. They assaulted us with sticks and stones, and endeavoured to pull me down. I bade them strike me, and spare the people. Many lifted up their hands and weapons, but were not permitted to touch me. My time is not yet come.<sup>48</sup>

We were now encompassed with an host of men bent on mischief, with no visible way of escape. But the Lord hath many ways. He touched the heart of one of our persecutors, who came up to me, took me by the hand, and besought me to depart in peace, assuring me he would preserve me from all violence. Another gentleman said the same. I thanked and told them I had an unseen Protector; but as I saw there was no door, I should not attempt preaching at this season.

I stayed some time to make my observation. Ten cowardly ruffians I saw upon one unarmed man, beating him with their clubs [2:168] till they felled him to the ground. Another escaped by the swiftness of his horse. My convoy they set upon for dissuading them, and forced him to fly for his life.

I walked on slowly with all the rabble behind. One of the brethren attended me.<sup>49</sup> The Lord hid us in the hollow of his hand. The pillar came between the Egyptians and us.<sup>50</sup> About 6:00 we rested at brother [John] Nance's. The enemy still pursued. I went out and looked them in the face, and they pulled off their hats and slunk away. The right hand of the Lord hath the preeminence, and therewith hath he got himself the victory.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>44</sup>The site of Gwennap Pit, where the Wesley brothers engaged in open air preaching to large crowds.

<sup>45</sup>He preached on the prodigal son, Luke 15:11–32.

<sup>46</sup>He preached on the woman with the issue of blood, Mark 5:25–34.

<sup>47</sup>See Luke 21:19.

<sup>48</sup>See John 7:6.

<sup>49</sup>This "brother" was Thomas Williams, according to the journal letter; CW's omission of the name in this later summary reflects the approaching break in his relationship with Williams.

<sup>50</sup>See Exod. 14:24–25.

<sup>51</sup>See Ps. 118:16.

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The society came. Our hearts danced for joy, and in our song did we praise him. We all longed for his last glorious appearing, and with an eye of faith saw the Son of man as coming in the clouds of heaven, to confess us before his Father and the holy angels.<sup>52</sup>

**Monday, July 25.** The mayor told us that the ministers<sup>53</sup> were the principle authors of all this evil, by continually representing us in their sermons as popish emissaries, and urging the enraged multitude to take all manner of ways to stop us. Their whole preaching is cursing and lies. Yet they modestly say my fellow labourer and I are the cause of all the disturbance. It is always the lamb that troubles the water.<sup>54</sup>

Yesterday we were stoned as popish incendiaries. Today it is our turn to have favour with the people. I preached on Kennegy Downs to a multitude of simple-hearted tanners: "Who is this that cometh from Edom, with dyed garments from Bozrah?"<sup>55</sup> They received the word with gladness and gratitude, wondered at the St. Ives people that could endeavour to hurt us for telling them such blessed truths.

At St. Ives I had warning of an approaching [2:169] trial, and was led to pray that the fierceness of men might be at this time restrained. I had scarce begun at the room when news was brought that all the gentlemen were coming to pull it down. We looked for them every moment. About half a dozen came first and threw eggs in at the windows. Others cast great stones to break what remained of the shutters. Others struck the women, and swore they would have the house down. I prayed and dismissed our people. John Nance was gone to the mayor. I followed to stop him, and met the mayor at the head of his posse.

At first hearing of the tumult he had started up, charged all he met to assist him, and was coming to the room, when I desired him to save himself the trouble of a walk in the rain. He behaved with great civility and resolution, declaring before all that none should hurt us. This disappointed and scattered our adversaries, and I met the society without molestation.

Glory be to God, that we are once more delivered out of mouth of these lions.<sup>56</sup> They were sure of accomplishing their design this night. But the Lord beheld their threatenings, and stilled the raging of the sea, the noise of its waves, and the madness of the people.<sup>57</sup>

**Tuesday, July 26.** Showed my brethren their calling from Matthew 10:22, "Ye shall be hated of all men for my name's sake. But he that endureth to the end, the same shall be saved."

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<sup>52</sup>See Rev. 3:5.

<sup>53</sup> I.e., William Symonds and William Hoblyn.

<sup>54</sup>This is possibly an echo of a comment attributed to Luther when he was summoned to a Roman tribunal for complaining about the practices of Tetzl. "I was the lamb that troubled the water the wolf was drinking."

<sup>55</sup>Isa. 63:1.

<sup>56</sup>See 2 Tim. 4:17.

<sup>57</sup>See Ps. 65:7.

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At the Pool one stopped and demanded my letters of orders. I marvelled at Mr. churchwarden's ignorance, gave him my Oxford sermon,<sup>58</sup> and rode on. He followed me with another gentleman, and vowed I would not preach in *his parish*. When I began, he shouted and hallooed, and put his hat to my mouth. We went to another place. He followed us like Shimei.<sup>59</sup> [2:170] I told him I should surely deliver my message, unless his master was stronger than mine. After much contention I walked away, with near two thousand people, most part tinnors, to the next parish, as my wise churchwarden supposed. He followed us another mile, and a warm walk he had of it, but left us on the borders of the neighbouring parish. However, to take my leave of it, I preached in what he called *his*.<sup>60</sup> In spite of Satan, the poor had the gospel preached to them,<sup>61</sup> and heard it joyfully. Great was their zeal and affection toward me. I marvel not that Satan should fight for his kingdom—it begins to shake in this place.

All was quiet at St. Ives, the mayor having declared his resolution to swear twenty new constables and suppress the rioters by force of arms. Their drum he has sent and seized. All the time I was preaching he stood at a little distance, to awe the rebels. He has set the whole town against him, by not giving us up to their fury. But he plainly told Mr. Hoblyn, the fire-and-faggot minister,<sup>62</sup> that he would not be perjured to gratify any man's malice. Us he informed that he had often heard Mr. Hoblyn say, "They ought to drive us away by blows, not arguments."

**Wednesday, July 27.** We could say from our hearts in the morning psalms, "If the Lord himself had not been on our side, when men rose up against us, they had swallowed us up quick, when they were so wrathfully displeased at us. But, praised be the Lord, who hath not given us over for a prey into their teeth, our soul is escaped ...."<sup>63</sup> The words also of the lesson gave us great comfort, but we wondered Mr. Symonds could read them: "If the world hate you, ye know it hated me before it hated you. [...] Remember the word that I said unto you, The servant is not greater than his Lord. If they have persecuted me, they will also [2:171] persecute you ...."<sup>64</sup>

**Thursday, July 28.** Dined at our brother Mitchell's, a confessor of the faith which once he persecuted.<sup>65</sup> Rode on to St. Hilary Downs.<sup>66</sup> Here the careless hearers were kept away by the

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<sup>58</sup>CW, *A Sermon Preached on April 4, 1742 before the University of Oxford* (London: Strahan, 1742). This is the sermon "Awake Thou that Sleepest."

<sup>59</sup>See 2 Sam. 16:5–6.

<sup>60</sup>He preached on Luke 14:15–24.

<sup>61</sup>See Matt. 11:5.

<sup>62</sup>*OED*: "With special reference to the practice of burning heretics alive."

<sup>63</sup>Ps. 124:5–6 (BCP).

<sup>64</sup>John 15:18–20.

<sup>65</sup>CW was clearly uncertain of this name; in the journal letter it appears as "Mr. Chillew." He likely means William Chenhall, an inn-keeper of St. Just, who was converted by JW around this time; see Richard Treffery Jr., *Memoir ... with some Account of Methodism in St. Just* (London, 1837), 16. In the journal letter CW mentions traveling in the countryside prior to this meal; and he would return to St. Just two days later, sensing the door was open to preach there.

<sup>66</sup>An open chalk upland near St. Hilary, Cornwall.

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enemy's threatenings. But near a thousand well-disposed tanners listened to the joyful tidings: "Comfort ye, comfort ye my people . . ." <sup>67</sup> That word of grace, "Thine iniquity is pardoned," <sup>68</sup> quite melted them down into tears, on all sides.

Began explaining the Beatitudes at St. Ives. <sup>69</sup> None interrupted. I don't despair but some of our persecutors themselves may yet, before we depart, receive that *damnable popish doctrine*, as Mr. Hoblyn calls it, of justification by faith only.

**Friday, July 29.** Rode to Morvah and invited the whole nation of tanners to Christ. <sup>70</sup> Took the names of several who were desirous of joining in a society. The adversaries have laboured with all their might to hinder this good work, but we doubt not our seeing a glorious church in this place.

**Saturday, July 30.** Believed a door would be opened this day and, in the strength of the Lord, set out for St. Just, a town of tanners four miles from Morvah, twelve from St. Ives. My text was, "The poor have the gospel preached unto them." <sup>71</sup> I showed, the sum thereof is, "Thine iniquity is pardoned. [...] God, for Christ's sake, hath forgiven thee." <sup>72</sup> The hearts of thousands seemed moved as the trees of the forest, by that wind which bloweth as it listeth. <sup>73</sup> The door stood wide open, and a multitude are just entering in. Here it is that I expect the largest harvest.

Rode four miles farther, to Sennen, <sup>74</sup> and took up our lodging at an hospitable farmer's.

Walked with our brother [William] Shepherd to the Land's End, and sang, on the extremest point of the rocks,

Come, Divine Immanuel, come,  
Take possession of thy home;  
Now thy mercy's wings expand,  
Stretch throughout the happy land. <sup>75</sup>

[2:172]

Rde back to St. Just and went from the evening service to a plain by the town, *made* for field preaching. I stood on a green bank, and cried, "All we like sheep have gone astray. We have turned everyone to his own way . . ." <sup>76</sup> About 2,000, mostly tanners, attended, no one

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<sup>67</sup>Isa. 40:1.

<sup>68</sup>Isa. 6:7.

<sup>69</sup>CW clearly used the Matthew account (5:1–12) in Mar. 1740, and likely also here; though the Luke account (6:20–23) is possible.

<sup>70</sup>Likely preaching on Matt. 11:28–29.

<sup>71</sup>Matt. 11:5.

<sup>72</sup>Isa. 6:7; then, Eph. 4:32.

<sup>73</sup>See John 3:8.

<sup>74</sup>CW spells "Zunning."

<sup>75</sup>CW, "Written at the Land's End," st. 1, *HSP* (1749), 1:329.

<sup>76</sup>Isa. 53:6.

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offering to stir or move an hand or tongue. The fields are white unto harvest.<sup>77</sup> Lord, send forth labourers!

Returned to our host at Sennen. He is just entering the kingdom with the harlots and publicans.<sup>78</sup> Went early to bed, having lost most of my senses through the constant fog in which we have laboured to breathe this fortnight.

**August 1743**

**Monday, August 1.** Saw a strange sight: the sun shining in Cornwall.

Expounded at 9:00 the song of Simeon.<sup>1</sup> Several very aged people were present, whom I left waiting for the consolation of Israel.

Took my leave of Kenneggy Downs in, “The blind receive their sight, and the lame walk ...”<sup>2</sup> Returned to St. Ives in peace. Showed the blessedness of persecution. Then exhorted the society to pray without ceasing for humility, the grace which draws all others after it.

**Tuesday, August 2.** Carried my tinnors from the Pool to the next parish. It was a glorious sight, the widespread multitude walking up the hill eager for the word of life, hungry and thirsty after righteousness! I met with that in St. Matthew, “A certain man had two sons ...”<sup>3</sup> These publicans know the time of their visitation, and bring forth fruit meet for repentance.<sup>4</sup>

An elderly man pressed us to turn into his house, near Camborne. It was a large old [2:173] country seat, and looked like the picture of English hospitality. When he could not prevail on us to stay longer, he would ride two or three miles on our way with us, and listened all the while to the word of reconciliation.

**Wednesday, August 3.** Took my leave of the dear people of Zennor in our Lord’s words, “Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life.”<sup>5</sup> With many tears they besought us to come again, and evidently showed that our labour has not been in vain in the Lord.

**Friday, August 5.** Preached my farewell sermon to our sorrowful brethren in Morvah. Many from St. Just increased the lamentation. I shall think it long till I see them again, but my comfort is that I leave them following after God.

Took our leave of the friendly mayor,<sup>6</sup> whom we acknowledged, under God, our deliverer from the hands of the unrighteous and cruel men. He expressed the same affection for us as from

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<sup>77</sup>See John 4:34.

<sup>78</sup>See Matt. 21:31–32.

<sup>1</sup>Luke 2:25–32.

<sup>2</sup>Matt. 11:5.

<sup>3</sup>Matt. 21:28–31.

<sup>4</sup>See Rom. 7:4.

<sup>5</sup>Rev. 2:10.

<sup>6</sup>I.e., Richard Harry.

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the beginning; listened to our report, for which our Lord gave us a fair opportunity; ordered his servant to light us home; in a word, received and sent away the messengers in peace.

**Saturday, August 6.** Rode to Gwennap, and with many words exhorted them to save themselves from this untoward generation.<sup>7</sup> They were exceedingly moved and very urgent with me to know when I should return, when my brother or any other would come. Surely they are a people ready prepared for the Lord.

Began at St. Ives, before the usual time, “And now brethren, I commend you to God ...”<sup>8</sup> Had no thought at the rioters, though the mayor had informed us they were so imprudent as to tell him to his face they would have a parting blow at us. As soon as we were met in society [2:174] at brother [John] Nance’s they came to the room, ready to pull it down. The drunken town clerk led his drunken army to our lodgings. But an invisible power held them from breaking in, or hurting our brother Nance, who went out to them and stood in the midst, till our King scattered the evil with his eyes,<sup>9</sup> and turned them back by the way that they came.

The great power of God was meantime among us, overturning all before it and melting our hearts into contrite, joyful love.

**Sunday, August 7.** At 4:00 I took my leave of the society with that apostolical prayer: “And the very God of peace sanctify you wholly ...”<sup>10</sup> Great peace was upon them all. Their prayers and tears of love I shall never forget. I nothing doubt, if I follow their faith, that I shall meet them in the new Jerusalem.

At 6:00 we left the lion’s den, with about twenty horse. Some would have us take a back way, but I would not go forth with haste or by flight, and therefore rode through the largest street, in the face of our enemies.

At 8:00 preached faith in Christ to many listening souls in Velling-Varine.<sup>11</sup> They received the word with surprising readiness. Their tears and hearty expressions of love convince me there is a work begun in their hearts.

Rode on rejoicing to Gwennap. As soon as I went forth I *saw* the end of my coming to Cornwall, and of Satan’s opposition. Such a company assembled as I have not seen, excepting some few times at Kennington. By their looks I perceived they all heard while I lifted up my voice like a trumpet and testified, “God sent his Son to be the Saviour of the world.”<sup>12</sup> The convincing Spirit was in the midst as I have seldom, if ever, known. Most of the gentry from Redruth [2:175] were just before me, and so hemmed in that they could not escape. For an hour my voice was heard by all, and reached farther than their outward ears. I am inclined to think that most present were convinced of righteousness or of sin. God hath now set before us an open

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<sup>7</sup>See Acts 2:40.

<sup>8</sup>Acts 20:32.

<sup>9</sup>See Prov. 20:8.

<sup>10</sup>1 Thess. 5:23.

<sup>11</sup>Verine is a family name in Cornwall, and “vellan” is used here to mean “mill.” Thus this may have been the name of a local mill, or a small hamlet surrounding such a mill. But no record of such has been found.

<sup>12</sup>1 John 4:14.

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door, and who shall be able to shut it?<sup>13</sup>

At 4:00 we rode on to Mitchell, my brother having summoned me to London to confer with the heads of the Moravians and predestinarians. We had near 300 miles to ride in five days. I was willing to undertake this labour for peace, though the journey was too great for us and our weary beasts, which we have used almost every day for these three months.

**Monday, August 8.** Took horse with brother [William] Shepherd at 4:00, and rode as far as Okehampton.

**Tuesday, August 9.** Breakfasted twelve miles short of Exeter, at an house where the maid and landlady's daughter were convinced by a few words spoken that they were lost unbelievers.

At Exeter I met Felix Farley. Called to about 1,000 sinners, mostly gentlemen and ladies, with some clergy, "Behold the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world."<sup>14</sup> God gave me favour in their eyes, although I did not prophesy smooth things.<sup>15</sup> I found, as soon as I began to speak, that the fear of the Lord was upon them. Many followed me to my inn to take their leave, and wished me good luck in the name of the Lord. I left one behind to keep up the awakening and pursued my journey alone to London.

**Wednesday, August 10.** Missed my way, and thereby met at Bridport a poor creature ready for the gospel. It was glad news indeed to her. When I said, "God sent me to you," she cried, "And did he, indeed?" and fell trembling and weeping. [2:176] We prayed together, and she seemed not far from the kingdom of God. She innocently asked me what church she should be of. I showed her the excellency of our own. Got to Blandford by night.<sup>16</sup>

**Thursday, August 11.** My landlord was greatly moved by my discourse, and owned he had never seen a Christian in his life. I trust he will obey the call at his eleventh hour.<sup>17</sup>

From 10:00 to 2:00 got with my sister Hall in Salisbury. She stands alone.<sup>18</sup> Every soul of his society has forsaken the ordinances of God, for which reason she refuses to belong to it. Gathered up a few more scattered sheep between this and London, not one of whom had ever before in their lives been spoken to by any man concerning their souls. God's people perish for lack of knowledge.<sup>19</sup> How can anyone be so devilish as to forbid our speaking to such outcasts, that they may be saved?

**Friday, August 12.** By 9:00 at night hardly reached the Foundery. Here I heard the Moravians would not be present at the conference. [August] Spangenberg indeed *said* he would,

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<sup>13</sup>See Rev. 3:8.

<sup>14</sup>John 1:29.

<sup>15</sup>See Isa. 30:10.

<sup>16</sup>I.e., Blandford Forum, Dorset.

<sup>17</sup>See Matt. 20:6.

<sup>18</sup>Westley Hall had recently left London, where he worked in Church of England settings, and was setting up an independent society in Salisbury. Martha (Wesley) Hall moved with him, but remained loyal to the Church.

<sup>19</sup>See Prov. 20:15.



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but immediately left England. My brother was come from Newcastle, John Nelson from Yorkshire,<sup>20</sup> and I from the Land's End, to good purpose.

**Sunday, August 14.** At the [West Street] chapel I expounded the Pharisee and Publican.<sup>21</sup> The two-edged sword slew some, I am persuaded.<sup>22</sup> Mr. Garden helped administer the sacrament.<sup>23</sup>

**Saturday, August 20.** Preached for the first time at the new chapel in Snowsfields.<sup>24</sup>

**Sunday, August 21.** My brother set out for Cornwall. I received supernatural strength to expound, after a restless night of pain.

**Tuesday, August 23.** The Spirit sealed those words on our hearts, while I expounded at Deptford, "The Spirit and the Bride say, Come."<sup>25</sup> Rode to Bexley and found my friend on a sickbed, but [2:177] full of peace and comfort.

**Wednesday, August 24.** While I was exhorting them at the Foundery to constant prayer, several bore witness of the great benefit they had found therein since our last meeting.

**Thursday, August 25.** Sent for to Mr. Piers, who lay a-dying in convulsions. Prayed for him first with a friend, who said, "If he is not dead already, he will not die now." Got to Bexley by 3:00. My brother had recovered his senses about the time we were praying for him. I was much comforted by his calm resignation, and in prayer saw, as it were, heaven opened, having seldom had greater freedom of access.

Hastened back to the Foundery, and preached without any natural strength. One testified his then receiving forgiveness.

**Friday, August 26.** Met Mr. [John] Robson, who is now quite removed from the hope of the gospel, denying both justification and sanctification.

The Lord answered for himself at the [West Street] chapel, while I spoke on the threefold office of the Spirit.<sup>26</sup> His power overshadowed the society also, and applied my exhortation to many hearts.

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<sup>20</sup>John Nelson (1707–74) was a stonemason from Birstall who heard JW preach while working on buildings in Moorfields, London in 1739, and was converted. On his return home he became an evangelist in the area around Birstall. In 1742 JW enrolled him as a regular traveling preacher, and he remained under appointment until his death.

<sup>21</sup>Luke 18:9–14. A shorthand sermon on this text has survived; see the sermon collection on this website (or CW, *Sermons*, 268–76).

<sup>22</sup>See Heb. 4:12.

<sup>23</sup>James Garden (d. 1773) was rector of Flixborough (1728ff.) and vicar of Burton upon Stather (1729ff.), both a couple of miles from Epworth.

<sup>24</sup>A chapel built for the use of Sayer Rudd, a Unitarian Baptist preacher, in the Snowsfields, just south of London Bridge. Rudd had left in 1742 and it was offered to the Methodists. See Martin, *Wesley's Chapels*, 49–50; and John Vickers, 'John Wesley's Third London Chapel', *WHS* 43 (1981): 59–61.

<sup>25</sup>Rev. 22:17; see CW's hymn of this passage from the time period: *HSP* (1742), 301–04.

<sup>26</sup>Possibly using John 16:5–15; on the Spirit's office to convict, convince, and guide.

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**Saturday, August 27.** Found the blessedness of mourning with them that mourn,<sup>27</sup> even the penitents, whom we met this evening at the Foundery.<sup>28</sup>

**Sunday, August 28.** At the chapel I discoursed on the Good Samaritan,<sup>29</sup> and we felt his oil and wine poured in. To many more he was made known in the breaking of bread.<sup>30</sup> Honest Howell Harris was partaker of our joy.

At the Foundery preached Christ, our prophet, priest, and king, in his own words, “The Spirit of the Lord God is upon me ....”<sup>31</sup> Strong words of consolation were given me now, and at the following lovefeast.

[2:178]

**[September 1743]**

**Friday, September 2.** Visited our brother Parker near death (as was supposed), but triumphing over it, through him that giveth us the victory.<sup>1</sup>

News was brought me again that Mr. Piers was dying. Next morning I found him more than conqueror in a mighty conflict he had for eight hours with all the powers of darkness. “Now,” he told me, “I shall not die, but live, and declare the works of the Lord.”

**Sunday, September 4.** Baptized a woman at the [West Street] chapel, before the service. She was in the spirit of heaviness, but God magnified his ordinance, and she was therein enlightened to see her sins forgiven.

**Wednesday, September 7.** Visited one struck down on Sunday night, both soul and body, but now rejoicing in the sense of God’s pardoning love.

Delivered my own soul by speaking my mind to a reviler and hater of God in his children.

Rejoiced to hear of Miss [Anne] Cowper’s release, and found my soul mounting up after her, all this and the following day.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>27</sup>See Rom. 12:15.

<sup>28</sup>The first formal penitent band list at the Foundery appears in July 1744; here we see the early roots of this grouping.

<sup>29</sup>Luke 10:29–37.

<sup>30</sup>See Luke 24:35.

<sup>31</sup>Luke 4:18.

<sup>1</sup>This may be James Parker, who appears as a married man in the Foundery Band Lists (1742–46) through Jan. 1744. A man of this name was buried in London Apr. 8, 1744. More likely, given CW’s parenthetical suggestion that he was not near death, it was John Parker, who continues to appear in these lists through 1745.

<sup>2</sup>Anne Cowper (1713–43) and her sister Frances (1716–42) were daughters of William Cowper Esq. (1695–1756), Knight Harbinger to George II (their mother Anne was deceased by 1741). The sisters lived in East Barnet, Hertfordshire. Shortly after he returned to London from Bristol in Sept. 1741, CW was instrumental in their evangelical conversion. The Cowpers were friends of Lord and Lady Huntingdon, so CW entrusted the sisters to her as their spiritual guide.

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**Saturday, September 10.** Went to the house of our late-translated sister, and rejoiced over the breathless temple of the Holy Ghost.<sup>3</sup>

**Sunday, September 11.** Met one of the Tabernacle,<sup>4</sup> thoroughly convinced of the necessity of holiness. Many more shall follow, if we tarry the Lord's leisure.

**Tuesday, September 13.** At Mr. Watkins's I told his pharisaical sister that she was then in a lost estate, and took my leave till she feels the wrath of God abiding on her.<sup>5</sup>

**Friday, September 16.** Received great power to invite poor sinners at the [West Street] chapel, while enforcing, "Come now, and let us reason together, saith the Lord."<sup>6</sup>

**Saturday, September 24.** Reproved one for swearing, among an army of porters and carmen. Spoke [2:179] to them for some time, till all were overpowered. Carried two away with me to the Foundery. They received my saying and books, and departed with their eyes full of tears, and their hearts of good desires.

**Wednesday, September 28.** At the [West Street] chapel preached "through this man forgiveness of sins,"<sup>7</sup> never with greater demonstration of the Spirit.

**October 1743**

**Saturday, October 1.** Rode out of town to Friend Hyam's country house, and had much useful conversation with him.<sup>1</sup>

**Wednesday, October 5.** Described the Laodicean spirit, with great convincing power.<sup>2</sup>

**Thursday, October 6.** Expounded wrestling Jacob at the Foundery,<sup>3</sup> and promised the society an extraordinary blessing if they would seek the Lord early the next morning.

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Lady Huntingdon cared for Frances through her death of consumption on May 27, 1742. And she was with Anne during her final illness; see Lady Huntingdon to CW, Sept. 1 and 7, 1743. See CW's hymn, "On The Death of Mrs. Anne Cowper," in *MSP* (1744), 3:285–88.

<sup>3</sup>See 1 Cor. 6:19.

<sup>4</sup>George Whitefield's preaching house in London.

<sup>5</sup>Samuel Watkins appears as a married man throughout the Foundery Band Lists (1742–46). His "pharisaical sister" was likely Margaret Watkins, who appears as a single woman in bands from 1742 through 1743, being placed in a "trial" status in her last listing and then disappearing from the lists.

<sup>6</sup>Isa. 1:18.

<sup>7</sup>Acts 13:38.

<sup>1</sup>Thomas Hyam (1682–1763) was a Quaker merchant with a shop near the Foundery. He is buried in Bunhill Fields. CW spells "Hiam."

<sup>2</sup>Rev. 3:14–22.

<sup>3</sup>Gen. 32:24–31.

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**Friday, October 7.** The Foundery was full, and God confirmed the word of his servant, while I explained, “All power is given unto me.”<sup>4</sup> Some received the *blessing* of the gospel, or forgiveness, and no one, I believe, was sent empty away.

At intercession a great awe of God fell upon us, and we trembled before the presence of the Lord, before the presence of the Lord of the whole earth.<sup>5</sup>

**Sunday, October 9.** Still he meets us in the place which he has chosen to record his name.<sup>6</sup> John Bray was one of my joyful congregation. It was a Passover indeed.

**Friday, October 14.** A mighty awakening power was with the word, “The blind receive their sight.”<sup>7</sup>

**Saturday, October 15.** At Short’s Gardens I preached, “It is of thy mercy only that we are not consumed,”<sup>8</sup> and we were all melted down by the sense of his infinite patience and long-suffering.<sup>9</sup>

**Sunday, October 16.** Administered the sacrament, [2:180] and found after it the usual power in prayer.

**Monday, October 17.** Set out to meet my brother at Nottingham.

**Wednesday, October 19.** Preached twice in Markfield church, and was much comforted with my brother Ellis and his little increasing flock.<sup>10</sup> Talked with several and took knowledge of them, that they have been with Jesus. One received the atonement after my word.

**Thursday, October 20.** Preached at Nottingham Cross and met the society we began half a year ago, increased from eleven to fifty. They have been sifted like wheat by their two potent enemies—stillness and predestination. One simple soul I was enabled to rescue. I discerned her at first sight by her form of humility and meekness. Her tone and posture spoke her a poor sinner. She confessed that the Germans had taken great pains to wean her from her bigotry to the Church and ordinances; that they laughed at her reading the Scriptures, at her praying, and fasting, and mourning after Christ. When she quoted any Scripture proof, they set it aside with, “O, that you must not mind. That is all head knowledge.” When she said she could not rest with such an evil heart, they answered, “O, you are not willing to be a poor sinner.” They were always happy, they told her; always easy, without trouble, care, or temptation of any kind. But all her sorrow, and poverty, and hunger, and heaviness through manifold temptations was bondage, and the law and works, and because she would not be a poor sinner.

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<sup>4</sup>Matt. 28:18.

<sup>5</sup>See Ps. 114:7.

<sup>6</sup>See Deut. 16:2–6.

<sup>7</sup>Matt. 11:5.

<sup>8</sup>Lam. 3:22.

<sup>9</sup>Short’s Gardens is a neighborhood near Covent Garden, just north of central London.

<sup>10</sup>Edward Ellis (1711–95) was a contemporary of CW at Westminster, before receiving his BA at Emmanuel College, Cambridge. He was currently rector of Markfield, Leicestershire, a friend of Lady Huntingdon, and initially supportive of the emerging revival.

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I prayed over her in faith, and scales fell from her eyes. She saw through them in a moment, and all their pretences to humility, liberty, and faith. The tempter left her for a season, and the angels came and ministered unto her.<sup>11</sup> [2:181]

This people I think are faster asleep than ever, through their having been once awakened. Satan could not have gained a greater advantage than by Mr. [Jacob] Rogers's misconduct.<sup>12</sup> How is the shepherd smitten and the flock scattered! Woe unto the man who does not continue in the ship! They only shall prosper that love Jerusalem.<sup>13</sup>

**Friday, October 21.** My brother came, delivered out of the mouth of the lion! He *looked* like a soldier of Christ—his clothes were torn to tatters. The mob of Wednesbury, Darlaston, and Walsall were permitted to take him by night out of the society house and carry him about several hours, with a full purpose to murder him. But his work is not finished, or he had now been with the souls under the altar.<sup>14</sup>

**Saturday, October 22.** The Spirit of prayer was given at the society, so that every soul was in some measure sensible of it.

**Sunday, October 23.** Went to church with Mr. [John] How (for they cannot yet wean him of that bigotry), and found a great spirit of mourning for the captive daughter of Sion.<sup>15</sup>

Met at the Cross the largest concourse of people (they told me) that had ever been seen there. They were more concerned than I had before observed them, and listened for an hour in fixed attention.

**Monday, October 24.** Had a blessing at parting from the society. I set out at 5:00, and by night came weary and wet to Birmingham.

**Tuesday, October 25.** Much encouraged by the faith and patience of our brethren from Wednesbury, who gave me some particulars of the late persecution.<sup>16</sup> My brother, they told me, had been dragged about for three hours by the mob [2:182] of three towns. Those of Wednesbury and Darlaston were disarmed by a few words he spoke, and thenceforward laboured to screen him from their old allies of Walsall; till they were overpowered themselves, and most of them knocked down. Three of the brethren and one young woman kept near him all the time, striving to intercept the blows. Sometimes he was almost borne upon their shoulders through the violence of the multitude, who struck at him continually that he might fall. And, if he had once been down, he would have rose no more. Many blows he escaped through his lowness of stature, and his enemies were struck down by them. His feet never once slipped, for in their hands the

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<sup>11</sup>See Matt. 4:11.

<sup>12</sup>See note on entry for Apr. 16, 1739.

<sup>13</sup>See Ps. 122:6.

<sup>14</sup>See Rev. 6:9.

<sup>15</sup>See Isa. 52:2.

<sup>16</sup>For more details and names of those involved, see JW's account of what follows in *Journal*, Oct. 20–21, 1743, *Works*, 19:343–49; and in *Modern Christianity*, §34, *Works*, 9:155–58.

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angels bore him up.<sup>17</sup>

The ruffians ran about asking, “Which is the minister?” and lost, and found, and lost him again. That hand which struck the men of Sodom and the Syrians blind, withheld or turned them aside. Some cried, “Drown him! throw him into a pit!” Some, “Hang him up upon the next tree!” Others, “Away with him! away with him!” and some did him the infinite honour to cry, in express terms, “Crucify him!” One and all said, “Kill him!” But they were not agreed what death to put him to. In Walsall several said, “Carry him out of the town. Don’t kill him here. Don’t bring his blood upon us!”

To some who cried, “Strip him, tear off his clothes!” he mildly answered, “That you need not do. I will give you my clothes, if you want them.” In the intervals of tumult, he spoke, the brethren assured me, with as much composure and correctness as he used to do in their societies. The Spirit of glory rested on him. As many as he spoke to, or but laid his hand on, he turned into friends. He did not wonder (as he himself [2:183] told me) that the martyrs should feel no pain in the flames, for none of their blows hurt him, although one was so violent as to make his nose and mouth gush out with blood.

At the first justice’s whither they carried him, one of his poor accusers mentioned the only crime alleged against him: “Sir, it is a downright shame. He makes people rise at 5:00 in the morning to sing psalms.” Another said, “To be plain sir, if I must speak the truth, all the fault I find with him is that he preaches better than our parsons.” Mr. justice did not care to meddle with him, or with those who were murdering an innocent man at his worship’s door. A second justice in like manner remanded him to the mob. The mayor of Walsall refused him protection when entering his house, for fear the mob should pull it down. Just as he was within another door, one fastened his hand in his hair, and drew him backward, almost to the ground. A brother, with the peril of his life, fell on the man’s hand, and bit it, which forced him to loose his hold.

The instrument of his deliverance at last was the ringleader of the mob, the greatest profligate in the country. He carried him through the river upon his shoulders. A sister they threw into it. Another’s arm they broke. No further hurt was done our people, but many of our enemies were sadly wounded.

The minister of Darlaston sent my brother word he would join with him in any measures to punish the rioters;<sup>18</sup> that the meek behaviour of our people, and their constancy in suffering, convinced him the counsel was of God; and he wished all his parish Methodists.

They pressed me to come and preach to them [2:184] in the midst of the town. This was the sign agreed on betwixt my brother and me. If they asked me, I was to go. Accordingly, we set out in the dark, and came to Francis Ward’s, whence my brother had been carried last Thursday night. I found the brethren assembled, standing fast in one mind and spirit, in nothing terrified by their adversaries. The word given me for them was, “Watch ye, stand fast in the faith, quit yourselves like men, be strong.”<sup>19</sup> Jesus was in the midst, and covered us with a covering of his Spirit. Never was I before in so primitive an assembly. We sang praises lustily,

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<sup>17</sup>See Matt. 4:6.

<sup>18</sup>Rev. John Rowley (1691–1756) was currently rector at Darlaston.

<sup>19</sup>1 Cor. 16:13.

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and with a good courage, and could all set to our seal to the truth of our Lord's saying, "Blessed are they that are persecuted for righteousness' sake."<sup>20</sup>

We laid us down and slept, and rose up again, for the Lord sustained us. Assembled before day to sing hymns to Christ as God. As soon as it was light, walked down [to] the town and preached boldly on Rev. 2:10: "Fear none of those things which thou shalt suffer. Behold, the devil shall cast some of you into prison, that ye may be tried; and ye shall have tribulation ten days. Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life." It was a most glorious time. Our souls were satisfied as with marrow and fatness,<sup>21</sup> and we longed for our Lord's coming to confess us before his Father and his holy angels.<sup>22</sup>

We now understood what it was to receive the word in much affliction, and yet with joy in the Holy Ghost.<sup>23</sup>

Took several new members into the society; and among them the young man whose arm was broke and (upon trial) Munchin, the late [2:185] captain of the mob. He has been constantly under the word since he rescued my brother. I asked him what he thought of him. "Think of him!" said he: "That he is a man of God, and God was on his side when so many of us could not kill one man."

We rode through his town unmolested, to Birmingham, where I preached and one received faith. Rode on to Evesham. Found John Nelson preaching. Confirmed his word, and prayed in the Spirit.

**Thursday, October 27.** Preached at 5:00; then read prayers, and preached twice at Quinton; and the fourth time in Evesham, with much life and liberty.

**Friday, October 28.** Called on the eager, loving souls at Gotherington,<sup>24</sup> "Behold the Lamb of God, who taketh away the sin of the world!"<sup>25</sup> Again at Cirencester, and slept at a well-disposed widow's.

**Saturday, October 29.** Came once more to Bristol, where I have spent but one day these six months.

**Sunday, October 30.** Rejoiced among our colliers, who received the word as at the beginning, "with power, and the Holy Ghost, and in much assurance."<sup>26</sup>

Preached in the Horsefair on "The Spirit and the bride say come,"<sup>27</sup> and gave the society an account of the late persecution. God sent a gracious rain upon his inheritance, and refreshed our weary souls.

**Monday, October 31.** Set out at 5:00 for Wales, commended to the grace of God.

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<sup>20</sup>Matt. 5:10.

<sup>21</sup>See Ps. 63:5.

<sup>22</sup>See Rev. 3:5.

<sup>23</sup>See 1 Thess. 1:6.

<sup>24</sup>CW spells "Gutherton."

<sup>25</sup>John 1:29.

<sup>26</sup>1 Thess. 1:5.

<sup>27</sup>Rev. 22:17.

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Preached in the way at farmer Whitchurch's.<sup>28</sup> When we came to the Passage, the boatmen refused to venture over in such a storm. We waited till 4:00, then committed ourselves to him whom the winds [2:186] and seas obey, and embarked with Mr. Ashton and faithful Felix Farley. The rest of the passengers stayed on the safe side.

The waves of the sea were mighty, and raged horribly. When, with much toiling, we were come near the opposite shore, the storm caught the vessel. Our sails were backed and we driving full on the Black Rock, where thirty-two persons lost their lives a few weeks since. But the answer of prayer, after much fatigue, brought us to the haven. O that men would therefore praise the Lord for his goodness, and declare the wonders which he doeth for the children of men!<sup>29</sup>

It was dark when we landed. However, we had a good guide (the devil is no darkness to him) who conducted us through the heavy rain, to the Rock and Fountain.<sup>30</sup> I spoke a word in season to the poor young women servants, who dwell as in the confines of hell and in the midst of human devils.

**November 1743**

**Tuesday, November 1.** Took horse some hours before day, and by 10:00 reached Cardiff. The gentlemen had threatened great things if I ever came here again. I called in the midst of them, "Is it nothing to you, all ye that pass by? . . ."<sup>1</sup> The love of Christ constrained me to speak and then to hear. The word was irresistible. After it, one of our most violent opposers took me by the hand and pressed me to come to see him. The rest were equally civil all the time I stayed. Only one drunkard made some disturbance, but when sober sent to ask my pardon.

The voice of praise and thanksgiving was in the society. Many are grown in grace and in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus.<sup>2</sup>

Passed an hour with the wife and daughter of the chief bailiff, who are waiting [2:187] as little children for the kingdom of God.

**Wednesday, November 2.** Declared in the castle yard, "The Son of man is come to seek and to save that which was lost."<sup>3</sup> At noon my commission was still, "Comfort ye, comfort ye my people."<sup>4</sup> I find the truth of Mr. [John] Hodges's observation, "The gospel makes way for the law."

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<sup>28</sup>Likely James Whitechurch, who appears on a married men's band list for Bristol in Jan. 1741.

<sup>29</sup>See Isa. 8:18.

<sup>30</sup>An inn about 2 miles inland from Sudbrook, Monmouthshire, where the ferry docked.

<sup>1</sup>Lam. 1:12ff.

<sup>2</sup>See 2 Pet. 3:18.

<sup>3</sup>Luke 19:10.

<sup>4</sup>Isa. 40:1.



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**Thursday, November 3.** Read prayers and preached at Wenvoe, then in our old chapel at the castle, and rejoiced with my dear friends in sure and steadfast hope of the glory of God.<sup>5</sup>

**Friday, November 4.** Prayed with the society at 5:00. Preached at 7:00. Rode back to Cardiff and joined in fervent intercession. Preached faith in the blood of Christ to the poor weeping prisoners. Made a collection for them, and distributed books. Besought them at the room to be reconciled to God,<sup>6</sup> and the power of the Lord bore all before it.

**Saturday, November 5.** Took a sweet leave of the brethren. Got to the Passage by 10:00, but the boatman, notwithstanding our entreaties, could not be persuaded to pass in that weather.

**Sunday, November 6.** Took boat at 9:00, nothing doubting. The floods lifted up their voice,<sup>7</sup> but faith saw Jesus walking on the water, and heard his voice, "It is I, be not afraid."<sup>8</sup> In eight minutes were brought safe to land by him who rides the whirlwind.<sup>9</sup>

At 2:00 preached to the colliers from, "Said I not unto thee, If thou wouldst believe, thou shouldst see the glory of God?"<sup>10</sup> Their spirit bore me up, as on eagles' wings.<sup>11</sup> We all rejoiced in our strong salvation.

**Sunday, November 13.** In the word, and sacrament, and lovefeast the Lord showed that the efficacy of his ministration doth not depend on the life or holiness of the minister. [2:188]

**Wednesday, November 16.** Preached in Bath on my way to Cirencester. There the Lord gave testimony to his word, "I have blotted out as a thick cloud thy transgressions."<sup>12</sup>

Preached at Gotherington, Evesham, Quinton, Oxford; and on **Thursday, November 24**, at the Foundry.

**Sunday, November 26.** Gave the sacrament to about 1,000 of the society, and poured out our souls in prayer.

**Wednesday, November 30.** Was greatly assisted to declare, "The Son of man came to seek and to save that which was lost."<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>The Jones family at Fonmon Castle. See Heb. 6:19.

<sup>6</sup>2 Cor. 5:20.

<sup>7</sup>See Ps. 93:3.

<sup>8</sup>Matt. 14:27; Mark 6:50; John 6:20.

<sup>9</sup>See Job 38:1.

<sup>10</sup>John 11:40.

<sup>11</sup>See Isa. 40:31.

<sup>12</sup>Isa. 44:22.

<sup>13</sup>Luke 19:10.

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December 1743

**Thursday, December 8.** Called on Mr. Witham,<sup>1</sup> given over by his physicians, trembling at the approach of the king of terrors,<sup>2</sup> and catching at every word that might flatter his hopes of life.

**Friday, December 9.** Prayed with him again, and found him somewhat more resigned.

**Monday, December 19.** Mostly employed for some days past in comforting an afflicted friend, whose son lay dying of the smallpox.<sup>3</sup>

**Tuesday, December 20.** Prayed in great faith for Mr. Witham, the time of whose departure draws nigher and nigher.

**Friday, December 23.** At half-hour past 7:00 in the evening he broke out, “Now I am delivered! I have found the thing I sought. I know what the blood of sprinkling means!” He called his family and friends to rejoice with him. Some of his last words, ““Why tarry the wheels of his chariots.”<sup>4</sup> ‘I know that my Redeemer liveth.’<sup>5</sup> Just at 12:00 this night my spirit will return to him.” While the clock was striking 12:00, he died like a [2:189] lamb with that word, “Come, Lord Jesus!”<sup>6</sup>

**Saturday, December 24.** Called on Friend Keene’s son, just as his wife had told her dream that I should come that morning.<sup>7</sup> They both seem truly simple of heart. Our meeting was not in vain. Rode in the afternoon to Bexley.

**Christmas Day.** Heard that one of our fiercest persecutors, who had cut his throat and lay for dead for some hours, was miraculously revived, as a monument of divine mercy. Many of his companions have been hurried into eternity while fighting against God. He is now seeking him whom once he persecuted.<sup>8</sup> Was confounded at the sight of me, much more by my comfortable words, and a small alms. He could only thank me with his tears.

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<sup>1</sup>This is Thomas Witham (1690–1743), the husband of Elizabeth (Harrison) Witham (d. 1747), and father of Thomas and Sarah Witham. See the hymn CW sent Elizabeth after Thomas’s death in CW to Witham, Jan. 16, 1746; and *HSP* (1749), 2:195–96.

<sup>2</sup>See Job 18:14.

<sup>3</sup>The friend was Lady Huntingdon. Her second-oldest son, George (1730–43), died of smallpox and was buried at Westminster Abby on Dec. 20. Both CW and JW apparently attended the service; see Ian Scruton, ‘Were John Wesley and Charles Wesley at George Hastings’ Funeral?’ *The Chapels Society Newsletter*, 79 (2022), 15–17.

<sup>4</sup>Judg. 5:28.

<sup>5</sup>Job 19:25.

<sup>6</sup>Rev. 22:20.

<sup>7</sup>James Keene (b. 1718), son of Thomas Keene, married Ann Parkin (b. 1719) in Nov. 1741.

<sup>8</sup>See Gal. 1:23.

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Read prayers and preached, “Glory be to God in the highest,”<sup>9</sup> to a people who now have ears to hear.

**Monday, December 26.** Spent four days between Wilmington, Welling, and Bexley, preaching the gospel.

**Friday, December 30.** Called on a friend, near death yet unprepared for it, and faithfully, not fashionably, told him his condition.

**Saturday, December 31.** Visited, at his desire, an opposer of the truth till softened by the approach of death, and showed him his want of a Saviour. He now expresses incredible eagerness for redemption in the blood of Jesus.

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<sup>9</sup>Luke 2:14.

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[2:190]

January 1744

**Sunday, January 1, 1744.** Rode to Bexley and expounded the character of wisdom, Proverbs 3. God, as it seems, is turning the heart of this people back again. A surprising change I find in walking the streets. Nothing but kind salutations, instead of my usual reception with stones and curses.

**Tuesday, January 3.** Triumphed with an old disciple of fourscore, dying in the faith.

**Thursday, January 5.** Finished H.'s account of the iniquitous Synod of Dort;<sup>1</sup> iniquitous even in the judgment of a predestinarian. God deliver me from their tender mercies!

**Sunday, January 8.** At the [West Street] chapel explained and applied the barren fig-tree.<sup>2</sup> The convincing Spirit was present. A company of players roared mightily for their master, but could not stop the course of the word.

**Sunday, January 15.** My text was, "Rejoice oh daughter of Sion, behold thy King cometh."<sup>3</sup> His near approach did gladden our hearts, and in the sacrament our joy was increased.

**Saturday, January 21.** Preached the gospel in Snowsfields, with much contention, and continued in prayer and thanksgiving till our enemies quitted the field.

**Sunday, January 22.** Expounded the parable of the sower,<sup>4</sup> God applying his own word. Exhorted the bands to join in the great work which God is working in our days.

**Sunday, January 29.** Assisted my brother and Mr. [James] Garden in administering the sacrament to almost our whole society of above 2,000.

**Monday, January 30.** Set out with our brother Webb for Newcastle, commended to the grace of God by all the brethren.<sup>5</sup> By Wednesday afternoon we found our brother [James] Jones at Birmingham.

[2:191]

February 1744

**Wednesday, February 1.** A great door is opened in this country, but there are many adversaries. At Dudley our preacher was cruelly abused by a mob of papists and Dissenters (the latter stirred up by Mr. Whitting, their minister). Probably he would have been murdered, but for an honest Quaker who helped him to escape disguised with his broad hat and coat. Staffordshire at present seems the seat of war.

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<sup>1</sup>CW was almost certainly reading John Hales's (unsympathetic) letters describing the sessions of the Synod of Dort, which were published posthumously as *Golden Remains of the ever Memorable Mr. John Hales* (London: T. Garthwait, 1659).

<sup>2</sup>Luke 13:6–9.

<sup>3</sup>Zech. 9:9.

<sup>4</sup>Matt. 13:3–23.

<sup>5</sup>The person travelling with CW, as an aide, was John Webb, who appears as a married man in the Foundry Band Lists (1742–46) beginning Mar. 1743.

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**Thursday, February 2.** Set out with brother Webb for Wednesbury, the field of battle. Met with variety of greetings on the road. I cried in the street, “Behold the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world.”<sup>1</sup> Several of our persecutors stood at a distance, but none offered to make the least disturbance.

Walked through the blessings and curses of the people (but the blessings exceeded) to visit Mr. Egginton’s widow.<sup>2</sup> Never have I observed such bitterness as in these opposers, yet they had no power to touch us.

**Friday, February 3.** Preached and prayed with the society and beat down the fiery self-avenging spirit of resistance which was rising in some to disgrace, if not destroy, the work of God.

Preached unmolested within sight of Dudley. Many Shimeis *called* after me, and that was all.<sup>3</sup> Waited on the friendly Captain Dudley,<sup>4</sup> who has stood in the gap at Tipton Green<sup>5</sup> and kept off persecution while it raged all around. Returned in peace through the enemy’s country.

On Tuesday next (they have given it out that) they will come with all the rabble of the country, and pull down the houses and destroy all the goods of our poor brethren. One would think there was no king in Israel.<sup>6</sup> There is certainly no magistrate who will put them to shame in anything. Mr. Constable offered to make oath of their lives being in danger.<sup>7</sup> But the [2:192] justice refused it, saying he could do nothing. Others of our complaining brethren met with the same redress, being driven away with revilings. The magistrates do not themselves tear off their clothes and beat them; they only stand by and see others do it. One of them told Mr. [James] Jones it was the best thing the mob ever did, so to treat the Methodists, and he would himself give £5 to drive them out of the country. Another, when our brother [Francis] Ward begged his protection, himself delivered him up to the mercy of the mob (who had half murdered him before), threw his hat round his head, and cried “Hussa, boys! Well done! Stand up for the Church!”

No wonder that the mob, so encouraged, should say and believe that there is no law for Methodists. Accordingly like outlaws they treat them, breaking their houses and taking away their goods at pleasure, extorting money from those that have it, and cruelly beating those that have not.

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<sup>1</sup>John 1:29.

<sup>2</sup>Rev. Edward Egginton (c. 1693–1744) was vicar of Wednesbury from 1719 to his death on Feb. 23, 1744. He had welcomed JW to preach there the previous year; see JW, *Journal*, Jan. 5–12, 1743, *Works*, 19:310–11. His widow was Miriam (Dudley) Egginton (1702–48).

<sup>3</sup>See 2 Sam. 16:5–6.

<sup>4</sup>This was likely Edward Dudley, of Tipton Green Hall (c. 1690–1746); or his son Thomas Dudley (1716–58).

<sup>5</sup>CW spells “Tippen.”

<sup>6</sup>See Judg. 17:6.

<sup>7</sup>Joshua Constable, gun-locksmith of Darlaston, and his wife had suffered at the hands of a mob earlier this year; see JW, *Journal*, Jan. 23–30, 1744, *Works*, 20:10–11.

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The poor people from Darlaston are the greatest sufferers. The rioters lately summoned them by proclamation of the crier to come to such a public house and set to their hands that they would never hear the Methodist preachers, or they should have their houses pulled down. About one hundred they compelled by blows. Notwithstanding which, both then and at other times, they have broken into their houses, robbing and destroying. And still if they hear any of them singing or reading the Scripture, they force open their doors by day and by night and spoil and beat them with all impunity. They watch their houses, that none may go to Wednesbury; and scarce a man or woman but has been knocked down in attempting it.

Their enemies are the basest of the people, who will not work themselves, but live, more to their inclination, on the labours of others. I wonder the gentlemen who set them on are so short-sighted as not to see that the little all of our poor [2:193] colliers will soon be devoured, and then these sons of rapine will turn upon their foolish masters who have raised a devil they cannot lay.

**Saturday, February 4.** Discoursed from Isaiah 54:17, “No weapon that is formed against thee shall prosper.” This promise shall be fulfilled in our day. Spoke with those of our brethren who have this world’s goods, and found them entirely resigned to the will of God. All thoughts of resistance are over, blessed be the Lord, and the chief of them said unto me, “Naked came I into the world, and I can but go naked out of it.”<sup>8</sup> They are resolved by the grace of God to follow my advice and suffer all things. Only I would have had them go round again to the justices and make information of their danger. Mr. Constable said he had just been with one of them who redressed him with bitter reproaches, that the rest are of the same mind and cannot plead ignorance of the intended riot, because the rioters have had the boldness to set up papers in the towns (particularly Walsall) inviting all the *country to rise with them, and destroy the Methodists*.

At noon returned to Birmingham, having continued two days in the lion’s den unhurt.

**Sunday, February 5.** Preached in the Bull Ring,<sup>9</sup> close to the church, where they rang the bells, threw dirt and stones all the time. None struck me till I had finished my discourse. Then I got several blows from the mob that followed me, till we took shelter at a sister’s. Received much strength and comfort with the sacrament.

Preached again in Wednesbury to a large congregation, many of whom come to hear the word at the peril of their lives. I encouraged them from Isa. 51, “Awake, awake put on strength, O arm of the Lord . . .”<sup>10</sup> Here, and in the society our Captain, we found, doth not send us a warfare at our own charge. [2:194]

**Monday, February 6.** We commended each other to the divine protection and at 5:00 I set out for Nottingham. Our way lay through Walsall, the enemy’s head-quarters. I would rather have gone a mile another way. Entering the place, we heard one hallooing with might and main, and a great noise followed, as if the town had taken the alarm. I cannot say the sound was very musical in my ears, but I looked up and rode onward. The noise was made by a gentleman

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<sup>8</sup>Job 1:21.

<sup>9</sup>A market area in Birmingham that took its name from earlier use for bull-baiting.

<sup>10</sup>Isa. 51:9ff.

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huntsman, a bitter enemy of ours. We fell in with him and his dogs, it being just day-break, and passed for very good sportsmen. Brother [John] Webb would needs ride through the marketplace, to see the flag and paper our enemies had set up—and to show his courage. Had he returned with a broken head, I should not have greatly pitied him. By 6:00 our Lord brought us safe to Nottingham.

Met the society, on whom he laid the burden of our persecuted brethren.

Here also the storm is begun. Our brethren are violently driven from their place of meeting, pelted in the streets, etc., and mocked with vain promises of justice by the very men who underhand encourage the rioters. An honest Quaker has hardly restrained some of the brethren from resisting evil. But henceforth, I hope, they will meekly turn the other cheek.<sup>11</sup>

**Shrove-Tuesday, February 7.** Waked in great heaviness, which continued all day, for our poor suffering brethren; yet with strong confidence that the Lord will appear in their behalf. Joined the society at 5:00 in fervent intercession for them, and in preaching both administered and received comfort.

Sent my humble thanks to the mayor for his *offer* of assistance.<sup>12</sup> He pities our brethren, and *would* defend them, but who dares do justice to a Christian? We are content [2:195] to wait for it till the great day of retribution.

At church, the psalms began, “Plead thou my cause, O Lord, with them that strive with me and fight thou against them that fight against me. Lay hand upon the shield and buckler and stand up to help me. Bring forth the spear and stop the way against them that persecute me. Say unto my soul, I am thy salvation.”<sup>13</sup>

We continued in this prayer with the society, and had great fellowship with the sufferers.

At the brethren’s desire I began preaching in the marketplace. The holiday folk broke in among the hearers. I gave notice I should preach at the Cross just by the mayor’s. In the way the mob assaulted us with dirt and stones, making us as the filth and offscouring of all things.<sup>14</sup> My soul was caught up, and kept in calm recollection. I knocked at the mayor’s door. He let me in himself, gave us good words, threatened the rabble, and led me to his fore-door, where the people were waiting. I walked up to the Cross, and called them to repent. They would not receive my testimony; were very outrageous, yet not permitted to hurt me. The mayor at the same time passed by us laughing. Just such protection I expected!

After fighting with wild beasts for near half an hour, I went down into the thickest of them, who started back and left an open way for me to the mayor’s house. Mrs. Mayoress led us through her house with great courtesy and compassion. The mob pursued us with stones as before. John Webb and I were strangers to the town, but went straight forward and entered an house prepared for us. The woman received us and shut the door, and spoke with authority to the mob so that they began to melt away. There the brethren found and conducted us to our friendly Quaker’s. We betook ourselves to prayer for our fellow-sufferers in Staffordshire, who have not

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<sup>11</sup>See Matt. 5:39–40.

<sup>12</sup>John Hornbuckle was currently mayor of Nottingham.

<sup>13</sup>Ps. 35:1–3 (BCP).

<sup>14</sup>See 1 Cor. 4:13.

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been out of our thoughts [2:196] the whole day.

I expounded the Beatitudes, and dwelt upon the last.<sup>15</sup> Never have I been more assisted. I rejoiced with our brethren in the fires.

**Wednesday, February 8.** I cannot help observing from what passed yesterday that we ought to wait upon God for direction when and where to preach much more than we do. A false courage, which is fear of shame, may otherwise betray us into unnecessary dangers. Farther we may learn not to lean on that broken reed, human protection. To seek redress by law, unless we are very sure of obtaining it, is only to discover our own weakness and irritate our opposers. What justice can be expected from the chief men of this place if, as I am informed, they are mostly Arian Presbyterians?

I exhorted the brethren to continue in the faith, and through much persecution, to enter the kingdom.<sup>16</sup> Four were missing; the rest strengthened by their sufferings.

Called at brother Sant's and found him just brought home for dead.<sup>17</sup> The mob had knocked him down and would probably have murdered him, but for a little child who, being shut out of doors, alarmed the family by his cries.

It was some time before he came to himself, having been struck on the temples by a large log of wood. We gave thanks to God for his deliverance, and continued in prayer and conference till midnight.

**Thursday, February 9.** Our messenger returned from Lichfield with such an account as I looked for. He had met our brother [Francis] Ward, fled thither for refuge. The enemy had gone to the length of his chain. All the rabble of the county was gathered together yesterday and laid waste all before them. A note I received from two of the sufferers, whose loss amounts to about £200. My heart rejoiced in the [2:197] great grace which was given them—for not one resisted evil, but they took joyfully the spoiling of their goods. We gave God the glory that Satan was not suffered to touch their lives. They have lost all besides, and rejoice with joy unspeakable.

By 5:00 in the evening we came to Sheffield. I marvelled what was come to them, that we had not one stone in riding through all the town. Peace was in all their borders and has been for some time. The brethren are not slack during this rest, but walk in the fear of God. I preached on "We are come to Mount Sion."<sup>18</sup> The power of the Lord was remarkably present, but the power of the adversary quite restrained.

At 9:00 passed through Thorpe [Hesley]. Asked my companion, "Where are the pretty wild creatures that were for braining me and my horse the last time I came this way?" He told me they had lost their spirit with their captain, a woman, the bitterest of them all, who died lately in horrible despair. This quite terrified our enemies. Her daughter is now a believer, and several others in the place. Nay, they have even got a society among them.

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<sup>15</sup>CW clearly used the Matthew account (5:1–12) in Mar. 1740, and likely also here; the last beatitude would be vs. 11: "Blessed are ye when men shall revile you ...."

<sup>16</sup>See Acts 14:22.

<sup>17</sup>In his entry for Mar. 20 CW describes Daniel Sant as a craftsman of metal ("founder") in Nottingham, who let the Methodists meet in his place.

<sup>18</sup>Heb. 12:22.



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Preached at Barley Hall, and found the great power and blessing of God with the church in that house.<sup>19</sup> One of my host's sons attended me to Birstall.

**Saturday, February 11.** Preached at 5:00 from "I am come that they might have life, and that they might have it more abundantly."<sup>20</sup> We were greatly comforted by our mutual faith. The little flock increases both in grace and number. The Lord fights for Israel this day against the deceitful workers.<sup>21</sup> I was glad to hear of one of our English Brethren,<sup>22</sup> lately brought back by a little child—who told his father something came and disturbed him, so that he could not sleep at nights, since they left off family-prayer.

Preached at Adwalton, on our Lord's final coming.<sup>23</sup> It was a glorious season of rejoicing [2:198] and love. In the afternoon preached at Armley. Arthur Bate of Wakefield,<sup>24</sup> who showed me the way, informed me that his minister, Mr. Arnet,<sup>25</sup> repelled him from the sacrament and said he had orders from the Archbishop so to treat all that are called Methodists. The time, we know, will come when they shall put us out of their synagogues.<sup>26</sup> But I much suspect Mr. Arnet has slandered the good Archbishop.<sup>27</sup> In Leeds also some begin to abuse their authority and to exclude the true (yea the *truest*) members of the Church from her communion.

**Sunday, February 12.** Preached at Leeds to many serious hearers, "Fear not, little flock, for it is ...."<sup>28</sup> Went to Mr. M.'s church and heard him explain away the promise of the Father.<sup>29</sup> But he stopped at the application to the Methodists—perhaps out of tenderness for me, whom he may still have some hopes of.

Called on a larger, and equally quiet congregation, "Is it nothing to you, all ye that pass by? ...."<sup>30</sup> It was a blessed season. Many looked upon him whom they have pierced.<sup>31</sup>

I found John Nelson's hill quite covered with hearers. In the midst of my discourse a

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<sup>19</sup>The family Mr. and Mrs. [John?] Johnson.

<sup>20</sup>John 10:10.

<sup>21</sup>See 2 Cor. 11:13.

<sup>22</sup>I.e., an Englishman who had been drawn to the Moravians.

<sup>23</sup>Likely using Luke 18:8.

<sup>24</sup>JW had visited Arthur and Jane Bate in Wakefield, at her request, in Nov. 1743; see JW, *Journal*, Nov. 25, 1743, *Works*, 19:5. CW spells "Bates."

<sup>25</sup>Rev. George Arnet (d. 1750), was vicar of Wakefield, 1729–50. CW spells "Arnett."

<sup>26</sup>See John 16:2.

<sup>27</sup>John Potter was still Archbishop of Canterbury.

<sup>28</sup>Luke 12:32.

<sup>29</sup>This is almost certainly Rev. John Murgatroyd (c. 1703–68), curate of St. John's chapel in Leeds, who became increasingly critical of Methodism (cf. the Aug. 12, 1751 entry below). By "promise of the Father" CW typically means the gift of the Holy Spirit. But the lesson for this Sunday was Isa. 65, so he may intend the broader promise of the new creation.

<sup>30</sup>Lam. 1:12ff.

<sup>31</sup>See Zech. 12:10 (Rev. 1:7).

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gentleman came riding up, and almost over the people. Speaking of temperance and judgment to come, I turned and applied to him, "Thou art the man."<sup>32</sup> His countenance fell and he fled before the sword of the Spirit.<sup>33</sup> The power of God burst forth, and a cry was heard throughout the congregation. Continued my discourse, or rather prayer, till night.

**Monday, February 13.** Preached in the evening at Sykehouse to the hearts of many.<sup>34</sup>

**Tuesday, February 14.** Rode to Epworth and dined at Mr. [John] Maw's, whose disputing is quite over, and he is waiting to receive the kingdom as a little child. The Lord gave his blessing to my word in the Cross. At the society the Spirit came down as in the ancient days. My voice was lost in the mournings and rejoicings on every side. All present, I believe, were either comforted or wounded.

**Wednesday, February 15.** Explained the new covenant in the market-place, and many seemed desirous to [2:199] enter into it.<sup>35</sup>

**Thursday, February 16.** I rode to Selby.

**Friday, February 17.**<sup>36</sup> The next day at Darlington. My horse fell with me from an high causeway, and threw me unhurt into deep mud.

**Saturday, February 18.** Got to Newcastle by 2:00. Preached at night from 1 Thessalonians 1:5, "For our gospel came not unto you in word only, but also in power, and in the Holy Ghost, and in much assurance." The people received me with that joy and love which the world knoweth not of.

**Sunday, February 19.** Sent away John Healey, that he might not be torn to pieces by the mob, some of whom he has struck.<sup>37</sup> It was so at Nottingham where they brought persecution upon themselves, a little sooner than needed, by striking a butcher. The man who struck him was the first that fell away. Not that all their meekness and wisdom could have kept it off long.

Breakfasted at Mr. Watson's, who now professes the faith which he persecuted in his daughters.<sup>38</sup> Heard of a remarkable providence. A poor drunkard, who has left us for some time, was moved this morning to rise and come to the preaching, by which he escaped being crushed to death by the fall of his house. He had no sooner left it than it was blown down the greatest part

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<sup>32</sup>Sam. 12:7.

<sup>33</sup>See Eph. 6:17.

<sup>34</sup>CW spells "Sikehouse."

<sup>35</sup>CW was preaching frequently from Luke at the time, so he may have used Luke 22:20.

<sup>36</sup>The date has been moved from the end of the entry, where CW added it after apparently noticing that it was missing.

<sup>37</sup>John Healey (fl. 1745–50) aligned with Methodism in Newcastle by early 1743, when he served as a guide to JW (see JW, *Journal*, Apr. 1, 1743, *Works*, 19:321). He had a tendency to defend the cause physically, as seen here. Healey moved to Nottingham and was arrested there on Mar. 10 as a Methodist sympathizer (see below). He continued to assist the Wesley brothers for the next few years, including accompanying CW to Ireland.

<sup>38</sup>Apparently the father of Ann and Margaret Watson, whom JW wrote on May 28, 1745 (see *Works*, 26:137). It is unclear whether this is also the town-serjeant mentioned later.

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of it. Just before it fell, his wife took one with her to the window to sing a hymn, and so escaped. A sister was overwhelmed with the ruins. Yet the rafters fell endways, and a cavity was made archwise over her head. She stayed there some hours before they could dig her out, rejoicing in God her Saviour.

Told a huge multitude in the square, “Ye shall be hated of all men for my name’s sake.”<sup>39</sup> Stood at the door of the orphan house and took in many of the disturbers, to whom I then preached without opposition; and exhorted the brethren to prepare for the fiery trial.<sup>40</sup>

**Monday, February 20.** Heard without any surprise the news of the French invasion, which only quickened us in our prayers, especially for his majesty, King George.<sup>41</sup>

In the evening expounded what the Spirit saith to the church of Ephesus,<sup>42</sup> and received extraordinary power to warn them of the sword that is coming,<sup>43</sup> and to [2:200] wrestle with God in prayer for the king.

**Sunday, February 26.** Preached at Tanfield on Luke 21:34,<sup>44</sup> “And take heed to yourselves, lest at any time your hearts be overcharged with surfeiting and drunkenness and the cares of this life, and so that day come upon you unawares . . . .” My mouth and heart were opened to this people, who seem now to have got the start of those at Newcastle.

Called at the square with greater utterance than ever, “Wash ye, make you clean . . . .”<sup>45</sup> I urged them earnestly to repent; to fear God, and honour the king;<sup>46</sup> and had the clearest testimony of my own conscience that I had now delivered my own soul.

Found a great mob about our house and bestowed an hour in taming them. An hundred or more I admitted into the room and, when I had got them together, for two hours exhorted them to repent, in the power of love. The rocks were melted on every side, and the very ringleaders of the rebels declared they would make a disturbance no more.

**Monday, February 27.** Warned them at Horsley also, from Luke 21:34, to prepare for suffering times.

**Tuesday, February 28.** Rode in the high wind to Biddick, and preached to many unawakened sinners, “Wash ye, make you clean. Put away the evil of your doings . . . .”<sup>47</sup> All

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<sup>39</sup>Mark 13:13.

<sup>40</sup>See 1 Pet. 4:12.

<sup>41</sup>This is one of the first signs in CW’s journal of Britain being drawn into the broader “War of Austrian Succession” (1740–48). In late 1743 France and Spain joined forces and announced planned invasions of the Netherlands and then Britain. Currently the fighting was in the Netherlands. In expression of his support for Britain in the pending conflict CW drafted six hymns that were rushed to print on Mar. 1 as *Hymns for Times of Trouble* (1744).

<sup>42</sup>Rev. 2:1–7.

<sup>43</sup>See Ezek. 33:6.

<sup>44</sup>CW wrote “Luke 22:34,” which is incorrect.

<sup>45</sup>Isa. 1:16.

<sup>46</sup>See 1 Pet. 2:17.

<sup>47</sup>Isa. 1:16.

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seemed affected, especially our host (a poor drunkard that was) and his wife, a virtuous pharisee. Both are now willing to be found in Christ, not having their own righteousness.<sup>48</sup>

It was as much as I could do in returning to sit my horse, the storm was so violent. At the room I preached “The word of God—quick and powerful and sharper than any two-edged sword.”<sup>49</sup>

**Wednesday, February 29.** Rode with much difficulty to Plessy, and preached the gospel to a poor people ready prepared for the Lord.

[2:201]

**March 1744**

**Thursday, March 1.** Preached at Spen to a weeping audience.<sup>1</sup>

**Friday, March 2.** Visited a brother on his death-bed, who soon after departed in the Lord. Preached at Whickham<sup>2</sup> on “He that endureth to the end, the same shall be saved.”<sup>3</sup> We had sweet fellowship with our Lord in his word.

**Sunday, March 4th.** The people of Newcastle were in an uproar through their expectation of a victory. They got their candles ready and gave thanks—that is, got drunk—beforehand, and then came down to make a riot among us. Some of the brethren they struck, and threatened to pull down the desk. We were sensible that the powers of darkness were abroad, and prayed in faith against them. God heard and scattered the armies of the aliens here. Afterwards news came that at this very hour they were pulling down the house in St. Ives.

**Monday, March 5.** Crossed the water and preached at the glasshouses<sup>4</sup> on “the one thing needful.”<sup>5</sup> In our return one at the head of a mob railed and cursed us so bitterly that I concluded he must be a Roman Catholic. Found upon inquiry that he was son to a neighbouring squire, a zealous papist.

Passed an hour with Mr. Watson, one of the town-sergeants and lately the greatest swearer in Newcastle. Now God has touched his heart. Both his fellows and his masters, the aldermen, are set against him, as one man. The mayor he tells me asked him publicly, “What, Mr. Watson, do you go to hear these men?” He answered, “Yes, at every proper opportunity, and I wish you would hear them too.” One of the aldermen expressed his impatience by cursing “that fellow Watson! We can neither make him drink nor swear.”

**Tuesday, March 6.** Wrote to my brother:

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<sup>48</sup>See Rom. 10:3; Phil. 3:9.

<sup>49</sup>Heb. 4:12.

<sup>1</sup>I.e., High Spen, Co. Durham.

<sup>2</sup>Whickham, Co. Durham; 3 miles west of Gateshead, another site of heavy coal mining. CW spells “Wickham.”

<sup>3</sup>Matt. 10:22.

<sup>4</sup>Factories for making and blowing glass.

<sup>5</sup>Luke 10:42.

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My objection to your address in the name of the Methodists is that it would constitute us a sect.<sup>6</sup> At least it would *seem to allow* that we are a body distinct from the national Church, whereas we are only a sound part of that Church. Guard against this; and in the name of the Lord, address tomorrow!

**Thursday, March 8.** The society at parting were all in tears. Lodged that night at Darlington. [2:202]

**Saturday, March 10.** Came with John Downes to Epworth.<sup>7</sup> On the common Thomas Westell overtook us,<sup>8</sup> being driven out of Nottingham by the mob and mayor. Called on Mrs. Maw, and found her in a sweet waiting way.<sup>9</sup> Her sickness has been a great blessing.

Preached at the Cross on “Enter into the rock and hide yourselves . . .,”<sup>10</sup> to a people willing to take warning.

Took John Healey’s account of their treatment at Nottingham. The mayor sent for Thomas Westell. John went with him. Thomas desired time to read the oath which they offered him, upon which Mr. mayor threatened to send him to prison.<sup>11</sup> While he was making his mittimus,<sup>12</sup> John Healey asked, “Does not the law allow a man three hours to consider of it?” This checked their haste, and they permitted him to hear first what he should swear to. He said it was all very good, and what he had often heard Mr. Wesleys say—that King George was our rightful king, and no other—and he would take this oath with all his heart.

They had first asked John Healey if he would take the oaths. He answered, “I will take them now. But I would not before I heard Mr. Wesleys, for I was a Jacobite till they convinced me of the truth, and of His Majesty’s right.”<sup>13</sup> “See the old Jesuit,” cries one of the venerable

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<sup>6</sup>CW is referring to a short address JW wrote on Mar. 5 to King George II affirming the loyalty of Methodists to the king and the Church of England in the context of the threatened invasion by the French and Spanish forces; cf. JW, *Works*, 26:104–06.

<sup>7</sup>John Downes (c. 1723–74) was one of JW’s earliest and most trusted lay preachers. When he ceased travelling, due to ill health, Downes became JW’s printer. See *DEB*, 321; and Vickers, *Dictionary*, 99.

<sup>8</sup>Thomas Westell (c. 1719–94) became one of JW’s first traveling preachers within a few months of completing his apprenticeship as a joiner in Bristol in 1741. He retired in Bristol in 1778. CW spells “Westal.”

<sup>9</sup>Jane Bray had married John Maw, of Epworth, in 1714.

<sup>10</sup>Isa. 2:10.

<sup>11</sup>I.e., John Hornbuckle, current mayor of Nottingham.

<sup>12</sup>A legal document for sending someone to jail.

<sup>13</sup>“Jacobite” was the derogatory title for persons who continued to support James II and his descendants, after William of Orange had been invited to invade and drive James II from the throne (because of his sympathies for Roman Catholicism). The threatened French invasion, aimed at restoring Charles Edward Stuart (grandson of James II) to the British throne, fanned public harassment of anyone assumed to be Jacobite in leaning. Perhaps because their older

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aldermen. “He has all his paces, I warrant you!” Another, on Thomas Westell’s holding his hand to his eyes, cried, “See, see! He is confessing his sins!” They treated them like Faithful and Christian at Vanity-fair,<sup>14</sup> only they did not burn them yet, or even put them in the cage. They demanded their horses for the king’s service, and would not believe them that they had none till they sent and searched.

Not finding any cause to punish, they were forced to dismiss them. But soon after the mayor sent for Thomas Westell and commanded him to depart the town. He answered he should obey his orders, and accordingly came to Epworth. Here he told me he had found out who “The Pretender” was, for Mr. Gurney told him many years ago there was one King James, who was turned out, and one King William taken in his place and that then the parliament made a law that no papist should ever be king, by which law King James’s son, whom he [2:203] had now discovered to be The Pretender, was justly kept out.<sup>15</sup>

**Sunday, March 11.** Warned the people at the Cross, and then our children, to meet God in the way of his judgments.<sup>16</sup> I rode the next day to Birstall.

**Tuesday, March 13.** Spent the day in visiting the brethren from house to house.

**Wednesday, March 14.** Setting out for John Bennet’s societies,<sup>17</sup> one told me there was a constable with a warrant in which my name was mentioned. I sent for him and he showed it [to] me. It was “to summon witnesses to some treasonable words said to be spoken by one Westley.” The poor man trembled, said he had no business with me, and was right glad to get out of my hands. He was afterwards of my audience and wept, as did most.

I was then taking horse, but found such a bar or burden crossing me that I could not proceed. At the same time the brethren besought me to stay, lest the enemies should say I durst not stand trial. I knew not how to determine but by a lot. We prayed, and the lot came for my stay.

It was much upon my mind that I should be called to bear my testimony and vindicate the loyalty of God’s people. By the order of providence several justices are now at Wakefield. A woman stands to it that she heard me talk treason, but there is an overruling providence. I found it hard not to pre-meditate or think of tomorrow.

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brother Samuel had published some poetry with Jacobite tinges, John and Charles Wesley, and the movement they were shepherding, became target of such harassment at this time.

<sup>14</sup>Two Christians persecuted by hostile culture in John Bunyan, *The Pilgrim’s Progress from this World to that which is to Come* (London: Nathaniel Ponder, 1672), 125ff.

<sup>15</sup>James Francis Edward Stuart (1688–1766), son of James II, was nicknamed “The Old Pretender” by those who rejected the claim to the throne of Stuarts.

<sup>16</sup>Isa. 26:8.

<sup>17</sup>John Bennet (1715–59), had been converted by David Taylor and involved in itinerant ministry in Derbyshire, Lancashire, and Cheshire before making contact with the Wesley brothers. From 1744–50 he worked closely with them, even through the tensions of his marriage to Grace Murray (whose other suitor was JW). But growing discomfort with their doctrine and discipline (as too “popish”) led to a break in 1752, and some competition of ministries.

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Met the brethren at Leeds, and many others in an old upper-room. After singing, I shifted my place to draw them to the upper end. One desired me to come nearer the door, that they might hear without. I removed again, and drew the weight of the people after me. In that instant the floor sunk. I lost my senses, but recovered them in a moment, and was filled with power from above. I lifted up my head first, and saw the people under me heaps upon heaps. I cried out, “Fear not. The Lord is with us. Our lives are all safe!” and then, “Praise God, from whom all blessings flow.”<sup>18</sup> Lifted up the fallen as fast as I could, and perceived [2:204] by their countenances which were our children; several of whom were hurt, but none killed.

We found when the dust and tumult was a little settled that the rafters had broke off short, close to the main beam. A woman lay dangerously ill in the room below on the opposite side, and a child in the cradle just under the ruins. But the sick woman calling the nurse a minute before, she carried the child with her to the standing side, and all three were preserved.

Another of the society was moved, she knew not why, to go out with her child just before the room fell. Above one hundred lay with me among the wounded—though I did not properly fall, but slid softly down and lit on my feet. My hand was bruised, and part of the skin rubbed off my head. One sister had her arm broke, and set immediately rejoicing with joy unspeakable. Another, strong in faith, was so crushed that she expected instant death. I asked her, when got to bed, whether she was not afraid to die. She answered that she was without fear, even when she thought her soul was departing, and only said in calm faith, “Jesus, receive my spirit!” Her body continues full of pain, and her soul of love.

A boy of eighteen was taken up roaring, “I will be good, I will be good.” They got his leg set, which was broke in two places. He had come, as usual, to make a disturbance, and struck several of the women going in, till one took him upstairs for providence to teach him better.

After the hurry I opened my book on those remarkable words, “Therefore this iniquity shall be to you as a breach ready to fall, swelling out in a high wall, whose breaking cometh suddenly at an instant.”<sup>19</sup>

The news was soon spread through the town and drew many to the place, who expressed their compassion by wishing all our necks had been broke. I preached out of the town, in weariness and painfulness. The Lord was our strong consolation.<sup>20</sup> Never did I more clearly see that not a hair [2:205] of our head can fall to the ground, without our heavenly Father.<sup>21</sup>

**Thursday, March 15.**<sup>22</sup> Baptized a Quaker, who received forgiveness in that hour.

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<sup>18</sup>See the hymn CW wrote on this event: “After a Deliverance from Death by the Fall of a House,” *HSP* (1749), 2:237–38.

<sup>19</sup>Isa. 30:13.

<sup>20</sup>See Heb. 6:18.

<sup>21</sup>See 1 Sam. 14:45; Matt. 10:30.

<sup>22</sup>See also CW’s longer manuscript record of this day in *Journal Letters*, 174–80.

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Rode to Wakefield, and at 11:00 waited upon Justice Burton at his inn, with two other justices, Sir Rowland Winn,<sup>23</sup> and the Reverend Mr. Zouch.<sup>24</sup> Told him, I had seen a warrant of his to summon witnesses to some treasonable words, “said to be spoken by one Westley”; that I had put off my journey to London to wait upon him, and answer whatever should be laid to my charge.<sup>25</sup>

He answered he had nothing to say against me, and I might depart. I replied that was not sufficient without clearing my character, and that of many innocent people whom their enemies were pleased to call Methodists. “Vindicate them!” said my brother clergyman, “that you will find a very hard task.” I answered, “As hard as you may think it, I will engage to prove that they all, to a man, are true members of the Church of England and loyal subjects of his majesty King George.” I then desired they would administer to me the oaths, and added, “If it was not too much trouble I could wish, gentlemen, you would send for every Methodist in England, and give them the same opportunity you do me of declaring their loyalty upon oath.”

Justice Burton said he was informed that we constantly prayed for The Pretender in all our societies, or “nocturnal meetings,” as Mr. Zouch called them. I answered, “The very reverse is true. We constantly pray for his majesty King George by name. These are such hymns as we sing in our societies,<sup>26</sup> a sermon I preached before the University,<sup>27</sup> another my brother preached there,<sup>28</sup> his *Appeal*,<sup>29</sup> and a few more treatises containing our principles and practice.” Here I gave them our books, and was bold to say, “I am as true a Church of England man, and as loyal a subject, as any man in the kingdom.” “That is impossible”, they cried all. [2:206] But as it was not my business to dispute, and as I could not answer till the witnesses appeared, I withdrew without farther reply.

While I waited at a neighbouring house one of the brethren brought me the constable of Birstall, whose heart God hath touched. He told me he had summoned the principal witness, Mary Castle, on whose information the warrant was granted, and who was setting out on horseback when the news came to Birstall that I was not gone forward to London as they expected, but round to Wakefield. Hearing this, she turned back and declared to him that she did not hear the treasonable words herself, but another woman told her so. Three more witnesses who were to swear to my words retracted likewise, and knew nothing of the matter. The fifth,

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<sup>23</sup>Rowland Winn (1706–65), 4th Baronet of Nostell Priory, just outside Wakefield. CW spells “Wynn.”

<sup>24</sup>Rev. Charles Zouch (1694–1754), vicar of Sandal Magna, Yorkshire.

<sup>25</sup>Note the hymn CW wrote as he prepared for this interview at Wakefield, in *HSP* (1749), 2:239.

<sup>26</sup>Among other current collections CW likely included the recently published *Hymns for Times of Trouble* (1744).

<sup>27</sup>CW, *A Sermon Preached on April 4, 1742 before the University of Oxford* (London: Strahan, 1742).

<sup>28</sup>This was likely JW, *Salvation by Faith* (London: Hutton, 1738).

<sup>29</sup>JW, *An Earnest Appeal to Men of Reason and Religion* (Newcastle: Gooding, 1743).



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good Mr. Woods the ale-house keeper is forthcoming, it seems, in the afternoon.

Now I plainly see the consequence of my not appearing here to look my enemies in the face. Had I gone on my journey, here would have been witnesses enough, and oaths enough, to stir up a persecution against the Methodists. I took the witnesses' names: Mary Castle, W. Walker, Lionel Knowls, Arthur Furth, Joseph Woods; and a copy of the warrant, as follows:

West Riding of Yorkshire

To the Constable of Birstall, in the said Riding, or Deputy

These are, in His Majesty's name, to require and command you to summon Mary Castle of Birstall aforesaid, and all other such persons as you are informed can give any information against one Westley, or any other of the Methodist speakers, for speaking any treasonable words or exhortations, as praying for the banished, or for the Pretender, etc., to appear before me, and other His Majesty's justices of the peace for the said Riding, at the White Hart in Wakefield, on the 15th of March instant, by 10:00 of the clock in the forenoon [2:207] to be examined, and to declare the truth of what they, and each of them know, touching the premises; and that you likewise make a return hereof before us on the same day. Fail not. Given under my hand the 10th of March, 1743.<sup>30</sup>

E. Burton

Between 2:00 and 3:00 honest Mr. Woods came, and started back at sight of me as if he had trod upon a serpent. One of our brothers took hold on him, and told me he trembled every joint of him. The justice's clerk had bid the constable bring him to him as soon as ever he came. But notwithstanding all the clerk's instructions, Woods frankly confessed, now he was come, he had nothing to say and would not have come at all had they not forced him.

I waited at the door where the justices were examining the disaffected till 7:00. I took public notice of Mr. Ockershausen,<sup>31</sup> the Moravian teacher, but not of Mr. Kendrick.<sup>32</sup> When all their business was over, and I had been insulted at their door from 11:00 in the morning till 7:00 at night, I was sent for and asked, "What would Mr. Wesley desire?"

**Wesley:** "I desire nothing, but to know what is alleged against me."

**Justice Burton** said, "What hope of truth from him? He is another of them." Then addressing to me, "Here are two of your brethren. One so silly it is a shame he should ever set up for a teacher. And the other has told us a thousand lies and equivocations upon oath. He has not

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<sup>30</sup>I.e., 1744 (Burton is using Old Style dating, where the new year begins Mar. 25).

<sup>31</sup>John Ockershausen (1710–77, of German ancestry, had joined the Moravians in London in 1739 and was now active in Yorkshire. CW, who did not know him well, spells "Oberhausen."

<sup>32</sup>William Kendrick, a peruke maker in London, joined the Moravians after CW expelled him from the Foundery society in 1741, and later aligned with William Cudworth. See Benham, *Hutton*, 91. CW spells "Kindrick."

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wit enough, or he would make a complete Jesuit.”

**[CW:]** I looked round, and said, “I see none of my brethren here but this gentleman,” pointing to the Reverend justice,<sup>33</sup> who looked as if he did not thank me for claiming him.

**Burton:** “Why, do you not know this man?” (showing me Kendrick).

**CW:** “Yes sir, very well; for two years ago I expelled him [from] our society in London for setting up for a preacher.” To this poor Kendrick assented, which put a stop to farther reflections on the Methodists.

**Justice Burton** then said I might depart, for **[2:208]** they had nothing against me.

**CW:** “Sir that is not sufficient. I cannot depart till my character is fully cleared. It is no trifling matter. Even my life is concerned in the charge.”

**Burton:** “I did not summon you to appear.”

**CW:** “I was the person meant by ‘one Westley,’ and my supposed words were the occasion of that order which I read, signed with your name.”

**Burton:** “I will not deny my order. I did send to summon the witnesses.”

**CW:** “Yes, and I took down their names from the constable’s paper. The principal witness, Mary Castle, was setting out; but hearing I was here, she turned back and declared to the constable she only heard another say that I spoke treason. Three more of the witnesses recanted for the same reason. And Mr. Woods, who is here, says he has nothing to say; and should not have come neither, had he not been forced by the minister. Had I not been here he would have had enough to say. And you would have had witnesses and oaths enough. But I suppose my coming has prevented theirs.”

One of the justices added, “I suppose so too.” They all seemed fully satisfied, and would have had me so too. But I insisted on their hearing Mr. Woods.

**Burton:** “Do you desire he may be called as an evidence for you?”

**CW:** “I desire he may be heard as an evidence against me, if he has ought to lay to my charge.”

Then Mr. Zouch asked Woods what he had to say. What were the words I spoke? Woods was as backward to speak as they to hear him, but was at last compelled to say,

**[Woods:]** “I have nothing to say against the gentleman. I only heard him pray that the Lord would call home his banished.”

**Zouch:** “But were there no words before or after, which pointed to these troublesome times?”

**Woods:** “No, none at all.”

**CW:** “It was on February 12, before the earliest news of the invasion. But if folly and malice may be interpreters, any words which any of you gentlemen speak may be construed into treason.”

**Zouch:** “It is very true.”

**CW:** “Now, gentlemen, give me leave to **[2:209]** explain my own words. I had no thoughts of praying for The Pretender, but for those that confess themselves strangers and pilgrims upon earth, who seek a country, knowing this is not their place. The Scriptures, you sir know (to the clergyman), speak of us as captive exiles, who are absent from the Lord while in

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<sup>33</sup>I.e., Charles Zouch.

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the body. We are not at home till we are in heaven.”

**Zouch:** “I thought you would so explain the words, and it is a fair interpretation.”

I asked if they were all satisfied. They said they were, and cleared me as fully as I desired. I then asked them again to administer to me the oaths. Mr. Zouch looked on my sermon, asked who ordained me (the Archbishop and Bishop of London the same week), and said with the rest, it was quite unnecessary, since I was a clergyman and student of Christ Church, and had preached before the University, and taken the oaths before.<sup>34</sup> Yet I motioned it again, till they acknowledged in explicit terms “my loyalty unquestionable.” I then presented Sir Rowland and Mr. Zouch with the *Appeal*, and took my leave.<sup>35</sup>

Half hour after 7:00 we set out for Birstall, and a joyful journey we had. Our brethren met us on the road, and we gathered together on the hill and sang praises lustily, with a good courage. Their enemies were rising at Birstall, full of that Wednesbury devil, on presumption of my not finding justice at Wakefield, wherein they were more confirmed by my delay. They had begun pulling down John Nelson’s house, when our singing damped and put them to flight. Now I see if I had not gone to confront my enemies, or had been evil entreated at Wakefield, it might have occasioned a general persecution here, which the Lord hath now crushed in the birth. No weapon that is formed against us shall prosper, and every tongue that shall arise against us in judgment we shall condemn.

**Friday, March 16.** Set out for Derby[shire]. Preached at a society of David Taylor’s, whose immoderate warnings against us has made them ten times more eager to hear us. A plain proof that his *poor sinners* are still [2:210] under the law.

**Saturday, March 17.** Preached at Woodhouse at noon,<sup>36</sup> and in the evening a little beyond Stoppot.<sup>37</sup> I observed some go out upon my recommending prayer, but did not wonder when I heard they were *still*.

**Sunday, March 18.** Was much assisted to explain our Lord’s words concerning himself to a great multitude, ‘The Spirit of the Lord God is upon me ....’<sup>38</sup> Preached at John Bennet’s father’s.<sup>39</sup> One only woman I saw remarkably unconcerned, who was wife to a *still* speaker.

Invited a much larger company in the evening to draw nigh with a true heart, in full assurance of faith.<sup>40</sup> Bestowed two hours more in warning the society against the devices of the *still* devil.

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<sup>34</sup>The Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy signed by CW on June 13, 1726 is still extant, held in MARC (DDCW 6/82); as is his subscription to the Articles of Religion (DDCW 6/83).

<sup>35</sup>See the hymn that CW wrote upon completing this interrogation at Wakefield, in *HSP* (1749), 2:240.

<sup>36</sup>CW likely meant Woodley, Cheshire, where JW preached four months later on a similar circuit with Bennet.

<sup>37</sup>CW appears to mean Stockport, Cheshire.

<sup>38</sup>Luke 4:18.

<sup>39</sup>In Chinley, Derbyshire.

<sup>40</sup>See Heb. 10:22.

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**Monday, March 19.** Cried in the heart of the Peak,<sup>41</sup> “Ho, everyone that thirsteth, come ye to the waters.”<sup>42</sup> In the evening I preached at Sheffield and read the society the account of our brethren’s sufferings which seemed to quicken them much.

At Barley Hall I expounded Luke 21:34 and were all broken down by the power of love. Received fresh strength to pursue my journey. While passing Rotherham, where I had never been before, the mob rose upon us, but could not keep pace with our horses.

By night we came to Nottingham, and well for us that it was night. The mob are come to a great height through the encouragement of the mayor. We knew not the way to brother [Daniel] Sant’s, and could not inquire, but our horses carried us straight to his door. The house was immediately beset as usual. I was troubled for these few sheep in the wilderness. The wolf has made havoc of them, the magistrates being the persecutors—not only refusing them justice, but cruelly abusing them as rioters.

They presented a petition to Judge Abdy as he passed through the town.<sup>43</sup> He spoke kindly to them and bade them, if they were farther [2:211] molested, present the corporation. He chid the mayor, and made him send his officers through the town forbidding anyone to injure the Methodists. Told him, “if you will begin, why don’t you put down the assemblies contrary to law? Instead of that, if there be one religious society, you must set upon that to destroy it.”

As soon as the judge was out of the town they returned to persecute the Methodists more than ever. And when they complained to the mayor he insulted them, “Why don’t you go to my Lord Judge?” He threatens when the press warrants come out,<sup>44</sup> to take Daniel Sant, an industrious founder with four children, whose crime is that he suffers the poor people to pray in his house.

**Wednesday, March 21.** Exhorted the few remaining sheep to keep together, and rode to Northampton, and the next day to the Foundery. The society helped me to give hearty thanks to God for the multitude of his mercies.

**Monday, March 26.** My brother set out for Cornwall, where persecution rages. Rode to see Mrs. [Jane] Sparrow, of Lewisham, a martyr to worldly civility.

**Tuesday, March 27.** Called at the Foundery, “Wash ye, make you clean ....”<sup>45</sup> The word had great effect. Met the leaders in the solemn presence of God.

**Thursday, March 29.** My mouth was opened to denounce judgments against this nation, except they repent.

**Friday, March 30.** At the time of intercession, we were enabled to wrestle for the nation with strong cries and tears. At the [West Street] chapel the Spirit of supplication fell upon us more abundantly still.

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<sup>41</sup>A forest area in Derbyshire, between Sheffield and Manchester.

<sup>42</sup>Isa. 55:1.

<sup>43</sup>Possibly John Abdy (1714–59), 4th baronet, trained in law, who had not yet succeeded his father to the peerage. CW spells “Abdey.”

<sup>44</sup>Warrants to press men into military service.

<sup>45</sup>Isa. 1:16.

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[2:212]

April 1744

**Sunday, April 1.** Expounded part of Isaiah 1, and had power given me to warn them of God's approaching judgments. Our hearts were filled with joy in the evening.

**Wednesday, April 4.** In speaking on "The whole creation groaneth . . .,"<sup>1</sup> we felt the truth, and joined in the universal travail.

**Wednesday, April 11.** The Foundery was filled by 4:00 with those who came to keep the national fast.<sup>2</sup> I preached at the [West Street] chapel in great weakness both of soul and body. In the midst of my discourse the floor began to sink, with our people on it. But none of them cried out or made the least disturbance, while they got off it.

**Saturday, April 14.** We were alarmed by news of a second invasion. The French, we hear, are now in the Channel.<sup>3</sup> Yet this infatuated people will not believe there is any danger till they are swallowed up by it. But he that taketh warning shall deliver his soul.<sup>4</sup>

**Thursday, April 19.** Sent Thomas Butts to Wednesbury, with £60, which I have collected for the sufferers.<sup>5</sup>

**Wednesday, April 25.** Prevented a weak brother of Wednesbury making affidavit against the justices, and wrote to the brethren to suffer all things.<sup>6</sup> At night I declared, "He that endureth to the end, the same shall be saved."<sup>7</sup>

**Friday, April 27.** Preached on "Who is a God like unto thee, that pardoneth iniquity?"<sup>8</sup> All our hearts were enlarged and comforted. It was a time much to be remembered.

**Sunday, April 29.** The whole congregation was in tears under the word. Old Mr. Erskine,<sup>9</sup> in particular, was quite broken down. The same, or greater, utterance I had in the

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<sup>1</sup>Rom. 8:22.

<sup>2</sup>On Feb. 23, 1744, George II set aside Apr. 11, 1744 as a national day of fasting, to seek God's blessing and protection in the war that had been declared against Spain, in the emerging War of Austrian Succession.

<sup>3</sup>Violent winds had actually damaged the French fleet, which ended the immediate threat of invasion.

<sup>4</sup>See Ezek. 33:5.

<sup>5</sup>Thomas Butts (1719–78) was looking after JW's book-concern at the Foundery as early as 1742, when he was still "on trial" as a member of a single men's band. On May 19, 1746 he married Hannah Witham (1720–62), with JW officiating. By 1755 Butts was replaced as JW's book steward by Robert Windsor, and set up on his own as a music publisher.

<sup>6</sup>This letter of instruction is not known to survive.

<sup>7</sup>Matt. 10:22.

<sup>8</sup>Mic. 7:18.

<sup>9</sup>James Erskine (1679–1754), who took the title Lord Grange, served as Lord Justice Clerk of the Court of Session in Scotland 1710–34 before resigning to enter parliament. He generally resided in London from that point, even after leaving Parliament in 1747. Erskine was

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afternoon.

**Monday, April 30.** Overtook in the street by a well-dressed person, and found an unusual desire to look back upon her. However I walked on, till she called me by my name. I turned back and found it to be an old intimate friend, delivered to me that I might make her a first and last offer of the gospel.

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**May 1744**

**Wednesday, May 2.** Passing through the Mews,<sup>10</sup> an heap of stones was cast down within a quarter of a yard of me which, had they fallen upon me, must have dashed my brains out.

Mr. [Thomas] Williams told me he had been with the Archbishop for orders and, upon my blaming his hastiness, flew out of the house,<sup>11</sup> as possessed by legion.<sup>12</sup>

Overtook my old friend [Peter] Appee, in a ragged red waist-coat. He would not answer to his name, but followed and spoke with me. He has been a soldier some time, having run through the last stages of sin and misery.

**Thursday, May 3.** Set out for Bristol, and reached it the next day.

I left London with an heavy heart, quite weighted down by poor [Thomas] Williams's burden. He answers the character one of his intimates gave me of him: "I never thought him more than a mere speaker. I can see no grace he has. His conversation is quite contrary to the gospel, all light and vain. He is haughty, revengeful, headlong, and unmanageable."

**Sunday, May 6.** At Kingswood expounded the Good Samaritan,<sup>13</sup> and saw their tears with joy.

**Tuesday, May 8.** Gave the sacrament to our brother Jones,<sup>14</sup> a dying believer—therefore above all fear, or doubt, or desire. Sarah Perrin was one of the communicants, and found the Lord in what she had been taught to call a carnal ordinance.<sup>15</sup>

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drawn into Methodist circles in the early 1740s by George Whitefield. This is the earliest sign of his interaction with the Wesley brothers. While Erskine differed from the brothers on theological issues, he was friendly toward them and provided them with legal advice.

<sup>10</sup>The royal stables, near Charing Cross in London.

<sup>11</sup>This brief comment marks the opening of a painful months-long episode in which Williams strikes back at CW's lack of support by spreading (later retracted) accusations of sexual impropriety by CW. See Randy L. Maddox, "Untwisting the Tangled Web: Charles Wesley and Elizabeth Story," *Wesley and Methodist Studies* 8 (2016): 175–83.

<sup>12</sup>See Mark 5:9.

<sup>13</sup>Luke 10:29–37.

<sup>14</sup>Possibly John Jones, who appears in the Bristol Bands (1741) as a married man.

<sup>15</sup>Sarah Perrin (1708–87), the daughter of Thomas and Sarah (Groom) Perrin, was the benefactress of the merger of two Quaker merchant families. By Jan. 1739 she and her sister Mary had acquired property in Bristol. Sarah met both JW and CW the following year. Their

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**Wednesday, May 9.** Preached at Bath, and saw them fall under the word, broken or melted. Miss H. in particular was as the woman in tears at the feet of Jesus.<sup>16</sup>

Returned to Bristol, and finished my discourse on Simon and the woman that was a sinner.<sup>17</sup> A general cry was heard throughout the congregation. We knew not how to part, being so closely united in the love that never faileth.

**Thursday, May 10.** Dined at Felix Farley's with Mr. [John] Meriton, longing to escape to us out of the hands of Calvin.

**Friday, May 11.** I took horse at 3:00, [2:214] and got to London by 1:00 the next day.

**Saturday, May 12.** My brother gave me a melancholy account of Mr. [Thomas] Williams. Disappointed of orders, he rages and rails on us as papists, tyrants, enemies of the Church, etc. Declares he has found us out, and runs about scattering firebrands and vowing revenge.

**Whitsunday, May 13.** The root of bitterness is sprung up, and thereby many are defiled.<sup>18</sup> Offences abound, mostly among the young women, who are ready to tear me to pieces for "my cruelty to poor dear Mr. Williams, and hindering him from getting orders."

Exhorted the society to peace and charity, while my strength lasted.

[Monday],<sup>19</sup> **May 14.** Could not sleep last night for thinking of the young man Absalom.<sup>20</sup>

We prayed mightily for our dear brother [John] Nelson, pressed for a soldier and a prisoner in York.

**Tuesday, May [15].**<sup>21</sup> Enforced the example of the woman of Canaan,<sup>22</sup> and many cried after him who was come into their coasts.

Spoke with all kindness to Thomas Williams, but could not in any measure humble him.

**Saturday, May 19.** Was waked this morning by the horrid blasphemies of one who did run well, and *was* plainly justified, but through the spirit of offence left the society, then fell from one wickedness to another, such as drunkenness [and] adultery, and was now come to defy the living God. Him that thinketh he standeth, let him take heed lest he fall.<sup>23</sup> In vain hath God forgiven the whole debt, if the evil and wicked servant will not have mercy on his

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interchange led Sarah to join the Church of England within a couple of years. At JW's invitation, Sarah became the housekeeper at the New Room in Bristol in Feb. 1744. And she was one of three women that JW suggested as a possible wife for CW in 1748. Instead, Perrin became the second wife of John Jones (1721–85) on May 20, 1752.

<sup>16</sup>See Luke 7:44.

<sup>17</sup>Luke 7:36–50.

<sup>18</sup>See Heb. 12:15.

<sup>19</sup>Orig., "Sunday"; an error.

<sup>20</sup>Comparing Thomas Williams to King David's power-hungry son; cf. 2 Sam. 14–15.

<sup>21</sup>Orig., "May 16"; an error.

<sup>22</sup>Matt. 15:22–28.

<sup>23</sup>See 1 Cor. 12:10.

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fellow-servant.<sup>24</sup>

Once more I besought poor Thomas Williams to return, and recover himself out of the snare of the devil.<sup>25</sup> The Lord touched his proud heart. He burst into tears, and confessed the devil's devices to separate him from his best and only friends, and promised obedience for the time to come. I wept over him, and felt that, with all my heart, I could both forgive and forget.

**Wednesday, May 23.** Took up my cross, to [2:215] oblige my brother, and began examining the classes, after earnest prayer for meekness and discernment. This day I only left out one, an incorrigible, unconvincible, bitter scold.

**Tuesday, May 29.** We have not had so great blessing in the word for a long time as while I was explaining, "I will allure her, and bring her into the wilderness, and speak comfortably unto her."<sup>26</sup>

**June 1744**

**Saturday, June 2.** Mr. Larwood discovered to me Mr. Williams's real intention, "to set up for himself."<sup>1</sup> Above five hundred of the society, he told Larwood, would follow him.

**Wednesday, June 6.** Visited poor [Peter] Appee in the Tower, ready for transportation.<sup>2</sup>

Toward the end of my discourse at the [West Street] chapel, Mr. [James] Erskine was *sent* to receive a soldier brought by William Shent, to redeem John Nelson. He immediately took him to Lord Stair's,<sup>3</sup> and got a discharge for John Nelson. Our brother [John] Downes also we received out of the mouth of the lion. Our prayers return thick upon us.

**Friday, June 8.** Took my last leave of my old friend Appee, who embarks today for America. I gave him books and advice, which perhaps may not be finally lost upon him.

**Tuesday, June 12.** Preached on wrestling Jacob,<sup>4</sup> and a glorious time it was. Many wept with the angel, and made supplication, and were encouraged to wait upon the Lord continually.

**Friday, June 15.** Grieved to hear more and more of Williams's ingratitude. A lying spirit seems to have taken full possession of him. There is nothing so gross or improbable which he does not say.

**Monday, June 18.** Wrote to a friend,<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>24</sup>See Matt. 18:32–33.

<sup>25</sup>See 2 Tim. 2:26.

<sup>26</sup>Hosea 2:14.

<sup>1</sup>Samuel Larwood (d. 1755), currently active at the Foundery, became one of JW's travelling preachers in 1745 (see JW, *Works*, 10:159). He left the Wesleyan itinerancy in early 1754, settling as an independent minister in Southwark, where he died Nov. 1, 1755.

<sup>2</sup>Deportees were held in the Tower of London prior to their expulsion.

<sup>3</sup>John Dalrymple (1673–1747), 2nd Earl of Stair, and current field marshal of the British troops.

<sup>4</sup>Gen. 32:24–31.

<sup>5</sup>Likely a reply to Sarah Perrin's letter to CW of June 15, 1744.



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Be not you weary of well-doing, or overcome of evil. You see your calling to suffer all things. Pray for me that I also may endure unto the end,<sup>6</sup> for a thousand times I cry out, “The burden of this people is more than I am able to bear.”<sup>7</sup> O my good friend, you do not know them. Such depth of [2:216] ingratitude I did not think was in the devils of hell.

At night I was informed that a friend had entertained the deepest prejudice against me, on supposition that I meant her in a late discourse. Lord, what is man!<sup>8</sup> What is friendship!

**Wednesday, June [20].**<sup>9</sup> By losing my way, found at a wavering brother’s house five stray sheep, whom I received back into the fold.

**Sunday, June 24.** Our brethren [John] Hodges, [Samuel] Taylor, and [John] Meriton, assisted us at the sacrament. Received it with the whole society, to our mutual comfort. At our love-feast we were six ordained ministers.<sup>10</sup>

**Monday, June 25.** We opened our Conference with solemn prayer, and the divine blessing.<sup>11</sup> I preached with much assistance, and baptized Samuel Holloway, who felt in that moment the great burden taken off.<sup>12</sup> Continued in Conference the rest of the week, settling our doctrines, practice, and discipline, with great love and unanimity.

**July 1744**

**Monday, July 2.** At night I was drawn out in prayer, with strong cryings and tears. Received my poor prodigal [Thomas] Williams with open arms.

**Sunday, July 8.** Preached on our Lord’s multiplying the loaves; neither did he send us empty away.<sup>1</sup> Exhorted a large audience at the Foundery to take to them the whole armour of God,<sup>2</sup> and continued my discourse for two hours, the Lord comforting us on every side.

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<sup>6</sup>See Matt. 24:13.

<sup>7</sup>Cf. Num. 11:14; Deut. 1:9.

<sup>8</sup>See Ps. 8:4.

<sup>9</sup>Orig., “June 19”; an error.

<sup>10</sup>The sixth (in addition to the two Wesley brothers) was Rev. Henry Piers.

<sup>11</sup>This was the first of what became Annual Conferences for the ordained and lay preachers in the Wesleyan Methodist movement. The Minutes of this meeting can be found in JW, *Works*, 10:120–46.

<sup>12</sup>Samuel Holloway appears as a married man in the Foundery Band Lists (1742–46), beginning after this baptism.

<sup>1</sup>Given this emphasis, CW was focussing on the feeding of the four thousand in Matt. 15:29–39, or Mark 8:1–10.

<sup>2</sup>See Eph. 6:11–18.

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**Monday, July 9.** Took horse at 2:00 with my friend and companion [John] Meriton, and acknowledged the next day in Bristol, “Hitherto the Lord hath helped us.”<sup>3</sup>

I was strengthened to preach on “Let not your hearts be troubled,”<sup>4</sup> and the Lord made me a son of consolation. A cry of distress first, and then of joy, ran through the congregation. Miss Barr, with many others, received the word into their hearts, and sorrow and sighing fled away before it.<sup>5</sup> [2:217]

**Wednesday, July 11.** That I might ascribe nothing to my speaking, before I opened my mouth this morning my heart was constrained and filled with godly fear. I then expounded, “If any man sin, we have an Advocate with the Father,”<sup>6</sup> and many found the benefit of his intercession.

Passed two hours in Christian conference and prayer with Dr. [John] Middleton, and the church in his house.

**Thursday, July 12.** Enforced our Lord’s most seasonable saying, “He that endureth to the end, the same shall be saved,”<sup>7</sup> and set out with Mr. Meriton for Cornwall.

At Middlezoy<sup>8</sup> called the weary and heavy-laden to Christ.<sup>9</sup> He gave testimony to the word of his grace, and bowed the hearts of all present. It was a sweet mourning indeed!

**Friday, July 13.** Set out with our guide, John Slocomb, a poor baker’s boy, whom God has raised up to help these sincere souls, and not only to labour, but also to suffer, for them.<sup>10</sup> When the press-warrants came out, the world would not lose the opportunity of oppressing the Christians. He was taken and, by his own uncle, dragged away to prison. They kept him a week and then brought him before the commissioners, who could find no cause to punish or detain him—being of Zaccheus’s stature, and nothing terrified by his adversaries. They were obliged at last, notwithstanding all their threatenings, to let him go.

Called on Hannah Bidgood at Sticklepath and some others, mostly Quakers. My heart was drawn out toward them in prayer and love, and I felt, “He that doeth the will of my Father, the same is my brother and my sister and my mother.”<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>1 Sam. 7:12.

<sup>4</sup>John 14:27.

<sup>5</sup>See Isa. 35:10.

<sup>6</sup>1 John 2:1.

<sup>7</sup>Matt. 10:22.

<sup>8</sup>CW spells “Middlesea.”

<sup>9</sup>Matt. 11:28.

<sup>10</sup>John Slocomb (d. 1776) was just entering itinerant ministry with the Methodists. He served from 1745 to his death, in relative obscurity. CW spells “Slocum.”

<sup>11</sup>See Matt. 12:50 and parallels.

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Met an aged clergyman,<sup>12</sup> whom Mr. Thomson had sent to meet us,<sup>13</sup> and found in conversing that he had been an acquaintance and contemporary with my father. Upon Mr. Thomson's preaching salvation by faith he had received the kingdom as a little child, and has ever since owned the truth and its followers. He conducted us to his house near Trewint.<sup>14</sup>

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**Sunday, July 15.** He carried us to St. Gennys, where our loving host and brother Thomson received us with open arms. I made proof of my ministry in his church from, "Comfort ye, comfort ye my people, ...."<sup>15</sup> And again, from blind Bartimeus.<sup>16</sup> The word took place in some hearts, I cannot doubt, though I am nothing.

**Monday, July 16.** He read prayers in Mr. Bennet's church.<sup>17</sup> I preached on "Fear not, little flock, it is your ...."<sup>18</sup>

**Tuesday, July 17.** Came, by 9:00 at night, with Mr. Bennet and Meriton, through the pits and shafts, to our host near Gwennap.<sup>19</sup>

Here a little one is become a thousand. What an amazing work hath God done in one year! The whole country is alarmed, and gone forth after the sound of the gospel. In vain do the pulpits ring of "popery, madness, enthusiasm." Our preachers are daily pressed to new places, and enabled to preach five or six times a day. Persecution is kept off till the seed takes root. Societies are springing up everywhere, and still the cry from all sides is "Come and help us!"<sup>20</sup>

Preached near Gwennap to about a thousand followers of Christ on "Fear not, little flock."<sup>21</sup> Great love and joy appeared in their faces, such as the world knoweth not of.

When I came to meet the society, I found almost the whole congregation waiting quietly without the door, longing to be admitted with the rest. Stood at the window, so as to be heard of all. I felt what manner of spirit they were of,<sup>22</sup> and had sweet fellowship with them, and strong consolation.

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<sup>12</sup>Rev. John Bennet (c. 1670–1750), curate of the churches in Laneast, Tresmeer, and North Tamerton.

<sup>13</sup>Rev. George Thomson (1698–1782), vicar of St. Gennys. CW fluctuates in spelling the name "Tomson" or "Tompson."

<sup>14</sup> Bennet lived in Tresmeer, Cornwall, which is 4 miles north of Trewint.

<sup>15</sup>Isa. 40:1.

<sup>16</sup>Mark 10:46–52.

<sup>17</sup>Almost certainly the Tresmeer church.

<sup>18</sup>Luke 12:32.

<sup>19</sup>The host was likely Capt. James Hitchens (1699–1752), a leader among the tanners at Gwennap, whose four sons all supported the Wesley brothers. Two soon died: Samuel (1725–45) and Thomas (d. 1746). The others were James Jr. (c. 1723–88) and William (1727–73).

<sup>20</sup>See Acts 16:9.

<sup>21</sup>Luke 12:32.

<sup>22</sup>See Luke 9:55.

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**Thursday, July 19.** Found the same congregation at 5:00, and pointed them to the Son of man lifted up as the serpent in the wilderness.<sup>23</sup> Spoke to each of the society, as their state required.

Breakfasted with one who was a fierce persecutor when I was last in the country, but is now a witness of the truth she so bitterly opposed.

Preached at Crowan to between one and two thousand sinners, who seemed started out of the earth. Several hid their faces and mourned inwardly, being too [2:219] deeply affected to cry out. I concluded with a strong exhortation to continue in the ship—the shattered sinking Church of England—and my brother Meriton, whose heart I spoke, seconded and confirmed my saying. The poor people were ready to eat us up, and sent us away with many an hearty blessing.

We then set our faces against the world, and rode to St. Ives. Here the mob and ministers together have pulled down the preaching-house, and but a fortnight ago went round in the dead of the night and broke the windows of all that were only suspected of Christianity.

We entered John Nance's house without molestation. Four of our sisters there, on sight of me, sunk down, unable to utter a word through joy and love. But they welcomed me with their tears. It was a solemn, silent meeting. In some time we recovered our speech for prayer and thanksgiving.

Got an hour by myself in the garden, and was suffered to feel my own great weakness. Without were fightings, within fears.<sup>24</sup> But my fears were all scattered by the sight of my dear brethren and children. I rejoiced over them with singing, but their joy and love exceeded. We all rejoiced in hope of meeting him in the air.<sup>25</sup> The Spirit of glory rested on the sufferers for Christ's sake. My brother Meriton added a few words to mine, and their hearts clave to him. Such a feast I have not had for many months. Even our Father's hired servants had at this time bread enough and to spare.<sup>26</sup>

We laid us down in peace, and took our rest, for the Lord only made us dwell in safety.<sup>27</sup>

**Friday, July 20.** While I applied our Lord's most comfortable words, John 14:1, we were all dissolved in tears of joy, desire, love; and seemed on the wing to our heavenly Father's house.

I walked through the town to church with Mr. Meriton. Our warm friend the curate saluted us courteously,<sup>28</sup> and none opened their mouth against us. Mr. Meriton's stature and band kept them in awe.<sup>29</sup> Or rather the fear of God was upon them, restraining them, though they knew it not.

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<sup>23</sup>John 3:14.

<sup>24</sup>See 2 Cor. 7:5.

<sup>25</sup>See 1 Thess. 4:17.

<sup>26</sup>See Luke 15:17.

<sup>27</sup>See Ps. 4:9 (BCP).

<sup>28</sup>William Hoblyn, who led the persecution during CW's earlier visit.

<sup>29</sup>I.e., Meriton was wearing his clerical bands.

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Met at 1:00, in obedience to our Church, and [2:220] lifted up our voice for the remnant that is left. We tasted the blessedness of mourning, and doubt not, however God may deal with this sinful nation, but our prayers for Jerusalem will one day be answered.

**Saturday, July 21.** While we were walking near the quay,<sup>30</sup> our friend the mob set up a shout against us, and gave plain marks of their Cainish disposition, if permitted. Only one stone was cast at us. We passed through the midst of them, and set out for St. Just.

I preached on the plain, and brother Meriton after me. Our Lord rides on triumphant through this place. Upward of two hundred are settled in classes, most of whom have tasted the pardoning grace of God.<sup>31</sup>

**Sunday, July 22.** At 9:00 I cried in the street, “Ho, everyone that thirsteth, come ye to the waters!”<sup>32</sup> The word ran very swiftly. When God gives it, who can hinder its course? Had an opportunity of communicating with a sick brother; whence we all went to church. It was crowded with these schismatical Methodists—who have not all, it seems, left it through our means. The curate is looked upon by his brethren as half a Methodist, only because he does not rail at us like them.

Preached at Morvah without, since I might not within, the church-walls. I told a man who contradicted me that I would talk with him by and by. A visible blessing confirmed the word. Afterwards I took my rough friend by the hand, carried him to the house, and begged him to accept of a book. He was won, excused his rudeness, and left me hugely pleased.

Preached at Zennor, where very few hold out against the truth, notwithstanding the minister’s pains to pervert the ways of the Lord.<sup>33</sup> None are of his but who are evidently on Satan’s side, even his drunken companions, whom he secures against the Methodists and warns at the alehouse not to forsake the Church. Hastened back to Morvah and rejoiced over many who were lost and are found.<sup>34</sup> One hundred and fifty are joined in society, [2:221] and continue steadfastly in the apostles’ doctrine, and in fellowship, and in breaking of bread, and in prayers.<sup>35</sup>

**Monday, July 23.** Breakfasted at Mr. L.’s, a poor slave of Satan till, at the sound of the gospel, his chains fell off and left him waiting for the seal of his pardon. I pointed many sinners to the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world.<sup>36</sup> All were in tears at the remembrance of his sufferings.

**Tuesday, July 24.** Preached near Penzance, to the little flock encompassed by ravening wolves. Their minister rages above measure against this new sect, who are spread throughout his four livings. His reverend brethren follow his example. The grossest lies which are brought them they swallow without examination, and retell the following Sunday. One of the society (James

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<sup>30</sup>CW spells “key.”

<sup>31</sup>See Heb. 6:5.

<sup>32</sup>Isa. 55:1.

<sup>33</sup>I.e., Rev. William Symonds.

<sup>34</sup>See Luke 15:32.

<sup>35</sup>See Acts 2:42.

<sup>36</sup>John 1:29.

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Dale) went lately to the worshipful and reverend Dr. Borlase for justice against a rioter, who had broke open his house and stole his goods.<sup>37</sup> The doctor's answer was, "Thou conceited fellow, art thou too turned religious? They may burn thy house if they will. Thou shalt have no justice." With these words he drove him from the judgment-seat.

Preached at St. Just to the largest company that had ever been seen there, and strongly warned the society against spiritual pride.

**Wednesday, July 25.** Enforced that most seasonable caution, "Him that thinketh he standeth, let him take heed lest he fall."<sup>38</sup> Two hours after, expounded the pool of Bethesda,<sup>39</sup> and dwelt upon our Lord's admonition to every justified sinner, "Go, and sin no more, lest a worse thing happen unto thee."<sup>40</sup>

Found the brethren at Morvah beginning to build a society-house. We knelt down upon the place, and prayed for a blessing.

Before preaching at St. Ives I was so weighed down that I would gladly have sunk into the earth or sea to escape my own burden. But God lifted me up by the word I preached, and filled us all with an hope full of immortality. We looked through the veil of things temporal, to things [2:222] eternal, and the mount of God, where we trust shortly to stand before the Lamb. Every soul did then, I believe, taste the powers of the world to come,<sup>41</sup> in some measure, and longed for the appearing of Jesus Christ.

One of our sisters complained to the mayor of some who had thrown into her house stones of many pounds' weight, which fell on the pillow within a few inches of her sucking child. The magistrate damned her, and said, "You shall have no justice here. You see there is none for you at London, or you would have got it before now." With this saying he drove her out of his house.

**Friday, July 27.** Preached at Gulval, and admitted some new members, particularly one who had been the greatest persecutor in all this country.

**Saturday, July 28.** The last midnight assault upon our brethren, I am now informed, was made by the townsmen, and a crew that are here fitting out for privateers who thought it prudent to make the first proof of their courage upon their own unarmed countrymen. They made their regular approaches with beat of drum, to take the poor people's houses by storm. But they were only permitted to batter them with stones, and endanger the lives of a few women and children. Woe be to the first French or Spaniards who fall into the hands of men so flushed with victory! They only want the captain who drew upon me to head them, and then they would carry the world before them!

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<sup>37</sup>Rev. Walter Borlase (1694–1776) LLD, was vicar of Madron and Kenwyn, vice-warden of the tin mines in Cornwall, and a major persecutor of Methodists in Cornwall, particularly around St. Just, the home of his father; cf. JW, Journal, Apr. 10, 1744 (*Works*, 20:22–23), and June 19 – July 2, 1745 (ibid, 20:69–74).

<sup>38</sup>1 Cor. 10:12.

<sup>39</sup>John 5:1–15.

<sup>40</sup>John 8:11.

<sup>41</sup>See Heb. 6:5.

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**Sunday, July 29.** Expounded Isaiah 35 at St. Just, and many hands that hung down were lifted up. From church I hastened to Morvah, and preached to a vast congregation, on “Blessed are they that hear the word of God, and keep it.”<sup>42</sup> At Zennor explained the parable of the sower.<sup>43</sup> My brother Meriton added a few words, much to the purpose. I concluded with exhorting them to meet God in the way of his judgments.<sup>44</sup>

Had our first love-feast at St. Ives. The cloud stayed the whole time on the assembly. [2:223] Several were so overpowered with love and joy that the vessel was ready to break. I endeavoured to moderate their joy by speaking of the sufferings which shall follow; and they who were then with him as on Mount Tabor<sup>45</sup> appeared all ready to follow him to Mount Calvary.

**Monday, July 30.** Cried to a mixed multitude of wakened and unawakened sinners near Penzance, “Is it nothing to you, all ye that pass by?”<sup>46</sup> Prayed with the still-increasing flock, whose greatest persecutor is their minister.<sup>47</sup> He and the clergy of these parts are much enraged at our people’s being so ready in the Scriptures. One fairly told Jonathan Reeves he wished the Bible were in Latin only, that none of the vulgar might be able to read it.<sup>48</sup> Yet these are the men that rail at us as papists!

**Tuesday, July 31.** Expounded the woman of Canaan<sup>49</sup> to an house-full of sincere souls, who had sat up all night to hear the word in the morning. Spoke with some who have tasted the good word of grace,<sup>50</sup> though they live in Penzance, where Satan keeps his seat.<sup>51</sup>

Visited a second time a poor dying sinner, who now gives up his own filthy rags for the best robe.<sup>52</sup> His daughter, upon her request, I admitted into the society.

Rode to St. Just. Climbed up and down Cape Cornwall with my brother Meriton, to the needless hazard of our necks.<sup>53</sup> Preached in the afternoon to a larger congregation than ever, and continued my discourse till night, from Luke 21:34. The Spirit of love was poured out abundantly, and great grace was upon all. Walked to the society. Stood upon the hill, and sang,

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<sup>42</sup>Luke 11:28.

<sup>43</sup>Matt. 13:3–23.

<sup>44</sup>See Amos 4:12.

<sup>45</sup>The scene of Christ’s transfiguration.

<sup>46</sup>Lam. 1:12.

<sup>47</sup>Penzance was part of the parish of Madron at this point, so CW is again referring to Walter Borlase.

<sup>48</sup>Jonathan Reeves (d. 1787) was drawn into the Methodist revival in Bristol in 1739, and became one of JW’s earliest lay preachers.

<sup>49</sup>Matt. 15:22–28.

<sup>50</sup>See Heb. 6:5.

<sup>51</sup>See Rev. 2:13.

<sup>52</sup>A conflation of Isa. 64:6 and Luke 15:22.

<sup>53</sup>Cape Cornwall, on the west coast, is north of Land’s End.

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and prayed, and rejoiced with exceeding great joy. Concluded the day and month as I would wish to conclude my life.

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**August 1744**

**Wednesday, August 1.** Preached in a new place, to near 2000 listening strangers, “Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, to day, and for ever.”<sup>1</sup>

Returned to St. Ives, and found our beloved brother [George] Thomson, who was come to see us and the children whom God had given us. Our enemies were alarmed by his coming, and the brethren strengthened. At night I set before them the example of the first Christians, who “continued steadfast in the apostles’ doctrine ....”<sup>2</sup> For two hours we rejoiced as men that divide the spoil.

**Thursday, August 2.** Rode with Mr. Thomson and [John] Meriton to a large gentleman’s seat near Penryn. We saw the people come pouring in from Falmouth and all parts. The court-yard, which might contain 2000, was quickly full. I stood in a gallery above the people and called, “Wash ye, make you clean ....”<sup>3</sup> They eagerly listened to the word of life—even the gentlemen and ladies listened—while I preached repentance towards God, and faith in Jesus Christ.<sup>4</sup> I exhorted them in many words to attend all the ordinances of the Church, to submit to every ordinance of man for the Lord’s sake, to stop the mouth of gainsayers by fearing God and honouring the king,<sup>5</sup> and to prevent the judgments hanging over our heads by a general reformation.

**Saturday, August 4.** Preached at Gwennap, where the awakening is general. Very many who have not courage to enter into the society have yet broke off their sins by repentance, and are waiting for forgiveness. The whole county is sensible of the change. For last assizes there was a gaol-delivery—not one felon to be found in their prisons, which has not been known before in the memory of man. At their last revel, they had not men enough to make a wrestling match, all the Gwennap men being struck off the devil’s list and found wrestling against him, not for him.

**Sunday, August 5.** Preached my farewell sermon at Gwennap, to an innumerable multitude. They stood mostly on the green plain before [2:225] me, and on the hill that surrounded it. Many scoffers from Redruth placed themselves on the opposite hill, which looked like Mount Ebal.<sup>6</sup> O that none of them may be found among the goats in that day!<sup>7</sup> I warned and

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<sup>1</sup>Heb. 13:8. For a sense of the sermon, see his four-part hymn on the text: *HSP* (1749), 1:88–93.

<sup>2</sup>Acts 2:42.

<sup>3</sup>Isa. 1:16.

<sup>4</sup>Acts 20:21.

<sup>5</sup>See 1 Pet. 2:13, 17.

<sup>6</sup>CW probably has Josh. 8:30 in mind here.

<sup>7</sup>See Matt. 25:32ff.



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invited all by threatenings and promises. The adversary was wonderfully restrained, and I hope disturbed in many of his children. My Father's children were comforted on every side. They hung upon the word of life,<sup>8</sup> and they shall find it able to save their souls. Spoke on for two hours. Yet knew not how to let them go. Such sorrow and love as they then expressed, the world will not believe, though a man declare it unto them. My brother Thomson was astonished, and confessed he had never seen the like among Germans [i.e., Moravians], predestinarians, or any others. With great difficulty we got through them at last, and set out on our journey. Several men and women kept pace with our horses for two or three miles, then parted—in body, not in spirit. We lodged three miles short of Mitchell.

**Monday, August 6.** Between 5:00 and 6:00 in the evening got to Mr. [John] Bennet's, and preached in his church on "Repent, and be converted."<sup>9</sup> Upon my speaking against their drunken revels, one contradicted and blasphemed. I asked, "Who is he that pleads for the devil?" and one answered in those very words, "I am he that pleads for the devil." I took occasion from hence to show the revellers their champion, and the whole congregation their state by nature. Much good I saw immediately brought out of Satan's evil. Then I set myself against his avowed advocate, and drove him out of the Christian assembly. Concluded with earnest prayer for him.

**Tuesday, August 7.** In the afternoon Mr. Meriton read prayers in Tresmeer church,<sup>10</sup> and I expounded the Good Samaritan to a thronged audience.<sup>11</sup> Some gentry were come 18 miles to hear the word, and received it with joy.<sup>12</sup> We have not had a more gracious season since we came into the country.

**Wednesday, August 8.** Read prayers and preached at St. Gennys. One of my audience was a neighbouring [2:226] clergyman, my contemporary at Christ Church, who came in much love to invite me to his house.

It should not be forgot[ten] the concurrent testimony which my brethren bore with me last Monday night in Mr. Bennet's church against harmless diversions. On my declaring that I was by them kept dead to God, asleep in the devil's arms, secure in a state of damnation for 18 years: Mr. Meriton added aloud "And I for 25"; "And I," cried Mr. Thomson "for thirty-five"; "And I" said Mr. Bennet "for above 70."

**Thursday, August 9.** Rode by Brinsworthy, Mr. Thomson's house near Barnstaple, to Minehead; where I besought near 1000 sinners to repent, and believe the gospel.<sup>13</sup> Found it possible to preach the law in its rigour, with such apparent goodwill as shall convince without exasperating. But not unto me, O Lord, not unto me!<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>See Phil. 2:16.

<sup>9</sup>Acts 3:19.

<sup>10</sup>CW spells "Tresmere."

<sup>11</sup>Luke 10:29–37.

<sup>12</sup>See Matt. 13:20 and Luke 8:13.

<sup>13</sup>Mark 1:15.

<sup>14</sup>See Ps. 115:1, "Not unto us, O Lord, not to us, but to your name give glory."

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**Saturday, August 11.** At 6:00 set sail in a sloop our sister Jones had sent to fetch me to Fonmon.<sup>15</sup> Had a delightful passage. Landed at noon near Aberthaw, and were received by our dear friend, and three of her little ones,<sup>16</sup> with some sisters from Cardiff. Went on our way singing and rejoicing to the castle.

Here I received the melancholy news of the miscarriage of one, whom I loved as my own soul.<sup>17</sup> I was sensibly wounded by his ingratitude. He has verified all my warnings and fears. But that he should attempt to justify himself by blackening me, was beyond all that I could have imagined. Lord, humble him; but do him good in his latter end.

At night I met many faithful children whom the Lord hath given us, and discoursed to them on my favourite subject. “These are they that came out of great tribulation . . . .”<sup>18</sup> The God of all consolation was mightily with us, even the God who comforteth us in all our temptations. O how delightfully did we mourn after [2:227] him whom our soul loveth—not with the noisy turbulent sorrow of newly-awakened souls which most times passes away as a morning-cloud, but with the deep contrition of love. All the congregation was in tears, in silent tears of desire or joy. This is the mourning wherewith I pray the Lord to bless me, till he wipes away all tears from my eyes.<sup>19</sup>

**Sunday, August 12.** Mr. [John] Hodges read prayers at Wenvoe. I preached convincing words and, after the sacrament, prayed—the Spirit sealing the answer on our hearts.

Preached in the castle-yard at Cardiff. “Enter into the rock, and into the clefts of the rock.”<sup>20</sup> Visited two sick brethren, one waiting for the salvation of God, the other in good measure possessed of it.

**Monday, August 13.** Called on the brethren again, assembled in their room, “Be not slothful, but followers of them . . . .”<sup>21</sup> I was much revived by our dying brother, who is now ready to be offered up. I asked him whether he had rather die or live. He answered, “To depart and to be with Christ is far better.”<sup>22</sup> He has been, both before and since his illness, a pattern for all Christian graces. Was the first in this place who received the gospel of full salvation. Now he only waits that most welcome word, “Come up hither.”<sup>23</sup>

Prayed with him again some hours after, and rejoiced over him with strong triumphant faith. He said there was something near him which would make him doubt, but could not, for he knew his Saviour stood ready to receive his spirit. I desired his prayers, kissed him, and took my

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<sup>15</sup>Mary (Forrest) Jones, of Fonmon Castle, near Cardiff, Wales.

<sup>16</sup>Her three surviving children were Mary (1733–81), Robert (1734?–93), and Catherine (1735–68).

<sup>17</sup>That is, Thomas Williams.

<sup>18</sup>Rev. 7:14.

<sup>19</sup>See Rev. 7:17; 21:4.

<sup>20</sup>Isa. 2:21.

<sup>21</sup>Heb. 6:12.

<sup>22</sup>See Phil. 1:23.

<sup>23</sup>See Rev. 4:1.

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last leave. He looked up, like my Hannah Richardson, and broke out, “Lord Jesus, give him a double portion of thy Spirit.” We were all in tears. Mine, I fear, flowed from envy and impatience of life—where briars and thorns are with me, and I dwell in the midst of scorpions.<sup>24</sup> [2:228] I felt throughout my soul that I would rather be in his condition than enjoy the whole of created good.

Enlarged in the castle on our Lord’s lamentation over Jerusalem,<sup>25</sup> and many wept, because they knew the time of *their* visitation. In the society I was borne as on eagles’ wings.<sup>26</sup> All were partakers of my faith and joy. We wrestled in prayer for my son Absalom<sup>27</sup> (surely all their prayers and tears will not be lost), for the flock in London, and for the whole church.

I now experienced the truth of a strange saying I once heard from a servant of Christ, that she could know when any were speaking evil of her, by the Spirit of God then especially resting upon her. I could not help telling it [to] the brethren, yet with a fear lest they should think of me above what they ought to think. It is far, far better to be thought and spoke evil of. We continued rejoicing before God with reverence, and such deep solid comfort as I have rarely felt before. How then shall we triumph, when we are made the filth and offscouring of all things!<sup>28</sup>

**Tuesday, August 14.** We had prayed last night with joy full of glory for our departing brother, just while he gave up his spirit—as I pray God I may give up mine. This morning I expounded that last best triumph of faith, “I have fought a good fight . . .”<sup>29</sup> The Lord administered strong consolation to those that love his appearing. We sang a song of victory for our deceased friend, then went to the house and rejoiced, and gave thanks, and rejoiced again with singing over him. The Spirit, at its departure, had left marks of its happiness on the clay. No sight upon earth in my eyes is half so lovely.

**Wednesday, August 15.** Preached near Cowbridge to many awakening sinners; and again in the castle-yard on those solemn words, “The Spirit and the Bride say, Come!”<sup>30</sup> [2:229]

**Thursday, August 16.** I preached to the prisoners, with the greatest presence of my Master that I have known in Wales. Yet afterwards in the room, confessed he had kept the greatest blessing till the last.

**Friday, August 17.** Took horse at 3:00, crossed the water in a quarter of an hour, and at 2:00 gave thanks in Bristol for our success in all things.

Wrote to Thomas Butts as follows:

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<sup>24</sup>See Ezek. 2:6.

<sup>25</sup>Matt. 23:37–39.

<sup>26</sup>See Isa. 40:31.

<sup>27</sup>See the May 14, 1744 entry above.

<sup>28</sup>See 1 Cor. 4:13.

<sup>29</sup>2 Tim. 4:7.

<sup>30</sup>Rev. 22:17.

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The things which have happened I know shall be for the furtherance of the gospel. But can a mother forget her sucking child?<sup>31</sup> My love to those that hate me passeth the love of nature. Would to God I had died for thee, O Absalom, my son, my son!<sup>32</sup>

O Tommy! could you be to me what he is? Indeed you could. Such is the nature of man, although at present you and I should say "Is thy servant a dog that he should do this?"<sup>33</sup> I am persuaded God will never so abandon us. But we are capable of such ingratitude. Indeed my brother we are, therefore ought not to be angry at poor Thomas Williams. O that his name and sin may be buried in oblivion, or that all would think of him as I do!

**Sunday, August 19.** Heard one of our sons in the gospel at Kingswood. He spoke sound words which could not be reprov'd.

My brother Meriton assisted me to administer the sacrament to our whole society. The Spirit helped our infirmity. I asked in an accepted time life for my poor rebellious son if he has not sinned the sin unto death.<sup>34</sup>

Related in the society all that has lately passed at London. They received the mournful account as they ought, with tenderest pity and just abhorrence. Could they help lamenting over one who so often ministered grace to their souls? No more then they could help cleaving to their old shepherds, who first brought them the glad tidings, and cherished them since as a nurse her [2:230] children. "Though many teachers, yet not many fathers."<sup>35</sup> This their hearts and tears abundantly confessed. Great confidence I had in them that if not only one, but all, our preachers forsook us, they should draw no disciples after them.

**Tuesday, August 21.** Preached at Cirencester, and the next day found my brother with a large company of our friends at Oxford.

**Thursday, August 23.** Went to Christ Church prayers with several of the brethren, who thought it strange to see men in surplices talking, laughing, and pointing, as in a play-house, the whole time of service.

Got two or three hours conference with my brother and found the spirit which had drawn us formerly in this place. Preached to a multitude of the brethren, gownsmen, and gentry from the races, who filled our inn and yard. The strangers that intermeddled not with our joy seemed struck and astonished with it, while we admonished one another in psalms and hymns, etc.<sup>36</sup> O that all the world had a taste for *our* diversion!

**Friday, August 24.** Joined my brother in stirring up the society. They did run well, till the Moravians turned them out of the way of God's ordinances. The Lord rebuke those grand hinderers of his work, and suffer them to proceed no farther.

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<sup>31</sup>See Isa. 49:15.

<sup>32</sup>See 2 Sam. 18:13.

<sup>33</sup>Cf. 2 Kings 8:13.

<sup>34</sup>See 1 John 5:16.

<sup>35</sup>1 Cor. 2:15.

<sup>36</sup>See Col. 3:16.

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At 10:00 walked with my brother and Mr. [Henry] Piers and Meriton to St. Mary's where my brother bore his testimony before a crowded audience,<sup>37</sup> much increased by the racers. Never have I seen a more attentive congregation. They did not let a word slip them. Some of the Heads stood up the whole time, and fixed their eyes on him. If they can endure sound doctrine like his, he will surely leave a blessing behind him.

The Vice-Chancellor sent after him and desired his notes, which he sealed up and sent immediately.<sup>38</sup>

We walked back in form, the little band of us four, for of the rest does none join himself to us. I was a little diverted at the coyness [2:231] of an old friend, Mr. [Christopher] Wells, who sat just before me but took great care to turn his back upon me all the time, which did not hinder my seeing through him.

At noon my brother set out for London and I for Bristol.

**Sunday, August 26.** Gave the sacrament at Kingswood. In the afternoon expounded the woman of Canaan.<sup>39</sup> Great was the cry after Jesus. Many a soul fell at his feet and said, "Lord, help me."<sup>40</sup>

**Monday, August 27.** Administered the sacrament to our sister B. triumphing over death. We were all partakers of her joy.

Comforted with three of our brethren from Wednesbury, who brought us news that God has given them rest from all their enemies round about them. When it is most for his glory, and their good, they shall be tried again by persecution, and again praise God in the fires.

**Friday, August 31.** Passed a blessed hour in intercession for the Church of England. Surely they that mourn for her, shall rejoice with her, when the Lord doth bring again Sion.<sup>41</sup>

Rode to Bath, and preached Jesus Christ to our own society, and many strangers. For two hours after, was comforted with our children and found how good a thing it is for brethren to dwell together in unity.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>37</sup>This was JW's last sermon before the university; cf. Sermon 4, "Scriptural Christianity," *Works*, 1:159–80.

<sup>38</sup>This was likely Walter Hodges, who served as Vice-Chancellor of Oxford 1741–44; unless the transition had already taken place to Euseby Isham, who served 1744–47.

<sup>39</sup>Matt. 15:22–28.

<sup>40</sup>Matt. 15:25.

<sup>41</sup>See Isa. 52:8.

<sup>42</sup>See Ps. 133:1 (BCP).

September 1744

**Sunday, September 2.**<sup>1</sup> Received the sacrament at the College.<sup>2</sup> Met the society, and Jesus in the midst. Scarce a soul among us but was moved, as their tears or rejoicings witnessed. Many could truly say, “Our fellowship is with the Father, and with the Son.”<sup>3</sup>

**Tuesday, September 4.** Waited most of the day at the Passage for our sister [Mary] Jones, and her little ones. They reached our side at last, through perils of water.

**Sunday, September 9.** Rode, in heavy rain, to Churchill, with Mr. [William] Shepherd.<sup>4</sup> The justice threatened him with terrible things in case I preached. Many poor people ventured to hear, while I cried, “Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh ....”<sup>5</sup> Out of the abundance of my heart my mouth spoke. When I had ended, Mr. Justice called out, and bade them pull me down.<sup>6</sup> He had stood at a distance, striving to raise a mob. But not a man would stir at his bidding. Only one behind struck me with a stone. While I was in my prayer, he cried again, “Pull him down.” I told him I had nothing now to do but to pray for him. He answered, “I have nothing to do with prayer.” “So I suppose, sir,” said I, “but we have.” He came up and laid hold on my gown, but I stepped down, to save him trouble. He told me he was a justice of peace. “Then, sir,” said I, “I reverence you for your office’s sake. But must not neglect my own, which is to preach the gospel.” “I say,” said the justice and captain, “it is an unlawful assembly.” “Be so good, then,” I replied, “as to name the law or act of parliament we break.” He answered (unhappily enough), “The Waltham Act.”<sup>7</sup> “How so, sir?” I asked. “I am in my proper habit, and you see none here in disguise.” He insisted I should not preach there. I told him I had licence to preach throughout England and Ireland, by virtue of my Master’s degree. “That I know, sir,” said he, “and am sorry for it. I think you are fellow of a college, too.”<sup>8</sup> “Yes, sir,” I answered, “and a gentleman too, and

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<sup>1</sup>For Sept. 2–17, 1744, see also CW’s more detailed draft journal in *Journal Letters*, 181–84.

<sup>2</sup>That is, Bristol Cathedral, on College Green. This seat for the Bishop of Bristol was commonly referred to as “Bristol College.”

<sup>3</sup>1 John 1:3.

<sup>4</sup>The journal letter specifies that they had come to Churchill, Somerset (3 miles south of Congresbury), for the burial of a relative of Shepherd; apparently Anne Nickils, whose burial that day is recorded in the church register.

<sup>5</sup>John 1:29.

<sup>6</sup>CW seems to be referring to his office—justice of the peace—not giving a surname.

<sup>7</sup>The “Waltham Black Act,” passed in 1723, was directed against poaching and related offenses. It detailed a list of property offenses which, if committed while armed or disguised (as with blackened faces), could carry the death penalty. The Act was often interpreted to mean that being disguised could be considered a crime in itself.

<sup>8</sup>After receiving his MA, CW was elected to a Studentship at Christ Church, Oxford (their equivalent of a Fellow). While he only taught for a couple of years, he held this position

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as such should be glad to wait upon you, and to have a little conversation [2:233] with you yourself.” He answered he should be glad of it too, for I had behaved more like a gentleman than any of them. I had charged the people to say nothing, but go quietly home. So Mr. Justice and I parted tolerable friends.

I rode three miles farther to Mr. Star’s,<sup>9</sup> where I preached the next morning to many listening sinners, who pressed me much to come again.

**Thursday, September 13.** Rejoiced to hear of the triumphant death of our sister Marsh, in London, whose last breath was spent in prayer for me.<sup>10</sup> None of our children die without leaving us a legacy. I received it this evening in the answer of her prayer. The word was as a fire, and as a hammer; the rocks were broken in pieces.<sup>11</sup> Particularly an hardened sinner, who withstood me some time before he was struck down. Many were melted down. Some testified their then receiving the atonement.

**Sunday, September 16.** Displayed from Isaiah 35 to our colliers the glorious privileges of the gospel, and the wilderness and solitary place was glad for them.<sup>12</sup> My brother [George] Thomson assisted in administering and was, as he expressed it, on the highest round of Jacob’s ladder.

Preached again at Churchill, and called to above 2000 souls, “Ho, everyone that thirsteth, come ye to the waters.”<sup>13</sup> They expressed much satisfaction in the joyful tidings of a Saviour *from sin*.

**Monday, September 17.** It being our thanksgiving-day, I read John Nelson’s case,<sup>14</sup> a plain accomplishment of the promise, “I will give you a mouth and wisdom, which none of your adversaries shall be able to resist.”<sup>15</sup>

**Friday, September 21.** Read the society my brother’s account of poor Mr. [Thomas] Williams,<sup>16</sup> and the Lord was much among us, humbling and comforting our hearts.

**Sunday, September 23.** Preached at 5:00 in the Horsefair. Gave the sacrament at Kingswood. Baptized a child of Felix Farley’s. Preached again in the Wood. Rode and preached in Bristol. Returned to our love-feast among the colliers. And, near midnight, slept with my

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until he married.

<sup>9</sup>Mr. Star lived in Way Wick, Somerset (cf. JW, *Works*, 20:142).

<sup>10</sup>Elizabeth Marsh appears as a single woman in the Foundery Band Lists (1742–46) up to this point. See JW’s account of her death in his *Journal*, Sept. 6, 1744, *Works*, 20:38; and the account in *AM* 4 (1781): 644–46.

<sup>11</sup>See Jer. 23:29.

<sup>12</sup>See Isa. 35:1.

<sup>13</sup>Isa. 55:1.

<sup>14</sup>The Methodist lay preacher impressed to military service against his will (see May 4, 1744 entry). CW was reading the summary that Nelson prepared for publication, which appeared as: *The Case of John Nelson* (London: Strahan, 1745).

<sup>15</sup>Luke 21:15.

<sup>16</sup>This account, likely in the form of a letter, is not known to survive.

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brother [George] Thomson in the Horsefair. [2:234]

**Monday, September 24.** Set out for London. Blundered in the dark night to a little village beyond Malmesbury. It was no great inconvenience that we found neither bed nor victuals.

**Tuesday, September 25.** Preached at [High] Wycombe, and the next day at our chapel by the Seven Dials.<sup>17</sup> The first scripture I met was Jeremiah 20:7–10, etc., and never have I more felt the power of God’s word. Prayer is made for me by my friends, I know and feel, for I have not enjoyed so great liberty for years past. This is to prepare me for farther work, and farther sufferings.

Talked with a serious brother, who desired my answer to the many horrid scandals Thomas Williams has raised on me—e.g., my keeping 20 mistresses only in London, etc. I simply denied them all, which was all the satisfaction I could give him till that day, and he desired no more.

Preached to a thronged audience on “These are they that came out of great tribulation.”<sup>18</sup> The Lord greatly comforted our hearts. And again at the society, where I forbore mentioning Mr. Williams, but appointed all who had been troubled by any reports concerning me or my brother to call on me the next day.

**Friday, September 28.** Expounded Paul’s shipwreck,<sup>19</sup> and had great faith that the Lord will give us all that sail in the ship with us.

Gave the sacrament to several sick.

At the time of conference, among others, a poor backsliding child came to me who had been led away by the lies of Thomas Williams. She fell at my feet, asking pardon of God and me. O how easy and delightful is it to forgive one that says, “I repent!” Lord, grant me power as freely to forgive them who persist to injure me!

**Saturday, September 29.** Administered the sacrament to our sick but happy sister Burnet, with great envy of her condition.<sup>20</sup>

**Sunday, September 30.** Assisted my brother in giving it to the whole society. Gathered another stray sheep.

[2:235]

**October 1744**

**Wednesday, October 10.** Took horse with Nathaniel Salthouse,<sup>1</sup> and came with the next night to Markfield, half dead through pain and fatigue.

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<sup>17</sup>I.e., West Street chapel.

<sup>18</sup>Rev. 7:14.

<sup>19</sup>Acts 27.

<sup>20</sup>Elizabeth Burnet appears as a single woman in the Foundery Band Lists (1742–46).

<sup>1</sup>Nathaniel Salthouse appears as a single man in the Foundery Band Lists (1742–46). He married Anne Hamilton in Sept. 1746, and was buried in Bunhill Fields on Apr. 4, 1758. He was traveling with CW as an aide, not a lay preacher.



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**Friday, October 12.** Preached in the church,<sup>2</sup> convincingly as I afterwards heard, and rode in great pain to Donington. Met my old friend Dr. [John] Byrom,<sup>3</sup> and lost an hour in dispute about his sacred mystics. Lay down at 11:00 in my clothes, as usual, but could not rest.

Talked with a friend<sup>4</sup> concerning the conspiracy hatching against me at London, who advised me to keep silence, and leave the matter to God. My pain (through the piles<sup>5</sup>) increasing, I asked Dr. Harding's advice, who forbade my riding onward tomorrow under pain of a massification.

**Monday, October 15.** Proclaimed liberty to the captives,<sup>6</sup> and deeply offended some pleaders for German [i.e., Moravian], instead of Christian, liberty. But whether they will hear, or whether they will forbear, I have spoken the truth. I have paid my debt, and delivered my own soul. A woman confessed she then received the sense of her pardon.

**Wednesday, October 17.** Hardly held out to Nottingham, and the next day to Sheffield. I lay down for an hour, and recovered strength to preach, "That I may know him, and the power of his resurrection."<sup>7</sup> The word was not bound, or weak, like me.

**Friday, October 19.** Had a woeful journey to Epworth.

**Sunday, October 21.** Met the society twice, and preached thrice, in spite of my body.

**Monday, October 22.** Preached at Ferry in the room whence John Downes had been dragged away for a soldier.<sup>8</sup> Found a great blessing in the cluster there. Lodged at Sykehouse, and the next day,

**Tuesday, October 23,** rejoiced among my brethren in Birstall. Here they have been sifted like wheat by Mr. Viney.<sup>9</sup> They received him upon my brother's recommendation (whose

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<sup>2</sup>Where Edward Ellis was pastor.

<sup>3</sup>Byrom was at Donington Park visiting Lady Huntingdon, and notes this meeting with CW in a letter to his wife; *Private Journal and Literary Remains of John Byrom*, ed. by Richard Parkinson (Manchester: Chetham Society, 1854–57), 2:384.

<sup>4</sup>I.e., Lady Huntingdon, whom CW was addressing in contemporaneous letters as "my only friend." This is the first direct appearance (albeit covert) of Selina (Shirley) Hastings, Countess of Huntingdon (1707–91) in CW's MS Journal, even though they had nurtured a close friendship over the last three years. The relative absence of earlier mention is due in part to the fracture in their relationship that would emerge around the charges of Thomas Williams (see Jan, 3 and May 23, 1745 below). This fracture eventually healed (see June 23, 1751 below), until controversy over the Minutes of the 1770 Methodist Conference rejecting Calvinism led to an insurmountable breach.

<sup>5</sup>I.e., haemorrhoids.

<sup>6</sup>See Luke 4:18.

<sup>7</sup>Phil. 3:10.

<sup>8</sup>Owston Ferry, Lincolnshire, 2 miles southeast of Epworth.

<sup>9</sup>Richard Viney, the first English member of the Moravian Church and warden of its Yorkshire congregation, had been excluded from the Moravians for disaffection and briefly attached himself to JW.

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unhappiness it is still to set the wolf to keep the sheep), and he has served them a German trick—bringing them off their *animal love* for their pastors, their prayers, fastings, works, holiness. [2:236] He had well-nigh destroyed the work of God, when John Nelson returned from his captivity.

**Wednesday, October 24.** Preached at Leeds, from, “As for thee, by the blood of thy covenant I have sent up thy prisoners out of the pit.”<sup>10</sup> Here the great blessing is. One, as far as can yet be discerned, received forgiveness. All were comforted or convinced.

**Thursday, October 25.** Preached at Bradford,<sup>11</sup> on “This is he that came by water and by blood.”<sup>12</sup> The whole congregation was in a flame. Surely God hath a great work to do among this people.

Met the Birstall society, whom Mr. [Richard] Viney had almost quite perverted, so that they laughed at all fasting, and self-denial, and family prayer, and such-like works of the law. They were so alienated by that cunning supplanter that they took no notice of John Nelson when he came back—for all that, Viney taught them, was “animal love.”

**Sunday, October 28.** Preached in the street at Leeds, no man disturbing me, on “He that endureth to the end, the same shall be saved.”<sup>13</sup>

Preached on Birstall hill to a great multitude, “Watch ye, stand fast in the faith, quit yourselves like men, be strong.”<sup>14</sup> Rebuked them sharply who had walked contrary, and the spirit of contrition fell upon them. It was a blessed mourning, and continued at the society. Then first my heart was enlarged, and my faith returned for these poor shattered sheep. They confessed their sin, and God showed himself faithful and just. Our lovefeast began with sorrow, but ended with joy. The Lord received our petitions, and assured us in prayer that the plague was stayed.

**Monday, October 29.** Took leave in those words, “Finally, brethren, farewell; be perfect ....”<sup>15</sup>

**Tuesday, October 30.** After much wandering, came by night half-starved to our inn; and the next day to Newcastle.

[2:237]

**November 1744**

**Tuesday, November 6.** Expounded Acts 3 at Biddick, and found much life among this poor people. Many of them have received forgiveness, chiefly under the prayer of one of the brethren raised up to serve them.

Rebuked the society at Newcastle for their slackness, and offences of various kinds. Gave notice that I should begin next morning to examine them, and put out every disorderly walker.

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<sup>10</sup>Zech. 9:11.

<sup>11</sup>Bradford, Yorkshire.

<sup>12</sup>1 John 5:6.

<sup>13</sup>Matt. 24:13.

<sup>14</sup>1 Cor. 16:13.

<sup>15</sup>2 Cor. 13:11.

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**Thursday evening, November [8].**<sup>1</sup> Took my leave of Tanfield in Revelation 7, “These are they that came out of . . .,”<sup>2</sup> and the Lord was greatly with us. I could not finish my discourse in less than two hours.

**Friday, November 9.** Proceeded with the classes. It was high time to purge them. Through their own negligence, and that of their late teachers, many were turning back into Egypt.<sup>3</sup>

Spent the night in watching and prayer. Found the Lord returning to his people.

Retired to read my letters from London. Offered up myself to the divine disposal. Met with Psalm 144, then with Balak’s hiring Balaam to curse Israel.<sup>4</sup> Went down to the congregation, where the Lord answered for himself. Sent an account to the brethren at London:

My Dearest Brethren,

Last night I was informed that the Philistines shouted against me, and the Spirit of the Lord came mightily upon us.<sup>5</sup> To him give all the glory that I find my heart so enlarged toward you as never before. Now I can truly say, “Ye are not straitened in me.”<sup>6</sup> All my pining desires after rest are vanished and I am at last content to do what is more than dying for you—even to live for you, and suffer out my time.

Here then I give up myself your servant for Christ’s sake, to wait upon you till all are gathered home. Where ye go I will go, and where ye lodge I will lodge. Where ye die will I die, and there will I be buried. Neither shall death itself part you and me.<sup>7</sup>

Such a night of consolation as the last I have seldom known. Our souls were filled with faith and prayer, and knit to yours in love unchangeable.

Lift up holy hands, that I may approve myself a true minister of Jesus Christ in all things.

**[2:238]**

**Sunday, November 11.** This evening heard of poor Mr. Broughton’s zeal. But shall not prosecute, after his example.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Orig., “November 7”; an error.

<sup>2</sup>Rev. 7:14.

<sup>3</sup>See Num. 14:4.

<sup>4</sup>Num. 22.

<sup>5</sup>See Judg. 15:14.

<sup>6</sup>2 Cor. 6:12.

<sup>7</sup>See Ruth 1:16–17.

<sup>8</sup>When Thomas Williams began making accusations against CW in Sept., two women who had become disaffected with the Wesleyan wing of the Methodist movement swore oaths alleging sexual misconduct by CW. Thomas Broughton brought these affidavits to the attention of the bishops (surely with a sense of how their roles were now reversed; cf. Mar. 8–24, 1739, above). Broughton’s role was noted by Howell Harris in a letter to George Whitefield (Jan. 11, 1745), in *Selected Trevecka Letters* (1742–47), edited by G. M. Roberts (Caernarvon: Calvinistic

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**Monday, November 12.** Preached, “The Lord hath said unto my Lord, Sit down on my right hand,”<sup>9</sup> and triumphed in his kingly power. At Whickham spoke of the length, and breadth, and depth, and height of the love of Christ which passes knowledge.<sup>10</sup> He extended peace to us as a river.<sup>11</sup> The word was with equal power at Newcastle.

**Thursday, November 15.** Passed an hour with my dear keelmen at the hospital, who are cruelly treated by their masters for the gospel’s sake.

In the evening preached at Burnopfield,<sup>12</sup> between Tanfield and Spen, on “Behold the Lamb of God that taketh . . .”<sup>13</sup> Met the flourishing society, and was much refreshed a second time. Returned to Newcastle, and strongly pressed them to constant prayer.<sup>14</sup> I see plainly: “it is pray, or perish!”

**Saturday, November 17.** Now, indeed, the rains descend, and the floods come, and the winds blow and beat upon the house.<sup>15</sup> Received a letter from C. G., at D.,<sup>16</sup> half staggered by the boldness of my accusers—God reigneth over the heathen,<sup>17</sup> this is my comfort; and beneath me are the everlasting arms.<sup>18</sup>

At noon set out for Biddick. The snow had made the roads almost impassable for horses. I followed Nathaniel Salthouse on foot. Dwelt on my old subject, “These are they that came out of great tribulation.”<sup>19</sup> For above an hour all were in tears. Another blessed hour was spent in like manner with the society.

**Sunday, November 18.** Enlarged on that word, “A soldier pierced his side . . .”<sup>20</sup> We looked upon him, and could have continued looking and mourning till he appeared in the air.<sup>21</sup>

Walked to Sunderland, and back again. The storm of hail and snow was so violent that I was often going to lay me down in the road, unable either to walk or stand.

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Methodist Bookroom, 1956), 162.

<sup>9</sup>Ps. 110:1; see CW’s hymn on this text, from the same period: *HSP* (1742), 89–91.

<sup>10</sup>Eph. 3:18–19.

<sup>11</sup>See Isa. 66:12.

<sup>12</sup>CW spells “Burnup-Field.”

<sup>13</sup>John 1:29.

<sup>14</sup>See 1 Thess. 5:17.

<sup>15</sup>See Matt. 7:27.

<sup>16</sup>This is likely Charles Graves, writing from Donington Park. Graves had accompanied CW to Donington Park in 1742, and was now ministering in the western part of Yorkshire.

<sup>17</sup>See Ps. 47:8.

<sup>18</sup>See Deut. 33:27.

<sup>19</sup>Rev. 7:14.

<sup>20</sup>John 19:34.

<sup>21</sup>See 1 Thess. 4:17.

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**Monday, November 19.** Brought back a wandering sheep, who had forfeited her pardon by unforgiveness. [2:239] Received comfort, and wept for joy at the prosperity of our Bristol children, which I heard of in several letters. Walked over the fields to Whickham. The snow was in most places above our knees. After preaching, set out for Horsley in most bitter weather. Rode and walked, till I could do neither, yet got to Horsley by night. But my jaw was quite stiffened and disabled by the snow. Lay down and got a little strength to preach.

**Tuesday, November 20.** Waded back to Newcastle by 1:00, oftentimes up to my middle in snow.

Rode, or rather walked, to Plessy and preached, "It is finished."<sup>22</sup>

**Thursday, November 22.** Got back to Newcastle, and thence to Whickham, where I spoke of that great and terrible day of the Lord.<sup>23</sup> Many trembled, and some rejoiced in hope of the glory of God. Rode thence to Spen, being so feeble that I could not walk. Yet I was forced to it the last mile, being almost starved to death in the next to impassable ways. I was led, I know not how, by the brethren, up to the knees in snow, the horses oftentimes sinking up to their shoulders.

Surprised at the great number got together in such a season. They did not come in vain, for the Lord comforted their hearts abundantly, and mine also. These were all gathered by John Brown, a simple man whom the Lord has wonderfully raised up for his work.<sup>24</sup>

**Sunday, November 25.** The devil's children made a great disturbance in the time of preaching. I stood on the stairs, and took up the society one by one, while the mob were ready to tear them in pieces. Satan, one would think, foresaw the blessing we should have together.

**Tuesday, November 27.** At Biddick we had close fellowship with him in his sufferings, while he cried, "Is it nothing to you, all ye that pass by?"<sup>25</sup>

Returned, praying, to Newcastle, but almost perished with cold. In the word the Spirit was poured out upon us from on high,<sup>26</sup> and bore down all before it as a mighty flood.

**Wednesday, November 28.** The whole congregation were again broken down by prayer. I put out of the [2:240] society all the disorderly walkers—who are consequently ready to make affidavit of whatever Mr. Broughton pleases.<sup>27</sup> Prayed without ceasing most of this day.

Mr. [James] Erskine called on me. I preached, "In the world ye shall have tribulation. But be of good cheer . . ."<sup>28</sup> We had peace in him, in spite of the disturbance of Satan's children.

**Thursday, November 29.** Preached by one of our children dying in the Lord, with tears and strong desires of going in her place.

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<sup>22</sup>John 19:30.

<sup>23</sup>Joel 2:31.

<sup>24</sup>John Brown (c. 1717–1808) of Tanfield Lea; cf. JW, *Journal*, Nov. 28, 1742, *Works*, 19:303–04.

<sup>25</sup>Lam. 1:12.

<sup>26</sup>See Isa. 32:15.

<sup>27</sup>See the Nov. 11, 1744 entry.

<sup>28</sup>John 16:33.

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**Friday, November 30.** Mr. Erskine left me, but not before he had much strengthened my hands in the Lord.

In the evening the waves so lifted up their voice,<sup>29</sup> that we could only sing for half an hour. The most violent of the rioters had been two of our own society.

**December 1744**

**Tuesday, December 4.** An hour before preaching-time the mob were so violent that we thought there could be no preaching that night. They came nigh to break the door. I began speaking abruptly, without a text, and God gave me strong words that stilled the madness of the people. Neither was there any breath of opposition during the society.

**Friday, December 7.** My subject at our watchnight was, “Christ also suffered, leaving us an example.”<sup>1</sup> Toward the end, the power of the Lord dissolved us all into tears.

**Sunday, December 9.** Preached on “Awake, awake, put on strength, oh arm of the Lord,”<sup>2</sup> and he did wonderfully answer us in that same hour. Forced to walk to Burnopfield with my sprained leg, through the extreme cold. Expounded Isaiah 35. In the evening our enemies at Newcastle were restrained while I besought them to repent and believe the gospel.<sup>3</sup>

**Tuesday, December 11.** Had asked that at midnight I might rise and praise him, because of his righteous judgments, and was waked exactly at 12:00. Prayed a few minutes, and slept again in peace. Rose again at 4:00, prayed earnestly, and almost rejoiced. Without light or fire, yet felt no cold. At 5:00 preached [2:241] on “Whatsoever things ye ask in prayer, believe that ye receive them and ye shall have them.”<sup>4</sup> We were carried out in fervent prayer for ourselves and the whole nation.

Visited Walter Brass, on a bed of sickness. He was once of the society but lately turned scoffer and disturber of the word. The Lord hath now set his misdeeds before him, and he cries out vehemently for mercy. Another rioter, J. Wilson, is humbled in like manner, in immediate answer to our prayer last night.

Conferred with a sincere person who had been turned out of the way by the vain boastings of some whose life contradicted their profession.

In the evening we found a mighty spirit of prayer among the bands, and earnestly cried for the blotting out of all our sins against love.

**Wednesday, December 12.** Rose again at midnight, and prayed with more life than before. John Nelson came.

**Thursday, December 13.** Admitted twenty new members. Took my leave in Acts 20. It was a solemn time of prayer and love.

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<sup>29</sup>See Ps. 93:3.

<sup>1</sup>1 Pet. 2:21.

<sup>2</sup>Isa. 51:9.

<sup>3</sup>Mark 1:15.

<sup>4</sup>Matt. 21:22.

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**Friday, December 14.** Set out, with Nathaniel Salthouse, in the severe frost; and on **Sunday, December 16,** arrived safe at Epworth.

**Monday, December 17.** Wrote thus to a friend:

My greatest trouble is that I have innocently brought such a burden upon my friends, especially one.<sup>5</sup> Neither can I conceive it possible that this trouble should be wholly removed here. The joint may perhaps be set, but the halting will continue till I come to the land where all things are forgotten.<sup>6</sup>

God, who hath known my soul in adversity, causes me also to know it. That he loves me, I can no more doubt than of his being. He has likewise given me to love others with a pure love; particularly one person,<sup>7</sup> from whom I never expect or desire any farther communication of good than I do from my mother, or other spirits of just men made perfect. And however providence may work, I mean never more to see *that person* (if without sin I may forbear) till we [2:242] *stand* together at the judgment-seat.

**Tuesday, December 18.** Expounded Revelation 7. All were in tears. All were comforted.

**Wednesday, December 19.** Rode to Sykehouse, and thence to our brother Pindar's.<sup>8</sup>

**Thursday, December 20,** to Birstall.

**Sunday, December 23.** Parted with our brethren in Leeds, commending them to God, and to the word of his grace.<sup>9</sup> There was a general mourning, as if I was taking my last leave. The blessing of the Lord still followed us, both at Morley and at Birstall.

**Friday, December 28.** Preached at Sheffield and Nottingham on my journey, and this evening was refreshed by our brothers Hogg and [Thomas] Butts,<sup>10</sup> who met me at St. Albans.

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<sup>5</sup>Sarah Perrin—see CW's extended poetic lament (c. Sept. 30, 1744) over the impact of Thomas Williams's solicited accusations, and how these had brought estrangement to CW's relationship with Perrin, in MS Address to a Friend. The present letter was likely to Perrin, since she had written CW on Oct. 4, 1744 assuring him of her continuing friendship; and had written him again most recently on Dec. 1, 1744.

<sup>6</sup>See Ps. 88:6 (BCP).

<sup>7</sup>Thomas Williams.

<sup>8</sup>Likely John Pindar (1702–76) of Owston, Lincolnshire, who overlapped with JW at Oxford.

<sup>9</sup>See Acts 20:32.

<sup>10</sup>Thomas Hogg (c. 1705–50), a young London merchant, was married to Mary Hastin in 1732 at Holy Trinity, Minories. In 1738 he came under the preaching of George Whitefield and CW in the Minories district. He was drawn into the movement and appears as a married man throughout the Foundery Band Lists (1742–46). In Nov. 1741 he wrote an account of his conversion at CW's request. CW was present at Hogg's death on June 29, 1750, and published subsequently Hogg's conversion narrative with a hymn and epitaph attached: *A Short Account of God's Dealings with Mr. Thomas Hogg* (London [Strahan], 1750).

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**Saturday, December 29.** Continued in prayer from 3:00 to 4:00. Then took horse, with joyful confidence and desire to see London. By 7:00 entered the Foundery. Read prayers at the [West Street] chapel, and preached from Isaiah 51, with great enlargement. Received much spiritual strength and comfort in the sacrament.

**Sunday, December 30.** My brother read prayers. I preached on “He shall save his people from their sins.”<sup>11</sup> At night on “How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth glad tidings!”<sup>12</sup> God gave testimony to his word, and endued my soul with more strength and boldness than ever.

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<sup>11</sup>Matt. 1:21.

<sup>12</sup>Isa. 52:7.



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[2:243]

[January 1745]

**Thursday, January [3].**<sup>1</sup> [[Received a summons from my friend that was<sup>2</sup> with due indifference yet thought it my duty to go, in justice to my own character. I waited upon her, and found Satan at her right hand, good Mrs. Ed[win]<sup>3</sup> I mean. I spoke to her with calm confidence, “above all fear, all anger and all pride.”<sup>4</sup> She expressed her concern. I declared my innocence in general, related my like trial in Georgia, and Ephraem Syrus’s case.<sup>5</sup> Stopped Mrs. Ed[win]’s mouth by saying “If accusations are proofs, you are as much worse than I, as wicked actions are worse than wicked designs.” She raged, and sank into sullen silence. My friend said she could not look upon it, or believe me such as I am represented. I found power to suspend my judgment of her, I said, so as neither to condemn nor justify her. She spoke after his Grace, concerning order, etc.<sup>6</sup> I asked what good would have been done at Wednesbury upon that principle; and she fired, so as to lose all charge of herself. I left her without trouble or regret.

[[This morning the famous Mrs. Sarah Robinson<sup>7</sup> and others came to beg my pardon. I

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<sup>1</sup>Orig., “January 4”; an error.

<sup>2</sup>On Oct. 12, when CW informed Lady Huntingdon of the allegations being brought against him, she had advised him to “keep silence and leave the matter to God.” But by late December Lady Huntingdon had grown concerned over the damage the charges would do to the revival. So she approached Edmund Gibson, the Bishop of London, who was amenable to clearing CW of the charges, but only if the Methodist practice of preaching outside of parish churches (in the fields) and without permission of the Church of England priest assigned to the parish could be curbed.

<sup>3</sup>This is, almost certainly, Catherine Edwin (1702–73), a close—but disruptive—friend of Lady Huntingdon (they were later estranged when Edwin affiliated with the Moravians). It was common practice in the eighteenth century to refer to older unmarried women as “Mrs.” A lack of awareness of this practice has led some to confuse references to Catherine as being to her sister-in-law, Lady Charlotte Edwin.

<sup>4</sup>Alexander Pope, “To the Right Honorable Robert, Earl of Oxford, and Earl Mortimer,” ln. 24; in Thomas Parnell, *Poems on Several Occasions* (3rd edn., London: Lintot, 1722), 4.

<sup>5</sup>CW is referring to an incident recorded in the *Ecclesiastical History* of Sozomen (Book III, ch. 15), where a woman taunted the saintly monastic Ephraem Syrus (c. 303–373) as being her father. Cf. Samuel Parker, ed., *The Ecclesiastical Histories of Eusebius, Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodorit* (London: Rivington, 1729), 321.

<sup>6</sup>Edmund Gibson, Bishop of London, who had just published *The Case of the Methodists Briefly Stated, more particularly in the point of Field Preaching* (London: Edward Owen, 1744).

<sup>7</sup>“Sarah” is added above the line in shorthand. She was possibly the other woman (beside Elizabeth Story) who had sworn a false affidavit against CW; cf. the entries for Nov. 11, 1744 and June 29, 1747. JW mentions talking to her on Sept. 30, 1740, *Works*, 19:435.

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doubt not but the whole synagogue of Satan<sup>8</sup> will bow down. They showed all the outward signs of repentance.]]

**Friday, January 4.** All were melted into gracious tears at the sacrament. Heard of one who had lately received the seal of forgiveness under me, when I was more than usually dead. Expounded John 1 at Short's Gardens, and the power of the Lord was present. Our old Friend [Thomas] Keene was broken to pieces by it.

**Sunday, January 13.** Visited a sister who walks through the valley of the shadow of death and fears no evil.<sup>9</sup> Tasted the sweet consolation and blessedness of tears. I have found these few last days more comfort, both in preaching and prayer, than for some years. Is not our God a very present help in time of trouble?<sup>10</sup>

Today I was with a new creature (of her own making), [[Mrs. Collier (?)],<sup>11</sup> who told me "I am glorified already. I shall never die. My body in a little time will feel no pain. I shall be able to walk in the fire, and not be burnt."<sup>12</sup> Many such extravagancies she uttered, which made my flesh tremble. My good brother excuses and palliates, and thinks her a new creature still.

In much distress at the altar, I cast mine eye on that word, "It is good for me to have been in trouble."<sup>13</sup> My heart was full of prayer. At last I broke out into tears and strong cries, and all with me. It was indeed a glorious time of visitation.

**Saturday, January 19.** Prayed with our brother Grey, ready for the Bridegroom, and rejoicing in hope [2:244] of a speedy dissolution.<sup>14</sup> Preached at the [West Street] chapel on "Awake, awake, put on strength, oh arm of the Lord,"<sup>15</sup> and found, both in the word, and in prayer, and at the altar, the double blessing which now continually attends us.

**Saturday, January 26.** Mr. [James] Erskine came to me at Short's Gardens with a message which the Bishop of London had sent to Lady Huntingdon that, if I would come to him, and declare my innocency touching the scandals, and take the sacrament upon it, he would desire no farther satisfaction, but himself clear me. I immediately consented, and sent my brother advice of it.

**Sunday, January 27.** Paid my last visit to our poor unstable brother Cooper, who is now so *holy in Christ* as to say, "I renounce the doctrine which your brother preaches, and trample it

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<sup>8</sup>See Rev. 2:9; 3:9.

<sup>9</sup>See Ps. 23:4.

<sup>10</sup>See Ps. 46:1.

<sup>11</sup>The shorthand looks more like "Coles," "Cowles," or "Collis." But "Collier" is possible, and a Sarah Collier appears in Jan. 1744 in the Foundery Band Lists (1742–46).

<sup>12</sup>See Isa. 43:2.

<sup>13</sup>Ps. 119:71 (BCP).

<sup>14</sup>Joseph Grey appears as a married man in the Foundery Band Lists (1742–46) through 1744; he was buried on Feb. 8, 1745.

<sup>15</sup>Isa. 51:9.

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under my feet, as a doctrine of devils.”<sup>16</sup> This is what all the German converts come to. [[Our old friend came as it were to take her leave of the chapel.<sup>17</sup>]] I discoursed on “These are they that came out of great tribulation.”<sup>18</sup> Both by the word and at the sacrament the Lord answered for himself.

Buried a sister who departed in the Lord. Called the multitude at the Foundery, “Come, for all things are now ready.”<sup>19</sup> Met the bands, and a solemn mournful assembly it was. I could speak, sing, pray for nothing but death. We mixed our tears and souls together in that love which death cannot violate.

**February 1745**

**Friday, February 1.** At our watchnight I described the new Jerusalem (Revelation 21), and great was our rejoicing before the Lord.

**Sunday, February 3.** At the sacrament and among the bands I was enabled to pour out my soul in prayer, and carried them all with me to the throne of grace.

**Thursday, February 7.** By my brother’s advice sent the following declaration to the Bishop of London by the hands of Mr. Thomas Butts.<sup>1</sup>

[2:245]

My Lord

I was informed some time ago that your Lordship had received some allegations against me of one E[lizabeth] S[tory],<sup>2</sup> charging me with committing or offering to commit lewdness with her.

Farther, I have lately heard that your Lordship was pleased to say, “If I solemnly declared my innocence you should be satisfied.” I therefore take this liberty, and do

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<sup>16</sup>Thomas Cooper (b. 1710) was part of the Fetter Lane society, then joined the Wesley brothers, where he appears as a married man in the Foundery Band Lists (1742–46) through July 1744. He wrote an account of his conversion for CW in 1741 (MARC, MA 1977/501/16); and CW mentions visiting him in a madhouse in a letter to Sarah (Gwynne) Wesley dated Sept. 22, 1755. Although Thomas signs his name “Cooper,” CW consistently spells “Cowper.”

<sup>17</sup>Lady Huntingdon had been a regular attendant at the West Street Chapel prior to this.

<sup>18</sup>Rev. 7:14.

<sup>19</sup>Luke 14:17.

<sup>1</sup>There is a shorthand copy of this letter in CW’s notebook of Shorthand Letters (MARC, MA 1977/567/2), p. 31. It contains small differences in wording and gives the date as Feb. 8, rather than Feb. 7.

<sup>2</sup>CW gives only the initials here, the full name is confirmed by an affidavit recanting the charge four years later; see CW, *Journal Letters*, 302–03, and CW letter to Martha (Wesley) Hall, Jan. 31, 1749. Elizabeth Story’s name appears on an Apr. 1742 list of single women in the Foundery Bands Lists (1742–46), but not on later lists (part of this time she was in Bristol for her health; then Thomas Williams encouraged her to withdraw).

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hereby solemnly declare that I never did commit lewdness with that person, nor solicit her to it, and that I am innocent in deed, word, and thought touching this thing.

As there are, I hear, other such slanders cast upon me and no less than all manner of evil said against me, I must beg leave farther to declare my innocence as to *all other women likewise*. It is now near 20 years since I began working out my salvation. In all which time God, in whose presence I speak, has kept me *from either committing the act of wickedness* (fornication, or adultery) or *even soliciting any person whatsoever thereunto*. *I deny the action*. I deny that I have ever spoken any word prompting any person thereto. *I deny that I have ever harboured any such design in my heart*.<sup>3</sup>

If your Lordship requires any further purgation I am ready to declare the same viva voce and to take the blessed sacrament in proof of this, my declaration.

I am, my Lord,

Your Lordship's dutiful son and servant.

CW

The Foundery  
February 7, 1745

His Lordship, notwithstanding his word, returned me just as much answer as I expected.

**Sunday, February 10.** Received the never-failing blessing at the sacrament. Our prayer after it always opens heaven.

**Saturday, February 16.** [[In a letter to a friend wrote<sup>4</sup>

[[I am often weary and faint, but is there not a cause? The loss of all things and life itself is nothing to loss of a friend.

[[If my burden weighs you down I must communicate no more. But whatever becomes of me, the foundation stands sure. Farewell my sorrowful friend, for I know I have infected you. Farewell and long for our meeting in a better world.]]

**Sunday, February 17.** Was strengthened by a zealous [2:246] Quaker, who informed me he had received the Spirit of adoption in hearing me a year ago, and has walked in the light from that time to this.

**Wednesday, February 20.** In asking, at the [West Street] chapel, "Is there no balm in Gilead?"<sup>5</sup> I found, with many others, that there was—and a good physician too, whose power was even then present to heal.

**Sunday, February 24.** We had the spirit of prayer in the sacrament, as usual. The word at night had great effect. My subject was the returning prodigal.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>It is not certain that the emphasis in this paragraph is CW's own.

<sup>4</sup>This letter is most likely to Sarah Perrin—see note on Dec. 17, 1744 letter above.

<sup>5</sup>Jer. 8:22.

<sup>6</sup>Luke 15:11–32.

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**Tuesday, February 26.** Gave the sacrament to one on Saffron Hill,<sup>7</sup> and found faith that the Lord was at work. Going down, they asked me to see another dying in the room below. As I entered, I heard her make confession of the faith which she received that moment, as she had told those about her she should, and that she could not die in peace till she saw me. She was full of triumphant joy, and said to me, “I am going to paradise. It will not be long before you follow me.” My soul was filled with *her* consolation.

**March 1745**

**Saturday, March 2.** At the [West Street] chapel expounded, “Thus saith the high and lofty one, that inhabiteth eternity,”<sup>1</sup> and he covered us with a covering of his Spirit.

**Sunday, March 3.** Our hearts were bowed down before the Lord, both in the word and sacrament.

**Saturday, March 9.** Dined at our brother Arvin’s, just after his wife had taken her flight to paradise.<sup>2</sup>

**Sunday, March 10.** Expounded the woman of Canaan,<sup>3</sup> and was carried out after the sacrament in strong intercession for my departed friends. One of them was there, unknown to me, but went out before my prayer.

**Wednesday, March 13.** God gave me strong words at the chapel against the antinomian delusion.

**Saturday, March [16].**<sup>4</sup> Spoke with one of the society, lately a papist, who is much haunted by her old friends, especially her confessor, who thunders out anathemas against her and threatens to burn [2:247] me—if he could catch me at Rome. I sent my respects to the gentleman, and offered to talk with him before her, at my own lodgings or wherever he pleased; but received no answer.

**Thursday, March 21.** Expounded Isaiah 35. Many of our brethren from the Tabernacle were present.<sup>5</sup> Our Lord did not send us empty away,<sup>6</sup> but applied the word of his grace to our hearts.

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<sup>7</sup>Saffron Hill street, just east of Holborn Circus, London.

<sup>1</sup>Isa. 57:15.

<sup>2</sup>William Arvin (c. 1700–1779) resided in Southwark and would soon take the lease of a chapel at Snowsfields where he invited JW’s preachers to speak until a disagreement in 1763 (see JW, *Journal*, Nov. 2, 1751, *Works*, 20:406; and JW to a friend, May 1763, *Works*, 27:330). His first wife, Mary Coale, whom he wed in 1725, died in 1738. In 1740 he married Jane Chase, who was buried on Mar. 15, 1745. In May 1745 he would marry Mary Clavel, who was active in the Foundery society.

<sup>3</sup>Matt. 15:22–28.

<sup>4</sup>The date is not given in the original.

<sup>5</sup>I.e., from George Whitefield’s preaching house in London.

<sup>6</sup>See Matt. 15:32; Mark 8:3.

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**Sunday evening, March 24.** Set out for Bristol with Thomas Butts. Lodged on Monday night in Newbury. On

**Tuesday, March 26,** came to Mrs. Gotley's at Avon,<sup>7</sup> and the next day to Bristol.

My subject was, "Thy sun shall no more go down by day ...."<sup>8</sup> The Lord sanctified our meeting, and we were comforted by our mutual faith.

**Sunday, March 31.** At 5:00 preached in the Room; at 8:00 in Kingswood, on the new Jerusalem.<sup>9</sup> Administered the sacrament to all the society, and the God, the consolation of Israel, visited us. The whole congregation were moved to cry after him, either through sorrow or through joy.

Rode to Conham. Mr. [Charles] Graves read prayers in Mr. Wayne's chapel.<sup>10</sup> I bade them "Lift up the hands that hung down, and strengthen the feeble knees."<sup>11</sup> The word did not return void. Walked back to the colliers, and exhorted them to adorn the gospel.<sup>12</sup> Then to Baptist Mills, where the children of the devil fled before the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God.<sup>13</sup>

At our lovefeast in Bristol, spoke of the fruits of faith in strong scriptural words. Sarah Goslin,<sup>14</sup> the mother of our antinomians, was forced to fly for her life. It was a blessed opportunity. The Lord mightily confirmed his word, and thereby ministered his consolations.

[2:248]

**April 1745**

**Wednesday, April 3.** Preached at [South] Wraxall,<sup>1</sup> and found the bread I had cast upon the waters, after many days.<sup>2</sup> Several of my old hearers from Bradford[-on-Avon] were present. One caught hold of me, and cried, "Blessed be the day that ever I saw your face. This was the man, under God, that first opened my eyes." Another, Mrs. Taylor, now declared she had received forgiveness in hearing me five years ago. I preached Christ crucified,<sup>3</sup> and we rejoiced

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<sup>7</sup>A tiny chapelry in the parish of Christian Malford, 3 miles northeast of Chippenham.

<sup>8</sup>Isa. 60:20.

<sup>9</sup>Rev. 21.

<sup>10</sup>That is, the chapel built and endowed by Sir Abraham Ellison for the workers in the smelt works owned by John Wayne.

<sup>11</sup>Heb. 12:12.

<sup>12</sup>Titus 2:10.

<sup>13</sup>See Eph. 6:17.

<sup>14</sup>Likely Sarah Goslin (bap. 1723), the sister of John Goslin (bap. 1723) who was a member of the single men's band formed in Bristol in Apr. 1739; see JW to James Hutton, Apr. 26, 1739, *Works*, 25:636.

<sup>1</sup>CW spells "Wrexal."

<sup>2</sup>See Eccles. 11:1.

<sup>3</sup>On the sermon preached, see note for the Aug. 29, 1741 entry.

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as in the days that are past. Returned, with joy and comfort, to Bath, and exhorted them, “Hold fast that ye have already till I come.”<sup>4</sup>

**Thursday, April 4.** Rode to Coleford,<sup>5</sup> a place of colliers lately discovered, and preached in the churchyard on a tombstone. The church would not have contained a quarter of the congregation. I pointed them to “the Lamb of God, who taketh away the sin of the world.”<sup>6</sup> The poor people followed me to Mr. Flower’s, where we wrestled two or three hours in prayer, and would not let him go, except he blessed us.<sup>7</sup>

**Friday, April 5.** Read prayers and preached in the church, crowded within and without. Many followed me to Chilcompton. There I called, on above a thousand gasping souls, “Ho, everyone that thirsteth, come ye to the waters.”<sup>8</sup> Began again and again, after I had, as I thought, concluded.

Returned to Bristol. Was informed that one lately of our society has declared he will make affidavit he himself saw my brother administer extreme unction to a woman, and give her a wafer and say that was her passport to heaven.

**Sunday, April 7.** Found the great blessing after the sacrament, an ordinance which God always magnifies and honours with his special presence. Prayed by our sister Rogers, just on the wing for paradise. It was a solemn season at the society while I spoke of death and the glory which shall follow.

**Tuesday, April 9.** Rode to town [i.e., London] and preached at the Foundery, with an enlarged heart, “Sun, stand thou still upon Gibeon!”<sup>9</sup>

**Friday, April 12.** At the [West Street] chapel, all the congregation looked upon him they have pierced, and mourned.<sup>10</sup> [2:249]

**Easter Day, April 14.** With the word, the Spirit of him that raised Jesus from the dead came mightily upon us.<sup>11</sup> For more than half an hour he cried in our hearts. At the sacrament, also, which the whole society partook of, we all found, more or less, the power of his resurrection. So again at our lovefeast, we rejoiced together, and felt that the Lord was risen indeed.

**Tuesday, April 16.** Baptised a woman among the leaders, who received the justifying baptismal grace.

We kept the octave [of Easter], communicating every day; and the Lord never sent us away without a blessing.

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<sup>4</sup>Rev. 2:25.

<sup>5</sup>Coleford, Somerset, 6 miles west of Frome.

<sup>6</sup>John 1:29.

<sup>7</sup>See Gen. 32:26.

<sup>8</sup>Isa. 55:1.

<sup>9</sup>Josh. 10:12.

<sup>10</sup>See Zech. 12:10.

<sup>11</sup>See Rom. 8:11.

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**Saturday, April 20.** The power of the Highest overshadowed us,<sup>12</sup> when met in the evening to bewail our sins against light, and pray for a fresh pardon. Most of this week I have spent in confirming the wavering, and God hath blessed me in my deed.

**Sunday, April 21.** While I was declaring, “This is he that came by water and by blood,”<sup>13</sup> the Spirit bore strong witness with many hearts. One testified her then receiving the atonement. At the sacrament we prayed in faith that the sins of the revolting children might be retained—i.e., that while the guilt and power lasted, the misery might last, and they might not be suffered to soothe themselves with a fancied happiness. The Lord was with us in the great power of his love.

The cloud stayed upon us when met in band, and they received my solemn warning of the approaching judgments.

**Monday, April 22.** Gave the sacrament yesterday to two prisoners of hope; and twice today, to two dying believers, who can never die.

**Wednesday, April 24.** Recovered one out of the paw of the antinomian lion. This whole week I have gone on treading him under my feet, through the power of the serpent-bruiser.<sup>14</sup>

**Sunday, April 28.** Expounded Matthew 25, that flail of antinomianism.

[2:250]

**May 1745**

**Sunday, May 5.** Preached from 1 Peter 2:12, “Having our conversation honest among the Gentiles, that whereas they speak against you as evil-doers they may, by your good works which they shall behold, glorify God in the day of visitation.” I warned them of that day, already begun, and of that fiery trial approaching.

At the Foundery expounded Ezekiel 9. A great cry followed. Surely there were many present who have the mark in their foreheads.<sup>1</sup> The Lord increase their number!

**Wednesday, May 8.** The fast day.<sup>2</sup> Expounded Zephaniah 1:2 then Joel 2, and lastly those awful words of God to Ezekiel: “Though Noah, Daniel, and Job were in it, as I live ....”<sup>3</sup>

**Tuesday, May 21.** Began examining the classes with my brother, and rejoiced in the success of our past labours. Midst all the rage and havoc of Satan at the Tabernacle,<sup>4</sup> the plague has not come nigh our dwelling.

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<sup>12</sup>See Luke 1:35.

<sup>13</sup>1 John 5:6.

<sup>14</sup>See Gen. 3:15.

<sup>1</sup>See Ezek. 9:4.

<sup>2</sup>This was likely in anticipation of the pending battle of Britain and her allies with the French at Fontenoy—where the French were victorious on May 11.

<sup>3</sup>Ezek. 14:20.

<sup>4</sup>George Whitefield’s preaching house in London.



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**Thursday, May 23.** [[Sent for to Downing Street<sup>5</sup> with my brother. Gave up all hopes of good when I saw that mess[enger] of Satan<sup>6</sup> standing at our friend's right hand. She urged us (who would believe it!) to confess our fault of preaching the gospel and to submit to the bishops. We promised we would, as soon as we were convinced of our f[ault]. Upon her talking in that miserable way of breaking order, etc., I owned it was contrary to order my having gone to save those poor outcasts of Newcastle, Cornwall, and Stafford. This drew out all the old nature, and set her pride in a flame. At first I found myself warm; but immediately recovered, and looked upon her and heard her with the proper affection of grief and pity. We shook off the dust from our feet<sup>7</sup> and departed.]]

**Friday, May 31.** Visited, at her own desire, a Roman Catholic gentlewoman at Islington who had refused her priest, and would have none but my brother or me. She readily gave up her own merits (which she owned was hell) and the merits of all the saints for those of Jesus Christ, her only hope, mediator, and Saviour. I prayed in faith, and left her not far from the kingdom of heaven.

Kept a watchnight. Dear Howell Harris I carried into the desk, and we sang together and shouted for joy, till morning.

[2:251]

**June 1745**

**Tuesday, June 4.** I baptized three adults, who all confessed the ordinance a seal of the covenant of forgiveness.

**Tuesday, June 11.** Much revived by the sight of Mrs. Davis's mother departing in peace. For seventy years she lived, if it may be called life, a stranger to the covenant of promise. For these two last years, since faith came by hearing, she has never had a doubt or fear, but walked with Christ, and adorned the gospel. Now she longs to go see him face to face.<sup>1</sup>

**Wednesday, June 12.** Going to bed at Mrs. Witham's,<sup>2</sup> I could not rest, but must needs go to the other end of the town. In Holborn I found the reason—a poor man and countryman challenged me, who had been converted by occasional hearing us but, through neglect of the means, had fallen from his first love and into poverty. Exhorted him to return to God, gave him somewhat, and parted. The next day he spent in seeking me everywhere, to restore a guinea I had given him by mistake.

**Sunday, June 16.** Expounded Elijah's flight, and pining desire to die,<sup>3</sup> and were strengthened by his weakness. My brother [Samuel] Taylor read prayers and assisted at the truly

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<sup>5</sup>The residence in London, near Parliament, of Lord and Lady Huntingdon. See the note on CW's entry for Jan. 3, 1745.

<sup>6</sup>Most likely Catherine Edwin; cf. the Jan. 3, 1745 entry.

<sup>7</sup>See Matt. 10:14; Luke 9:5.

<sup>1</sup>See 1 Cor. 13:12.

<sup>2</sup>Elizabeth (Harrison) Witham (d. 1747), now a widow.

<sup>3</sup>1 Kings 19:1–8.

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blessed sacrament. In the evening also we had the shout of a king in the midst of us,<sup>4</sup> as at the beginning.

**Monday, [June] 17.**<sup>5</sup> Preached at Brentford, in our way to Bristol. The moment our society met Jesus appeared in the midst, and we lay an happy hour, weeping and rejoicing, at his feet.

**Wednesday, June 19.** Three miles on this side Salisbury, a still sister came out to meet and try her skill upon me. But alas it was labour lost. I knew the *happy sinner*, and all her paces.

Found my sister as a rock in the midst of the waves.<sup>6</sup> Mr. [Westley] Hall's society had all left the Church, and mocked and persecuted her for not leaving it. Many pressed me to preach, but I answered them, "My heart was not *free* to it." At 4:00 set out with my sister, and reached Bristol in the afternoon of the next day. [2:252]

**Friday, June 21.** Sent an account of our affairs here to a friend:

The work of God goes on successfully. Great is the constancy of them that believe. Neither error nor sin can shake them. Several, since I left this place, have witnessed a good confession in death, particularly a girl of thirteen, and an old sinner of threescore. We had expelled him [from] the society for drunkenness. And he went on sinning, and repenting, and sinning again, till God laid his chastening hand upon him. After a great agony, he found redemption in the blood of Jesus. He lay some time rejoicing, and testifying the grace of Christ to the chief of sinners. When one said, "Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord,"<sup>7</sup> he replied, interrupting him, "Even so saith the Spirit in me." To another, "I am just entering the haven on a broken piece of the ship."

I am just come from giving the sacrament to a young woman, rejoicing in death with joy unspeakable. The day before my first visit the Lord revealed himself in her. Her soul seemed all desire and love, "ready to go this moment," as she often testified, yet willing to tarry the Lord's leisure, or even to recover if it were his will.

I have observed that all our people, without exception, be they ever so dark or weak before, when they come to die, recover their confidence. Would to God every soul, of every Christian denomination, might witness the same confession of eternal life in them when they turn their faces to the wall!<sup>8</sup>

**Sunday, June 23,** was a day much to be remembered. I preached to our colliers on Jeremiah 31:1, and received strong faith for the desolate Church of England.

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<sup>4</sup>See Num. 23:21.

<sup>5</sup>Orig., "May 17"; an error.

<sup>6</sup>Martha (Wesley) Hall, whose relationship with her unfaithful husband was under increasing strain.

<sup>7</sup>Rev. 14:13.

<sup>8</sup>See 2 Kings 20:2.

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In the sacrament the Spirit of grace and supplication came down,<sup>9</sup> and we prayed after God that it might reach all our absent brethren. The backsliders we never forget at such gracious opportunities. Near four hours we were employed in *doing this*, and not one soul, I am persuaded, thought it long.

I had just time to reach Conham chapel by 2:00. From those words, “I will that they may [2:253] behold my glory.”<sup>10</sup> While I was speaking of our Lord’s appearing, we were alarmed with the loudest clap of thunder I ever heard. I thought it must have cleft the house. Most of the congregation shrieked out, as if the day of the Lord were come. A thought darted into my heart as quick as the lightning, “What if it should be the day of judgment!” I was filled immediately with faith, stronger than death, and rejoiced in hope of the glory of God. The same spirit rested on all the faithful, while I broke out into singing,

So shall the Lord the Saviour come,  
And lightnings round his chariot play!  
Ye lightnings, fly to make him room,  
Ye glorious storms, prepare his way!<sup>11</sup>

I went on for half an hour describing that final scene. The heart of every person present, I believe, either rejoiced or trembled. A mixed cry of horror and triumph was heard, till I dismissed them with the blessing.

Afterwards we heard that an house on one side our chapel was almost demolished, both roof and walls, by the thunder-clap. The lead of the windows melted, and six persons struck down to the ground. On the other side of us, a gibbet was split into a thousand pieces.

**Sunday, June 30.** Preached our sister Rogers’ funeral sermon, whose blessed life and death were of a piece.

Called on Mr. [John] Wayne and told him a scandalous tale which his keeper of the chapel had invented of me.<sup>12</sup> I had formerly put her out of the house in Kingswood. He was astonished at her modesty! So was not Mrs. Wayne,<sup>13</sup> who said to me, “It is in vain to bring me these stories of you, since a gentleman told me to my face that you was caught in bed with another man’s wife—and that I was the woman!”

[2:254]

**July 1745**

**Wednesday, July 3.** Took horse for London. The first night preached at Cirencester; the two next at Evesham, where I found the society increased both in grace and number. Was

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<sup>9</sup>See Zech. 12:10.

<sup>10</sup>John 17:24.

<sup>11</sup>Isaac Watts, “The God of Thunder,” st. 6, included by JW in *MSP*, 1:206–07.

<sup>12</sup>Hannah Barrow, who CW had dismissed from Kingswood; see Apr. 22, 1741 entry. See also the letter of Mary Francis to CW, June 28, 1745.

<sup>13</sup>John Wayne married Sarah (Baker) Hitchens in 1707.

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welcomed to London on Saturday evening with the joyful news of Thomas Maxfield's deliverance.<sup>1</sup>

**Sunday, July 7.** Preached on Luke 21:34, and many I would hope were stirred up to watch and pray.

**Sunday, July 14.** The Lord set to his seal while I explained, "Who art thou, O great mountain? Before Zerubbabel thou shalt become a plain."<sup>2</sup> We rejoiced in steadfast hope of the precious sanctifying promises.

**Monday, July 15.** The Lord comforted our hearts by the letters, and confirmed our faith that the work he is now reviving shall never be destroyed.

**Sunday, July 21.** In our prayer after the sacrament the heavens dropped down from above; nay, and the skies seemed even to pour down righteousness.<sup>3</sup>

**Monday, July 22.** Gave the sacrament to our sister H., who is coming to the grave as a ripe shock of corn. A poor trembling tempted soul she has been. But at the approach of death all her fears are vanished, and she lies gasping for the fulness of eternal life.

**Thursday, July 25.** Strongly exhorted the society to constancy in the faith and fervency in prayer. Their hearts were melted much, if one may judge by their tears.

**Sunday evening, July 28.**<sup>4</sup> Took leave of the Foundry in those words, which I vehemently wished accomplished, "The redeemed of the Lord shall return, and come with singing into Sion."<sup>5</sup>

**Wednesday, July 31.** Joined with my brother to examine the society at Bristol. Mr. Gwynne of Garth accompanied us,<sup>6</sup> and rejoiced greatly in the grace given them.

[2:255]

**August 1745**

**Thursday, August 1.** Began our Conference with Mr. [John] Hodges, four of our own assistants, Herbert Jenkins,<sup>1</sup> and Mr. [Marmaduke] Gwynne. Continued it five days, and parted

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<sup>1</sup>Walter Borlase and other opponents of Methodism in Cornwall arrested Maxfield and attempted to have him pressed as a soldier. See JW, *Journal*, June 21–22, 1745, *Works*, 20:71.

<sup>2</sup>Zech. 4:7.

<sup>3</sup>See Isa. 45:8.

<sup>4</sup>For July 28 – Aug. 15, 1745, see also CW's more detailed draft journal in *Journal Letters*, 185–89.

<sup>5</sup>Isa. 35:1–10.

<sup>6</sup>This is the first appearance in CW's MS Journal of Marmaduke Gwynne (1691–1769), a Welsh magistrate; who was the father of Sarah Gwynne, CW's future wife.

<sup>1</sup>Herbert Jenkins (1721–72) of Monmouthshire had been drawn into the Methodist revival in Wales and was currently hoping to receive ordination in the established Church. This hope was not realized and he aligned with the Calvinist wing of the movement, often preached for Andrew Kinsman in Plymouth, Bristol, and South Wales, and was later apparently a Dissenting minister in Maidenstone. See *WHS* 6 (1907): 141.

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in great harmony and love.<sup>2</sup>

**Friday, August 2.** At the watchnight our souls were satisfied as with marrow and fatness,<sup>3</sup> while our mouth praised God with joyful lips.

**Wednesday, August 7.** While I was speaking from those words, “The end of all things is at hand,”<sup>4</sup> the Lord applied them to our hearts, and we felt the solemn weight of things eternal.

He passed by us again in the bands, and showed us his goodness. For near two hours we tasted the powers of the world to come, in solid, serious joy.<sup>5</sup>

**Saturday, August 10.** Preached at Shepton Mallet, where a great door is opening and there are many adversaries. One of the devil’s drunken champions attempted to disturb us, but my voice prevailed.

They desired me to meet their little society at an unusual place, to disappoint the mob. I walked forward toward the town, then turned back over the field, to drop the people, and springing up a rising ground [I] sprained or broke my leg. I knew not which, but I fell down when I offered to set my foot to the ground. The brethren carried me to an hut, which was quickly filled with the poor people. It was soon noised about the town that I had broke my leg—some said my neck—and that it was a judgment upon me. The principal man of the place, Mr. P—, sent me a kind message and his bath-chair<sup>6</sup> to bring me to his house. I thanked him but declined his offer, on account of my pain, which unfitted me for any company except that of my best friends—the poor. With these I continued praying, singing, and rejoicing for two hours. Their love quite delighted me. Happiest they that could come near to do anything for me. When my strength was exhausted, they laid me on their bed, the best they had. But I could not sleep for pain. [2:256]

**Sunday, August [11].<sup>7</sup>** Met the society at 6:00, and took in twenty new members. About 8:00 the surgeon from Oakhill came and found, in dressing my leg, that it was not broke but violently sprained. Many being come from far to hear the word, I got the brethren to carry me out in a chair, which they set on a table and I preached kneeling. I thought of Halyburton’s “best pulpit,”<sup>8</sup> which alone seemed preferable to this. For near an hour I forgot my maim, and appointed to preach again at Oakhill.

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<sup>2</sup>This was the second annual meeting of the Wesley brothers with their lay “assistants” and sympathetic clergy. There were actually six assistants present (as CW notes correctly in the journal letter); Samuel Larwood, Thomas Meyrick, Richard Moss, Thomas Richards, John Slocomb, and James Wheatley. The minutes of this Conference can be found in JW, *Works*, 10:147–68.

<sup>3</sup>See Ps. 63:5.

<sup>4</sup>1 Pet. 4:7.

<sup>5</sup>See Heb. 6:5.

<sup>6</sup>*OED*: “a large chair on wheels, for invalids”; i.e., a wheelchair.

<sup>7</sup>Orig., “August 12”; an error.

<sup>8</sup>Halyburton used this term for his death bed; cf. Halyburton, *Memoirs*, 201.

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The brethren carried me thither by noon in Mr. P—'s chair. My congregation was mostly Dissenters, not wise and rich but poor and simple, and longing to be taught the first elements of Christ's doctrine.<sup>9</sup> They stood listening in the hard rain, while I showed them "the Lamb of God, who taketh ...."<sup>10</sup> The word was not bound, but ran very swiftly through their hearts. For an hour I preached kneeling as before, and felt no pain or weariness till it was over. Then my flesh shrunk at the twenty measured miles to Bristol. They set me on the horse, and by night I performed the journey, but in such extreme pain as I have not known with all my broken bones and sicknesses.

**Tuesday, August 13.** Preached from, "They that wait on the Lord shall renew their strength."<sup>11</sup> And then, confiding in the promise, went in my chair and lay at Mr. [Ebenezer] Wigginton's, by the waterside.

Between 4:00 and 5:00 next morning was carried to Captain Philips's vessel, which was filled with our own people chiefly. We spent the day in singing and reading, and by 6:00 on

**Thursday morning, August 15th,** landed at Cardiff.

At night, most of the gentry of the town were at the room. I laboured to trouble the careless, as well as comfort the troubled, hearts.

**Sunday, August 18.** Our greatest persecutor lent his chair to carry me to Wenvoe. Indeed, the whole place at present seems turned towards us. But we do not depend on [2:257] this peace as lasting. Preached at Wenvoe, from Hebrews 12:1, to a weeping audience. My brothers Thomas and Hodges administered the sacrament.<sup>12</sup>

The room at Cardiff was crowded with high and low. I invited them to come thirsty to the waters.<sup>13</sup> The same spirit was with us as in the months that are past. Our lovefeast was a feast indeed!

**Tuesday, August 20.** At the request of the prisoners I had promised to preach in the gaol. But Mr. Michael Richards came first, and threatened and forbade the jailer.<sup>14</sup> If these souls perish for lack of knowledge, Mr. Michael Richards, not I, must answer it in that day.

Carried to Fonmon [Castle], with Mr. Hodges and Mrs. [Mary] Jones. I once more met the church in her house. We were all melted down by the fire of the word.

**Wednesday, August 21.** This and every evening I got down to the chapel on my crutches, and preached to the family, with fifty harvesters and others that came from far.

**Friday, August 23.** Wrote thus to my brother:

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<sup>9</sup>See Heb. 6:1.

<sup>10</sup>John 1:29.

<sup>11</sup>Isa. 40:31.

<sup>12</sup>Philip Thomas was now a curate to John Hodges at Wenvoe.

<sup>13</sup>Isa. 55:1.

<sup>14</sup>Richards was a justice of the peace for the county of Glamorgan.

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Once more hear my raven's note—and despise it. I look most assuredly, unless general repentance prevent it, for the day of visitation.<sup>15</sup> Whether my apprehensions have aught divine in them, I never presume to say. Neither am I concerned for the credit of my prophecy, or conjecture. But none of you all will more rejoice at my proving what you may call a false prophet than I. For should I prove a true one, I expect Balaam's fate.<sup>16</sup> In great weariness of flesh and spirit I conclude,

Your Μάντις κακῶν.<sup>17</sup>

**Sunday, August 25.** Mr. Gwynne's servant came to show me the way to Garth, but returned without me, my lameness still continuing, or rather increasing, by the use of the British oil, which inflamed and swelled my foot exceedingly. Probably it was the counterfeit sort.

**Monday, August 26.** Admitted several into the society. Continued preaching twice a day the rest of the month.

[2:258]

**September 1745**

**Sunday, September 1.** Ventured to ride to church, where the minister invited us all to the sacrament next Sunday, and afterwards made proclamation in the churchyard that no stranger should be admitted. He might as well have excepted me by name. But though I could not be admitted, a notorious drunkard was (as Mrs. [Mary] Jones and other eyewitnesses told me next Sunday). He made much disturbance in the time of service, and was actually drunk when the minister gave him the sacrament.

**Tuesday, September 3.** Mr. [Marmaduke] Gwynne and Mr. Phillips of Maesmynis came to pay us a Christian visit.<sup>1</sup> We had sweet fellowship till the sixth instant, when they departed without me, whom they came to fetch.

**Friday, September 6.** At the hour of intercession we found an extraordinary power of God upon us, and close communion with our absent brethren. Afterwards I found, by letters from London, that it was their solemn fast-day. The night we passed in prayer. I read them my heavy tidings out of the north.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>15</sup>CW shared the foreboding common to many English in 1745. The allies had suffered defeat by the French at the Battle of Fontenoy on May 11, and the second Jacobite Rebellion had been launched with the landing of Charles Edward Stuart in Scotland on July 25, with the threat of an invasion of England by his supporters. Cf. JW's letter to CW of Sept. 22, 1745.

<sup>16</sup>Balaam's fate for prophesying doom was execution—see Num. 31:8.

<sup>17</sup>“Prophet of bad things.”

<sup>1</sup>Edward Phillips (1716–76), a graduate of Jesus College, Oxford, was ordained in 1740 and served first as curate, then rector of St. David's church, Maesmynis, Brecknockshire, until his death. He retained Methodist sympathies all his life. CW spells “Philips.”

<sup>2</sup>That is, the current success of the Jacobite forces in Scotland.

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“The lion is come up from his thicket, and the destroyer of the Gentiles is on his way.”<sup>3</sup>

**Sunday, September 8.** The spirit of supplication was given us in the society for his majesty, King George; and in strong faith we asked his deliverance from all his enemies and troubles.

**Monday, September 9.** My three weeks delightful confinement ended, and I returned to Cardiff.

**Wednesday, September 11.** Rose after a restless night with a fever upon me, but was forced to take my bed again. How gladly would I have been taken from the evil to come.<sup>4</sup> But alas, my sufferings are scarce begun!

**Saturday, September 14.** My fever left me, and my strength so far returned that I could sit an horse with one behind me. Almost as soon as we set out, my supporter and I were thrown over the horse’s head, but neither hurt. My lameness was much mended by three or four days’ rest.

**Sunday, September 22.** Met the poor shattered bands, [2:259] and found the cause of their decay. One of them had drank into the Quakers’ spirit, and got all their form, which he laboured to bring into the society. Preached at Wenvoe, “That ye may be found of him in peace.”<sup>5</sup> Then at Fonmon, on that great and terrible day of the Lord.<sup>6</sup> His fear was mightily upon us, but at the society his love constrained and quite overpowered us. For two hours we wept before the Lord, and wrestled for our Sodom. We shall hear of these prayers another day.

**Monday, September 23.** Having been often importuned to preach at Cowbridge, this morning I set out with sister [Mary] Jones and others. The gentleman who had invited and promised me the church took care to be out of town, but left word that the church doors were open, and, if I pleased to preach there, no man would forbid me. I did not choose to go in a clandestine manner, but sent to the churchwardens, who durst neither deny or grant leave. I therefore preached in a large hall, over against the place where my brother had been stoned.<sup>7</sup> Many attended and, I believe, were pricked at the heart.

**Wednesday, September 25.** After a tedious and dangerous passage got to shore, and soon after to Bristol. Heard the news confirmed of Edinburgh being taken by the [Jacobite] rebels. Saw all around in deep sleep and security. Warned our children with great affection. Our comforts, we expect, will increase with our danger.

**Thursday, September 26.** Tidings came that General Cope was cut off with all his army.<sup>8</sup> The room was crowded in the evening. I warned them, with all authority, to flee to the

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<sup>3</sup>Jer. 4:7.

<sup>4</sup>See Isa. 57:1.

<sup>5</sup>2 Pet. 3:14.

<sup>6</sup>Joel 2:31.

<sup>7</sup>See JW, *Journal*, May 7, 1743, *Works*, 19:325.

<sup>8</sup>Sir John Cope (1692–1755), commander of the troops loyal to George II.



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mountains,<sup>9</sup> escape to the strong tower,<sup>10</sup> even the name of Jesus. Seemed to have strong faith, that the Romish antichrist shall never finally prevail in these kingdoms.

**Sunday, September 29.** My subject at Kingswood was, “Because thou hast kept the word of my patience, I will also keep thee in the hour of temptation ....”<sup>11</sup> At Bristol, “Fear God, and honour the king.”<sup>12</sup>

[2:260]

**October 1745**

**Tuesday, October 8.** Having left the society fully warned, I rode to Bath, and exhorted them also to meet God in the way of his judgments.<sup>1</sup> At noon I preached repentance and faith, at the Cross, to the people of Rode.<sup>2</sup> They drank in every word. When I said, “Put away the evil of your doings,”<sup>3</sup> several cried out, “We will, we will!” When I said, “Be drunk no more, swear no more,” etc., they answered, “I will not swear. I will not be drunk again, as long as I live.” The ale-house keepers and profligate young men are the most exemplary in their repentance. I dined at the squire’s, who seemed amazed, and half converted, at *their* change.

Preached at 4:00 to a barn full of simple, hungry, seeking souls. They sunk under the hammer, and melted before the fire of the word.<sup>4</sup>

**Wednesday, October 9.** Met them again in the barn, and wept with them that wept.<sup>5</sup> All were stirred up, and made haste to escape into the ark, because of the stormy wind and tempest.

Preached at Bearfield, after five years’ absence, to many of my old hearers. They received the word with all readiness of mind and will be, I doubt not, a people fearing God and working righteousness.<sup>6</sup>

After preaching in Bath a woman desired to speak with me. She had been in our society, and in Christ, but lost her grace through the spirit of offence. Left the fellowship, and fell by little and little into the depth of vice and misery. I called Mrs. Naylor to hear her mournful account.<sup>7</sup> She had lived some time at a wicked house in Avon Street. Confessed it was hell to her

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<sup>9</sup>See Matt. 24:16 and parallels.

<sup>10</sup>See Prov. 18:10.

<sup>11</sup>Rev. 3:10.

<sup>12</sup>1 Pet. 2:17.

<sup>1</sup>Isa. 26:8.

<sup>2</sup>Rode, Somerset. CW spells “Road.”

<sup>3</sup>Isa. 1:16.

<sup>4</sup>See Jer. 23:29.

<sup>5</sup>See Rom. 12:15.

<sup>6</sup>See Acts 10:35.

<sup>7</sup>Mary Naylor (1713–57) was a prominent member of the Bath society, with a home as well in Newington, who became a close friend of both CW and his wife Sally. Although she never married, CW followed convention in referring to older single women as “Mrs.” When she

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to see our people pass by to the preaching. Knew not what to do, or how to escape. We bade her fly for her life, and not once look behind her. Mrs. Naylor kept her with herself till the morning, and then I carried her with us in the coach to London and delivered her to the care of our sister Davey.<sup>8</sup> Is not this a brand plucked out of the fire?<sup>9</sup>

**Sunday, October 13.** Warned them earnestly, both at the [West Street] chapel and the Foundery, of the impending storm. [2:261]

**Thursday, October 17.** We had twenty of our brethren from Flanders to dine with us at the Foundery,<sup>10</sup> and rejoiced in the distinguishing grace of God toward them.

**Friday, October 18.** Expounded Jeremiah 3 at the chapel. Some endeavoured to disturb us, by throwing in a [fire]cracker, which many took for a gun discharged. In one minute the people recovered their hurry, and I went for another half hour with double assistance.

**Saturday, October [26].**<sup>11</sup> Dined at Mrs. Rich's.<sup>12</sup> The family concealed their fright tolerably well. Mr. Rich behaved with great civility. I foresee the storm my visit will bring upon him.

**November 1745**

**Sunday, November 3.** Found much life and solemn comfort among the bands.

**Monday, November 4.** At Mrs. [Jane] Sparrow's waited some days to renew my strength.

**Friday, November 8.** Preached first in Bexley church, then in the front of the camp near Dartford. Many of the poor soldiers gave diligent heed to the word. One of the most reprobate was pricked at the heart and entered the society.

**Saturday, November 9.** A regiment passing by our door, I took the opportunity of giving each soldier a book. All, excepting one, received them thankfully.

**Sunday, November 10.** Expounded Psalm 46, with great enlargement. An officer was present, and by his tears confessed the emotion of his heart. The same power attended the word

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died in Mar. 1757, CW honoured her with a six-part eulogy; see *Funeral Hymns* (1759), 49–59 (and 59–61).

<sup>8</sup>Mary Davey, a widow, appears as a married woman in the Foundery Band Lists (1742–46), starting in June 1745. She later became a housekeeper at Kingswood and in 1749 married Thomas Richards.

<sup>9</sup>See Zech. 3:2.

<sup>10</sup>Likely soldiers from Belgium supporting the British in the war against France and the Jacobite forces.

<sup>11</sup>Orig., “October 27”; an error.

<sup>12</sup>Priscilla (Wilford) Rich (c. 1713–83), third wife of John Rich (1692–1761) the actor and owner of a theatre in Covent Garden. She converted to Methodism shortly after their marriage in 1744, much to the consternation of her husband. While Priscilla added no children, she helped raise the four surviving daughters from Rich's second marriage.

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in the evening; Zephaniah 2. It was a solemn assembly, while we rejoiced in the release of an happy brother.

**Monday, November 11.** Had some of our brethren of the army at the select society, and solemnly commended them to the grace of God before they set out to meet the rebels. They were without fear or disturbance, knowing the hairs of their head are all numbered,<sup>1</sup> and nothing can happen but by the determinate counsel of God.

**Saturday, November 16.** Prayed with the penitents, all [2:262] in tears.<sup>2</sup>

**Sunday, November 17.** Brought back (with the extraordinary blessing of God) two wandering sheep from the Germans [i.e., Moravians].

**Saturday, November 23.** Finished examining the classes with my brother, and rejoiced in their steadfastness.

**Saturday, November 30.** Prayed by Bridget Armsted, full of desire to be dissolved. She sent for me some hours after. I found her in a great agony of temptation. We prayed, and God arose, and all his enemies were scattered.

**December 1745**

**Sunday, December 1.** It was a season of love, a time of great refreshing, at the sacrament.

**Friday, December 6.** In reading my brother's last *Appeal*,<sup>1</sup> I was drawn out into fervent prayer for him, myself, and all the children whom God hath given us.

**Monday, December 23.** Met my old friend John Gambold at my printer's,<sup>2</sup> and appointed to meet him tomorrow at Dr. [James] Newton's. Brought my brother with me. Found the Germans had quite estranged and stole away his heart, which nevertheless relented while we talked over the passages of our former friendship. But he hardened himself against the weakness of gratitude. We could not prevail upon him to meet us again.

**Friday, December 27.** While I discoursed on that word, "The Spirit and the Bride say, 'Come!'"<sup>3</sup> the whole congregation seemed to hear and answer the divine call.

**Sunday, December 29.** Explained my commission: to open their eyes, to turn them from darkness to light, etc.<sup>4</sup> An extraordinary power and blessing sealed the word. One of my audience was the famous Mr. Chambers, the honest attorney!

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<sup>1</sup>See Matt. 10:30.

<sup>2</sup>CW means the formal penitent bands at the Foundery.

<sup>1</sup>JW, *A Farther Appeal to Men of Reason and Religion; Pts. II & III* (London: Strahan, 1745); see *Works*, 11:203–325.

<sup>2</sup>William Strahan (1715–85) printed almost all of the Wesley brothers' materials in London at this time.

<sup>3</sup>Rev. 22:17.

<sup>4</sup>See Acts 26:18.

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[2:263]

January 1746

**Wednesday, January 1, 1746.** The Lord strengthened me at the chapel to stir up many by that word of his, “Let it alone this year also.”<sup>1</sup>

**Tuesday, January 7.** Found a blessing in the cluster at Deptford.

**Friday, January 10.**<sup>2</sup> Filled a coach with our friends and, in spite of the toothache, had a pleasant journey to Bristol.

**Sunday, January 12.** Gave the sacrament at Kingswood, and expressed the vehement desires of our souls in mighty prayer. The word at night was blessed to the quickening of many.

**Tuesday, January 14.** Was much assisted in expounding Job 23. And yet more next morning, in those words, “It is of thy mercy that we are not consumed.”<sup>3</sup> Found the old blessing and power at Weavers’ Hall, while I put them in remembrance of their first love, from Psalm 126.

**Sunday, January 19.** At Baptist Mills there was a great awakening of those that had fallen asleep again. But in the society the Lord stirred up his power in a wonderful manner, and came to his house. While I was reproving them he gave weight to the words, and for an hour and a half nothing was to be heard but cries and tears, and strong resolutions to return unto the Lord.

**Monday, January 20.** The same blessing we found at Bath, while the Spirit applied the word, “He that endureth to the end, the same shall be saved.”<sup>4</sup>

**Tuesday, January 21.** Preached from Isaiah 35 at Rode, and took the names of near seventy of the society.

**Wednesday, January 22.** Preached at Bearfield, and [South] Wraxall in the barn, where we never miss of our Lord’s presence. Many women of Canaan cried after him, and seemed resolved to take no denial.<sup>5</sup>

**Thursday, January 25.** While I unfolded those precious promises of grace and glory, John 17, our Lord came down among us [2:264] and filled us with his consolations.

**Wednesday, January 29.** The power of the Highest overshadowed us.<sup>6</sup> All were dissolved into that blessed mourning, so that we wept with the angel, and made supplication, such as the Lord will hear.

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<sup>1</sup>Luke 13:8.

<sup>2</sup>Orig., “9”; a mistake.

<sup>3</sup>Lam. 3:22.

<sup>4</sup>Matt. 24:13.

<sup>5</sup>See Matt. 15:22–28.

<sup>6</sup>See Luke 1:35.

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February 1746

**Sunday, February 2.** Had a blessed meeting with our London children at the Lord's Table.

**Monday, February 3.** Opened our new chapel in Wapping, by preaching to a numerous audience, from 1 Corinthians 15:1.

**Tuesday, February 4.** Wrote my thoughts to a friend as follows:

I cannot help expecting the sorest judgments to be poured out upon this land, and that suddenly. You allow us "one hundred years to fill up the measure of our iniquity." You cannot more laugh at my vain fear, than I at your vain confidence.

Now is the axe laid to the root of the tree; now is the decree gone forth; now is the day of visitation.<sup>1</sup> It comes so strongly and continually upon me, that I almost think there is God in my prospect of war, famine, pestilence and all the vials of wrath bursting on our heads.

**Wednesday, February 5.** Visited our sister Webb, dying in childbed.<sup>2</sup> Prayed with earnest faith for her. At hearing the child cry, she had broke out into vehement thanksgiving, and soon after fell into convulsions, which set her soul at liberty from all pain and suffering.

**Thursday, February 6.** We sang that hymn over her corpse: "Ah lovely appearance of death,"<sup>3</sup> and shed a few tears of joy and envy.

**Sunday, February 16.** Buried our late sister Adams,<sup>4</sup> who has finished her course with joy; and preached on "Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord,"<sup>5</sup> with great consolation, and desire of following her.

**Friday, February 28.** Invited the weary and heavy-laden to him who hath promised them rest.<sup>6</sup> [2:265] Many found it then.

March 1746

**Monday, March 3,** was a day of visitation. God put into my heart good desires, which lasted with power to pray best part of the day.

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<sup>1</sup>See Luke 3:9; 1 Pet. 2:12.

<sup>2</sup>Possibly Sarah Webb, who was buried at this time at St. Giles in the Field, Holborn.

<sup>3</sup>CW, "On the Sight of a Corpse," st. 1, *Funeral Hymns* (1746), 7–8. This collection had just been published.

<sup>4</sup>Rebecca Adams, unmarried, who appears in the Foundery Band Lists (1742–46), along with her sister Mary and her friend Maria Hobbs (who witnessed her will).

<sup>5</sup>Rev. 14:13.

<sup>6</sup>Matt. 11:28.

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**Sunday, March 9.** Got abroad again after my painful confinement through the toothache, and officiated at the chapel.

**Thursday, March 13.** God confirmed the word, while I enforced the necessity of a single eye.<sup>1</sup>

**Sunday, March 16.** He fulfilled that promise at the Foundery, “Him that cometh unto me, I will in no wise cast out.”<sup>2</sup>

**Tuesday, March 18.** Rejoiced exceedingly to hear of the death of our sister Molly Godwin.<sup>3</sup> Let my latter end be like hers!

**Sunday, March 23.** Explained that best of prayers, if rightly used, “His blood be upon us and upon our children.”<sup>4</sup> All present, I believe, received then some benefit from his passion.

**Monday, March 24.** In riding to Brentford with our sisters [Mary] Davey, Alcroft, and [Priscilla] Rich, our coach broke down. The only courageous person among us was the only person afraid. Prayed in our return by a dying prisoner of hope, and felt an humble confidence that his eyes shall see the salvation of God.

**Good Friday, March 28.** Every morning of this great and holy week the Lord was at his own feast—but especially this. The word, “Let us also go and die with him,”<sup>5</sup> was written on our hearts. I passed from 2:00 to 3:00 in solemn prayer at Short’s Gardens. Drank tea at my sister Wright’s,<sup>6</sup> with Mrs. Rich and her two youngest daughters;<sup>7</sup> one [of whom is] the greatest miracle of all accomplishments, both mind and body, that I have ever seen.

**Saturday, March 29.** Administered the sacrament to a dying sinner, who did run well, but was now groaning out her last breath under the guilt of sin and curse of God. I preached to her the sinner’s advocate. She received the faithful saying, and believed the Lord would save her at the last hour. [2:266]

Passed the afternoon at Mrs. Rich’s, where we caught a physician by the ear, through the help of Mr. Lampe<sup>8</sup> and some of our sisters. This is the true use of music.<sup>9</sup>

**Easter Day, March 30.** My text was, “If ye be risen with Christ, seek the things which are above.”<sup>10</sup> The Lord was present, convincing or comforting. We had another blessed

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<sup>1</sup>Matt. 6:22–23.

<sup>2</sup>John 6:37.

<sup>3</sup>Possibly the Mary Goodwin buried Mar. 16 in Richmond upon Thames.

<sup>4</sup>Matt. 27:25.

<sup>5</sup>John 11:16.

<sup>6</sup>Mehetabel (Wesley) Wright.

<sup>7</sup>Mary Rich (1730–1810) and Sarah Rich (1733–93).

<sup>8</sup>John Frederick Lampe (1703–51). Lampe soon composed settings for some of CW’s hymns on the Christian year: *Hymns on the Great Festivals* (London: M. Cooper, 1746). See CW’s elegy for Lampe in *Funeral Hymns* (1759), 30–31.

<sup>9</sup>See CW’s two hymns by this title in *HSP* (1749), 2:253–56.

<sup>10</sup>Col. 3:1.

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opportunity in the evening.

**Monday, March 31.** Preached and administered, notwithstanding a violent purging which forced me to lie down all day. In the evening I rose and, not being able to stand, preached sitting, with supernatural strength.

**April 1746**

**Thursday, April 3.** Prayed by a dying relation (Mrs. Richardson<sup>1</sup>) to our mutual comfort.

**Monday, April 7.** My cousin Wilson brought me the joyful news of her mother's release, and last warning words to me.<sup>2</sup>

**Monday, April 14.**<sup>3</sup> Set out with Mr. Waller in a chaise for Bristol.<sup>4</sup> On

**Thursday, April 17,** afternoon saluted our friends in the Horsefair. Found the spirit of supplication as soon as I entered the house. I preached on "Hosanna to the Son of David."<sup>5</sup>

**Sunday, April 20,** was a day of salvation. We had a comfortable sacrament in Kingswood. I preached with great severity at Conham. The stones cried out on every side, and the pharisees were offended. At night I expounded Hebrews 9:12, "Neither by the blood of goats and calves, but by his own blood, he entered in once into the holy place, having obtained eternal redemption for us." God stood in the midst of the congregation. But in the society he was still more sensibly present. A loud cry was heard at first. But it sunk lower and lower, into the groans that could not be uttered. This joyful mourning continued two hours. The Spirit of the Lord was upon me as a Spirit of power and love.<sup>6</sup> I thought I could at that time have laid down my life for their salvation. The backsliders [2:267] were most upon my heart. One such caught hold of my hand in departing, and cried with great earnestness, "I have found my Saviour again. He has wrote forgiveness on my heart."

**Monday, April 21.** Expounded Revelation 3:2-3: "Be watchful, and strengthen the things that remain . . ." Again the power of the Lord was present both to wound and heal.<sup>7</sup> One who had fallen from grace, and lay in the pit of despair three years, was lifted up again, and a

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<sup>1</sup>Mary Annesley (b. 1652), the sister of CW's mother, married Nathaniel Richardson (1649-1723) in 1671. She was buried on Apr. 7, 1746.

<sup>2</sup>Elizabeth Richardson (b. 1699), daughter of Nathaniel and Mary (Annesley) Richardson, married Samuel Wilson in 1720.

<sup>3</sup>For Apr. 14 - May 11, 1746, see also CW's more detailed draft journal (in the hand of James Waller) in *Journal Letters*, 190-95.

<sup>4</sup>James Waller (c. 1723-1802) first appears on the Foundery Band Lists (1742-46) on trial, in Mar. 1743. This is the earliest record of him travelling with CW as an assistant, to drive the carriage and the like. Through these trips Waller met Elizabeth Gwynne (1730-95), the sister of CW's wife Sarah, and in Dec. 1750 CW joined James and Elizabeth in marriage.

<sup>5</sup>Matt. 21:9.

<sup>6</sup>See 2 Tim. 1:7.

<sup>7</sup>Cf. Luke 5:17.

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new song put in her mouth.

**Wednesday, April 23.** Passed an hour with some of our first children, and found the Spirit of God as in the former days. It continued at Weavers' Hall. But in meeting the women bands I was carried above things temporal. The cloud rested on the tabernacle.<sup>8</sup> The Spirit of supplication was poured forth. I broke out again and again into effectual prayer, their faith bearing me up. In the midst of strong cryings one was suddenly brought to me whom I offered up to the throne of grace. It was one who had often strengthened my hands in the Lord. Immediately followed such a burst of divine power as broke all our hearts. All the members suffered with that one member. And God, who knoweth what is the mind of his Spirit, will surely bring back that wanderer to his fold.

**Thursday, April 24.** I declared the promises made to backsliders,<sup>9</sup> and many rejoiced for the consolation. Mary Gee in particular was released, and once more laid hold on eternal life.<sup>10</sup>

**Sunday, April 27.** "This is the day which the Lord hath made. We will rejoice and be glad in it."<sup>11</sup> He vouchsafed us at the sacrament the never-failing spirit of intercession. At Conham likewise he refreshed us in his own house. A vast, quiet congregation attended at Baptist Mills to "Wisdom crying without, uttering her voice in the streets."<sup>12</sup> The society was with him again on the mount.

**Tuesday, April 29.** Through many perils came at last [2:268] to Rode. Showed them at the Cross the end of Christ's coming; namely, "that they might have life ...."<sup>13</sup>

[Wednesday,]<sup>14</sup> **April 30th.** Preached with double effect. A poor mourner had been crying for mercy all night in the society house. Conferred with several who have tasted the love of Christ, mostly under the preaching or prayers of our lay helpers. How can anyone dare deny that they are sent of God? O that all who have the outward call were as inwardly moved by the Holy Ghost to preach! O that they would make full proof of their ministry, and take the cause out of our weak hands!

Set out in our chaise. Broke it in a slough, and made an hard shift to reach Bradford[-on-Avon] by noon. Preached close and searching on "If any man enter by me, he shall be saved."<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>See Num. 9:15.

<sup>9</sup>Hosea 14:1-4.

<sup>10</sup>Mary Deacon married Thomas Gee (d. 1761) in 1742; both remained active in Methodism.

<sup>11</sup>Ps. 118:24 (BCP).

<sup>12</sup>Prov. 1:20.

<sup>13</sup>John 10:10.

<sup>14</sup>Orig., "Monday"; an error.

<sup>15</sup>John 10:9.



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May 1746

**Thursday, May 1.** I endeavoured to strengthen the weak hands. Many rejoiced in sure and steadfast hope that their God will come, and save them.<sup>1</sup> The disconsolate soul (that was at Rode) here found peace and pardon, and rejoiced with joy unspeakable.

**Friday, May 2.** Rode back to Bristol and was met with the news of our victory in Scotland.<sup>2</sup> Spoke at night on the first words that presented, “He that glorieth, let him glory in the Lord.”<sup>3</sup> We rejoiced unto him with reverence and thankfully observed the remarkable answer of that petition,

All their strength o’erturn, o’erthrow,  
Snap their spears, and break their swords,  
Let the daring rebels know  
The battle is the Lord’s!<sup>4</sup>

O that in this reprieve, before the sword return, we may know the time of our visitation!

**Sunday, May [4].**<sup>5</sup> From preaching to the Conham stocks and stones, I hastened to Baptist Mills and called, “Come now, and let us return unto the Lord, for he hath torn and he will heal us.”<sup>6</sup> In the society exhorted [2:269] the backsliders to return.<sup>7</sup> We heard a general cry of fear, and grief, and joy, in answer to our prayer, and sweetly felt the most sensible presence of God.

**Sunday, May 11.** He showered down blessings upon us at his table. We were carried out in prayer, especially for the clergy.

**Monday, May 12.**<sup>8</sup> Had a Conference four days with Mr. [John] Hodges, Mr. [Samuel] Taylor, and our own sons in the gospel.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>See Heb. 6:19.

<sup>2</sup>The Jacobite forces were defeated at the battle of Culloden on Apr. 16.

<sup>3</sup>1 Cor. 1:31; or 2 Cor. 10:17.

<sup>4</sup>CW, “For his Majesty King George,” st. 2, *Hymns for Times of Trouble and Persecution*, 2nd ed. (London: William Strahan, 1745), 55.

<sup>5</sup>Orig., “May 3”; an error.

<sup>6</sup>Hosea 6:1.

<sup>7</sup>See Hosea 14:1–4.

<sup>8</sup>For May 12 – June 14, 1746, see also CW’s more detailed draft journal in *Journal Letters*, 196–203.

<sup>9</sup>The Minutes of this third annual Conference of the Wesley brothers with their helpers can be found in JW, *Works*, 10:168–85.

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**Whitsunday, May 18.** We had asked in prayer last night a double blessing for this day, and the answer came.<sup>10</sup> Rejoiced from 4:00 to 6:00. The second time I preached in the Wood. In the sacrament the skies poured down righteousness.<sup>11</sup> Mr. Hodges read prayers at Conham. I preached a fourth time to a quiet multitude at the [Baptist] Mills, and then exhorted the society to walk worthy their holy calling.<sup>12</sup> This might properly be called the Lord's Day.

**Thursday, May 22.** Many heard *his* voice who stood at the door and knocked.<sup>13</sup> But in the society they all seemed ready to open the door.

**Friday, May 23.** Passed two hours with a young clergyman, who is determined to know nothing but Christ crucified.<sup>14</sup> His name is already cast out as evil in his own parish, for endeavouring to do them all the good he can. Our Lord, it seems, is answering our long-continued prayer for labourers.

**Sunday, May 25.** Our Lord was made known to us, as he always is, in the breaking of bread.<sup>15</sup> Let the Quaker and Orthodox *dispute* about the ordinance—our Saviour satisfies us a shorter way.

**Wednesday, May 28.** Reasoned at Bearfield, on “righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come.”<sup>16</sup> The Judge stood at the door, and applied his own awful words, “The trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised.”<sup>17</sup>

**Thursday, May 29.** In conference found many of our children in a thriving condition. Not one of those that are justified dreams that he is sanctified at once and wants nothing more.

**Friday, May 30.** In great deadness was revived [2:270] by praying with one of a fearful heart.

Rode to Wick, and preached forgiveness of sins to the simple-hearted poor.<sup>18</sup> Mr. Haynes and his family were present, and carried me home with them.<sup>19</sup> The large house and garden, the five little children and sweet behaviour of their mother, and above all the open generous temper of Mr. Haynes, made me fancy I was got to Fonmon Castle and conversing again with our friend come back from paradise.

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<sup>10</sup>See 2 Kgs. 2:9.

<sup>11</sup>See Isa. 45:8.

<sup>12</sup>See Eph. 4:1.

<sup>13</sup>See Rev. 3:20.

<sup>14</sup>See 1 Cor. 2:2.

<sup>15</sup>See Luke 24:35.

<sup>16</sup>Acts 24:25.

<sup>17</sup>1 Cor. 15:52.

<sup>18</sup>Possibly on Acts 13:38; see Sept. 28, 1743 above.

<sup>19</sup>Thomas Haynes (1699–1776) had an estate in Abson, Gloucestershire, just north of Wick, and was a justice of the peace. Thomas and his wife Sarah (c. 1702–88; maiden name unknown) were married about 1733. At this point CW identifies only as “Mr. H.”; but he gives the full surname later in the MS Journal.

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June 1746

**Sunday, June 1.** It rained most part of the day. At Baptist Mills I was told the child of a papist had much displeased his father by saying, “I believe it will be fair because Mr. Wesley is to preach here.” But so it was. About 5:00 the clouds dispersed, the rain ceased, and we had a blessed opportunity.

**Monday, June 2.** Set out with my charioteer, Mr. Waller. Baited an hour at Publow,<sup>1</sup> where the wickedness of one and the enthusiasm of another has quite destroyed the work of God. Mr. [John] Meriton administered private baptism to a child of our host’s, who is escaped once more out of bad hands, and no longer makes the spirit swallow up the letter. By night we got to Coleford.

**Tuesday, June 3.** My morning’s congregation drank in every word. Spoke with the society severally. When I saw them last there was scarce a justified person among them. Now fourscore testify their having experienced the pardoning love of God.

I baptised an Anabaptist, and all her fears and troubles fled away in a moment.

Preached at 1:00 in the shell of their house.<sup>2</sup> The hearers without were as many as those within, though it rained hard. They are hungry souls, and therefore they shall be filled.<sup>3</sup>

Rode and preached in Shepton Mallet.<sup>4</sup> Spent an hour with the principal man of the town. Met the classes at my host Stone’s, and slept in peace.<sup>5</sup>

**Wednesday, June 4.** Driving down a steep hill in our way to Sherborne,<sup>6</sup> the [2:271] horse stumbled and threw me out of the seat. I fell on my back upon the wheel. My feet were entangled in the chaise. But the beast stood stock still, so I received no harm, but was only stunned and dirtied. We were four hours going five miles. It rained incessantly, and blew an hurricane this and the day following. By 9:00 at night we were glad to reach William Nelson’s house in Portland.<sup>7</sup>

**Friday, June 6.** Preached to a houseful of staring, loving people, from Jeremiah 50:20. Some wept, but most looked quite unawakened. At noon and night I preached on a hill in the midst of the island.<sup>8</sup> Most of the inhabitants came to hear, but few as yet feel the burden of sin,

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<sup>1</sup>*OED*: (of travellers) “to stop at an inn for food.”

<sup>2</sup>In the journal letter his text is identified as Isa. 35:3–4; read incorporating Heb. 12:12.

<sup>3</sup>See Lev. 26:4–5.

<sup>4</sup>In the journal letter his text is identified as Matt. 27:25.

<sup>5</sup>William Stone, at whose home JW stayed when in Shepton Mallet in Feb. 1748; see JW, *Works*, 20:206. See also CW’s hymn “Written Before Preaching at Portland,” *HSP* (1749), 1:319–20.

<sup>6</sup>CW spells “Sherburn.”

<sup>7</sup>For more on William Nelson (d. 1770), see Robert Pearce, *Methodism in Portland* (London: C. H. Kelly, 1898).

<sup>8</sup>Portland is on a peninsula that could be cutoff from the mainland at high tide. The journal letter specifies that CW’s text was Isa. 1:16.

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or the want of a saviour.

**Sunday, June 8.** After evening service we had all the islanders that were able to come. I asked, “Is it nothing to you, all ye that pass by?”<sup>9</sup> About half a dozen answered “It is nothing to us”—by turning their backs. But the rest hearkened with greater signs of emotion than I had before observed. I found faith at this time that our labour would not be in vain.

**Monday, June 9.** At Southwell, the farthest village, expounded the Song of Simeon.<sup>10</sup> Some very old men attended. I distributed a few books among them, rode round the island, and returned by noon to preach on the hill, and by night at my lodgings. Now the power and blessing came. My mouth and their hearts were opened. The rocks were broken in pieces,<sup>11</sup> and melted into tears on every side. I continued exhorting them from 7:00 till 10:00, to save themselves from this untoward generation.<sup>12</sup> We could hardly part. Left the little society of twenty members confirmed and comforted.

**Tuesday, June 10.** Came to Axminster, and preached next morning in the bowling-green to above a thousand well-behaved people, on “Come unto me, all that travail . . .”<sup>13</sup> Got to Exeter by night.

**Saturday, June 14.** Went forth at Tavistock to call sinners to repentance. A large herd of wild beasts were got together, and very noisy and [2:272] tumultuous they were. At first I stood on a wall, but their violence forced me thence. I walked to the middle of the field, and began calling, “Wash ye, make you clean . . .”<sup>14</sup> The waves of the sea raged so horribly that few could hear.<sup>15</sup> But all might see the restraining hand of God. I continued in prayer mostly for half an hour and walked quietly to my lodgings through the thickest of the King’s enemies.

**Sunday, June 15.**<sup>16</sup> Offered Christ once more to a larger audience, who did not seem like the same people. The power of the Lord was present to convince. I endeavoured to strip them of all pretensions to good, insisting that the natural man has absolutely nothing of his own but pure evil, no will or desire to good, till it be supernaturally infused, any more than the devils in hell.

After church I expounded the Prodigal Son,<sup>17</sup> and many listened to their own history.

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<sup>9</sup>Lam. 1:12.

<sup>10</sup>Luke 2:25–32.

<sup>11</sup>See Jer. 23:29.

<sup>12</sup>Acts 2:40.

<sup>13</sup>Matt. 11:28.

<sup>14</sup>Isa. 1:16.

<sup>15</sup>See Jude 1:13.

<sup>16</sup>For June 15–30, 1746, see also CW’s more detailed journal letter to JW, in *Journal Letters*, 204–14.

<sup>17</sup>Luke 15:11–32.

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Mr. Kinsman's society complained of a brother who had made a division and carried away fifteen of their members.<sup>18</sup> Went to him and his company. They told me they were convinced by reading my brother's books of universal redemption, and therefore met by themselves to avoid dispute and confirm one another in the truth. I persuaded, and carried, them back to their brethren.

**Monday, June 16.** Some of Mr. Whitefield's society importuned me to go to Plymouth. I went, resolving to preach only in the streets or fields. A confused multitude were got together, and tolerably quiet, while I showed them the necessity of conversion.

**Tuesday, June 17.** While I preached from Isaiah 1:16 an whole army of soldiers and sailors stood behind me shouting and blaspheming. A wall of brass was betwixt us.<sup>19</sup> They raged, but could not pass their bounds, or stop the course of the gospel.

The society were now so exceeding urgent with me that I could not refuse praying with them in their room, and provoking them to love and to good works. I found no difference between them and our children at Kingswood, or the Foundery. [2:273]

**Wednesday, June 18.** At 5:00 expounded in the Tabernacle Zechariah 13:6, "What are these wounds in thy hands? ...." Then at the Dock to above a thousand artless souls, who even devoured the word.<sup>20</sup>

**Thursday, June 19.** Many of the rich heard or seemed to hear me in the evening. In much love I warned the society against the antinomian errors which they were blindly running into.

**Friday, June 20.** Urged that legal saying of our Lord (as some would call it), "If ye love me, keep my commandments."<sup>21</sup>

Preached Christ crucified<sup>22</sup> to a multitude at the dock. The word was as a fire, and melted down all it touched. We mourned and rejoiced together in him that loved us. I have not known such a refreshing time since I left Bristol.

Spoke with several in private who had received benefit by the word. One who had found forgiveness clave to me, and would have gone to any of our societies which I should advise. But I advised her to stay for a plainer direction.

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<sup>18</sup>Andrew Kinsman (1724–93), a native of Tavistock, was converted by Whitefield and became the leading supporter of (Calvinist) Methodism there and in Plymouth, where he had settled. The earliest Methodists in Plymouth had all been Calvinist, but in Apr. 1746 a local preacher who had embraced Arminian emphases attempted to form a Wesleyan society. CW's friend Howell Harris was concerned to hold the Methodists together in Plymouth and CW was backing this effort.

<sup>19</sup>See Jer. 1:18.

<sup>20</sup>The area just west of Plymouth now known as Devonport was called in the eighteenth century "the Dock," or "Plymouth Dock."

<sup>21</sup>John 14:15.

<sup>22</sup>On the sermon preached, see note for the Aug. 29, 1741 entry.

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**Sunday, June 22.** I preached on an hill in Stoke churchyard.<sup>23</sup> It was covered with the surrounding multitude, upward of four thousand by computation. Expounded the Good Samaritan.<sup>24</sup> Some reviled at first, on whom I turned and with a few words silenced them. The generality behaved as men fearing God. They followed me with their blessings. One only cursed, and called me Whitefield the second.

Took my leave of Mrs. Wheatly and others, whom I greatly love for their love to my brethren [Charles] Graves, Greenfield,<sup>25</sup> [Thomas] Maxfield—whose bonds they had compassion on.<sup>26</sup> The Lord recompense them in that day!

Our own children could not have expressed greater affection to us at parting. They could have plucked out their eyes and given them us.<sup>27</sup> Several offered me money, but I told them I never accepted any. Others would have persuaded Mr. [James] Waller to take it, but he walked in the same steps and said their love was sufficient. [2:274]

**Tuesday, June 24.** Got to Mr. [John] Bennet's.

**Wednesday, June 25.** Read prayers and preached in Tresmeer church. They seemed to *feel* the word of reconciliation.

**Thursday, June 26.** Came to Gwennap, and encouraged the poor persecuted sheep by that promise, Zechariah 13:7–9. The Lord smiled upon our first meeting.

**Sunday, June 29.** Upon examination of each separately, I found the society in a prosperous way. Their sufferings have been for their furtherance, and the gospel's. The opposers behold and wonder at their steadfastness and godly conversation. Preached the gospel to the poor at Stithians. The poor received it with tears of joy.

My evening congregation was computed upward of five thousand. Preached the pardoning God from the returning Prodigal,<sup>28</sup> and felt as it were the people sink under the power of him that sent me. They all stood uncovered, knelt at the prayers, and hung *narrantis ab ore*.<sup>29</sup> For an hour and an half I invited them back to their Father, and felt no hoarseness or weariness afterwards. Spent an hour and an half more with the society, warning them against pride, and the love of the creature, and stirring them up to universal obedience.

**Monday, June 30.** Both sheep and shepherds had been scattered in the late cloudy day of persecution. But the Lord gathered them again and kept them together by their own brethren, who began to exhort their companions—one or more in every society; no less than four have sprung up in Gwennap. I talked closely with each, and find no reason to doubt their having been used by God thus far. Advised and charged them not to stretch themselves beyond their line, by

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<sup>23</sup>Stoke is a district of Plymouth, 1 mile northwest of city center.

<sup>24</sup>Luke 10:29–37.

<sup>25</sup>See July 23, 1746 entry on Edward Greenfield, of St. Just; CW spells “Grinfill” this time.

<sup>26</sup>See the entry for July 23, 1746, below.

<sup>27</sup>See Gal. 4:15.

<sup>28</sup>Luke 15:11–32.

<sup>29</sup>Cf. Virgil, *Aeneid*, iv.79; “On the lips of the one who speaks.”

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speaking out of the society, or fancying themselves public teachers. If they keep within their bounds, as they promise, they may be useful in the church. And I would to God that all the Lord's people were prophets like these!

In the evening preached to our dearest children [2:275] at St. Ives, from Isaiah 35 last: "The redeemed of the Lord shall return ...."<sup>30</sup> He brought us some steps forward on our journey by that meeting.

**July 1746**

**Thursday, July 3.**<sup>1</sup> At Ludgvan<sup>2</sup> preached Christ crucified.<sup>3</sup> Spoke with the classes, who seem much in earnest. Showed above a thousand sinners at Sithney the love and compassion of Jesus towards them. Many who came from Helston, a town of rebels and persecutors, were struck, and confessed their sin, and declared they would never more be found fighting against God.

**Friday, July 4.** At Wendron a huge multitude listened to the invitation, "Ho, everyone that thirsteth, come ye to the waters."<sup>4</sup> Explained to the infant society the design of their meeting.

**Sunday, July 6.** At Stithians rebuked the society sharply, and gave them a fortnight to know their own mind, whether they will serve God or mammon.

The woman who keeps the society house could not be satisfied acquainting me how rich and strong she was in grace, that she could not be proud, could not be deceived, could not fall, etc. I assured her a common harlot was in a far better state. But she was above all reproof, or conviction. "A wild ass used to the wilderness, that shutteth up the wind at her pleasure. In her occasion who can turn her away?"<sup>5</sup> God deliver us from these saints of the devil's making! One such more hinders the work than a hundred drunkards.

At Gwennap near two thousand listened to those gracious words that proceeded out of his mouth, "Come unto me all that travail, and are ...."<sup>6</sup> Half of them were from Redruth, which seems on the point of surrendering to the Prince of peace.

The whole country finds the benefit of the gospel. Hundreds who follow not with us have broke off their sins and are outwardly reformed, and though persecutors once, will not now suffer a word to be spoken against this way.

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<sup>30</sup>Isa. 35:10.

<sup>1</sup>For July 1–13, 1746, see also CW's more detailed draft journal in *Journal Letters*, 215–19.

<sup>2</sup>Also called Ludjan. CW spells "Lidgeon."

<sup>3</sup>On the sermon preached, see note for the Aug. 29, 1741 entry.

<sup>4</sup>Isa. 55:1.

<sup>5</sup>Jer. 2:24.

<sup>6</sup>Matt. 11:28–30.

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Some of those who fell off in the late persecution desired to be [2:276] present at the society. I addressed myself chiefly to the backsliders. God touched their hearts. Several followed me to my lodgings, and desired to be admitted again. Received them back upon trial.

**Saturday, July 12.** Showed them at Morvah (who were growing rich ) the farther rest for the people of God,<sup>7</sup> and inculcated the first great lesson of humility.

**Sunday, July 13.** Most of St. Just society were present. I applied those seasonable words, “Will ye also go away?”<sup>8</sup> with great severity and love. Besought them to cast up the stumbling block of sin, to turn unto the Lord with weeping and fasting and mourning, that the gospel door might be again opened among them.

I urged the same thing upon them in the society room, and with many tears they promised amendment, and requested me to come to them again.

Went to church at Zennor, and thence to my congregation, whom I showed the twofold rest of pardon and holiness.<sup>9</sup> Talked with their young exhorter Maddern and advised him to practise, before he preached, the gospel.<sup>10</sup>

At St. Ives no one offered to make the least disturbance. Indeed the whole place is outwardly changed in this respect. Walk the streets with astonishment, scarce believing it St. Ives. It is the same throughout all the county. All opposition falls before us; or rather, is fallen, and not yet suffered to lift up its head again. This also hath the Lord wrought.

Put a disorderly walker, the first of the kind, out of the society.

**Friday, July 18.**<sup>11</sup> Preached with much freedom at Wendron.<sup>12</sup> A poor drunkard exclaimed for a few moments, and turned his back. I did not wonder when I heard he was an alehouse-keeper.

*Una cum gente tot annos Bella gero.*<sup>13</sup>

Men of his craft are generally our sworn enemies.

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<sup>7</sup>Again using Matt. 11:28–30, as specified in the journal letter.

<sup>8</sup>John 6:67.

<sup>9</sup>Probably speaking on Matt. 11:28–30.

<sup>10</sup>John Maddern (d. 1770), of Zennor, would become a Methodist itinerant the next year. In 1751 he married Mary Francis, mistress of the girls’ school at Kingswood, and served as English master at Kingswood 1756–57. The couple then moved to London, where John became a respected local preacher CW spells “Madern.”

<sup>11</sup>For July 14–27, 1746, see also CW’s more detailed draft journal in *Journal Letters*, 220–30.

<sup>12</sup>CW preached on Hosea 13:9, according to the journal letter.

<sup>13</sup>Virgil, *Aeneid*, i.47; “I have waged war on a whole race, for so many years.”



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**Saturday, July 19.** Had a visit from Captain Trounce, the man who last year hindered my brother from preaching; and threw him over the wall.<sup>14</sup> [2:277]

Rode to Sithney, where the word begins to take root. The rebels of Helston threatened hard. All manner of evil they say of us. Papists we are, that's certain; and are for bringing in the Pretender. Nay the vulgar are persuaded I have brought him with me, and James Waller is the man. But a law is to come from London tonight, to put us all down and set £100 upon my head. We had notwithstanding a numerous congregation, and several of the persecutors. I declared my commission to open their eyes, to turn them from [darkness to light], etc.<sup>15</sup> Many appeared convinced, and caught in the gospel net.

**Sunday, July 20.** Near a hundred of the fiercest rioters were present, who a few months since had cruelly beat the sincere hearers, not sparing the women and children. They were hired by the pious minister for that purpose.<sup>16</sup> Now these very men, expecting a disturbance, came to fight for me, and said, they would lose their lives in my defence. But there was no occasion for their service. All was quiet, as it generally is when Satan threatens most.

Crossed the country to Redruth. Walked through the town, a mile to church, and was surprised by the general civility.

Drew the congregation after me to the field; more than 8000, as was supposed. I expounded the Good Samaritan.<sup>17</sup> Surely he has a multitude of patients here.

**Monday, July 21.** I had heard sad accounts of St. Just people—that, being scattered by persecution, they had wandered into bypaths of error and sin, and been confirmed therein by their covetous, proud exhorter John Bennetts.<sup>18</sup> From St. Ives, I came on

**Wednesday noon, July 23,** to his house in Trewellard,<sup>19</sup> a village belonging to St. Just. Found about a dozen of the shattered society, which quickly increased to fifty or sixty.

Perceived as soon as we kneeled down that [2:278] there was a blessing in the remnant. We wrestled with God in his own strength from 1:00 till 9:00 (with only the preaching between). I acknowledged God was with them of a truth. My faith for them returned, and I asked, nothing doubting, that the door might again be opened and that “He who hinders might be taken out of the way,<sup>20</sup> as God knew best.” This man was once a gentleman of fortune, but is now a poor

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<sup>14</sup>JW, *Journal*, July 7, 1745 (*Works*, 20:78–79), provides an account of this incident in Tolcarn, but does not highlight Trounce as the main instigator. William Trounce (1699–1764) had an estate in Marazion, Cornwall. His descendants were active in the Wesleyan movement.

<sup>15</sup>Acts 26:18.

<sup>16</sup>Rev. William Newton was vicar of Sithney.

<sup>17</sup>Luke 10:29–37.

<sup>18</sup>John Bennetts (d. 1765) was a tinner, who also functioned as a local exhorter or preacher. On hearing of his death, JW described Bennetts as “a wise and a good man, who had been about twenty years a father” to the society at St. Just; see *Journal*, Sept. 12, 1765, *Works*, 22:20–21. CW spells “J. Bennet.”

<sup>19</sup>CW spells “Trewallard.”

<sup>20</sup>See 1 Thess. 2:7.

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drunken spendthrift; brother to Dr. Borlase, and retained by that dispenser of justice to supply the defect of the laws.<sup>21</sup> This champion they send forth drunk on all occasions. It was he that pressed my brother for a soldier; dragged away Edward Greenfield, though past age, from his business and family, for a soldier and sailor;<sup>22</sup> assaulted Mr. [John] Meriton, to serve him the same way; seized on Mr. [Charles] Graves, the third clergyman, in bed and hurried him on board a man-of-war. In a word, he seems raised up by Satan to support his tottering kingdom, and swears continually there shall never be any more preaching at St. Just.

For a year and an half Satan has seemed to triumph in his success. So much good may one sinner hinder, if armed with the sins of God's people. In praying for this poor soul, I thought heaven and earth would meet. The spirit of prayer bowed down all before him. We believed the door would be opened for preaching at this time. Between 6:00 and 7:00 I cried in the street to about a thousand hearers, "If God be for us, who can be against us?"<sup>23</sup> The wall of brass surrounded us.<sup>24</sup> None opened his mouth, or appeared on Satan's side. The little flock were comforted and refreshed abundantly.

I spoke with each of the society, and was amazed to find them just the reverse of what they had been represented. Most of them had kept their first love,<sup>25</sup> even while men were riding over their heads, and they passed through fire and water.<sup>26</sup> Their exhorter appeared a solid, humble Christian; raised [2:279] up to stand in the gap, and keep the trembling sheep together.

I was ready for rest, but none could I find all night, through the multitude of my small bed-fellows.<sup>27</sup> At 4:00 [July 24] I talked with more of the society, and adored the miracle of grace which has kept these sheep in the midst of wolves. Well may the despisers behold and wonder. "Here is a bush in the fire, burning, yet not consumed!"<sup>28</sup> What have they not done to crush this rising sect? But lo, they prevail nothing!

*Non Hydra secto corpore firmior vinci dolentem crevit in Herculem.*<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>21</sup>This is actually Dr. Borlase's brother-in-law, Stephen Ustick (1700–54) of Botallack, who married Catherine Borlase in 1724 and was a constable for the area; cf. JW, *Journal*, July 2, 1745, *Works*, 20:74.

<sup>22</sup>Orig., "Grinfil"; cf. JW, *Journal*, June 25, 1745, *Works*, 20:72–73.

<sup>23</sup>Rom. 8:31–32.

<sup>24</sup>See Jer. 1:18.

<sup>25</sup>See Rev. 2:4.

<sup>26</sup>See Isa. 43:2.

<sup>27</sup>I.e., lice or bed bugs.

<sup>28</sup>Exod. 3:2.

<sup>29</sup>Horace, *Odes*, IV.iv.61–62; "No, the hydra, as its body was hewn, grew mightier against Hercules."

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For one preacher they cut off, twenty spring up. Neither persuasions nor threatening, flattery nor violence, dungeons or sufferings of various kinds can conquer them. Many waters cannot quench this little spark which the Lord hath kindled, neither shall the floods of persecution drown it.<sup>30</sup>

**Thursday, July 24.** Rode with a merry heart to Ludgvan, and called many sin-sick souls to their Physician.<sup>31</sup> Met the society at Zennor. How unlike those of St. Just! Rebuked them sharply. Silenced one of their exhorters. And returned to Trewellard by Friday noon.

**Friday, July 25.** From 1:00 to 3:00 we poured out our souls in prayer for a nation laden with iniquity. I was led undesignedly to pray for our drunken persecutor, and the Spirit came pouring down like a river. We were filled with the divine presence. I had left my hymn-book in my chamber, and stepped up for it. One came after me with news that Mr. [Stephen] Ustick was just coming to take me up. I went down to the congregation, but my friend Ustick was gone, without beating man, woman, or child. He only asked if Mr. Wesley was there, for he had a warrant to apprehend him, went out at the other door and told those he met he had been searching all the house for Wesley but could not find him. We supposed he had not got sufficient courage—that is, [2:280] drink—for his purpose, and expected his return. To make the devil a liar, I began preaching an hour before the appointed time. The flame was kindled in a moment. I had only to speak, and *leave* God to apply. He filled us up to the brim with faith, and love and joy, and power. The Spirit of the Lord lifted up, and caused us to triumph, and tread on all the powers of the enemy.<sup>32</sup>

After a short interval, I received strength to preach again in the court-yard on “Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?”<sup>33</sup> The two-edged sword did great execution.<sup>34</sup> Concluded with that hymn:

Glory, and thanks, and praise  
To him that hath the key!  
Jesus, thy sovereign grace  
Gives us the victory;  
Baffles the world, and Satan’s power,  
And open throws the gospel-door.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>30</sup>See Song of Sol. 8:7.

<sup>31</sup>Likely by his sermon on the Good Samaritan, Luke 10:29–37.

<sup>32</sup>See 2 Cor. 2:14; Luke 10:19.

<sup>33</sup>Acts 9:4.

<sup>34</sup>See Heb. 4:12.

<sup>35</sup>This hymn was again being used in worship before publication. It appeared as “Another (After Preaching),” st. 1, *HSP* (1749), 1:323–24.

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**Sunday, July 27.**<sup>36</sup> Met the society at Morvah. Went to church at St. Just,<sup>37</sup> and then to my old pulpit, the large stone by brother [William] Chenhall's house. I preached from Matthew 22:1[ff]. All was quiet, till I came to those words, "And the remnant took his servants, and entreated them spitefully, and slew them."<sup>38</sup> Then one begun throwing stones. But I went on exhorting them to save themselves from this untoward generation.<sup>39</sup> My discourse was as mixed as the multitude: law, gospel, threatenings, promises, which I trust the Spirit applied to their several cases.

Rode to St. Ives, and expounded the woman bowed down with a spirit of infirmity.<sup>40</sup>

**Monday, July 28.** Began my week's experiment of leaving off tea, but my flesh protested against it. I was but half awake, and half alive all day; and my headache so increased toward noon that I could neither speak nor think. So it was for the two following days, with the addition of a violent purging, occasioned by my milk diet. This so weakened me that I could hardly sit my horse. However, I made [2:281] a shift to ride to Gwennap and preach and meet the society. I would have eat[ten] afterwards, being very faint and weary, but could get nothing proper.

**August 1746**

**Friday, August 1.** Left two or three of a doubtful character out of the society at St. Ives, not daring to trust them with the honour of God and his people. At the hour of intercession our hearts were moved, and we desired to return to God in weeping, and fasting, and mourning.<sup>1</sup> They promised henceforward to meet the true members of the Church of England at the throne of grace on this day.

**Saturday, August 2.** At Sithney spoke with one who had been set at liberty from the guilt of sin the first time he heard me, I think, as soon as I had named my text. Preached Christ crucified in the evening,<sup>2</sup> and on **Sunday morning, August 3**, to many who seemed truly desirous to know him.

From evening service at Redruth, rode back to my own church, the valley near our room at Gwennap, and found at least five thousand sinners waiting for the glad tidings of salvation. I bade them to the great supper in my Master's name and words,<sup>3</sup> and even compelled them to

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<sup>36</sup>For July 27 – Aug. 10, 1746, see also CW's more detailed journal letter to JW, in *Journal Letters*, 231–38.

<sup>37</sup>Rev. William Borlase (1695–1772), brother of Walter, was vicar of the church at St. Just.

<sup>38</sup>Matt. 22:6.

<sup>39</sup>See Acts 2:40.

<sup>40</sup>Luke 13:11–17.

<sup>1</sup>See Joel 2:12.

<sup>2</sup>On the likely sermon preached, see note for the Aug. 29, 1741 entry.

<sup>3</sup>Luke 14:15–24.

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come in.

**Tuesday, August 5.** Preached there again, and rejoiced over those blessed mourners. Some I heard were then filled with all joy in believing.<sup>4</sup>

**Thursday, August 7.** Asked at Trewellard, “What are these wounds in thy hands?”<sup>5</sup> The Lord himself answered, and made himself known to us by the marks of his sufferings.

Before preaching I read them the late Act against swearing,<sup>6</sup> of which a hundred had been sent my brother by a justice of peace. I thought his design best answered by reading it in our largest congregations. Last Sunday I read it at Gwennap. I believe it was blessed to many.

Rejoiced over this steady people. Near 150 [2:282] are gathered again, and knit together in the love of Jesus.

**Friday, August 8.** Met the society at 5:00, and more of the power of God than ever. I thought he would give us a double portion at parting. We tasted the powers of the world to come,<sup>7</sup> while the Spirit applied his own word, “These are they that came out of great tribulation!”<sup>8</sup>

Got back to St. Ives by 1:00, and humbled ourselves under the mighty hand of God. He did now begin to lift us up.<sup>9</sup> A spirit of mourning ran through our hearts; and again in the evening, while I explained, “The Spirit and the Bride say, Come!”<sup>10</sup>

**Sunday, August 10.** At Gwennap 9,000 or 10,000 by computation listened with all eagerness while I commended them to God and to the word of his grace.<sup>11</sup> For near two hours I was enabled to preach repentance towards God, and faith in Jesus Christ.<sup>12</sup> Broke out again and again into prayer and exhortation. I believed not one word would return empty.<sup>13</sup> Seventy years’ sufferings were overpaid by one such opportunity.

Never had we so large an effusion of the Spirit as in the society. I could not doubt, at that time, either their perseverance or my own. And still I am humbly confident that we shall stand together among the multitude which no man can number.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>See Rom. 15:13.

<sup>5</sup>Zech. 13:6.

<sup>6</sup>*An Act more Effectually to Prevent Profane Cursing and Swearing* [London: Thomas Baskett, 1746].

<sup>7</sup>See Heb. 6:5.

<sup>8</sup>Rev. 7:14.

<sup>9</sup>See 1 Pet. 5:6.

<sup>10</sup>Rev. 22:17.

<sup>11</sup>Acts 20:32.

<sup>12</sup>See Acts 20:21.

<sup>13</sup>See Isa. 55:11.

<sup>14</sup>See Rev. 7:9.

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**Monday, August 11.**<sup>15</sup> Expressed the gratitude of my heart in the following thanksgiving:

All thanks be to God,  
Who scatters abroad,  
Throughout every place,  
By the least of his servants his savour of grace:  
Who the victory gave,  
The praise let him have,  
For the work he hath done;  
All honour and glory to Jesus alone!, etc.<sup>16</sup>

Preached at St. Tudy's,<sup>17</sup> "Repent, and believe the gospel."<sup>18</sup> Mr. [John] Bennet and [George] Thomson were present. As I was concluding, a gentleman rode up to me very fiercely and bade me come down. We exchanged a few words, and talked together more largely in the house. The poor drunken lawyer [2:283] went away in as good a humour as he was then capable of. I had more difficulty to get clear of a different antagonist, one Adams, an old enthusiast, who travels through all the land, as "overseer of all the ministers."<sup>19</sup>

**Tuesday, August 12.** Mr. Bennet's church [in Tresmeer] was crowded at night. He read prayers, and I preached on "They that be whole have no need of a physician."<sup>20</sup>

**Wednesday, August 13.** Offered to preach in Tavistock, but to such sticks and stones as I have not seen, no not at Conham. The words rebounded as from a wall of brass.<sup>21</sup> So great a bar I have seldom felt, and was therefore forced in a quarter of an hour to dismiss them.

**Thursday, August 14.** Many letters I have received from Plymouth, importuning me to visit them in my return. A brother met us on the road thither, and informed me of what I expected, the indefatigable pains Satan has taken to alienate the minds of the people. Yet I complied with the request of Herbert Jenkins, Mr. [Andrew] Kinsman's family, and many others, by preaching in their house once more.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>15</sup>For Aug. 11–28, 1746, see also CW's more detailed draft journal in *Journal Letters*, 239–44.

<sup>16</sup>CW, "Thanksgiving for the Success of the Gospel," st. 1, *Redemption Hymns*, 5–7.

<sup>17</sup>CW spells "St. Eudy."

<sup>18</sup>Mark 1:15.

<sup>19</sup>This is the John Adams of Tresmeer, who was eventually confined as a madman. Cf. JW, *Letter to the ... Bishop of Gloucester*, I.29, *Works*, 11:493.

<sup>20</sup>Matt. 9:12.

<sup>21</sup>See Jer. 1:18.

<sup>22</sup>Their "house" was the Tabernacle in Plymouth proper, which would remain solidly aligned with the Calvinist wing of the revival.

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**Friday, August 15.** Showed a simple people at the Dock the blessedness of mourning, and they tasted it in that hour.<sup>23</sup>

**Saturday, August 16.** Spent the morning in conversing with Mrs. Stephens, Mrs. Patrick, Mr. Hide's family, and other sincere followers after Christ. Baptized a young woman who, *in* the ordinance, lost her burden of sin, and was soon after filled with joy in believing.

**Sunday, August 17.** My subject was, "They that be whole have no . . ."<sup>24</sup> The number of the sick, I believe, increases. We walked back from the field with the voice of praise and thanksgiving.

**Monday, August 18.** Took boat for the Dock with sisters Gregory, Veal, Poppleston,<sup>25</sup> and Herbert Jenkins. In perils by water, in perils among false brethren!<sup>26</sup> The rough, stormy sea tried our faith. Some supernatural courage I had given me for the rest. [2:284] None stirred, or we must have been overset. In two hours our invisible Pilot brought us safe to land—thankful for our deliverance, humbled for our littleness of faith, and more endeared to each other by our common danger.

Found thousands waiting for the word of life. The Lord made it a channel of grace. Spoke and prayed alternately for two hours. The moonlight added to the solemnity. Our eyes overflowed with tears, and our hearts with love. Scarce a soul but was affected with grief or joy. We drank into one spirit,<sup>27</sup> and were persuaded that neither life nor death, nor things present, nor things to come, shall be able to separate us.<sup>28</sup>

Spent all **Wednesday, August 20th**, at Tavistock, to encourage their poor scattered society, under the reproach which one had brought upon them all.

**Thursday, August 21.** Published the dying love of Jesus in Tresmeer church;<sup>29</sup> and on

**Friday, August 22**, enforced the duty (Matthew 7:7) and pleaded the promise, in full assurance of faith. Refreshed by the sight of my brother [George] Thomson. At night I preached in Laneast church,<sup>30</sup> to a people seeking the Lord.

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<sup>23</sup>Preaching on Matt. 5:4–6. CW's praise of the "simple people" at the Dock (now Devonport) surely reflected that the society there was aligning with the Wesleyan wing of the revival.

<sup>24</sup>Matt. 9:12.

<sup>25</sup>The latter is likely the "Mary Popplestone," of whom JW chided George Whitefield (in a letter dated May 16, 1753; *Works*, 26:508) for relating "shocking stories" in relationship to one of the two Wesley brothers.

<sup>26</sup>Herbert Jenkins had become one of the strongest critics of the Wesleyan inroads at Plymouth and the Dock.

<sup>27</sup>See 1 Cor. 12:13.

<sup>28</sup>See Rom. 8:38.

<sup>29</sup>See the note for the Sept. 3–4, 1741 entry above.

<sup>30</sup>Laneast, Cornwall; one of the parishes served by Rev. John Bennet (c. 1670–1750).

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1746**

**Sunday, August 24.** I preached morning and evening, not my own words, at St. Gennys. At Mr. [John] Bennet's, I heard from Captain Hitchens that John Trembath<sup>31</sup> was still alive, but his son Samuel departed in full triumph.<sup>32</sup> His last words were,

Ready wing'd for their flight  
To the regions of light,  
The horsemen are come,  
The chariots of Israel, to carry me home!<sup>33</sup>

**Thursday, August 28.** At Bristol I met my brother, returned from Wales.

**Friday, August 29.** The Lord gave me words of comfort for our own dear children in the gospel.

**Sunday, August 31.** In expounding the woman bowed down we found the ancient blessing.<sup>34</sup> Concluded the day and month with a joyful love-feast.

[2:285]

**September 1746**

**Tuesday, September 2.** Preached at Bath and Brentford, where some of our friends met and conducted us to town [i.e., London].

**Thursday, September 4.** Here I heard that Mr. Green, a clergyman whom my brother had sent for to assist us, was fallen off to the antinomians.<sup>1</sup>

**Thursday, September 11.** Poor Thomas Williams came to beg something of me, on pretence of visiting his father, before the Bishop of London ordained him for a missionary. Got Mr. [Samuel] Watkins to assist him, although his promises of repentance had little weight with me.

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<sup>31</sup>John Trembath (fl. 1740–60) was a native of St. Gennys, Cornwall, who became one of JW's traveling preachers as early as 1743. But he proved disinclined to study and self-discipline, drifting in and out of the itinerancy from 1750 onwards.

<sup>32</sup>Capt. James Hitchens (1699–1752), was a leader among the tanners at Gwennap. His son Samuel died on Aug. 16. JW assisted Hitchens in writing an account of the death, published as *A Short Account of the Death of Samuel Hitchens* (London: [Strahan,] 1746). See also CW's "Hymn on the Death of Samuel Hitchens," *HSP* (1749), 2:74–75. A second son, Thomas, died soon after (see the entry for Sept. 26, 1746). Hitchens's other two sons, James Jr. (c. 1723–88) and William (1727–73), assisted the Wesley brothers. CW spells "Hitchins."

<sup>33</sup>CW, "Hosannah to God," st. 7, *Funeral Hymns* (1746), 23.

<sup>34</sup>Luke 13:11–17.

<sup>1</sup>John Green (d. 1812) had been ordained deacon in 1745 and served a year as curate of Thurnscoe, Yorkshire. He was drawn in to the Methodist revival, but soon aligned with the Calvinist side of the movement, preaching at Whitefield's Tabernacle and for Lady Huntingdon's Connexion, before retiring to Reading.



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Talked with a man of the world, in great affliction for the loss of a favourite child. When on the point of committing sin he had been warned of her death, as if a voice had said, “if you do this thing, I will take away your child.” She died in the most triumphant manner, being perfected in the short space of nine years.

**Tuesday, September 16.** Set out in a chaise with Mr. Edward Perronet, Mr. [Samuel] Watkins, and others, for Shoreham. Preached in our way at Sevenoaks, where we were much threatened, but nothing hurt. At Shoreham Mr. [John] Green read prayers. As soon as I began preaching, the wild beasts began roaring, stamping, blaspheming, ringing the bells, and turning the church into a bear-garden. Spoke on for half an hour, though only the nearest could hear. The rioters followed us to Mr. [Vincent] Perronet’s house, raging, threatening, and throwing stones. Charles Perronet hung over me to intercept my blows. They continued their uproar after we were housed. Our sisters from Sevenoaks feared to go home. But our Lord in some time scattered the beasts of the people, so that they escaped unhurt.<sup>2</sup>

**Friday, September 19.** An opposer desired to see me on his death-bed. Now his voice was changed, and he glad to hear one might know our sins forgiven here, but feared he was too great a sinner to obtain it. I left him waiting for redemption, as a poor trembling publican or harlot. [2:286]

**Sunday, September 21.** Heard Mr. Green preach rank antinomianism. In the evening I cried, in the name of my Lord, “Look unto me, and be ye saved”<sup>3</sup>—from sin, not in it. He owned his own word.

To the bands I explained the nature of Christian perfection, another name for Christian salvation. Mr. Green sat by and mocked.

**Monday, September 22.** Carried him to Newington Green,<sup>4</sup> where he appeared an antinomian barefaced.

**Tuesday, September 23.** He fairly told me my brother and I preached another gospel, and were therefore accursed.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>This is the first appearance in CW’s MS Journal of the Perronet family. Rev. Vincent Perronet (1693–1785), son of a Swiss immigrant, had been vicar of Shoreham from 1734, where he remained until his death. He married Charity Goodhew in Dec. 1718. Vincent and Charity had at least a dozen children, several of whom appear in Wesley correspondence; particularly their sons Charles Perronet (1719–76) and Edward Perronet (1726–92), who both travelled with the Wesley brothers for a time. Vincent was introduced to the Wesley brothers by Henry Piers in 1744. His interest in and support of the Methodist revival was intensified by the death of his son Vincent in 1746. Perronet became one of the strongest supporters and confidants of both JW and CW. See Margaret Batty, *Vincent Perronet, 1693–1785: ‘The Archbishop of the Methodists’* (WMHS Publications, 2002).

<sup>3</sup>Isa. 45:22.

<sup>4</sup>Newington Green was an open area halfway between Islington and Stoke Newington, about 4 miles north of London.

<sup>5</sup>See JW’s account of the brothers confronting Green soon after; JW, *Journal*, Oct. 4, 1746, *Works*, 20:143.

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**Wednesday, September 24.** Prayed by our sister Lincoln,<sup>6</sup> rejoicing, as was thought, in death. The fever had taken away her senses, but not her joy. Still her words were all prayer, or praise.

**Friday, September 26.** Met my brother at Uxbridge. I heard him at our chapel in the evening. He read us an account of another son of James Hitchens, just going to glory;<sup>7</sup> which set us all on fire.

**October 1746**

**Sunday, October 5.** Had the never-failing presence of our Lord at his table. Encouraged my companions in tribulation at the Foundery by the scriptural prospect of the new Jerusalem.<sup>1</sup> Added a few words how they should observe the thanksgiving day.

**Tuesday, October 7.** Prayed with Edward Perronet, just on the point of receiving faith.

**Thursday, October 9.** The Foundery was filled at 4:00 in the morning. I spoke from those words, “How shall I give thee up, Ephraim?”<sup>2</sup> Our hearts were melted by the long-suffering love of God, whose power we felt disposing us to the true thanksgiving.<sup>3</sup> It was a day of solemn rejoicing. O that from this moment all our rebellions against God might cease!

**Friday, October 10.** Set out for Newcastle with my young companion and friend, Edward Perronet, whose heart the Lord hath given me. His family were kept [2:287] from us so long by their mistaken notion that we were against the Church. We lodged at Tilsworth. I could not rest for my vomiting and purging.

**Sunday, October 12.** At Quinton I preached repentance, from the strongest of all motives, “Turn ye unto the Lord, for he is gracious ....”<sup>4</sup> Out of the abundance of my heart my mouth spoke, and both preacher and people bowed down to the pardoning God.

In the evening my text at Evesham was, “His blood be upon us, and upon our children!”<sup>5</sup> We felt its softening power; and yet more at the society, where Patty Keech and others were quite overpowered by it.

**Monday, October 13.** Dined at Studley, where some poor drunkards, offended at our singing, endeavoured a while to silence us. But we fairly outsung them.

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<sup>6</sup>Martha Lincoln appears as a single woman in the Foundery Band lists (1742–46).

<sup>7</sup>Thomas Hitchens died on Sept. 12, less than a month after his brother Samuel. The account which JW helped James Hitchens prepare was also published as *A Short Account of the Death of Thomas Hitchens* ([Bristol: Farley,] 1747).

<sup>1</sup>Rev. 21.

<sup>2</sup>Hosea 11:8.

<sup>3</sup>This was the designated public Thanksgiving Day for celebrating the defeat of the Jacobite rebellion. CW published for the occasion his *Hymns for the Public Thanksgiving Day, Oct. 9, 1746* (London: [Strahan,] 1746).

<sup>4</sup>Joel 2:13.

<sup>5</sup>Matt. 27:25.

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Riding on, I had a narrow escape. A man discharged a gun just over my head and shot a bird on the opposite hedge, which fell dead at my feet. The shot flew within a few inches of my face. One of our company told us his father had been killed by such an accident.

Much refreshed at Birmingham by my brother James Jones, and the rest of the children whom God hath given us.

**Tuesday, October 14.** Rejoiced once more with our brethren at Wednesbury, who have rest at present, and walk in the comfort of the Holy Ghost. The Lord was with us as in the former days. Late at night came our brother Swindells to conduct us to the Cheshire societies.<sup>6</sup>

**Wednesday, October 15.** Preached at Tipton Green the necessity of taking Christ's yoke upon us.<sup>7</sup> The few remaining antinomians were present, but they only mocked at God's word and messenger.

Baptized a Dissenter's child. Went forth, and proclaimed my Master in the street. All were deeply attentive. How is the leopard laid down with the kid!<sup>8</sup>

It was past 8:00 when we came to Penkrige,<sup>9</sup> at the initiation of a brother. He comforted my heart on the way by informing me that his father, aged seventy and a great opposer [2:288] lately, had come last night to the preaching and returned to his house justified.

We were hardly set down when the sons of Belial beset the house and beat at the door.<sup>10</sup> I ordered it to be set open and immediately they filled the house. I sat still in the midst of them for half an hour. Edward Perronet I was a little concerned for, lest such rough treatment at his first setting out should daunt him. But he abounded in valour, and was for reasoning with the wild beasts, before they had spent any of their violence. He got a deal of abuse thereby, and not a little dirt, both which he took very patiently.

I had no design to preach. But being called upon by so unexpected a congregation, I rose at last and read the first words I met: "When the Son of man shall come in his glory, and all the holy angels with him, then shall he sit upon the throne of his glory."<sup>11</sup> While I reasoned with them of judgment to come, they grew calmer by little and little. I then spoke to them one by one, till the Lord had disarmed them all. One who stood out the longest I held by the hand, and urged with the love of Christ crucified, till in spite of both his natural and diabolical courage, he trembled like a leaf. I was constrained to break out into earnest prayer for him, and surely the Lord heard and answered. Our leopards were all become lambs, and very kind we were at parting. Near midnight the house was clear and quiet. We gave thanks to the God of our salvation, and slept in peace.

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<sup>6</sup>Robert Swindells (d. 1782) became one of JW's traveling preachers in 1741. He accompanied JW to Ireland in 1748 and spent a large part of the next three decades itinerating there, along with the Rev. John Meriton.

<sup>7</sup>Matt. 11:29.

<sup>8</sup>See Isa. 11:6.

<sup>9</sup>CW spells "Pencrage."

<sup>10</sup>See Judg. 19:22.

<sup>11</sup>Matt. 25:31.

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**Thursday, October 16.** Rose much refreshed at 4:00, and preached to a house full of listening souls. Rode to Congleton, and preached in a yard, and prayed with the little society, who seem on the brink of the pool.<sup>12</sup> One important sinner, past seventy, was healed, and witnessed it the same hour.

**Friday, October 17.** Directed a quiet multitude at the cross to “the Lamb of God, who taketh away ....”<sup>13</sup> Satan had sent one Smith to this place before me, who begged their charity and railed at the clergy. Yet [2:289] the poor people heard me gladly. Two ministers were of my audience.

**Saturday, October 18.** At Woodley invited the weary to Christ.<sup>14</sup> And on

**Sunday morning, October 19th,** discoursed on “Him that cometh unto me, I will in no wise cast out.”<sup>15</sup>

**Monday, October 20.** Saluted our friends at Birstall.<sup>16</sup>

**Tuesday, October 21.** Preached at Dewsbury, where John Nelson had gathered many stray sheep. The minister did not condemn them unheard, but talked with the persons wrought upon, and narrowly examined into the doctrine taught them, and its effect on their lives. When he found that as many as had been affected by the preaching were evidently reformed and brought to Church and sacrament, he testified his approbation of the work and rejoiced that sinners were converted unto God.<sup>17</sup>

At Leeds called a lamblike multitude to repentance. Many at the society were unable to suppress their concern. Others, who had more power over themselves, were no less deeply affected.

**Wednesday, October 22.** Preached in a yard at Keighley on “God so loved the world.”<sup>18</sup> Here also is the promise of a plentiful harvest. Went on to Haworth. Called on Mr. Grimshaw, a faithful minister of Christ, and found him and his wife ill of a fever.<sup>19</sup> She had been a great opposer, but lately convinced. His soul was full of triumphant love. I wished mine in its place.

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<sup>12</sup>See John 5:1–15.

<sup>13</sup>John 1:29.

<sup>14</sup>Matt. 11:28.

<sup>15</sup>John 6:37.

<sup>16</sup>This is almost certainly when Thomas Mitchell heard CW preach on 1 Cor. 2:2; see his autobiographical letter to JW, *AM* 3 (1780): 315.

<sup>17</sup>Rev. Ralph Robson (d. 1749) was currently vicar of Dewsbury.

<sup>18</sup>John 3:16.

<sup>19</sup>Rev. William Grimshaw (1708–63) held the curacy of St. Mary’s Chapel, Todmorden for ten years; and in May 1742 became perpetual curate at Haworth, where he remained until his death. The Methodists also came to Haworth in 1742, and within five years both JW and CW had met Grimshaw. He became JW’s right hand in the midlands and the north, and in Methodist trust deeds was named as the one responsible for the direction of Methodism in the event of the death of both Wesley brothers. The wife mentioned is Williams’s second, Elizabeth (Cockroft) Grimshaw, who succumbed to this illness soon after.

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We prayed believing that the Lord would raise him up again, for the service of his church.

I read prayers and expounded Isaiah 35. All listened, many wept, some received comfort. Returned and exhorted the steady society at Keighley. Lay at a public-house; and I slept, in spite of the serenaders, who entertained my fellow traveller till the morning.

**Thursday, October 23.** Set out with Edward Perronet and reached Newcastle by Saturday noon.

**Sunday, October 26.** My companion was taken ill of a fever. We prayed for him in strong faith, nothing doubting. Monday and Tuesday he grew worse [2:290] and worse. On Wednesday the small-pox appeared—a favourable sort. Yet on Thursday evening we were much alarmed by the great pain and danger he was in. We had recourse to our never failing remedy, and received a most remarkable, immediate answer to our prayer. The great means of his recovery was the prayer of faith.

**Friday, October 31.** Rode to Whickham, where the curate sent his love to me, with a message that he was glad of my coming, and obliged to me for endeavouring to do good among his people, for none wanted it more, and he heartily wished me good luck in the name of the Lord.<sup>20</sup> He came with another clergyman, and stayed both preaching and society. I discoursed on Matthew 11:5.

It was the exemplary behaviour of our society, with the deaths of two or three, which convinced the ministers that this new sect, everywhere spoken against, is no other than the sect of the Nazarenes,<sup>21</sup> or real Christians.

**November 1746**

**Sunday, November 2.** Preached in the street, close to the popish chapel, from Isaiah 1:9, “Except the Lord of hosts had left us a very small remnant, we should have been as Sodom . . .” I put them in mind of their late consternation and deliverance, in answer to the mourning, praying few. God gave weight to my words, which therefore sunk into their hearts. Many in this place, I am persuaded, will thank him with their lives, and not be terrified when the scourge returns.

**Monday, November 3.** Prayer has been made to God without ceasing for my young man, and God hath showed he heard. Today the smallpox turned, and he is better than we could hope in so short a time. It is the Lord’s doing, who has given him to his church. Whether he has not also received the sense of pardon in his sickness, let his life, rather than my words, witness.

**Tuesday, November 4.** Preached at Biddick on “How shall I give thee up, Ephraim?”<sup>1</sup> and the numerous [2:291] congregation were dissolved in tears. At 1:00 I spoke from those words, “Lord, when thy hand is lifted up, they will not see, but they shall see . . .”<sup>2</sup> Again my voice was drowned in the general sorrow. We poured out a prayer while his chastening was upon us, and all lay at his feet weeping. At night many followed the example of the importunate

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<sup>20</sup>Rev. Ralph Gelson (d. 1775) was the current curate at Whickham.

<sup>21</sup>See Matt. 2:23.

<sup>1</sup>Hosea 11:8.

<sup>2</sup>Isa. 26:11.

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widow.<sup>3</sup>

**Thursday, November 6.** God broke us to pieces with the hammer of his word, Jeremiah 31, and the room was filled with strong cries and prayers that pierced the clouds.

**Friday, November [7].**<sup>4</sup> Preached at Plessy, at Swalwell, and at Whickham, where I got an hour's useful conversation with the two ministers.<sup>5</sup>

**Sunday, November 9.** Was very sensible of the hard frost in riding to Burnopfield, but did not feel it while calling a crowd of sinners to repentance. At my return found Edward Perronet rejoicing in the love of God.

**Wednesday, November 12.** I preached on "Let us come boldly to the throne of grace,"<sup>6</sup> and the Lord fulfilled the words. I cannot describe what our souls felt while we sat down with Christ in heavenly places.<sup>7</sup>

**Thursday, November 13.** Expounded at Newlands.<sup>8</sup> Here also John Brown has gathered a flock, and suffered greatly for their sake.

**Monday, November 17.** At Biddick preached on "They all shall know me from the least to the greatest."<sup>9</sup> The least begin to know him. When will it spread to the greatest too?

**Wednesday, November 19.** Had much serious talk with the friendly Dr. F. Such a physician is truly the gift of God. He seems resolved with his house to serve the Lord.<sup>10</sup>

**Sunday, November 23.** At night I could not preach (through the usual uproar), but only exhort the society, to which I admitted the backsliders.

**Monday, November 24.** They were greatly moved under [2:292] the morning word. Observed the day as a day of humiliation. Had a solemn hour of prayer with the mourners. God did not manifest himself so much in joy and comfort, as in power and firmness (which he put into our hearts) against sin.

**Wednesday, November 26.** All seemed overwhelmed with the power of his love. For an hour or two I quite forgot myself, and those that burden me.

**Thursday, November 27.** Rode to Hexham, at the pressing instance of Mr. Wardrobe, a Dissenting minister, and others.<sup>11</sup> Walked straight to the marketplace and began calling sinners

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<sup>3</sup>See Luke 18:3.

<sup>4</sup>Orig., "November 6"; an error.

<sup>5</sup>In a letter to James Erskine, CW described these two as "a D.D. and his curate." The current rector of Whickham was Robert Tomlinson, D.D. (d. 1748); the curate was Ralph Gelson.

<sup>6</sup>Heb. 4:16.

<sup>7</sup>See Eph. 2:6.

<sup>8</sup>CW spells "Newlings."

<sup>9</sup>Jer. 31:34.

<sup>10</sup>See Josh. 24:13.

<sup>11</sup>Thomas Wardrobe (c. 1716–56) was minister of the Hallbank Presbyterian Church at Hexham, Northumberland, and connected to the 'praying societies' of the Scottish revival in the

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to repentance. A multitude of them stood staring at me, but all quiet. The Lord opened my mouth, and they drew nearer and nearer, stole off their hats, and listened. None offered to interrupt but one unfortunate squire,<sup>12</sup> who could get none to second him. His servants and the constable hid themselves. One he did find, and bade him go take me down, the poor constable simply answered, “Sir, I cannot have the face to do it. For what harm does he do?” Several papists attended, and the Church minister, who had refused me his pulpit with indignation.<sup>13</sup> However, he came to hear with his own ears; and I wish all who hang us first, would, like him, try us afterward.

I walked back to Mr. Ord’s<sup>14</sup> through the people, who acknowledged, “It is the truth, and none can speak against it.” A constable followed, and told me, “Sir Edward Blackett orders you to *disperse* the town” (*depart*, I suppose, he meant) “and not raise a disturbance there.”<sup>15</sup> Sent my respects to Sir Edward, and said if he would give me leave, I would wait upon him and satisfy him. He soon returned with an answer that Sir Edward would have nothing to say to me. But if I preached again, and raised a disturbance, he would put the law in execution against me. I replied, I was not conscious of my breaking any law of God or [2:293] man; but if I did, was ready to suffer the penalty. That as I had not given notice of preaching again at the Cross, I should not preach again *at that place*, or cause disturbance anywhere. Charged the constable, a trembling, submissive soul, to assure His Worship I revered him for his office’s sake.

The only place I could get to preach in was a cock-pit, and expected Satan would come and fight me on his own ground. Squire Roberts, the justice’s son, laboured hard to raise a mob (for whose riot I was to answer).<sup>16</sup> But with a strong hand did our Lord hold down him that is in the world.<sup>17</sup> The very boys ran away from him, when the poor squire persuaded them to go down to the cock-pit and cry, “Fire!”

I called (in words then first heard in that place), “Repent, and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out.”<sup>18</sup> God struck the hard rock, and the waters gushed out.<sup>19</sup> Never have I seen a people more desirous at the first hearing.

Passed the evening in conference with Mr. Wardrobe. O that all our Dissenting brethren were like-minded! Then would all dissensions cease for ever.

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mid 1740s. He welcomed Methodist renewal efforts in the area of Newcastle.

<sup>12</sup>Nicholas Roberts Esq. (c. 1700–61), of Hexham, a nephew of Sir Blackett.

<sup>13</sup>Rev. Thomas Hudson (d. 1784) was the current curate at Hexham.

<sup>14</sup>John Ord Esq. (1698–1760) was a major landholder in Hexham, and supportive of Presbyterians in the area.

<sup>15</sup>Edward Blackett (1683–1756), 3rd Baronet, of Hexham. CW spells “Blackett.”

<sup>16</sup>Edward Roberts (1725–57), son of Nicholas and Catherine (Kaye) Roberts.

<sup>17</sup>See 1 John 4:4.

<sup>18</sup>Acts 3:19.

<sup>19</sup>See Ps. 78:20.

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**Friday, November 28.** At 6:00 we assembled again in our chapel, the cock-pit. I imagined myself in the Pantheon, or some heathen temple, and almost scrupled preaching there at first. But we found “the earth is the Lord’s, and the fullness thereof.”<sup>20</sup> His presence consecrated the place. Never have I seen greater awe, or sense of God, than while we were repeating his own prayer. Set before their eyes Christ crucified, and crying from the cross, “Is it nothing to you?”<sup>21</sup> The rocks were melted into gracious tears. We knew not how to part. I distributed some books among them, which they received with the utmost eagerness. [They] begged me to come again, and to send our preachers to them.

**Sunday, November 30.** Went out into the streets of [2:294] Newcastle, and called the poor, the lame, the halt, the blind, with that precious promise, “Him that cometh unto me, I will in no wise cast out.”<sup>22</sup> They had no feeling of the sharp frost, while the love of Christ warmed their hearts.

Took my leave of the weeping flock at Burnopfield in that of Jude, “Now to him that is able to keep you from falling . . . .”<sup>23</sup> Nothing can be more comfortable than our parting, except our last meeting to part no more.

Preached before the usual time at Newcastle. Yet the mob paid their usual attendance, our Lord still permitting them to try us.

**December 1746**

**Friday, December 5.** At Ryton<sup>1</sup> preached, “Jesus Christ the same yesterday, to day, and for ever.”<sup>2</sup> Many hungry souls listened with inexpressible eagerness. I was greatly enlarged, and knew not when to end.

**Saturday, December 6.** Visited one of our sick children, Phebe Crosier, and received *her* blessing and prayers.

**Sunday, December 7.** Many from the country increased our joy at the lovefeast. We were carried out in mighty prayer for the Church and nation.

**Sunday, December [14].**<sup>3</sup> Had two or three hours’ close conversation with the two ministers at Wickham.<sup>4</sup> At noon preached in Swalwell to many—now quiet, serious hearers. Here indeed our Lord hath at last got himself the victory.

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<sup>20</sup>Ps. 24:1.

<sup>21</sup>Lam. 1:12.

<sup>22</sup>John 6:37.

<sup>23</sup>Jude 1:24.

<sup>1</sup>Ryton, Co. Durham; a village with an elevated position on the southern side of the Tyne some six miles west of Newcastle. CW spells “Righton.”

<sup>2</sup>Heb. 13:8.

<sup>3</sup>Orig., “December 13”; an error.

<sup>4</sup>See entry for Nov. 7, 1746.



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**Tuesday, December 16.** Preached the gospel to the poor at Spen, their spirit bearing me up. Next morning we had a double blessing, and diligently poured out our souls before the Lord.

**Thursday, December 18.**<sup>5</sup> Waked between 3:00 and 4:00, in a temper I have rarely felt on my birthday. My joy and thankfulness continued the whole day, to my own astonishment. Rode to Hexham. [2:295] Preached at the Cross, “Repentance towards God, and faith in Jesus Christ.”<sup>6</sup> All opposition was kept down, and the Lord was with us of a truth.

At 4:00 attempted to preach in the cock-pit. Satan resented it, and sent, as his champions to maintain his cause, the two butlers of the two justices. They brought their cocks, and set them a fighting. Gave them the ground, and walked straight to the Cross, where was four times as many as the other place could hold. Our enemies followed, and strove all the ways permitted them to annoy us. Neither their fireworks nor their water-works could stop the course of the gospel. I lifted up my voice like a trumpet, and many had ears to hear.

**Friday, December 19.** Took my leave of the dear people at the cock-pit. Called on Mr. \_\_\_\_\_<sup>7</sup> at Whickham, whose countenance was changed. He had been with the bishop, who forbade his conversing with me. I marvel the prohibition did not come sooner.

**Saturday, December 27.** Rode in better weather to Pelton. Talked with each of the society, and found nothing to reprove among them.

**Sunday, December 28.** Hastened through the snow to Gateshead, and preached out[side] to many, who promise fair for making hardy soldiers of Christ.

**Monday, December 29.** Left these poor languid souls among whom God has been humbling me these many days. He vouchsafed us a blessing at parting. Rode with Edward Perronet and J. Crawford to Biddick. Preached at night and next morning. The Lord gave us a token by which to remember each other.

**Tuesday noon[, December 30].** Preached and distributed books to a few starved souls at Ferryhill.

**Wednesday, December 31.** By 3:00 came to Osmotherley. Mr. Adams carried us to his house and then to his chapel,<sup>8</sup> where I read prayers and preached repentance and remission of sin in the name of Jesus Christ.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>CW wrote the date in Block Letters, for emphasis.

<sup>6</sup>Acts 20:21.

<sup>7</sup>While CW omits the surname, this was likely Rev. Thomlinson, the rector.

<sup>8</sup>A former Franciscan monk, his full name was apparently Thomas Adams, and he died in 1777. Cf. JW, *Journal*, Mar. 28, 1745, *Works*, 20:58, n. 34; and Frank Baker, “A Papist Stronghold,” *Methodist Recorder* (Oct. 18, 1945): 1.

<sup>9</sup>See Luke 24:47.

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[2:296]

January 1747

**Thursday, January 1.** In the evening preached at Acomb, near York, and exhorted the brethren with great freedom.

**Friday, January 2.** Comforted among our dear brethren and children in Epworth.

**Saturday, January 3.** Waited with Mr. [Edward] Perronet upon the curate, who did not refuse us the sacrament, as he had my brother.<sup>1</sup>

**Sunday, January 4.** Preached at the Cross, as usual.

**Tuesday, January 6.** Got to Grimsby by 3:00, saluted by the shouting mob. At 6:00 began speaking at the room, and the floods lifted up their voice.<sup>2</sup> Several poor wild creatures, almost naked, ran about the room striking down all they met. I gave myself to prayer, believing God knew how to deliver us. The uproar lasted near an hour. When I told the poor wretches that I shook off the dust of my feet against them,<sup>3</sup> several of them caught at me to drag me down. Others interposed and kept their companions off. I laid my hand on their captain, and he sat down like a lamb at my feet the whole time. One struck at me, and J. Crawford received my blow, which left on his face the marks of the Lord Jesus.<sup>4</sup> Another of the rebels cried out, “What, you dog, do you strike a clergyman?” and fell upon his comrade. Immediately every man’s hand was against his fellow. They fell to fighting and beating one another till, in a few minutes, they had all driven one another out of the room. I then preached without molestation for half an hour, and walked into the next room. Stayed, reading the Scripture, while the rioters at the door cried they would come in and take their leave of me. I ordered them to be admitted, and the poor drunken beasts were very civil and very loving. One of the ringleaders, with a great club, swore he would conduct me to my lodgings. I followed him, and he led me through his fellows to our brother Blow’s.<sup>5</sup> They threw but one stone afterwards, which broke the window, and departed.

**Wednesday, January 7.** All was quiet at 5:00. I met the [2:297] society and expelled two disorderly walkers, by reason of whom the truth had been evil spoken of.<sup>6</sup> Immediately the Lord returned to his people and began reviving his work, which had been stopped among them some time.

At 8:00 I preached again, no man opposing. Heard an excellent sermon at church,<sup>7</sup> it being the national fast-day, on Heb. 11, “By faith Noah, being warned of God ...”<sup>8</sup> I preached

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<sup>1</sup>John Romley had refused JW the sacrament on Jan. 2, 1743; cf. *Works*, 19:309–11.

<sup>2</sup>See Ps. 93:3.

<sup>3</sup>See Matt. 10:14; Acts 13:51.

<sup>4</sup>See Gal. 6:17.

<sup>5</sup>William Blow (1710–91), a cordswainer in Grimsby, who married Margaret Carr in 1732, was an early supporter of Methodist preachers in the town.

<sup>6</sup>See 2 Pet. 2:2.

<sup>7</sup>Rev. Samuel Prince (d. 1750) was the current vicar in Grimsby.

<sup>8</sup>Heb. 11:7.

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repentance the third time at the room, where many of the rioters stood bound by the restraining hand of God.

God never lets Satan shut the door in one place but that it may be opened in another. The violence of our enemies at night drove us to preach in the neighbouring towns, where the seed fell into good ground.

**Thursday, January 8.** Preached at Grimsby in the morning, and strongly exhorted our society to adorn the gospel of Christ in all things.<sup>9</sup> At parting, our friend the rabble saluted us with a few eggs and curses only.

At Hainton set forth Jesus Christ before their eyes as crucified.<sup>10</sup> My congregation was mostly papists, but they all wept at hearing how Jesus loved them.

**Friday, January 9.** Talked severally to the little society, who are as sheep encompassed with wolves. Their minister has repelled them from the sacrament and laboured to stir up all the town against them.<sup>11</sup> And they would have worried them to death, had not the great man of this place, a professed papist, hindered these good Protestants from destroying their innocent brethren.

By 3:00 came safe to Epworth, and was received by Edward Perronet and the brethren as one alive from the dead.

**Sunday, January 11.** Declared, at the Cross, "Except the Lord had left us a very small remnant . . ." <sup>12</sup> Preached there again, with greater enlargement, in the afternoon; and at night God comforted us on every [2:298] side.

**Monday, January 12.** At Sykehouse I preached Christ crucified.<sup>13</sup> Many were comforted, one received the faith that justifies.

**Wednesday, January 14.** Expounded that comfortable promise at Leeds, "On them that fear the Lord, the Sun of righteousness shall rise with healing in his wings."<sup>14</sup>

**Saturday, January 17.** Met Miss B. in Leeds, whom the Lord convinced this week, the first time she heard the word; and on Thursday night, just as she was dropping into hell, received her into his everlasting arms. She appeared plainly justified. My spirit was much refreshed hereby, and my hands strengthened.

**Sunday, January 18.** In the midst of my discourse we all broke out into joy and singing. The same comfort at Birstall, and were constrained to own at our love-feast that he had kept the best wine to the last.<sup>15</sup>

**Thursday, January 22.** Preached in a large house at Haworth, but not near large enough. Lodged at my dear brother [William] Grimshaw's.

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<sup>9</sup>Titus 2:10.

<sup>10</sup>On the sermon preached, see note for the Aug. 29, 1741 entry.

<sup>11</sup>Rev. William Oates (d. 1764) was current vicar at Hainton.

<sup>12</sup>Isa. 1:9.

<sup>13</sup>On the sermon preached, see note for the Aug. 29, 1741 entry.

<sup>14</sup>Mal. 4:2.

<sup>15</sup>See John 2:10.

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**Friday, January 23.** Told my host at parting that he had feared where no fear was, there being no law either of God or man against his lending me his pulpit. He was much ashamed at having given place to his threatening enemies.

Set out to preach in what were called William Darney's societies.<sup>16</sup> Preached at different places, morning, noon, and night, with much freedom.

**Saturday, January 24.** Rode to Manchester. Baptized a child of Thomas Taylor's, and our brother B.<sup>17</sup> found a divine proof that infant baptism is of God. At Davyhulme had much conversation with our old friend John Boulton.

**Sunday, January 25.** Resettled the poor shattered society. One woman delighted me with her scrupulosity, telling me, "she would be of the society if I would allow her to go to Church. But the Germans [i.e., Moravians] used to forbid them." Through the blessing of God, I have brought back these wandering sheep to her pale.

Preached at several [2:299] places in or near the Peak.

**Friday, January 30.** Preached at Sheffield, where the rioters threatened much, but did nothing.

**Saturday, January 31.** Made up an old quarrel between some of the society, which had hung on them, like a millstone, for many months.

**February 1747**

**Sunday, February 1.** Rode to Rotherham, where I had been stoned through the town the first time of my passing it. Heard a curious sermon, of which I was the unworthy subject.<sup>1</sup> The accuser of the brethren was very fierce indeed. I sat quite composed, till he had concluded. Then walked up to the table, expecting to be repelled, as he had threatened. I prayed the Lord to turn his heart, and he was not suffered to pass me by.

From church I went to our brother Green's, and preached repentance and faith in Jesus Christ, from Isaiah 1:16.<sup>2</sup> Many of the principal people of the town were in a private room. The convincing Spirit went forth, and restrained the madness of the people. I departed in peace.

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<sup>16</sup>William Darney (d. 1774) became a pedlar-preacher on his conversion in the Scottish awakening in 1741 and formed religious societies in the West Riding of Yorkshire, which were secured for Methodism by the advocacy of William Grimshaw. At the 1747 Conference Darney was listed as a local preacher, and in 1748 he was received as an itinerant; but he proved so uncouth that he was laid aside in Nov. 1751 (see *Works*, 10:206, 214, 264).

<sup>17</sup>Likely John Bennet (1715–59), who pioneered Methodist activity in Manchester.

<sup>1</sup>Rev. John Cleator (d. 1770) was the current curate at Rotherham.

<sup>2</sup>William Green (d. 1777) currently lived in Thorpe Hesley, just outside Rotherham. In 1749 he married Jane Holmes (b. 1723) and they moved into Rotherham, hosting the Methodist society in that town and William serving as a local preacher.

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Warned the hardened sinners at Sheffield from those awful words, “Except the Lord of hosts had left us a very small remnant . . .”<sup>3</sup> He filled my mouth with judgments against this people, except they repent, which I trembled to utter. So did most who heard, particularly some of our fiercest persecutors. I found relief and satisfaction in having delivered my own soul, whether they will hear or whether they will forbear.

Repeated my warnings to the society, and believe they will escape into the ark before the flood comes.

Baptized my host’s child, and [we] were sensible of the divine presence.

**Monday, February 2.** Never met with worse way and weather than in riding to Penkridge. [2:300] About 8:00 at night I was taken down from my horse, and found the congregation just going. The Lord gave me strength from above, though I could neither stand nor go, and held me up to call lost sinners to him. Rode the next day to Wednesbury.

**Thursday, February 5.** Baptized the child of a Dissenter, which their minister refused to do, because the parents heard us.

Preached in Darlaston at the door of our brother Jones’s house, which had been pulled down in the former riot.<sup>4</sup> The persecutors in this place were some of the fiercest in Staffordshire. I saw the marks of their violence, and thereby knew our people’s houses, as I rode through the town. Their windows were all stopped up, etc.

The word was a two-edged sword.<sup>5</sup> The ringleader of the mob was struck down, and convinced of his lost estate. I preached again with double power. The minister’s wife I had some talk with afterwards.<sup>6</sup> Her husband has been, in the hand of God, an instrument of quelling the mob. They have been all quiet since their captain drowned himself.

**Friday, February [6].**<sup>7</sup> Put a woman out of the society for speaking disrespectfully of the minister.

**Sunday, February 8.** At Wednesbury expounded Acts 2:42. The word was sent home to many hearts.

**Tuesday, February 10.** God brought me safe to London.

**Sunday, February 15.** While I was preaching remission of sins, the power of God came down and constrained many to confess it.

**Tuesday, February 17.** Heard of our second house being pulled down at Sheffield, and sympathized with the sufferers. Every day this week our Lord has given testimony to the word of his grace.

**Monday, February 23.** At 4:00 set out with Mr. [John] Meriton for Bristol.

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<sup>3</sup>Isa. 1:9.

<sup>4</sup>See Jonathan Jones’s account of this attack in JW, *Modern Christianity at Wednesbury*, §3, *Works*, 9:135–36, 141.

<sup>5</sup>See Heb. 4:12.

<sup>6</sup>Mrs. John Rowley.

<sup>7</sup>Orig., “February 7”; an error.

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**Tuesday, February 24.** Between [2:301] 3:00 and 4:00 in the afternoon came to Mr. Clark's, at the Devizes.<sup>8</sup>

Found his daughter there, our sister Taylor (who has won him to Christ without the word), and a sister from Bath.<sup>9</sup> We soon perceived that our enemies had taken the alarm, and were mustering their forces for the battle. They began with ringing the bells backward, and running to and fro in the streets, as lions roaring for their prey.<sup>10</sup> From the time my brother told me in London, "there was no such thing as raising a mob at the Devizes," I had a full expectation of what would follow. But saw my call, and walked with my brother Meriton and Mrs. Naylor to an house where the society used to meet.

The curate's mob had been in quest of me at several places, particularly Mrs. Philips's,<sup>11</sup> where I was expected to preach. They broke open and ransacked her house. But not finding me, marched away to our brother Rogers's, where we were praying and exhorting one another to continue in the faith, and through much tribulation enter the kingdom.<sup>12</sup>

The chief gentleman of the town headed the mob;<sup>13</sup> and the zealous curate, Mr. Innes, stood with them in the street the whole time, dancing for joy.<sup>14</sup> This is he who declared in the pulpit, as well as from house to house, that he himself heard me preach blasphemy before the University, and tell them, "If you do not receive the Holy Ghost while I breath upon you, ye are all damned."

He had gone about several days, stirring up the people and canvassing the gentry for their vote and interest, but could not raise a mob while my brother was here. The hour of darkness was not then fully come.

While his friends were assaulting us, I thought of their ancient brethren, whom we read of [in] Genesis 29:4, "Before they lay down, the men of the city, even the men of Sodom, compassed the house about, both young and old, all the people from every quarter. And they called upon Lot, and said unto him, Where are the men that came unto thee this night? [2:302] Bring him out unto us." My own name I heard frequently repeated, with, "Bring him out, bring him out!" Their design was first to throw me into the horse-pond. They continued raging and

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<sup>8</sup>JW had preached at the same man's house on Jan. 13, 1747; see *Journal, Works*, 20:152–53. This is possibly Peter Clarke (d. 1752), a baker and prominent citizen, who served as mayor of Devizes in 1747–48. For this and other identifications in this episode, see H. J. Foster, "Devizes," *WHS* 3 (1902): 136–39.

<sup>9</sup>Mary Naylor, mentioned later.

<sup>10</sup>See Isa. 5:29.

<sup>11</sup>Likely Sarah Phillips (d. 1770), whose husband Joseph had died in 1739, leaving her some tenement housing.

<sup>12</sup>See Acts 14:22.

<sup>13</sup>George Willey (d. 1770) had an estate in nearby Roundway and was the most prominent person of the time in the Devizes.

<sup>14</sup>Rev. Edward Innes (c. 1720–88) had recently begun serving as a curate at Devizes, and had tried to organize resistance to JW's earlier visit. CW spells "Innys."

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threatening for the first hour, and pressed hard upon us to break the door. The windows they did break to pieces, and tore down the shutters of the shop. The little flock were less afraid than I expected. Only one of our sisters fainted away, but beneath were the everlasting arms.<sup>15</sup>

Our besiegers had now blocked up the door with a wagon, and set up lights, lest I should escape. Yet a brother got out unobserved and, with much entreaty, prevailed upon the mayor to come down.<sup>16</sup> He came with two constables, one a faithful brother, the other a persecutor, and threatened the rioters.<sup>17</sup> But so softly that none regarded him. It was the Lord who for the present rebuked the madness of the people. They hurried away from us to the inn where our horses were, broke open the stable door and turned out the beasts, which were found some hours after in a pond, up to their chin in water.

We were at a loss meantime what to do, when God put it into the heart of our next-door neighbour, a Baptist, to take us through a passage into his own house, offer us his bed, and engage for our security. We accepted his kindness, and slept in peace.

*Wednesday, February 25.*<sup>18</sup> A day never to be forgotten! At 7:00 I walked quietly to Mrs. Philips's. Began preaching a little before the time appointed, and for three quarters of an hour invited a few listening sinners to Christ. Then the boys with their bells, like the devil's infantry, began. And soon after his whole army assaulted the house to bring us forth. We sat in a little ground-room and ordered all the doors to be thrown open. They brought an hand-engine, and began to play into the house. We kept our seats and they rushed into the passage. Just then Mr. [Thomas] Borough the constable came, seized upon the spout of the engine, and carried it off in spite of them all. They swore if he did not deliver it they would pull down the house. At that time they might have [2:303] taken us prisoners, for we were in their sight, close to them, and none to interpose. But they hurried out to fetch the larger engine.

Meantime, we were advised to send to Mr. Mayor. But Mr. Mayor was gone out of town in the sight of the people. This was great encouragement to those who were already wrought up to a proper pitch by the painstaking curate and gentlemen of the town, particularly Mr. Sutton and Mr. Willy,<sup>19</sup> the two leading men, Dissenters.<sup>20</sup>

Mr. Sutton lived next door, and frequently came out to the mob to keep up their spirits. Mr. Innes was there too, and quite happy on the occasion. Mr. Sutton sent word to Mrs. Philips that if she did not turn that fellow out to the mob, he would send them to drag him out. Mr. Willy passed by again and again, assuring the rioters he would stand by them, and secure them from the law, do what they would.

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<sup>15</sup>See Deut. 33:27.

<sup>16</sup>The current mayor of Devizes was Robert Lawrence (d. 1767).

<sup>17</sup>The constables were Thomas Borough (the faithful brother) and William Leach.

<sup>18</sup>CW wrote the date in Block Letters, for emphasis.

<sup>19</sup>Prince Sutton (1701–79), and either George or his brother William Willey (d. 1765).

<sup>20</sup>They were likely members of the Strict (or Particular) Baptist congregation in Devizes, which included several prominent citizens at the time.

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They now began playing the larger engine, which broke the windows, flooded the rooms, and spoiled the goods. We were withdrawn to a small upper-room, in the back part of the house, *seeing* no way to escape their violence. They seemed under the full power of the old murderer.<sup>21</sup> Our brother who keeps the society they laid hold on first, dragged him away, and threw him into the horse-pond, and broke his back, as was reported. But another of the society ran in resolutely among them, and rescued him out of their hands, by little less than a miracle. His wife fell into fits again.

We gave ourselves unto prayer, believing the Lord would deliver us, how or when we saw not, nor any possible way of escaping. Therefore we stood still to see the salvation of God.<sup>22</sup>

As soon as the mob had emptied the engine, they ran to fill it again, keeping strict watch on all sides lest we should escape. One advised us to attempt it through the garden of a persecutor, and I put on my coat on purpose. But could not think it the Lord's way of bringing us forth. Laid aside the design, and saw a troop of our enemies coming up the very way we should have gone. [2:304]

Every now and then some or other of our friends would venture to us, but rather weakened our hands. So that we were forced to stop our ears, and look up. Among the rest, the mayor's maid came and told us her mistress was in tears about me, and begged me to disguise myself in women's clothes, and try to make my escape. Her heart had been turned towards us by the conversion of her son. Just on the brink of ruin, God laid his hand on the poor prodigal and, instead of running away to sea, he entered into the society, to the great joy and surprise of his parents.

The rioters without continued playing their engine, which diverted them for some time. But their number and fierceness still increased, and the gentlemen plied them with pitchers of ale, as much as they would drink. Mr. [John] Meriton hid his money and watch, that it might do good to somebody, he said; for as to the mob, they should have nothing of him but his carcass.

They were now on the point of breaking in, when Mr. Borough thought of reading the Proclamation.<sup>23</sup> He did so, at the hazard of his life. In less than the hour, of above a thousand wild beasts, none were left but the guard. They retreated, as we suppose, by the advice of the old serpent who sat observing us at an opposite house, in the shape of a lawyer.<sup>24</sup> We had now stood siege for about three hours, and none but the invisible hand could have kept them one moment from tearing us in pieces.

Our constable had applied to Mr. Street, the only justice in town, who would not act. We found there was no help in man, which drove us closer to the Lord, and we prayed by his Spirit, with little intermission, the whole day.

Our enemies, at their return, made their main assault at the back-door, swearing horribly they would have me, if it cost them their lives. Many seeming accidents concurred to delay their breaking in. The man of the house came home, and instead of turning me out, as they expected,

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<sup>21</sup>I.e., Satan.

<sup>22</sup>See Exod. 14:13.

<sup>23</sup>That is, the "Riot Act." Cf. the entry for May 26, 1743.

<sup>24</sup>Possibly John Garth Esq.; see *WHS* 3 (1902): 138.



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took part with us and stemmed the tide for some time. Then they got a notion that I had made my [2:305] escape, and ran down to the inn and played the engine there. They forced the inn-keeper to turn out our horses, which he immediately sent to Mr. Clark's. This drew the rabble and their engine thither, but the resolute old man charged and presented his gun, till they retreated.

Upon their re-visiting us, Mr. Meriton was for surrendering ourselves before the night came on—which he said would make them more audacious, and that there might be witness of whatever they did by daylight. But I persuaded him to wait till the Lord should point out the way.

Now we stood in jeopardy every moment. Such threatenings, curses, and blasphemies I have never heard. They seemed kept out by a continued miracle. I remembered the Roman senators sitting in the forum when the Gauls broke in upon them,<sup>25</sup> but thought there was a fitter posture for Christians, and told my companion they should take us off our knees.

We were kept from all hurry and discomposure of spirit by a divine power resting upon us. We prayed and conversed as freely as if we had been in the midst of our brethren, and had great confidence that the Lord would either deliver us from the danger or in it. One of my companions (Mrs. Naylor) cried out, "It must be so. God will deliver us. If God is true, we are safe."

Told my friend Meriton, "*et haec olim meminisse juvabit*";<sup>26</sup> that our most distant friends were praying for us, and our deliverance would soon occasion many thanksgivings unto God. In the height of the storm, when we were just falling into the hands of the drunken enraged multitude, he was so little disturbed that he fell asleep.

They were now close to us, on every side and over our heads, untiling the roof. I was diverted by a little girl, who called to me through the door, "Mr. Wesley! Mr. Wesley! Creep under the bed. They will kill you. They are pulling down the house." [2:306] Our sister Taylor's faith was just failing when a ruffian cried out, "Here they are, behind the curtain!" At this time we fully expected their appearance, and retired to the furthest corner of the room, and I said, "This is the crisis!"

In that moment Jesus rebuked the winds and the sea and there was a great calm.<sup>27</sup> We heard not a breath without, and wondered what was come to them. The silence lasted for three quarters of an hour before anyone came near us, and we continued in mutual exhortation and prayer and looking for deliverance.

If ever we felt faith, it was now. Our souls hung upon that arm which divided the sea.<sup>28</sup> I often told my companions, "Now God is at work for us. He is contriving our escape. He can turn these leopards into lambs;<sup>29</sup> can command the heathen to bring his children on their shoulders,

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<sup>25</sup>According to the account of Plutarch (*Life of Camillus*, xxi.2), the senators sat quietly in their ivory chairs, awaiting the Gauls, who massacred them.

<sup>26</sup>Virgil, *Aeneid*, i.203; "Someday it will be pleasant to remember even these things."

<sup>27</sup>See Matt. 8:26; Mark 4:39.

<sup>28</sup>See Isa. 63:12.

<sup>29</sup>See Isa. 11:6.

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and make our fiercest enemies the instruments of our deliverance.”

In about an hour after the last general assault, the answer of faith came, and God made bare his arm.<sup>30</sup> Soon after 3:00 Mr. Clark knocked at the door, and brought with him the persecuting constable. He said, “Sir, if you will promise never to preach here again, the gentlemen and I will engage to bring you safe out of town.” My answer was, “I shall promise to do no such thing.” “But will you not tell me you have no intention of returning hither?” “Not till you are better disposed to receive me. For in obedience to my Master, if you persecute me in one city, I will flee to another.<sup>31</sup> But, setting aside my office, I will not give up my birthright, as an Englishman, of visiting what part I please of His Majesty’s dominions.” “Sir, we expect no such promise that you will never come here again. Only tell me that it is not your present intention, that I may tell the gentlemen, who will then secure your quiet departure.” I answered, “I cannot come now, because I must return to London a week hence. But observe, I make no promise of not preaching [2:307] here when the door is opened; and don’t you say that I do.”

He went away with this answer, and we betook ourselves again to prayer and thanksgiving. We perceived it was the Lord’s doing, and it was marvellous in our eyes.<sup>32</sup> Our adversaries’ hearts were turned. Even Mr. Sutton and Willy laboured to take off the mob, and quench the fire themselves had kindled. Whether pity for us or fear for themselves wrought strongest, God knoweth. Probably the latter. For the mob were wrought up to such a pitch of fury that their masters dreaded the consequence, and therefore went about appeasing the multitude, and charging them not to touch us in our departure.

I knew full well it was not in their power to lay the devil they had raised, and none but the Almighty could engage for our security. We had hoped to make our escape in the dead of the night, if the house was not pulled down first, and had therefore sent our horses toward Seend,<sup>33</sup> intending to walk after them. But now we sent for them back, and recovered them before they were got out of the town.

While the constable was gathering his posse, we got our things from Mr. Clark’s, and prepared to go forth. The whole multitude were without, expecting us. Now our constable’s heart began to fail, and he told us he much doubted if the mob *could* be restrained, for that thirty or more of the most desperate were gone down the street and waited at the end of the town for our passing. He should therefore advise us to hide ourselves in some other house, and get off by night. Mr. Meriton’s counsel was to escape by the backdoor, while the mob were waiting for us at the foredoor. I asked counsel of the Lord, and met with that word, “Jesus said unto her, ‘Said I not unto thee, if thou wouldest believe thou shouldest see the glory of God?’”<sup>34</sup> After reading this, I went [2:308] forth as easy as Luther to the Council.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>30</sup>See Isa. 52:10.

<sup>31</sup>See Matt. 10:23.

<sup>32</sup>Ps. 118:23; Matt. 21:42; Mark 12:11.

<sup>33</sup>Seend, Wiltshire, 3 miles east of Devizes. CW spells “Seen.”

<sup>34</sup>John 11:40.

<sup>35</sup>Referring to Luther’s appearance at the Council of Worms (1521).

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We were saluted with a general shout. The man whom Mrs. Naylor had hired to ride before her was, as we now perceived, one of the rioters. This hopeful guide was to conduct us out of the reach of his fellows. Mr. Meriton and I took horse in the face of our enemies, who began clamouring against us, and I answering them, when the constable begged me to forbear. The gentlemen were dispersed among the mob to bridle them.

We rode a slow pace up the street, the whole multitude pouring along on both sides, and attending us with loud acclamations. Such fierceness and diabolical malice I have not seen in human faces. They ran up to our horses, as if they would swallow us; but did not know which was Wesley. We felt great peace and acquiescence in the honour done us, while the whole town were spectators of our march.

After riding two or three hundred yards, I looked back and saw Mr. Meriton on the ground in the midst of the mob, and two bulldogs upon him. One was first let loose, which leaped at his nose, but the horse with his foot beat him down. The other fastened on his horse's nose, and hung there till Mr. Meriton, with the butt end of his whip, felled him to the ground. Then the first dog, recovering, flew at the horse's breast and fastened there. The beast reared up, and Mr. Meriton slid gently off. The dog kept his hold till the flesh tore off. Then some men took off the dogs. Others cried, "Let them alone." But neither beast nor man had any farther commission to hurt. I stopped the horse and delivered him to my friend. He remounted with great composure, and we rode on leisurely as before, till out of sight.

Then we mended our pace, and in an hour came to Seend, having rode three miles about, and by 7:00 to [South] Wraxall. The news of our danger was got thither before us, but we brought the welcome tidings [2:309] of our own deliverance.

Now we saw the hand of providence in suffering them to turn out our horses—that is, to send them to us against we wanted them. Again, how plainly were we overruled to send our horses down the town, which blinded the rioters without our designing it, and drew off their engines and them, leaving free passage at the other end of the town!

We joined in hearty praises to our Deliverer, singing the hymn, "Worship, and thanks, and blessing ...."<sup>36</sup>

**Thursday, February 26.** Preached at Bath, and we rejoiced like men that take the spoil. Continued our triumph at Bristol, and reaped the fruit of our labours and sufferings.

**March 1747**

**Sunday, March 1.** In riding to Kingswood, Satan had another thrust at me. We were singing the thanksgiving for our deliverance when our coach overturned. All six were hurt, but none dangerously. The voice of joy and thanksgiving was heard among our beloved colliers, both in the word and sacrament.<sup>1</sup>

**Friday, March 6.** Took horse at 4:00, and on Saturday afternoon came safe to the Foundery.

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<sup>36</sup>CW, "Written after a Deliverance in a Tumult," *Redemption Hymns*, 29–31.

<sup>1</sup>See Ps. 42:4.

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**Wednesday, March 11.** Spoke with one who once walked in simple faith, but the antinomian tempter has prevailed. Now he expressly renounces us, “who seek to be justified by works.”

**Friday, March 13.** Mr. M., a young clergyman, was at our watchnight; one who seems inclined to think and judge for himself.<sup>2</sup>

**Friday, March 20.** Found, by the increase of my audience this morning, that my sharp rebuke of the society last night had not been lost.

**Sunday, March 22.** In the evening we rejoiced as in the day when we came up out of the land of Egypt.<sup>3</sup>

**Tuesday, March 24.** Preached at [2:310] Shoreham without molestation. These wild beasts also are tamed; and will, many of them I doubt not, receive the truth they persecuted.

**Wednesday, March 25.** Stopped one who had crept in among our helpers, without either discretion or veracity.

**Thursday, March 26.** I was walking to J. Ellison’s<sup>4</sup> when a gentleman ran out of his house and exceedingly pressed me to step in and dine with him. Although pre-engaged, I could hardly deny him, as the person was no other than Mr. Daniel Garnault.<sup>5</sup>

**Friday, March 27.** God gave us his blessing, both in the word and sacrament.

**April 1747**

**Sunday, April 12.** Invited many to come in, upon that promise, “In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed.”<sup>1</sup>

**Monday, April 13.** Met Mr. Bateman at our sister [Elizabeth] Witham’s.<sup>2</sup> My heart rejoiced and ached for him. What has he to go through, before he has made full proof of his ministry!

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<sup>2</sup>This was most likely Rev. Charles Manning (1714–99), vicar of Hayes, Middlesex (1738–56), who would attend the Wesley brothers’ Conference with their lay preachers a couple of months later; see JW, *Works*, 10:188. Neither Wesley mentions Manning prior to this.

<sup>3</sup>See Exod. 18:9.

<sup>4</sup>This may be CW’s nephew, John Ellison (1720–91), living in London for a time. When CW’s sister Susanna left her abusive husband Richard Ellison in 1736 John was taken in by Samuel Wesley Jr. to tutor at Tiverton, and in 1739 was sent to Bristol, to apprentice with Felix Farley (cf. his letter of June 9, 1740 to JW; *Works*, 26:14). He eventually established a career as an excise officer, married, and settled in Bristol.

<sup>5</sup>Daniel Garnault (d. 1758) lived in Spitalfields; he appears as a married man in the Foundery Band Lists (1742–46) in 1742.

<sup>1</sup>Gen. 22:18.

<sup>2</sup>Richard Thomas Bateman was rector of the church of St. Bartholomew-the-Great in London, and invited both JW and CW to preach there. Cf. the June 12, 1747 entry.

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**Thursday, April 16.** He was with me at night in the desk. My text was, “Thy watchmen shall lift up the voice together . . .”<sup>3</sup> Great was our rejoicing before the Lord.

**Good Friday, April 17.** We had sweet fellowship with *him* in his sufferings;<sup>4</sup> and many cried after him, being deeply wounded by his dying love.

**Easter Day, April 19.** The Lord gave us, under the word, to know the power of his resurrection;<sup>5</sup> but in the sacrament he carried us quite above ourselves and all earthly things.

Went forth to an huge, unruly multitude in the fields. The Lord stilled them by the word of his power,<sup>6</sup> and comforted me among the faithful.

**Monday, April 20.** Preached again in the fields, to a solemn assembly.

**Tuesday, April 21.** With Sarah Perrin, in perils by water. Her calmness would not suffer me to fear. [2:311]

**Wednesday, April 22.** Received an unexpected invitation through Mrs. Edwin;<sup>7</sup> but by Mr. [James] Erskine’s and Sarah Perrin’s advice deferred accepting it.

**Monday, April 27.** That I might abstain from all appearance of evil,<sup>8</sup> particularly of pride and resentment, I took up my cross and went in Mrs. Rich’s coach to Chelsea. Passed an hour or two at [John] Lampe’s, before I waited upon one who was once my friend.<sup>9</sup> The first that greeted me was faithful Mrs. Motte,<sup>10</sup> with her *old professions*; next, Mrs. Edwin; and last, *that person*, at whose desire I sang, prayed, dined, exhorted, talked of the times, and took my leave.

**May 1747**

**Sunday, May 3.** Took my leave of the Foundery and fields for a short season, and on

**Monday, May 4,** set out for Bristol. Overtook Charles Perronet at Brentford, and rode on to Hungerford.

**Tuesday, May 5.** Received fresh strength among our colliers, and brethren in Bristol.

**Wednesday, May 6.** Took Charles Perronet to see the new change, and picked up some lost sheep—one on the brink of the pit.

**Saturday, May 9.** My namesake and charge was taken ill of a fever, which soon appeared to be the small-pox.

**Sunday, May 10.** Stirred up the society with forcible words, and greatly rejoiced with the faithful at our feast of love.

**Tuesday, May 12.** Gave the sacrament to my patient, who grows worse and worse.

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<sup>3</sup>Isa. 52:8.

<sup>4</sup>See Phil. 3:10.

<sup>5</sup>See Phil. 3:10.

<sup>6</sup>See Heb. 1:3.

<sup>7</sup>Catherine Edwin; cf. the note for Jan. 3, 1745. CW spells “Edwyn” this time.

<sup>8</sup>See 1 Thess. 5:22.

<sup>9</sup>Lady Huntingdon, who was currently at her home in Chelsea.

<sup>10</sup>Martha Motte was a servant of Lady Huntingdon.

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**Friday, May 15.** Visited a brother, triumphing over death. He had found the door of hope opened the first time I prayed with him, and now is ready to depart in peace.

**Tuesday, May 19.** Expecting the turn of the distemper, I sat up with Charles [Perronet]. The Lord is pleased to try our faith and patience yet further.

**Wednesday, May 20.** At Wick my text was, “In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be [2:312] blessed.”<sup>1</sup> And surely we were all partakers of the blessing in that hour. Near two hours we continued in tears of grief and joy. The justice was as much affected as any of us.

**Friday, May 22.** At our watchnight I asked in faith that the Lord would give his beloved sleep,<sup>2</sup> and he heard and answered the prayer immediately. Our brother Perronet was then in the utmost danger, through the second fever, and delirious for want of rest—ready to enter his rest eternal. But the Lord rebuked the fever and he fell asleep, and waked late the next morning as one raised from the dead.

**Sunday, May 24.** God gave us, under the word, great strength and resolution against sin.

**Wednesday, May 27.** Preached at the Hall on “The good God pardon everyone of you . . .,”<sup>3</sup> and surely he showed us his great readiness so to do.

**Thursday, May 28, Ascension Day.** We spent from 4:00 to 7:00 in triumph with our Lord.

**Friday, May 29.** Having made strict inquiry into the life of each member of the society, today I left out fifty of them who have not adorned the gospel.<sup>4</sup>

**June 1747**

**Monday, June 1.** Rejoiced at Bath with our dear dying brother Yapp. He blessed me, and blessed God that he had ever seen my face. Soon after we left him he returned to his Lord in paradise.<sup>1</sup>

**Wednesday, June 3.** Preached at the chapel in West Street, and rejoiced for the abundant consolation which our Lord administered to us all.

**Thursday, June 4.** Rode over to our friends at Shoreham,<sup>2</sup> a joyful messenger of their son’s recovery.

**Friday, June 12.** At St. Bartholomew’s I expounded Isaiah 40:1, and wrapped them up in the promises.

**Sunday, June 14.** Heard my brother in the fields and was adding a word of confirmation when our old friend Mr. [John] Green began speaking from a table [2:313] just behind us. I

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<sup>1</sup>Gen. 22:18.

<sup>2</sup>See Ps. 127:2.

<sup>3</sup>2 Chron. 30:18–19.

<sup>4</sup>See Titus 2:10.

<sup>1</sup>Thomas Yapp, a Quaker of Bath, was buried June 5, 1747.

<sup>2</sup>The Perronet family.

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would not strive, but walked quietly away, and all our children with me.<sup>3</sup>

**Sunday, June 21.** Great multitudes attended in the fields to his cry from the cross, “Is it nothing to you, all ye that pass by?”<sup>4</sup>

**Friday, June 26.** Expelled one who had taken a bribe for his vote. I hope there is not another like offender in all our societies.

**[Saturday],<sup>5</sup> June 27.** Prayed by our sister Somerset, just ready for the Bridegroom.<sup>6</sup> I read prayers at St. Bartholomew’s, and heard a true gospel sermon from Mr. [Vincent] Perronet. I preached there myself on Sunday, “Come, for all things are now ready.”<sup>7</sup>

**Monday, June 29.** Joined with Howell Harris, etc., in prayer, and groaned under the burden of this guilty nation.

At Wapping the Lord gave testimony to his own word, “Him that cometh unto me, I will in no wise cast out.”<sup>8</sup> A woman cried out and rushed into the vestry. But her cries continued all the time of preaching. I saw her afterwards in great agony. For *this time* she is no dissembler, although she is Sarah Robinson!<sup>9</sup>

**July 1747**

**Friday, July 3.** Had our first watchnight at the chapel. Preached on “Looking for, and hastening toward, the coming of the day of God.”<sup>1</sup> His blessing confirmed his word. One who had been slack, but was now returning, heard it and went home and died!

**Sunday, July 5.** The whole congregation were in tears or in triumph, crying after God or rejoicing in his favour. The cloud rested upon [us] the whole time of communicating. In the evening there was a great shaking among the dry bones,<sup>2</sup> and in the bands the God of all consolation showed himself.<sup>3</sup>

**Wednesday, July 8.** Assisted Mr. [Richard] Bateman at St. Bartholomew’s. But was quite weighed down with the behaviour of the communicants, so contrary [**2:314**] to the

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<sup>3</sup>CW does not mention the annual Conference that he and JW held with their preachers in London, June 15–18, 1747; see the minutes in JW, *Works*, 10:188–209.

<sup>4</sup>Lam. 1:12.

<sup>5</sup>Orig., “Friday”; an error.

<sup>6</sup>Martha Somerset appears as a married woman in the Foundery Band Lists (1742–46); she recovered at this time, dying in Nov. 1749.

<sup>7</sup>Luke 14:17.

<sup>8</sup>John 6:37.

<sup>9</sup>See the Jan. 3, 1745 entry.

<sup>1</sup>2 Pet. 3:12.

<sup>2</sup>See Ezek. 37:4.

<sup>3</sup>See 2 Cor. 1:3.

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apostolical precept, "Let all things be done decently and in order."<sup>4</sup>

**Sunday, July 12.** Our sister Hoffman, setting sail for Jamaica, we commended to the grace of God, and felt we could never be separated from that soul while she and we were united to Christ.

**Friday, July 17.** Gave the sacrament to a grievous backslider, now crying out of the deep for mercy. Soon after she departed in peace.

**Saturday, July 18.** One received a fresh seal of pardon under the word this morning who was before on the brink of destruction.

**Friday, July 24.** Expounded Revelation 4 at the watchnight. Have not lately known a more solemn season. The place was crowded with strangers, emboldened by the night to hear us. It was near 1:00 before we could part.

**Sunday, July 26.** Many hearts were touched by the history of the returning prodigal.<sup>5</sup>

**August 1747**

**Sunday, August 2.** My audience in the field seemed to feel the word; and much more those at the [West Street] chapel, whom I strongly exhorted to continue in the ship.<sup>1</sup>

**Monday, August 3.** In Mr. Richards's school at Reading,<sup>2</sup> preached "the Lamb of God who taketh away the sin of the world."<sup>3</sup>

**Wednesday, August 5.** Met the bands in Bristol, and the power of God broke in upon us wonderfully.

**Thursday, August 6.** Found it again in the singing with Miss Wells,<sup>4</sup> Miss [Susanna] Burdock, and eight of our preachers.

**Sunday, August 9.** Preached from Luke 14:15 at the Old Orchard<sup>5</sup> (I think for the first time), and we had a great pouring out of the Spirit. It put me in mind of a like season which the

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<sup>4</sup>1 Cor. 14:40.

<sup>5</sup>Luke 15:11–32.

<sup>1</sup>That is, in the Church of England.

<sup>2</sup>John Richards (1706–78) owned several buildings in Reading, including possibly the grammar school descended from Reading Abbey. He apparently was not pleased with CW's preaching, because his brother Silvester Richards (d. 1751), a woolen draper, had to construct a house himself to which he invited JW in Sept. 1747, and John Richards threatened to raise a mob and tear it down; see JW, *Journal*, Sept. 11 & Nov. 2, 1747, *Works*, 20: 194, 196.

<sup>3</sup>John 1:29.

<sup>4</sup>Mary Wells, of Bristol (likely the one of this name baptized in Jan. 1727). She is almost certainly the other possibility, besides Sarah Perrin and Sarah Gwynne Jr., that JW mentioned to CW as a potential spouse; see Nov. 11, 1748 entry and CW to Sarah Gwynne Jr., May 13, 1749.

<sup>5</sup>Originally the orchard of the Dominican Friary, in an area just south of the Horsefair in Bristol that came to be known as "Quakers Friars" because the estate became property of the William Penn family.



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first Quakers had at the same place, when many were convinced.

**Sunday, August 16.** Preached again in Moorfields, on “To the Lord our God belong mercies and forgivenesses . . .”<sup>6</sup>

**Friday, August 21.** Received a [2:315] second summons from my brother, hastening me to Ireland.

**Monday, August 24.**<sup>7</sup> Parted at the Foundery in fervent prayer, particularly for the conversion of some Romish priest.

**Wednesday, August 26.** Left my old host at Oxford,<sup>8</sup> Mr. Evans,<sup>9</sup> and stretched with Charles Perronet to Huntley, seven miles beyond Gloucester.

**Thursday, August 27.** Before 5:00 we renewed our strength and our labour. Overtook an hearer of Howell Harris, who conducted us within ten miles of Builth.<sup>10</sup> For the rest of the way the river was our guide. Between 8:00 and 9:00 we found our brother [Edward] Phillips, and were glad soon after to betake ourselves to rest.

\* **Friday, August 28.**<sup>11</sup> My brother not being come from Ireland, according to appointment, we concluded he was delayed by cross winds and had an opportunity thereby of resting ourselves and our weary beasts.

At 9:00 I preached in the street, repentance and faith.<sup>12</sup> The people behaved with great decency. Mr. Gwynne came to see me at Mr. Phillip’s, with two of his family.

My soul seemed pleased to take acquaintance with them. We rode to Maesmynis church. I preached, and Mr. Williams<sup>13</sup> after me in Welsh. At 4:00 I expounded the Good Samaritan<sup>14</sup> in

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<sup>6</sup>Dan. 9:9.

<sup>7</sup>For Aug. 24, 1747 through Feb. 6, 1748, see also CW’s more detailed draft journal in *Journal Letters*, 245–86.

<sup>8</sup>CW originally began this sentence “Lodged with,” and later struck this out and replaced it with “Left.” The draft journal specifies that he arrived in Oxford and lodged with Evans on Aug. 25, leaving the next day.

<sup>9</sup>William Evans (d. 1753) lived near St. Giles church in Oxford.

<sup>10</sup>Builth Wells, Brecknockshire.

<sup>11</sup>CW wrote the date in Block Letters, and placed an asterisk in the left column, for emphasis. The reason is that on this day he first met Sarah Gwynne Jr., his future wife. Marmaduke Gwynne attempted to bring CW to Garth in fall 1745 (see Aug. 25 and Sept. 3 entries), but CW’s injury prevented it. About two weeks after the present entry CW’s first surviving letter to Sarah, from Dublin, opened: “Why did eternal wisdom bring us together here but that we might meet hereafter at his right hand, and sing salvation unto God, who sitteth on the throne, and to the Lamb forever!”

<sup>12</sup>Isa. 1:16.

<sup>13</sup>Rev. Rice Williams (1704–84), of the nearby parish of Llansantffraed-yn-Elfael, who was now actively supporting the Wesley brothers.

<sup>14</sup>Luke 10:29–37.

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the street, and he was present binding up our wounds. Preached a fourth time at Garth, on “Comfort ye, comfort ye my people.”<sup>15</sup> The whole family received us as messengers of God; and if such we are, they received him that sent us.

**Saturday, August 29.** Rode to Llandrindod Wells, and called the burdened souls to Jesus.<sup>16</sup> He gave me to speak both searching and comfortable words. Three ministers were of my audience.<sup>17</sup> Returned to Garth rejoicing. Still no news of my brother. While we were talking of him he came, and brought life and a blessing with him.

**Sunday, August 30.** Preached on a tombstone in Builth churchyard; and again, on the Prodigal Son.<sup>18</sup> Then at Garth, on the marks of the Messiah [2:316] (Matt. 11:5), “The blind receive their sight ....”

**Monday, August 31.** After preaching at noon in the churchyard, my brother set out for Bristol. I preached there at 3:00, and invited a great multitude to the gospel feast.<sup>19</sup> Then expounded at Garth Simon the Pharisee and the woman that was a sinner.<sup>20</sup>

**September 1747<sup>1</sup>**

**Tuesday, September 1.** Preached at Maesmynis, and again in Builth, on Lamentations 1, “Is it nothing to you, all ye that pass by?”<sup>2</sup> Now the great blessing came, even the constraining love of Christ crucified. All were melted down as wax before the fire. I took a sweet leave of the weeping flock, and plainly found that if we never met again upon earth, yet shall we never be parted.

Returned to Garth, and showed the end of Christ’s mission, even to make all mankind happy (Acts 3:26<sup>3</sup>). We continued rejoicing in the Lord till past 11:00.

**Wednesday, September 2.** At 6:00 met the family, both servants and children, and strongly explained, “I am come that they might have life ....”<sup>4</sup> All seemed to receive my testimony. We left them in body, not in spirit.

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<sup>15</sup>Isa. 40:1.

<sup>16</sup>Matt. 11:28.

<sup>17</sup>These apparently included Edward Phillips, Rice Williams, and Rev. Philip Lewis (d. 1760), the curate of Llandrindod Wells.

<sup>18</sup>Luke 15:11–32.

<sup>19</sup>Luke 14:15–24.

<sup>20</sup>Luke 7:36–50.

<sup>1</sup>See also the much more detailed account of this month in *Journal Letters*, 247–62.

<sup>2</sup>Lam. 1:12.

<sup>3</sup>Orig., “Acts 3, last.”

<sup>4</sup>John 10:10.

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Took horse with Mr. [Marmaduke] Gwynne, Mr. [Edward] Phillips, and our guide, a brother from Anglesey.<sup>5</sup> We found the seven miles to Rhayader four good hours' ride.<sup>6</sup> Preached in the church, and laboured to awake the dead, and to lift up the hands that hung down. The minister seemed a man of a simple heart, and surely not eager for preferment, or he would not be contented with his salary of £3 a year.<sup>7</sup> Three or four neighbouring clergymen invited me to their churches, whom I had not time to visit. Rode forward to Llanidloes, and pointed a house-full of listening sinners to the all-atoning Lamb.<sup>8</sup>

**Thursday, September 3.** Called near the town-hall, "Ho, everyone that thirsteth, come ye to the waters."<sup>9</sup> Rode to Dolgellau, where our dear friends, Mr. Gwynne and Phillips, left us.

[2:317]

**Friday, September 4.** Reached Tan-y-Bwlch by 9:00, and Aber Menai ferry by 5:00.<sup>10</sup> It blew so hard there was no crossing till the tide was out. We waited two hours, part of which I slept on the ground. Then with much difficulty we got into the boat. The hurricane soon drove us out of danger. We rode in the dark over the heavy sands, and in an hour got to a little town in Anglesey. After midnight we came throughly wet to a brother's [house], where we dried ourselves, and pushed on to Holyhead by 7:00 in the morning [**September 5**], having been in the saddle twenty-five hours.

**Sunday, September 6.** Sent an offer of my assistance to the minister, who was ready to beat my messenger.<sup>11</sup> I went to church, and wondered he did not refuse me the sacrament.

After evening service I preached at the request of some gentlemen, who behaved as such, though the vulgar were rude enough.

**Tuesday, September 8.** At 10:00 we embarked. What wind we had was contrary. It increased in the evening, and at midnight was too high for us to sleep.

Next morning, **September 9**, we were taken into the smaller packetboat, and by 11:00 the Lord brought us safe to Dublin.

Here the first news we heard was that the little flock stands fast in the storm of persecution, which arose as soon as my brother left them. The popish mob has broke open their room, and destroyed all before them. Some of them are sent to Newgate, others bailed. What will be the event we cannot tell till we see whether the grand jury will find the bill.

**Wednesday, September 9.** Walked at 5:00 in the evening to the shattered room in Marlborough Street,<sup>12</sup> where a few people were met, who did not fear what men or devils could

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<sup>5</sup>CW spells "Anglesea."

<sup>6</sup>Rhayader, Radnorshire; 11 miles north of Builth Wells. CW spells "Raydor."

<sup>7</sup>The current curate at Rhayader was Rev. David Lewis.

<sup>8</sup>John 1:29.

<sup>9</sup>Isa. 55:1.

<sup>10</sup>A ferry running from Caernarfon to Anglesey. CW spells "Bar-Myni."

<sup>11</sup>Rev. Thomas Ellis served as curate of Holyhead 1737–58.

<sup>12</sup>In 1747 Thomas Williams began to gather a Methodist society in Dublin. By the time JW visited them in August of that year, they were meeting in a rented room on Marlborough

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do unto them. God has called me to suffer affliction with his people. The popish mob, encouraged and assisted by the Protestant, are so insolent and outrageous that, whatever street we pass through, it is up in arms. [2:318] The mayor would assist us, but cannot.<sup>13</sup> The grand jury have had the plainest evidence of the riot laid before them: that a mixed rabble of papists and Protestants broke open our room, and four locks, and a warehouse, stealing or destroying the goods to a considerable value; beat and wounded several with clubs, etc.; tore away the pulpit, benches, window-cases, etc., and burnt them openly before the gate; swearing they would murder us all. Yet it is much doubted whether the grand jury will find the bill! But doth not the Most High regard?

I began my ministry with “Comfort ye, comfort ye my people ...”<sup>14</sup> None made disturbance till I had ended. Then the rabble attended us with the usual compliments to our lodgings.

**Thursday, September 10.** At 5:00 all was quiet within doors. But we had men, women, and children upon us as soon as we appeared in the streets. One I observed crying, “Swaddler, swaddler!” (our usual title here), who was a young Ishmael indeed, and had not long learned to speak. I am sure he could not be four years old.

We dined with a gentleman, who explained our name to us. It seems we are beholden to Mr. [John] Cennick for it, who abounds in such like expressions as, “I curse and blaspheme all the gods in heaven, but the babe that lay in the manger, the babe that lay in Mary’s lap, the babe that lay in swaddling clouts,”<sup>15</sup> etc. Hence they nicknamed him “swaddler,” or “swaddling John.” And the word sticks to us all, not excepting the clergy.

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

**Friday, September 11.** Met the society at 1:00 for the first time, and spent an hour in intercession for our nation and Church. We shall hear of these prayers again another day, even the day of the [2:319] great slaughter, when the towers fall.<sup>16</sup>

Preached morning and evening, this and the following day, no man forbidding me, though everyone reviled us, both coming and going.

**Sunday, September 13.** In the strength of the Lord I went forth to Oxmantown Green. Stood under the wall of the barracks, and preached Christ crucified.<sup>17</sup> They all, both Protestant and papists, gave diligent heed, as to words whereby they may be saved.<sup>18</sup>

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Street that had previously housed a Lutheran congregation. A week after JW left on Aug. 22, a riot broke out in Dublin and this room suffered major damage.

<sup>13</sup>Richard White was Lord Mayor of Dublin at that time.

<sup>14</sup>Isa. 40:1.

<sup>15</sup>“Clout” is here used in the eighteenth-century sense of a piece of cloth or clothing.

<sup>16</sup>See Isa. 30:25.

<sup>17</sup>The draft journal specifies that he preached on 1 Cor. 2:2.

<sup>18</sup>See Acts 11:14.

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Received the sacrament at St. Patrick's, and from evening service returned to the Green. Thousands were now assembled to hear the word, and many to hinder them. Our dying Lord applied his own words, "Is it nothing to you, all ye that pass by?"<sup>19</sup> In vain did the poor blind papists rage, and shout, and cast stones. None were suffered to hurt me, or any of the hearers.

The mob waited for me on a bridge. We tried in vain to get a coach, and were therefore forced, when it was dark, to walk home another way, without calling upon our Catholic friends.

**Tuesday, September 15.** Woe is me now, for my soul is wearied because of murderers which this city is full of! The Ormond mob and Liberty mob seldom part till one or more are killed.<sup>20</sup> A poor constable was the last, whom they beat and dragged about till they had killed him, and then hung him up in triumph. None was called in question for it, but the earth covered his blood.<sup>21</sup> Last week a woman was beaten to death by the rabble. But that was all fair, for she was caught picking a pocket, so there is an end of her.

No wonder if in such a place there should be no justice for Christians. A poor, weakly man of Mr. Cennick's society was so abused by his neighbour, who knocked him down and stamped upon his stomach, that he died soon after. The murderer was indeed brought to a trial, but acquitted as usual.

I preached in the evening without interruption, the mob being awed for the present while our [2:320] bill is depending. The utmost application has been made by them to the jury, and none at all by us. We leave the matter to God. If man does us justice, it is more than we expect.

**Thursday, September [17].**<sup>22</sup> Got a particular account of the late riot. On Sunday, August 30th, a mob of papists and Protestants assaulted the house where the society was met after evening service. They met them going out, with sticks and stones, knocked down several, both men and women, and beat them in a barbarous manner. Some escaped the back way. Others retreated to the house and shut the door. The mob broke it open, and another inward door, tore down the desk and forms, carried two large counters, chairs, and part of the wainscot into the street, and openly burnt all but what they stole.

There was a warehouse over the preaching-room, which they broke open and ransacked. Above one hundred pounds' worth of goods they seized as lawful prize, and committed the rest to the flames.

They have often threatened our lives. Mr. Paterson they knocked down, and cut in several places while on the ground, then threw him into a cellar and cast stones on him. Mrs. Young and many others were treated in the same manner.

Half [an] hour past 9:00 the mayor came with his guard and saw with his own eyes the havoc the mob had made. He readily granted warrants to apprehend them. Some of the poorest, papists mostly, were sent to Newgate. But the better sort made a mock of his authority and walked about the town, from alehouse to alehouse, with the constables whom, by drink and

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<sup>19</sup>Lam. 1:12.

<sup>20</sup>These were Roman Catholic and Protestant factions that had been battling one another in Dublin since 1726.

<sup>21</sup>Cf. Job 16:18.

<sup>22</sup>Orig., "September 18"; an error.

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money, they had secured of their party.

Our hour of intercession was a solemn season, most present receiving a manifestation of the Spirit, even the spirit of contrition and prayer.

Dined at Mr. Powell's, the printer, who informed us that the jury have thrown out the bill.<sup>23</sup> It was no surprise to me. My soul was filled with comfort, and confidence that the Lord would now take the matter into his own hands. [2:321]

Met Mr. Millar the Lutheran minister, a simple, loving man, but not quite so courageous as Martin Luther.<sup>24</sup>

**Saturday, September 19.** Breakfasted at Mr. Aggit's<sup>25</sup> and found him full of indignation at the injustice of the jury. He did not seem to know that Christians are looked upon as outlaws in all times and places.

**Sunday, September 20.** After commending our cause to God, walked to the Green. I believed the Lord would make bare his arm in our defence.<sup>26</sup> I called, in his name, "Come unto me, all ye that are weary ...."<sup>27</sup> His power was upon the hearers, keeping down all opposition. I spoke with great freedom to the poor papists, urging them to repentance and the love of Christ, from the authority of their own Kempis<sup>28</sup> and their own liturgy. None lifted up his voice or hand. All listened with strange attention. Many were in tears. I advised them to go to their respective places of worship. They expressed general satisfaction, especially the papists. This also hath God wrought.<sup>29</sup>

Returning, we were insulted by a gathering mob, when a Baptist came by and desired us to take shelter in his house. We stayed and breakfasted, and left him quite happy in having protected us from the violence of the people.

The holiday folk were at the Green before me, it being the scene of all manner of diversions on Sunday afternoon. I lifted up my voice, and cried "Ho, everyone that thirsteth, come ye to the waters!"<sup>30</sup> A great multitude of serious hearers encompassed me, while those who had not ears to hear withdrew on every side to the opposite hill, sat down in rows on the grass, and there remained the whole time. I never saw the hand of God more visible.

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<sup>23</sup>Samuel Powell (1707–75), a leading printer in Dublin, whose shop was on Crane Lane. He would print several Wesley items over the next two decades. Powell and his wife were Baptists at this time, but became Methodists and members of the Church of Ireland. CW spells "Powel."

<sup>24</sup>JW spells the name "Miller" in his *Journal*, Apr. 20, 1748, *Works*, 20:219. It appears his name was actually Rev. Olaf Mollen (at least that was the pastor in 1754).

<sup>25</sup>CW spells "Adjets" in the draft journal.

<sup>26</sup>See Isa. 52:10.

<sup>27</sup>Matt. 11:28.

<sup>28</sup>Thomas à Kempis (1379?–1471).

<sup>29</sup>See Num. 23:23.

<sup>30</sup>Isa. 55:1.

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**Monday, September 21.** Began examining the classes, and met several who received forgiveness under the word last week. But, justified or unjustified, all are in earnest, and seem made without fear. I have not seen such soldiers before, so young and yet so valiant.

**Wednesday, September 23.** Heard that on Sunday last, [2:322] after I was gone, the popish mob fell upon the women, but were beaten off by the soldiers. They threaten to come with all their forces next Sunday.

Going to the room, the mob insulted us and forced us to take refuge at Mr. Aggit's. He was scandalized at such treatment of a minister of the established Church, and very sure a popish priest, so used, would be succoured by the magistrate. I believe so too. Error of every kind may meet with favour, but the world never did nor ever will tolerate real Christianity.

In our return the people gaped upon us with their mouths, like ramping and roaring lions. What restrains them from tearing us to pieces? They want neither will nor power. The jury have taken off the reins from the many-headed beast. And our Protestant brethren have sold us into their hands who think they would do God service, and merit heaven, by killing us.

**Friday, September 25.** Passed the evening very agreeably at a Baptist's, a woman of sense and piety, and a great admirer of my father's *Life of Christ*.<sup>31</sup>

**Sunday, September 27.** Never have I seen a quieter congregation at the Foundery than we had at the Green, both morning and afternoon. Many of the soldiers were within hearing, though behind the doors and walls, for fear of their officers. The papists stood like lambs. I quoted Kempis, which makes some of them confident I am a good Catholic.

**Monday, September 28.** Our landlady yesterday nailed up our preaching-room, but we had it opened for the word this morning.<sup>32</sup> We are now come to close quarters with the enemy, who threatens hard to drive us out of his kingdom.

Had an hour's conference with two serious Quakers, who hold the Head with us, and build on the one foundation.<sup>33</sup>

**Tuesday, September 29.** My subject in the evening was "The kingdom of heaven is at hand. Repent ye, and believe the gospel."<sup>34</sup> Was led unawares to describe the glorious appearing of our Lord, and the word came with power irresistible. The cries of [2:323] the wounded almost drowned my voice. One, I afterwards heard, received a cure.

At Mr. Powell's I met Mr. Edwards, landlord of Mr. Cennick's preaching-house.<sup>35</sup> He told us he quite disliked his tenants, was resolved to raise the rent, and asked if we should be willing to take the room if they refused it. We answered, "If they had the first offer, and did not accept of it, we should be glad of the next refusal."

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<sup>31</sup>Samuel Wesley, *The Life of our Blessed Lord & Saviour, Jesus Christ; an heroic poem* (London: Charles Harper, 1693).

<sup>32</sup>The owner of the room on Marlborough Street was a widow, Agnes Felster (d. 1769).

<sup>33</sup>See 1 Cor. 3:11.

<sup>34</sup>Mark 1:15.

<sup>35</sup>Samuel Edwards, a Baptist schoolmaster, was an executor of a former Baptist meeting house in Skinner's Alley, Dublin that had been rented to John Cennick and the Moravians.

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October 1747<sup>1</sup>

**Friday, October 2.** Passed two hours with Mrs. Powell<sup>2</sup> and another Baptist, whom I almost persuaded to give up their faith of adherence, so called, for the faith of the gospel—which works by love, and includes peace, joy, power, and the testimony of the Spirit.

**Sunday, October 4.** At Marylebone Lane I expounded those awful words, “The Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and the trump of God.”<sup>3</sup> Many trembled, and some rejoiced in hope of his glory. A papist behind the wall at first lifted up his voice in curses, but in the end cried out “The Lord bless you!”

**Wednesday, October [7].**<sup>4</sup> Several soldiers ventured to the word, notwithstanding the prohibition. Now and then an officer came by, and stopped to see if any of their men were there. Then they skulked down, kneeling or sitting on the ground, behind the women.

**Thursday, October [8].**<sup>5</sup> God is daily adding to our number. Today I admitted two more into the society; one a papist whom we caught in the Green.

**Sunday, October 11.** None has made the least disturbance for a week past, whether Protestant or papist. Only one of the latter flung away in a rage, crying I ought to be stabbed for lumping them all together and telling them they might all be saved, of whatever church or party, if they would return like the prodigal to their heavenly Father.

Began preaching, with great reluctance, at Marylebone Lane, where the Spirit came pouring [2:324] down like a flood. All present were in tears, either of sorrow or joy. We continued above an hour, singing and crying. A more refreshing time I have not known since I left England.

Spent the evening with Mrs. M[eecham], a true mourner in Sion, till the Lord on Wednesday put the new song in her mouth.<sup>6</sup> She set us all on fire with the warmth of her first love.

**Saturday, October 17.** Passed the day at the house we have purchased near Dolphin’s Barn, writing and meditating.<sup>7</sup> I could almost have set up my rest here, but must not look for rest on this side eternity.

Heard (as I do every day) of more sinners who have received the atonement.

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<sup>1</sup>See also the more detailed draft journal record of this month in *Journal Letters*, 262–72.

<sup>2</sup>Hannah (Edwards) Powell, whom Samuel married in 1742, after the death of his first wife, Mary (Rothery) Powell (c. 1708–41).

<sup>3</sup>1 Thess. 4:16.

<sup>4</sup>Orig., “October 8”; an error.

<sup>5</sup>Orig., “October 9”; an error.

<sup>6</sup>The draft journal gives the full name. She was a widowed sister of Ruth (Bertrand) Handy, and thus sister-in-law of Samuel Handy of Coolalough, whom she introduced into Methodism. See Crookshank, *Ireland*, 1:22–24.

<sup>7</sup>Dolphin’s Barn was a village on the southeast side of Dublin; the house was on Cork Street.



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**Monday, October 19.** Dined at a gentleman's who offered us a large piece of ground to build upon, at a very moderate price. It seems as if the time for building were at hand, now the magistrates are so favourable. The mayor has declared he will send any man to Newgate who only calls after us in the streets. But we are not so vain as to think all the authority of man can long screen those who will live godly in Christ Jesus from suffering persecution.

**Friday, October 23.** Visited a sick man, who has been convinced by reading my brother's sermons, and justified, as far as I can find, by the immediate voice of Christ.

**Sunday, October 25.** Passed three hours at St. Patrick's, under my usual burden among the dry bones of the house of Israel.<sup>8</sup> I seldom enter this place but they are ready to drag me out as a profaner of the temple. The dean I must except,<sup>9</sup> who has always treated us with great courtesy; looks pleased to see us make the bulk of the communicants; appointed us a set by ourselves; and constantly administers to me first, as the rubric directs.

Opened our new house at Dolphin's Barn by preaching to a great multitude within and without. After preaching five times today, was as fresh as in the morning.

**Monday, October 26,** Examined<sup>10</sup> the society, and took in several new ones, and put out others who had [2:325] been too hastily admitted by our helpers. My hands were strengthened by meeting several who have found the pardoning love of God through my ministry.

**Tuesday, October 27.**<sup>11</sup> Prayed by our sister Baker, whom I had lately checked for her too great contempt of death, as it seemed to me. The trying time is come, yet she keeps her confidence.

**Friday, October 30.** In our return from intercession we were stoned for the length of a street or two. Charles Perronet interposed his back to screen me. Here I received the first blow since I came to Dublin. At our lodgings the mob took their leave of us, without hurting either.

**Saturday, October 31.** Heard the best news of any since our coming hither—that our sister Baker is departed in full triumph. To one who asked her this morning how she did, she answered, “Bravely! Bravely! Never better.” The pains of death had then got hold of her, but she smiled on the welcome messenger; took leave of her husband and children with calm joy; expressed great satisfaction at having chosen to suffer affliction with the people of God; confirmed those about her in the same happy choice; and soon after fell asleep, and awoke in paradise.

I called at the house, as well to exhort the survivors as to see the late temple of the Holy Ghost.<sup>12</sup> The happy soul had left a smile upon the clay, to tell where she was gone. We were all comforted in prayer and thanksgiving.

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<sup>8</sup>See Ezek. 37:1–14.

<sup>9</sup>Francis Corbett (d. 1775) became Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin, in Jan. 1747, succeeding the long tenure of Jonathan Swift (d. 1745).

<sup>10</sup>Orig., “Examining.”

<sup>11</sup>In the draft journal this entry is placed on Wednesday, Oct. 28.

<sup>12</sup>See 1 Cor. 6.19.

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Preached for the last time in Marlborough Street, on “These are they that came out of great tribulation, and washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb.”<sup>13</sup> It was a time of solemn rejoicing in hope of his coming to wipe away all tears from our eyes.

[2:326]

**November 1747<sup>1</sup>**

**Sunday, November 1.** At St. Patrick’s Mr. K.<sup>2</sup> entertained us with a discourse so full of low, pitiful lies and nonsense as I never heard from any, except the ingenious Mr. Hoblyn.<sup>3</sup>

Preaching five times is not more than twice a day, when the order of providence calls us to it. My strength do I ascribe unto thee, and all my success, and all my blessings!

**Monday, November 2.** Admitted five or six into the society, and among them the soldier who was put under arrest last Sunday for the high crime and misdemeanour of hearing a sermon at the Green. The officer, after much threatening, let him go. But he continues refractory still—that is, resolved to work out his salvation.

**Saturday, November 7.** Prayed by a man near death. When we first visited him he was quite unawakened; but is now saved from the fear both of death and hell, and waiting for the great salvation of God. We have several such instances of persons departing in the Lord, who never heard the gospel till we preached it to them on their deathbeds.

**Tuesday, November 10.** Preached at a new place in Hanbury Lane, next door to a warm antagonist, the Rev. Mr. N[isbet].<sup>4</sup> Therefore we did not expect to be long unmolested. Three nights, however, we have had peace.

**Thursday, November 12.** Hearing the minister had procured a mob to hinder our preaching, I would not suffer any of the preachers or people to expose themselves at Hanbury Lane. At night our adversaries, who till then had expected us in vain, broke into the house and took possession.

**Thursday, November 26.** Spent the day in walking about and taking subscriptions for the building. At night proposed it to the society, who were glad to give of their little. This and the following day was subscribed upward of £70.

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<sup>13</sup>Rev. 7:14.

<sup>1</sup>See also the more detailed draft journal of this month in *Journal Letters*, 272–74.

<sup>2</sup>Most likely Rev. James King (d. 1759), Prebendary of Tipper at St. Patricks, 1737–59 (the only prebendary with a last name starting in “K”).

<sup>3</sup>Rev. William Hoblyn, curate of St. Ives (see July 17, 1743 above).

<sup>4</sup>The name is spelled out in the draft journal.

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December 1747<sup>1</sup>

[2:327]

**Friday, December 4.** Passed an hour at Mr. Millar's, the Lutheran minister, who favoured me with a sight of Count Zinzendorf's famous declaration against my brother and me,<sup>2</sup> and likewise his translation of the New Testament.<sup>3</sup> We looked for St. James's epistle, but he was not to be found, the Count having thrust him out of the canon by his own authority.

At midnight I was raised by a dying child, brought into my room to be baptized.

**Sunday, December 13.** We had a large increase of communicants at St. Patrick's, mostly of the society. The good dean expressed his approbation at the sight.

**Monday and Tuesday, December [14 and] 15.** Had great rejoicing over our lately departed sister Witham.<sup>4</sup> Her dying prayers for me I found strengthening my hands, and confirming my hope of shortly following her.

**Wednesday, December 16.** Seldom have I been more alive than in the morning preaching, or more dead than in the evening.

**Saturday, December 19.** Spoke from John 1, "As many as receive him, to them gave he power ...,"<sup>5</sup> and warned them against receiving Christ by halves, or so magnifying one of his offices, as to slight or deny the other.<sup>6</sup> The priest must not swallow up the king, nor the saviour the lord.

**Wednesday, December 23.** Had a conference with two clergymen concerning this way, which they seemed to believe was no schism, or new religion, but the faith once delivered to the saints. One of them invited me to his lodgings in the college.<sup>7</sup>

**Friday, Christmas Day.** The people met at my lodgings between 3:00 and 4:00. It was a day of rejoicing. So were the three following, suitable to the solemn occasion.

**Monday, December 28.** Prayed by a constant hearer of the word, who was joyfully turning his face to the wall.<sup>8</sup> The next morning he departed with that word, "Into thy hands I commend my spirit."<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>See also this month in *Journal Letters*, 274–77.

<sup>2</sup>This declaration was included in a letter that James Hutton published in *The Daily Advertiser*, Aug. 2, 1745 (letter dated July 24, 1745). A summary of Zinzendorf's comments, and JW's letter in reply can be found in *Works*, 26:150–51.

<sup>3</sup>Nikolaus Zinzendorf, *Eines abermahligen Versuchs zur Übersetzung der historischen Bücher des Neuen Testaments unsers Herrn Jesu Christi* (Büdingen: J. C. Stöhr, 1739).

<sup>4</sup>Elizabeth (Harrison) Witham died Nov. 29, 1747. See CW's elegy "On the Death of Mrs. Elizabeth Witham," *HSP* (1749), 1:282–86.

<sup>5</sup>John 1:12. See his hymn on the text: *HSP* (1749), 2:181–84.

<sup>6</sup>See his hymn on this passage making the same point: *HSP* (1749), 2:181–84.

<sup>7</sup>Presumably Trinity College, Dublin.

<sup>8</sup>See 2 Kings 20:2.

<sup>9</sup>Luke 23:46.

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[2:328]

[January] 1748<sup>1</sup>

**Friday, January 14.** Heard more good news from the country, whither we had sent some of our preachers. At Tyrrellspass<sup>2</sup> and the neighbouring towns there seems to be a great awakening.

**Wednesday, January 20.** Charles Perronet had, without my knowledge, told the society last night that he intended to go and ask Mr. [John] Cennick if he had any farther pretensions to the house; and if not, he would take it himself for the society.<sup>3</sup>

Mr. Handy brought us glad tidings from the country, which made me eager to go with him.<sup>4</sup>

**Thursday, January 21.** Reproved the society, who were all melted into tears, especially when I spoke of leaving them.

**Friday, January 22.** Troubled to hear one of our children was carried away by the lies of the *still* brethren. Prayed for her in faith, and was relieved immediately. At night the spirit of contrition fell mightily upon us.

**Saturday, January 23.** The answer of prayer returned. Met Mrs. M[oore],<sup>5</sup> who humbled herself, asked pardon of God and us, and seemed quite recovered.

**Sunday, January 24.** Preached Christ crucified at the Barn,<sup>6</sup> from “They shall look upon me, whom they have pierced, and mourn.”<sup>7</sup> This scripture was then fulfilled in many.

**Monday, January 25.** Our brother Gurley and another reported to me the blasphemies of one [Mr.] Connor (of Mr. Cennick’s society), who insisted in their hearing that Christ was in an error and called the Trinity a three-headed devil, etc.

**Tuesday, January 26.** Met the society, with the great power and blessing of God in the midst.

**Friday, January 29.** Administered the sacrament to an aged woman at Sophy Evans’s. It was a solemn season of love.

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<sup>1</sup>See also the more detailed draft journal of this month in *Journal Letters*, 277–79.

<sup>2</sup>CW spells “Tyril’s Pass.”

<sup>3</sup>The preaching house on Skinner’s Alley; see Sept. 29, 1747 entry.

<sup>4</sup>Samuel Handy (1713–79) owned a manor named Coolalough, just south of Horseleap; he had been introduced to Methodism by his sister-in-law, Mrs. Meecham.

<sup>5</sup>The name is spelled out in the draft journal.

<sup>6</sup>That is, their new preaching house in Dolphin’s Barn.

<sup>7</sup>Zech. 12:10.

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February 1748<sup>1</sup>

[2:329]

**Friday, February [5].**<sup>2</sup> Mr. [John] Cennick called on me. I asked if he had any hopes of the house. He answered, No. He believed the trustees would never let it [to] them again. Then I said I would, or he should preach in it whenever he pleased. He acknowledged my kindness, and that I had acted fairly throughout this affair.

**Sunday, February [7].** Expounded wrestling Jacob.<sup>3</sup> Many wept and made supplication to the angel. I parted from them with regret, though for a few days only, and on

**Monday morning, February [8],**<sup>4</sup> took horse for Tyrrellspass. We overtook a lad whistling one of our tunes. He was a constant hearer, though a Roman [Catholic], and joined with us in several hymns which he had by heart. Near 7:00 we got, half choked with the fog, to Mr. Fouace's.<sup>5</sup> The town immediately took the alarm and crowded in after us. I discoursed on "A certain man had two sons . . ." <sup>6</sup> These are the publicans that enter before the pharisees. Never have I spoke to more hungry souls. They devoured every word. Some expressed their satisfaction in a way peculiar to them, and *whistled* for joy. Few such feasts have I had since I left England. It refreshed my body more than meat or drink.<sup>7</sup>

God has begun a great work here. The people of Tyrrellspass were wicked to a proverb; swearers, drunkards, Sabbath-breakers, thieves, etc., from time immemorial. But now the scene is entirely changed. Not an oath is heard or a drunkard seen among them. *Aperto vivitur horto.*<sup>8</sup> They are turned from darkness to light.<sup>9</sup> Near *one hundred* are joined in society, and following hard after the pardoning God.

**Tuesday, February [9].**<sup>10</sup> Rode to Mr. Jonathan Handy's at Templemacateer,<sup>11</sup> seven miles from Tyrrellspass, and pointed several of his poor neighbours to the Lamb of God.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>For a slightly more detailed account of Feb. 4–6, see *Journal Letters*, 279.

<sup>2</sup>Orig., "Friday, February 6." Presuming the day is correct, it was February 5. The next several entries are also off by one day and have been corrected here in square brackets.

<sup>3</sup>Gen. 32:24–31.

<sup>4</sup>For Feb. 8–15, 1748, see also CW's journal letter to JW, in *Journal Letters*, 287–94.

<sup>5</sup>Stephen Fouace (b. c. 1695) was brother-in-law to Samuel Handy, having married his sister Anne. He resided in Tyrrellspass; cf. Crookshank, *Ireland*, 1:25. CW spells "Force."

<sup>6</sup>Luke 15:11–32.

<sup>7</sup>See Rom. 14:17.

<sup>8</sup>"Life is lived in an open garden."

<sup>9</sup>See Acts 26:18.

<sup>10</sup>CW gives the date half way through the sentence, in parentheses. It has been moved to the front for clarity.

<sup>11</sup>Jonathan Handy (1704–59) was the older brother of Samuel; Templemacateer was his manor, about 2 miles northeast of Horseleap, Co. Westmeath. CW spells "Temple-Macqueteer."

<sup>12</sup>John 1:29.

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\* *Wednesday, February [10].*<sup>13</sup> At 8:00 took horse for Athlone. We were seven in company, and rode mostly [2:330] abreast.<sup>14</sup> Some overtook us, running in great haste, and one horseman, riding full speed. We suspected nothing, and rode on singing, till within half a mile of the town. Mr. Samuel Handy and John Healey happened to be foremost, three or four yards out of the line, though I had led the company until then. We were mounting a little hill when three or four men appeared at the top, and bade us go back. We thought them in jest, till the stones flew. John Healey was knocked off his horse with a stone, fell backward, and lay without sense or motion. Mr. Handy, setting spurs to his horse, charged through the enemy and immediately turned upon them again. There were only five or six ruffians on the spot, but we saw many gathering to us from all sides.

I observed the man who had knocked down John Healey striking him on the face with his club, cried to him to stop, which drew him upon me and probably saved our brother's life, whom another blow might have dispatched. They had gathered against our coming great heaps of stones, one of which was sufficient to beat out our brains. How we escaped them, God only knows, and our guardian angels. I had no apprehension of their hurting me, even when one struck me on the back with a large stone, which took away my breath.

One struck Mr. Fouace on the head, at whom Mr. Handy made a full blow. He turned and escaped part, yet it knocked him down, and for the present disabled him. As often as we returned we were driven off by showers of stones. Some were for returning home, but I asked if we should leave our brother in the hands of his murderers.

We rode back to the field of battle, which our enemies had quitted, the Protestants beginning to rise upon them. It seems the papists had laid their scheme for murdering us at the instigation of their priest, Father Farrell,<sup>15</sup> who had sounded an alarm last Sunday and raised his [2:331] crusade against us. The man who wounded John Healey was the priest's servant, and rode his master's horse. He was just going to finish the work with his knife, swearing desperately that he would cut him up, when a poor woman from her hut came to his assistance, and swore as stoutly that he should not cut him up. The man half killed her with a blow of John Healey's whip, yet she hindered him till more help came. One Jameson, a Protestant, ran in with a pitchfork and stuck the clerk into the shoulder. The bone stopped it. The man made a second push at him, which was broke by Mr. Handy, returned to save his enemy's life. The hedges were all lined with papists, who kept the field till they saw the dragoons coming out of Athlone. Then they took to their heels, and Mr. Handy after them. In the midst of the bog they seized the priest's servant, carried him prisoner to Athlone, and charged the High Constable with him, who quickly let him go. A Protestant met and beat him unmercifully. But he escaped at last, and fled for his life, sorely wounded.

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<sup>13</sup>CW wrote the date in Block Letters, and put an asterisk in the left margin, for emphasis.

<sup>14</sup>In the journal letter CW names Thomas Williams as one of the seven; in this revised account he elides Williams's presence, who had again been expelled from the Methodist fold.

<sup>15</sup>Rev. John Farrell (c. 1686–1753), was the priest at St. Mary's church, Athlone from 1723 to 1753. CW spells "Ferril."

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We found John Healey in his blood at the hut, whither the woman and her husband had carried him. He recovered his senses at hearing my voice. We got him to Athlone, had him blooded, had his wounds dressed. The surgeon would take nothing for his pains.

The people of the town expressed great indignation at our treatment. The soldiers flocked about us. They had been ordered by their officers to meet and guard us into town. But we came before our time, which prevented them—and our enemies likewise, or we should have found an army of Romans ready to receive us. The country, it seems, knew beforehand of the design, for the papists made no secret of it. But by the providence of God none of us, or our enemies, lost their lives.

I walked down to the market house, which was filled by a third of the congregation. I removed to a window in a ruined house, which commanded [2:332] the marketplace. The gentlemen, with the minister,<sup>16</sup> and above two thousand hearers, gave diligent heed while I strongly invited them to buy wine and milk without money and without price.<sup>17</sup> The congregation waited on us to our inn, and many of them out of town with our trusty soldiers. But first the minister and collector came to see us, and inquire after our wounded man; got us to leave information, and promised us justice. The minister acknowledged it was the doctrine of our own Church, accepted some of our books, and bade us God speed.

We marched very slowly for the sake of our patient, till we came to the field of battle. It was stained with blood abundantly. We halted and sang a song of triumph and praise to God,<sup>18</sup> who giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ.<sup>19</sup> Here we sent back our guard and went on our way rejoicing to Moate.<sup>20</sup>

I proclaimed in the street the faithful saying that Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners.<sup>21</sup> A few stones were cast, and a drum beat to entertain the ladies. In spite of the genteel devil, some impression was made on the vulgar, as their tears testified.

We rode through the noisy ones to Mr. Handy's. The voice of joy and thanksgiving was heard in his dwelling<sup>22</sup>; and we magnified the God by whom we escape death.

Among my hearers was the mother of my host,<sup>23</sup> who, after a moral life of near eighty years, is now convinced of unbelief and quietly waiting for the salvation of God.

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<sup>16</sup>Rev. Arthur Grüber (1713–1802), was vicar of St. Mary's, Athlone from 1747 to 1754. See J. B. Leslie & W. J. R. Wallace, *Clergy of Meath and Kildare* (Blackrock, Co. Dublin: Columba Press, 2009). Or CW may mean the Rev. T— mentioned in the Sept. 25, 1748 entry.

<sup>17</sup>Isa. 55:1.

<sup>18</sup>CW wrote a hymn celebrating this deliverance, found in MS Miscellaneous Hymns, 5–7; and MS Richmond, 50–51. It seems unlikely that this was the hymn they sang the same day.

<sup>19</sup>See 1 Cor. 15:57.

<sup>20</sup>CW spells “Moat.”

<sup>21</sup>1 Tim. 1:15.

<sup>22</sup>See Ps. 42:4.

<sup>23</sup>Joan (Low) Handy (1675–1763).

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**Thursday, February [11].** At Tyrrellspass. Our barn was filled at night with high and low, rich and poor, whose curiosity brought them from all parts. I showed them their case and their physician, in the wounded traveller and good Samaritan.<sup>24</sup> They listened for two hours, and seemed to feel the weight of the word. Counsellor Low followed us home, and had much [2:333] serious discourse with us.<sup>25</sup>

**Friday, February [12].** Spent the morning in conference with the strangers. One, a sensible Roman [Catholic], seemed satisfied with my answers to his objections, and not far from the kingdom of heaven.<sup>26</sup> Another, who has been a notorious sinner but a man of reading, went away convinced and longing to be converted. The counsellor, we heard, had sat up the whole night searching the Scriptures, if these things be so.<sup>27</sup>

At Mr. Samuel Handy's invited many to the great supper.<sup>28</sup> Two hours passed unperceived, before I could give over.

**Saturday, February [13].** A poor publican was drowned in tears, who constantly attends the word of grace, on which all his hopes depend. Preached at Tullamore, on "O, Israel, thou hast destroyed ...."<sup>29</sup> They received both the legal and gospel saying as the truth of God. Many of the soldiers from Dublin followed us into the house for further instruction, to whom I again declared "The poor have the gospel preached unto them."<sup>30</sup> It was a time of refreshing, like one of the former days.

**Sunday, February [14].** At Phillipstown expounded the Prodigal Son.<sup>31</sup> Above forty dragoons joined me in singing and conference, both before and after. These are all turned from darkness to light, that they may receive forgiveness.<sup>32</sup>

**Monday, February 15.** Visited several at Tyrrellspass, particularly Mrs. Wade, aged ninety-five,<sup>33</sup> who counts all things but loss, so she may win Christ, and be found in him, not having her own righteousness.<sup>34</sup> She has continued in the temple for near a hundred years, and in fasting every Friday.<sup>35</sup> How does this shame the young professors, who say they have faith, yet live in a total neglect of Christ's ordinance! She looks every moment for the seal of her pardon,

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<sup>24</sup>Luke 10:29–37.

<sup>25</sup>This is likely John Low, of Cornaher House in Tyrrellspass, a relative of Samuel Handy's mother.

<sup>26</sup>See Mark 12:34.

<sup>27</sup>See Acts 17:11.

<sup>28</sup>Luke 14:15–24.

<sup>29</sup>Hosea 13:9.

<sup>30</sup>Luke 7:22.

<sup>31</sup>Luke 15:11–32.

<sup>32</sup>See Acts 26:18.

<sup>33</sup>The widow (c. 1653–1748) of Jerome Wade (c. 1650–1705) of Killavally, Westmeath.

<sup>34</sup>See Phil. 3:8–9.

<sup>35</sup>See Luke 2:37.



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that she may depart in peace.

The next I saw was a venerable couple indeed—the man ninety-six, the woman ninety-eight. He had rejoiced [2:334] to hear of the great change wrought in the town, and said if he could but see us lifting up our hands in prayer for him, he doubted not but the Lord would give him the blessing. Till within these two years, he has worked at his loom. He was in all the actions of the last century, at the siege of Londonderry, Limerick, etc.; the greatest Tory-hunter in the country; full of days and scars. His wife retains her senses and understanding. She wept for joy while we prayed over them, and commended them to the pardoning grace of God.

**Tuesday, February 16.** Came to Dublin, half dead with the rain and snow.

**Sunday, February 21.** Had much of our Lord's presence in the word, while the poor blind beggars cried after him on every side. At night the good Samaritan looked upon us.<sup>36</sup> One testified that her wounds were then bound up.

**Monday, February 22.** Visited a poor wretch in Newgate, who is to be burnt next week for coining.<sup>37</sup> The proof against her was not very full, but her life and character cast her. She has lived in all manner of wickedness, and narrowly escaped death before for killing her son-in-law. Justice has now overtaken her, and she cries she is lost forever. I could not well discern whence her sorrow flowed, but found hope for her in prayer.

**Tuesday, February 23.** She was much the same, but vehemently desired our people's prayers, and told me had she continued hearing the word she had never come into that misery. But her neighbours had laughed her out of it, and now God had left her to herself.

At the Barn I expounded the woman with the bloody issue,<sup>38</sup> and many seemed not only to press, but to touch him. Their cries pierced the clouds. Three testified that they were healed of their plague. A greater blessing followed us in the society. Glory be to God who so wonderfully [2:335] revives his work among us. I trust many shall yet be added to the church, before we part.

**Wednesday, February 24.** At night we were all melted into tears by our dying Lord's expostulation, "Is it nothing to you, all ye that pass by?"<sup>39</sup> and long continued mourning in sight of his cross.

**Thursday, February 25.** We had wrestled in prayer for the poor criminal, and today I plainly saw the answer returned. Her heart was broken in pieces. She had nothing to plead or pay, and all her concern was for her soul. She received the word of reconciliation as the thirsty land doth the dew of heaven, and resolved to spend her last breath in crying after the friend of sinners.

**On Friday, and Saturday, February 26 and 27,** I was again with the woman. Near twenty of the poor wretches pressed in after me. Her tears and lamentations reached both their hearts and mine.

Met with one who has lately received the atonement, and is continually exercised by the contradiction of *poor* sinners, even her own daughters. They abuse and persecute her, not

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<sup>36</sup>Luke 10:29–37.

<sup>37</sup>*OED*: counterfeiting, or forgery.

<sup>38</sup>See the note on this sermon for the Nov. 5, 1739 entry above.

<sup>39</sup>Lam. 1:12.

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refraining even from blows, for “they have nothing to do with works or the law.”

**Sunday, February 28.** Expounded Isaiah 35, and the word was with power, as at the beginning. Many cried under it, and one woman, “I have found forgiveness this moment!” I spoke with her afterwards at our sister Baker’s, and she told me she was just before quite sunk down in sorrow, when a light was darted into her heart. “It set me a trembling,” she added, “and soon after a joy came such as I never felt before. I am quite another creature. I am so light I cannot express it.” Her testimony is the more remarkable because she can neither write nor read.

I did not wonder, while passing Newgate, that one struck me on my head with a stone. Preached at 2:00 and 6:00 at the Barn. The great blessing came at last. My subject was the woman [2:336] washing our Saviour’s feet,<sup>40</sup> and never was he more sensibly present with us. A woman could not forbear declaring openly that her faith had saved her.

**Monday, February 29.** Received fresh comfort by a letter from a Dissenter, testifying that she had found again, under the word, the peace which she had lost for many years.<sup>41</sup> Every day we hear of more children born, which reconciles us to the contrary wind, though it keeps my brother from us.

Sent a brother to the condemned woman, who told him she had been visited by a Romish priest. On his bidding her pray to the Virgin Mary, she answered, “I have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous.”<sup>42</sup> The Ordinary was also with her for the first time, and she told him the reason of the hope that was in her.<sup>43</sup>

I heard from the keeper that a reprieve was come down, and a pardon expected. Feared it might stop the work of God in her, and was agreeably surprised to find her full of fear and trouble at the news. “O,” said she to me, “I am afraid if my life be spared that I shall fall from God. I know he would have mercy on me if I die now.” In discoursing farther, I perceived very comfortable signs. Some of her words were, “Two days ago I found such a change as I cannot describe. My heart is so lightened, my trouble and grief quite gone. And in the night, when I pray to my Saviour, I feel such a strange comfort and confidence as cannot be expressed. Surely God has forgiven me my sins.” I believed it, but took no notice till the work should prove itself; only exhorted her to watch and pray, lest she should fall from those good beginnings.

[2:337]

**March 1748**

**Tuesday, March 1.** Met the woman, released from her chains, both soul and body. She threw herself at my feet, and cried, “O sir, under God, you have saved my soul. I have found mercy when I looked for judgment. I am saved by a miracle of mercy.”

In the evening preached on that most important word, “It is finished,”<sup>1</sup> and God set to his

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<sup>40</sup>Luke 7:36–50.

<sup>41</sup>This letter is not known to survive.

<sup>42</sup>See 1 John 2:1.

<sup>43</sup>See 1 Pet. 3:15.

<sup>1</sup>John 19:30.

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seal. One received forgiveness. A man and a woman testified that they had found it at the last preaching. The power of the Lord was wonderfully in the society. I asked, “Who touched him?”<sup>2</sup> not doubting but some had then received their cure. One, and another, and another witnessed a good confession. Our sister Blammires declared, with great struggling, that she then found power to believe, and blessed the day that ever she saw my face. Others spoke in the same manner. And last, Thomas Barnes told me he had recovered his pardon while I was repeating, “There is more joy in heaven over . . .”<sup>3</sup> The number of the witnesses this night was nine.

**Wednesday, March 2.** At Mrs. Gilmore’s, a serious Dissenter. Met three others of the same communion who had been lately justified under the word.

**Saturday, March 5.** Showed the poor felons in Newgate what they must do to be saved.<sup>4</sup> One man I have often observed much affected by the word, and extremely officious to wait upon me. This was the executioner, who is half converted by the woman, and shows the most profound reverence for her. I gave him several of our books, which he has read over and over. By profession he is a papist.

**Sunday, March 6.** I do not remember when we have had a greater blessing than we had this evening in the society. Near twenty declared the manifestation of the Spirit then vouchsafed them. [2:338]

**Monday, March 7.** Spoke with eleven of them who had received a clear sense of pardon. Another went to his house justified when I discoursed on wrestling Jacob.<sup>5</sup>

**Tuesday, March 8.** My brother landed, and met the society. God confirming the word of his messenger.

**Wednesday, March 9.** Passed a comfortable hour in conference with some others who have lately stepped into the pool.<sup>6</sup> One was begotten again this evening by the word of his power.

**Thursday, March 10.** Three more received their cure.

**Friday, March 11.** My text in the morning was, “The Spirit and the bride say, Come.”<sup>7</sup> After great strugglings, one was constrained to cry out, “He is come! He is come! I have him, I have him now, in my heart.” A stranger, who stood with his hat on upon the stairs, with all the marks of carelessness, cried out in great astonishment, “Lord bless me! What is this?” and ran away as if the avenger was at his heels. Another testified her having lately found favour, who was, some days since, a grievous sinner—common harlot. But she is washed! God grant she may hold out!

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<sup>2</sup>This would be CW’s sermon on the woman with the bloody issue, with particular focus on the account in Mark 5:25–34 or Luke 8:40–56.

<sup>3</sup>Luke 15:7.

<sup>4</sup>Acts 16:30.

<sup>5</sup>Gen. 32:24–31.

<sup>6</sup>See John 5:1–15.

<sup>7</sup>Rev. 22:17.

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**Sunday, March 13.** In our garden I once more invited them to the great supper.<sup>8</sup> Many tears were shed at parting. Yet was it a blessed mourning, because we expect to meet again at the great white throne.<sup>9</sup>

**Monday, March 14.** The wind turning full against us gave me an opportunity of preaching again in Ship Street. Heard that our sister Preston was yesterday delivered of her burden in singing. This evening Mrs. Gilmore received the love of God shed abroad in her heart.<sup>10</sup> A month ago she was a warm opposer. But venturing, out of curiosity, to hear me, the Lord applied his word and stripped her all at once of her self-righteousness, faith of adherence, and good [2:339] works. She mourned after him, till now that Jesus has received her among his witnesses.

**Sunday, March 20.** After a week's confinement through the toothache, at 2:00 this day entered the packet-boat with John Haughton.<sup>11</sup>

**Monday, March 21.** By 3:00 we landed at the Head.<sup>12</sup> Passed the night in great pain.

**Tuesday, March 22.** Took horse for our brother Jones's.<sup>13</sup> It was a bright, sunshiny morning; the wind moderate, and in our backs. Came to my guide's by 9:00, and rode by 3:00 to Bol-y-don ferry<sup>14</sup> (sending John Haughton forward to Chester). The wind was now higher, and more ahead of us, blowing full in my swollen face. We overfilled the small old boat, so that

*Crepuit sub pondere cymba*  
*Futilis, et multam accepit rimosa paludem.*<sup>15</sup>

We flew on the wings of the wind, till we got to the channel. There the motion was so violent that my young horse began prancing, and striving to take the water. I held him with the little strength I had; but an oar lying between us, I had no firm footing, and could not command him at arms' length. His unruliness frightened the other horse, who began kicking, and struck our brother down. I saw the danger that, if my horse got his foot over the boat, it must upset, and had no strength to hinder it. It came into my mind, "Hath God brought me through the sea to

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<sup>8</sup>Luke 14:15–24.

<sup>9</sup>See Rev. 20:11.

<sup>10</sup>See Rom. 5:5.

<sup>11</sup>John Haughton (d. 1781), a weaver in Chinley End, Derbyshire, became one of JW's early traveling lay preachers. He had accompanied CW to Ireland.

<sup>12</sup>I.e., Holyhead.

<sup>13</sup>William Jones, of Trefollwyn Blas, which is 1 mile west of Rhosmeirch; he was a convert of Howell Harris and traveled as a lay preacher around Angelsey.

<sup>14</sup>Departed from present village of Port Dinorwic, Caernarfonshire. CW spells "Baladon." Also called "Moel-y-don."

<sup>15</sup>CW's somewhat faulty memory of Virgil, *Aeneid*, vi.413–14: "*Gemuit sub pondere cymba sutilis, et multam accepit rimosa paludem.*" CW's version can be translated: "The leaky boat creaked beneath the weight and, full of cracks, took on board much swamp water."

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be drowned here?" Looked up, and in that moment the horse stood still, and continued so till we reached the shore.

Went early to bed at Caernarfon,<sup>16</sup> and got a little rest.

**Wednesday, March 23.** Overruled, by brother Jones, not to set out till past 7:00. The continual rain and sharp wind were full in my teeth. I rode all day in great misery, and had a restless, painful night at Tan-y-bwlth.<sup>17</sup>

**Thursday, March 24.** Resolved to push for Garth, finding my strength would never hold out [2:340] for three more days' riding. At 5:00 set out in hard rain, which continued all day. We went through perils of waters. I was quite gone when we came at night to a little village. There was no fire in the poor hut. A brother supplied us with some, nailed up our window, and helped us to bed. Had no more rest than the night before.

**Friday, March 25.** Took horse again at 5:00, the rain attending us still. At 8:00 comforted by the sight of Mr. [Edward] Phillips at Llanidloes. The weather grew more severe. The violent wind drove the hard rain full in our faces. I rode till I could ride no more, walked the last hour, and by 5:00 dropped down at Garth. All ran to nurse me. I got a little refreshment, and at 7:00 made a feeble attempt to preach. They quickly put me to bed. Had a terrible night, worse than ever.

**Saturday, March 26,** and the five following days, was exercised with strong pain, notwithstanding all the means used to remove it. My short intervals were filled up with conference, prayer, and singing.

**April 1748**

**Sunday, April 3.** Through the divine blessing on the tender care of my friends, I recovered so much strength that I read prayers, and gave the sacrament to the family. [[At night my dearest Sally,<sup>1</sup> like my guardian angel attended me. In the loving openness of my heart, without premeditation I asked her if she could trust herself with me for life, and with a noble simplicity she readily answered me she could.]]

**Monday, April 4.** [[Frightened at what I had said last night, I condemned my own rashness and almost wished I had never discovered myself.]]

Mrs. Gwynne carried me out in her chair, and I found my strength sensibly return.<sup>2</sup>

**Tuesday, April 5.** She drove me to Builth. Took horse at 3:00. Mr. Gwynne and Miss Sally accompanied me the first hour. Then I rode on alone, weary, but supported. My accommodations at my inn were none the best. I lay restless till midnight, expecting to return, as I had promised in case of a relapse. But toward the morning [2:341] I dropped asleep, and woke

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<sup>16</sup>CW spells "Caernarvon."

<sup>17</sup>This is likely the time when CW wrote the hymn titled "Desiring Death," in MS Miscellaneous Hymns, 24–25.

<sup>1</sup>Sarah ("Sally") Gwynne (1726–1822), whom CW will marry a year later (see Apr. 8, 1749 entry).

<sup>2</sup>Sarah (Evans) Gwynne (1695–1770), wife of Marmaduke and mother of Sarah Jr.

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much refreshed at 5:00.

**Saturday, April [9].**<sup>3</sup> In the evening, with God's evident help, I came safe to the Foundery.

**Easter Day, April 10.** Joined my brethren on this and the seven following days, to show forth the Lord's death, and he never once sent us empty away.<sup>4</sup>

Dined at Counsellor Glanville's, a brand lately plucked out of the fire.<sup>5</sup>

**Thursday, April 14.** Met another poor publican, Colonel Gumley, who has just now entered the kingdom and is brimful of his first love.<sup>6</sup>

**Saturday, April 16.** Gave the sacrament to our sister King, inexpressibly happy at the approach of death.<sup>7</sup>

**Tuesday, April 19.** I had communicated my embryo intentions to my brother while in Ireland, which he neither opposed nor much encouraged. It was then a distant first thought, not likely ever to come to a proposal, as I had not given the least hint either to Miss Gwynne or the family. Today I rode over to Shoreham and told Mr. [Vincent] Perronet all my heart. I have always had a fear, but no *thought*, of marrying for many years past, even from my first preaching the gospel. But within this twelvemonth that thought has forced itself in, "How know I whether it be best for me to marry or no?" Certainly better now than later. And if not now, what security that I shall not then? It should be now, or not at all.

Mr. Perronet encouraged me to pray and wait for a providential opening. I expressed the various searchings of my heart in many hymns on the important occasion.<sup>8</sup>

**Friday, April 22.** Mrs. Colvill was at the [West Street] chapel.<sup>9</sup> I discoursed on the Pharisee and publican.<sup>10</sup> The divine power and blessing made the word effectual, and broke down all before it.

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<sup>3</sup>Orig., "April 8"; an error.

<sup>4</sup>See Matt. 15:32; Mark 8:3.

<sup>5</sup>William Glanville Esq. (c. 1651–1748), of Plough Court, Fetter Lane, London, had become a serious Christian months earlier through reading JW's *Earnest Appeal*; see JW, *Journal*, Jan. 6, 1748, *Works* 20:204. CW spells "Glanvil."

<sup>6</sup>Colonel Samuel Gumley (d. 1763), of Chertsey. Gumley was converted on this very day, under the preaching of George Whitefield, at the London house of Lady Huntingdon.

<sup>7</sup>Elizabeth King appears as a married woman in the Foundery Band Lists (1742–46); and a woman of this name was buried in London on Apr. 30, 1748.

<sup>8</sup>These hymns survive in two manuscript notebooks: MS Courtship and MS Deliberative Hymns.

<sup>9</sup>Martha (Meighen) Colvill (1711–87) was a daughter (by birth or adoption) of Francis Meighen (1674–1742) and Catherine (Lander) Meighen (d. 1753). She married Robert Colvill (1702–49) around 1748 and was soon left his (wealthy) widow. On Sept. 10, 1751 Martha would remarry, to Samuel Gumley. See *WHS* 59 (2013): 3–11.

<sup>10</sup>Luke 18:9–14.

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**Wednesday, April 27.** My text was “There be [2:342] many that say, Who will show us good? ....”<sup>11</sup> The Lord was mightily present in his awakening power.

**Friday, April 29.** Mrs. [Priscilla] Rich carried me to Dr. Pepusch,<sup>12</sup> whose music entertained us much and his conversation more.

**May 1748**

**Sunday, May 1.** The cup of blessing was the communication of his blood, the bread broken of his body, to his disciples at the [West Street] chapel.<sup>1</sup>

**Thursday, May 5.** Baptized Elizabeth Cart in the river at Cowley,<sup>2</sup> and she washed away all her sin and sorrow.<sup>3</sup>

**Tuesday, May 10.** Came to Bristol, bruised a little with a fall.

**Friday, May 20.** At the watchnight I discoursed on Jacob wrestling with the angel and many were stirred up to lay hold on the Lord, like him.<sup>4</sup>

**Sunday, May 22.** The whole multitude wept to hear how Jesus loved them, while I urged his passionate question, “Is it nothing to you, all ye that pass by?”<sup>5</sup>

**Thursday, afternoon, May 26.** Set out for London, and on Saturday reached it. The first good news I heard from Mrs. Boulton,<sup>6</sup> that our old friend Mrs. [Jane] Sparrow is at last departed in the Lord.

**Tuesday, May 31.** Attended her mortal part to the grave.

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<sup>11</sup>Ps. 4:6ff.

<sup>12</sup>John Christopher Pepusch (1667–1752), organist at Charterhouse school in London.

<sup>1</sup>See 1 Cor. 10:16.

<sup>2</sup>Cowley, Middlesex.

<sup>3</sup>Elizabeth Smith (c. 1700–1773) and Joseph Cart (1693–1720), Quakers, were married in London in 1717. Joseph died three years later and Elizabeth remained a widow the remainder of her life. She was drawn to the preaching of Whitefield in the early Methodist revival, but soon sided with the Wesley brothers. She later assisted in running the Foundery.

<sup>4</sup>Gen. 32:24–31.

<sup>5</sup>Lam. 1:12.

<sup>6</sup>John Boulton (d. 1771) was a director of the Pepper Warehouse belonging to the East India Company. He and his wife Susanna (Davis) Boulton resided in Christopher’s Alley, Upper Moorfields. Susanna appears in the Foundery Band Lists (1742–46) as a married woman with the surname spelled “Bolt” (JW also uses this spelling), but we follow the spelling used by both Boultons in their wills. When in London, CW often stayed with or received mail through the Boultons. And he preached the funeral sermon for John on Nov. 12, 1771; see *Westminster Journal and London Political Miscellany* (Nov. 9–16, 1771).

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**June 1748**

**Sunday, June 5.** Fulfilled my friend's last request, by preaching her funeral sermon, on Micah 7:8, "Rejoice not against me, O mine enemy. When I fall, I shall arise. When I sit in darkness, the Lord shall be a light unto me." I spoke as freely of her faults as virtues—her love of the world, and final victory over it. The hearers appeared deeply affected.

**Friday, June 10.** Returned to Bristol.

**Sunday, June 12.** Preached to several thousands in the Orchard, with great strength, both of body and spirit. [2:343]

**Thursday, June 16.** Visited the brethren in Cardiff, Llanmaes,<sup>1</sup> Cowbridge, etc., and exhorted them to strengthen the things that remain.<sup>2</sup>

**Monday, June 20.** Returned with Kitty Jones to Bristol.<sup>3</sup> Mr. [Marmaduke] Gwynne and Miss Sally were got there a little before me. Till,

**Saturday, June 26.** Carried them to see my Christian friends, my principal ones especially at Kingswood. [[Today I asked and obtained permission to speak to her mother.]]

**Sunday, June 27.** In the word, and sacrament, and lovefeast, the Lord made our souls as a watered garden.

**Tuesday, June 29.** Quite spent with examining the classes, I was much revived in singing with Miss [Susanna] Burdock and Sally.

**Thursday, June 30.** Comforted in all our trials by that blessed promise, "The third part I will bring through the fire."<sup>4</sup>

Set out with Mr. Gwynne and his daughter to visit the church in London. Preached at Bath with great liberty, and carried away our faithful sister Naylor.

**July 1748**

**Saturday, July 2.** Lodged my fellow travellers in the Foundry.

**Sunday, July 3.** Took the field, and was not sent a warfare on my own cost. At the chapel preached, "I reckon the suffering of the present time not worthy to be compared ...."<sup>1</sup> Both now and at night we had a great spirit of contrition among us.

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<sup>1</sup>CW spells "Lanmase."

<sup>2</sup>Rev. 3:2–3.

<sup>3</sup>Catherine ("Kitty") Jones (b. 1735), daughter of Robert and Mary, of Fonmon Castle.

<sup>4</sup>Zech. 13:9.

<sup>1</sup>Rom. 8:18.



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**Tuesday, July 5.** Carried my guests to Mrs. Blackwell<sup>2</sup> and Dewell at Lewisham,<sup>3</sup> and thence to my most worthy friend in Shoreham.<sup>4</sup>

**Friday, July 15.** My text at the watchnight was, “I say unto all, Watch!”<sup>5</sup> Great reverence we felt in the presence of our Lord.

**Monday, July 18.** Baptized good old Mrs. Pearce by immersion, at 4:00 in the morning.<sup>6</sup>  
[2:344]

**Tuesday, July 19.** Rose at 3:00, and called our friends. The Lord sent us a great deliverance, as a token for good. Mary Naylor had shut the door of their bed-chamber, and left the key in the inside. Sally wanted something out which Mary Naylor would have put her by; but on Sally’s still desiring it, she called the man to break open the door. He said he would go see his horses, and come. She insisted upon his doing it just then, which he did, and they found the sheet on fire, through Molly’s dropping the snuff of a candle. Had the man stayed, the whole Foundery might have been in a flame.

Set out at 4:00 with Mr. Gwynne and Sally. At 11:00, in Windsor, my horse threw me with violence over his head. My companion fell upon me. The guardian angels bore us in their hands, so that neither was hurt. Saw the castle and palace with insensibility. No sight, we trust, will satisfy us but that of Moses from Mount Pisgah.<sup>7</sup> By 7:00 came to Reading, and preached in great bodily weakness.

**Wednesday, July 20.** My old desire of escaping out of life possessed me all day. By 3:00 we got to Oxford. Walked about the colleges. Met a poor servitor of St. John’s, James Rouquet, who is not ashamed to confess Christ before men.<sup>8</sup> Preached in the evening on “Ye are my

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<sup>2</sup>Elizabeth (Mowland) Blackwell, Ebenezer Blackwell’s first wife, and a close friend of Hannah Dewell. The Blackwells were currently in process of moving together with Dewell, in shared ownership of the Limes in Lewisham (Jane Sparrow’s former home). When Elizabeth died on Mar. 27, 1772, CW composed an extended funeral hymn: MS Death of Elizabeth Blackwell.

<sup>3</sup>Hannah Dewell (1700–62) was born in Kidderminster, to a family of some means, and never married (CW spells “Dewal”). She settled in Lewisham, Kent, and joined the Methodist society there, where she became friends with Jane (Kemp) Sparrow and Elizabeth (Molland) Blackwell. When Sparrow died in 1748, Dewell bought her home, The Limes, in Lewisham. The following year Ebenezer and Elizabeth Blackwell joined in ownership of the house and they lived together until Dewell’s death. See CW’s funeral hymn, MS Death of Hannah Dewal.

<sup>4</sup>Rev. Vincent Perronet.

<sup>5</sup>Mark 13:37.

<sup>6</sup>Possibly Rebecca Pearce, who appears as a married woman in the Foundery Band Lists (1742–46).

<sup>7</sup>See Deut. 34:1–4.

<sup>8</sup>James Rouquet (1730–76) was a descendant of Huguenot refugees to England. He was converted to Methodism through Whitefield’s influence and matriculated at St. John’s College, Oxford, in 1748. He was appointed by JW as Master of Kingswood School between 1751 and

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witnesses,”<sup>9</sup> and lodged with our old friend Mr. [William] Evans.

**Thursday, July 21.** Gave the sacrament to Mrs. Neal (one who received the atonement in reading my sermon before the University<sup>10</sup>), and had sweet fellowship with our Lord and his members.

**Friday, July 22.** At 5:00 took horse with Mr. Gwynne, Sally, and Mrs. [Susanna] Boulton. Reached Cirencester before 2:00. Preached in a yard from “The redeemed of the Lord shall return, and come with songs . . .”<sup>11</sup> I was pierced through with desires of complete redemption, which broke out in tears and words that affected them in like manner. I could gladly [2:345] have dropped the body in that hour.

**Saturday, July 23.** Set out at half-hour past 4:00. Rode four miles, when Mrs. Boulton’s horse, walking on the plainest ground, fell and broke her arm. We carried her to an inn just by, and sent J. Griffith back for a surgeon. By 7:00 we left her, her arm set and her mind stayed on Christ, and came to Bristol in the cool of the evening.

**Sunday, July 24.** Rose from my boards at 4:00. Carried Sally to Kingswood. Began the sacrament with fervent prayer and many tears, which almost hindered my reading the service. Broke out into prayer again and again. Our hearts were all as melting wax. I administered to our sisters Robertson and [Sarah] Rutter—sorely bruised by an overturn into a pit, yet they would not lose the sacrament.

Received letters from Cork loudly calling me thither.<sup>12</sup> My heart was at once made willing, and I had my commission. Joined in earnest prayer for success. Preached a third and a fourth time in the shell of our house,<sup>13</sup> with supernatural strength.

**Tuesday, July 26.** Dined at the Fishponds with faithful Felix Farley. At night I preached in the Orchard to many serious souls. There was a coach with Mrs. Knight,<sup>14</sup> Miss Cheyne,<sup>15</sup> Mr.

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1754. He was ordained deacon in 1754, and served as curate of Sandhurst briefly. He then took a short stint as a Methodist traveling preacher (appearing only in the 1755 Minutes; see *Works*, 10:273). Rouquet was finally ordained priest in 1765, and served parishes in and around Bristol the remainder of his life.

<sup>9</sup>Isa. 43:10.

<sup>10</sup>CW, *A Sermon Preached on April 4, 1742 before the University of Oxford* (London: Strahan, 1742). This is the sermon “Awake Thou that Sleepest.”

<sup>11</sup>Isa. 35:1–10.

<sup>12</sup>These letters are not known to survive.

<sup>13</sup>The preaching room at the Horsefair was in the midst of remodeling to enlarge it.

<sup>14</sup>Anne (Robinson) Knight (1710–86) was the daughter of William Robinson (1677–1720) of Rokeby, sister of Richard Robinson (CW’s classmate at Westminster and Christ Church), and widow of Robert Knight (d. 1744), cashier of the South Sea Company.

<sup>15</sup>Likely Margaret Cheyne, daughter of Dr. George Cheyne (d. 1743), of Bath.

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Edwin,<sup>16</sup> and Sir William Bunbury.<sup>17</sup> The latter challenged me for his old school-fellow, in the face of the sun, and was not ashamed to join heartily in our hymns.<sup>18</sup>

**Wednesday, July 27.** They attended again, while I expounded the good Samaritan.<sup>19</sup>

**Thursday, July 28.** Waited upon Miss Cheyne first, and then on Mrs. Knight, at the Wells.<sup>20</sup> Both assented to the truth. The latter sent for her brother, my old friend Robinson of Christ Church.<sup>21</sup> He called me to defend the lay preachers, and would fain have brought me to confess we *sent* them. I declared the matter of fact, that when God had sent anyone forth, and owned him by repeated conversions, then we durst not reject him. He talked with great candour, and remains of his [2:346] old kindness for me.

**Friday, July 29.** Preached over against the assembly room to the most polite audience I have ever been honoured with. The ladies in their coaches were surprisingly patient, while I told them “one thing is needful.”<sup>22</sup> A servant who behaved rudely, Sir William Bunbury seized and delivered over to a constable. Some young officers made a disturbance, whom I rebuked and silenced.

Ran with fresh strength to the shell of our room, and continued preaching, singing, rejoicing till midnight.

**Sunday, July 31.** Baptized a woman in Kingswood, and trembled at the descent of the Holy Ghost.<sup>23</sup> All present were more or less sensible of it, especially the person baptized. Joined in the Lord’s Supper, and had his never-failing presence. So again at our first lovefeast in the New Room.<sup>24</sup> For two hours we were sensible of Christ in the midst.

**August 1748**

**Monday, August 1.** Set out at 5:00 for Garth. Lodged at Abergavenny.

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<sup>16</sup>Charles Edwin (1699–1756), MP for Glamorgan, 1747–56.

<sup>17</sup>Sir William Bunbury (c. 1710–64), 5th baronet, of Bunbury, vicar of Mildenhall, Suffolk.

<sup>18</sup>There is no record of Bunbury attending Westminster or Oxford. But Bunbury matriculated Cambridge in 1727, the same year as CW’s Westminster classmate Hervey Degge (1709–33). CW likely means that Bunbury noted this connection.

<sup>19</sup>Luke 10:29–37.

<sup>20</sup>Hotwells, Somerset, about 1 mile west of Bristol, which had become a favoured gathering place for the gentry for the summer social season.

<sup>21</sup>Richard Robinson (1709–94) was currently rector of Etton, Yorkshire, and prebendary of York Cathedral.

<sup>22</sup>Luke 10:42.

<sup>23</sup>See Luke 3:32.

<sup>24</sup>With the remodelling complete, CW from this point refers to it as the “New Room.”

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**Tuesday, August 2.** In the afternoon Mrs. [Sarah] Gwynne received us with a cordial welcome.

**Thursday, August 4.** Rode with Sally to the Wells,<sup>1</sup> and preached in their assembly room to the gentry, clergy, and others, inviting them to the superlative happiness of religion.

**Sunday, August 7.** Maesmynis church being too narrow, I preached in the churchyard the promised Spirit of grace and supplication.<sup>2</sup> His comforts refreshed our souls, and more abundantly still in the sacrament that followed.

**Monday, August 8.** Mr. Gwynne, with Miss Sally and Betsy,<sup>3</sup> accompanied me as far as Llanidloes. I preached with great enlargement. The poor people received the word with tears of joy. Parted with tears from my dearest friends, and rode on with Mr. [Edward] Phillips to Machynlleth.

**Tuesday, August 9.** From 3:00 in the morning till 8:00 at night on the road. Had sweet fellowship with my friends in prayer.

**Wednesday, August 10.** Left Caernarfon at 5:00. Found the boat just going off, full of unruly oxen. Waited [2:347] an hour for its return, which I passed in earnest prayer for my friends.

Near 7:00 landed in a strange, intricate country, where I could procure no guide, or direction, as often as I lost my way. At last providence sent me one that understood English and rode several miles out of his way, to put me in mine. I gave him some advice and books, both [of] which he thankfully received.

I continued in the right road while it was impossible to get out of it, and no longer. Blundered on through the sands, especially some near the town, where, if the sea had been out, I should have ended all my journeys. Passed by several ships, and [a]cross the channels, till my horse, without my care or counsel, brought me to Holyhead soon after 2:00.

Here I heard the boat went off at 10:00 this morning. It was a trial of my patience, and I almost wished I had stayed with my friends, rather than wait here till Saturday, the soonest that any packet can go. The boats are all on the other side.

I quickly saw God's design. He has found me time for retirement, in which I can both write and pray for those who are to me as my own soul.

The hour of prayer I passed among the rocks, presenting my friends at the throne. Towards 6:00 I sunk to sleep, the body pressing down the soul; but still my fellowship with them was not interrupted. A few neighbours joined us at my private lodgings, in family prayer.

**Thursday, August 11.** Passed the day in my prophet's chamber,<sup>4</sup> or closet,<sup>5</sup> among the rocks. Only in the evening I walked up the mountain, and wandered in a wilderness of rocks with

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<sup>1</sup>Llandrindod Wells, a popular spa town.

<sup>2</sup>Zech. 12:10.

<sup>3</sup>Elizabeth ("Betsy") Gwynne (1730–95), younger sister of Sally and future wife of James Waller.

<sup>4</sup>See 2 Kings 4:10.

<sup>5</sup>See Matt. 6:6.

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my inseparable friends.

**Friday, August 12**, was another solid day which I spent in retirement, only allowing half an hour after public worship for Mr. [Thomas] Ellis the minister, in provoking each other to love and good works.<sup>6</sup> [2:348]

**Saturday, August 13**. Took boat in a very rough sea, which washed us thoroughly while toiling to come up with the vessel. At 11:00 we set sail. God sent us a wind out of his treasury,<sup>7</sup> the fairest we could have, which by 9:00 brought us smoothly and safely into Dublin Bay.

**Sunday, August 14**. At 5:00 walked to the preaching room, and gave them a welcome word of exhortation. Great was our rejoicing, and mutual faith, and fellowship in the Spirit.

Met them again, and my brother, at St. Patrick's. The number of communicants was much increased since my departure. Preached in our garden at 2:00. The power of the Lord was present as at the beginning. Met all the lively society, to our mutual consolation—consolation which words cannot express.

Mr. Lunell could not be satisfied without my lodging under his roof.<sup>8</sup> I mourned with him that mourned under Ezekiel's trial: "Son of man, behold, I take away the desire of thine eyes with a stroke."<sup>9</sup> She died triumphant.<sup>10</sup> He lost his Benjamin too; the child accompanying the mother to paradise.

**Tuesday, August 16**. Reproved the slack, and encouraged the orderly walkers. Their prayers, I trust, will follow me to Cork.

**Wednesday, August 17**. Set out in the hard rain. My horse, the roughest I ever rode, shook all the strength out of me before I got to Tyrrellspass. There our sister [Anne] Fouace<sup>11</sup> and the rest received me right gladly. Preached on the blood of sprinkling,<sup>12</sup> and met the poor neglected society. Our preachers had all left them for Cork, where is now the widest door.

**Thursday, August 18**. Rode to Ballyboy,<sup>13</sup> where an hospitable Quaker received us with open arms.<sup>14</sup> Broke through my great reluctance and preached, in his house, the atoning Lamb of God.<sup>15</sup> He opened my mouth, and the hearers' hearts.

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<sup>6</sup>See Heb. 10:24.

<sup>7</sup>See Ps. 135:7.

<sup>8</sup>William Lunell (1699–1774), son of a Huguenot refugee, became a wealthy cloth merchant (and sometimes banker) in Dublin. He lived in a large house at 15 Francis Street. He was apparently won for Methodism by Thomas Williams in early 1747.

<sup>9</sup>Ezek. 24:16.

<sup>10</sup>William's second wife, Anne (Gratton) Lunell, had just died in childbirth. CW composed an epitaph that he sent in a letter to Lunell on Aug. 21.

<sup>11</sup>This time CW spells "Fourer."

<sup>12</sup>Heb. 12:24.

<sup>13</sup>CW spells "Balliboy."

<sup>14</sup>His name was apparently Mr. Tubbs; see JW to CW, May 3–10, 1749.

<sup>15</sup>John 1:29.

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[2:349]

**Friday, August 19.** It rained the whole day. The road was one continued quagmire. Made an hard shift to reach Roscrea by 10:00. Some of the town caught me leaving it, and demanded their debt of the gospel. A mixed crowd of papists and Protestants filled the market house. I called them (never with more authority) to Jesus Christ. Then rode on in the rain, rejoicing with my drooping companion. By 9:00 we hardly reached Cashel.

Here we met with poor entertainment, having no way to dry our clothes. I put off my great coat and got a little sleep.

**Saturday, August 20.** Rose cheerfully between 2:00 and 3:00. Put on my clothes, wet and weighty enough. Had some intervals of fair weather, and got by 7:00 in the evening to Cork. I was wishing for rest at some private house when Mr. Harrison, the printer, came and invited me to his.<sup>16</sup> I took a sweat, and rose at my usual time.

**Sunday, August 21.** At 5:00 Found a congregation of some thousands on the marsh,<sup>17</sup> and spoke from Luke, “Thus it is written, and thus it behoved Christ to suffer ....”<sup>18</sup> They devoured every word with an eagerness beyond description. I advised them all to go to their several places of worship, and went myself to Christ Church. It is the largest church in Cork, yet quite full. The communion kept us till near 10:00.

Much good has been done already in this place. Outward wickedness has disappeared, outward religion succeeded. Swearing is seldom heard in the streets. The churches and altars are crowded, to the astonishment of our adversaries. Yet some of our clergy and all the Catholic priests take wretched pains to hinder their people from hearing us.

At 5:00 took the field again, but such a sight I have rarely seen! Thousands and thousands had been waiting some hours, Protestants and [2:350] papists, high and low. The Lord endued my soul, and body also, with much strength to enforce the faithful saying “that Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners.”<sup>19</sup> I cried after them for an hour, to the utmost extent of my voice, yet without hoarseness or weariness. The Lord, I believe, hath much people in this city.<sup>20</sup> Two hundred are already joined in a society.

**Monday, August 22.** The congregation was on the marsh before me, near three thousand loving, listening, unawakened souls, whom I urged to repent, that their sins might be blotted out.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>16</sup>George Harrison initially welcomed Methodist efforts in Cork, but by the end of 1749 he had turned against them; see Simon Lewis, “‘Five pounds for a swadler’s head’: the Cork anti-Methodist riots of 1749–50,” *Historical Research* 94 (2021): 51–72.

<sup>17</sup>Hammond’s Marsh, an open area, which four years later became the site of a Methodist chapel.

<sup>18</sup>Luke 24:46.

<sup>19</sup>1 Tim. 1:15.

<sup>20</sup>See Acts 18:10.

<sup>21</sup>Acts 3:19.

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At present we pass through honour and good report. The chief persons of the town favour us. No wonder then that the common people are quiet. We pass and repass the streets, pursued by their blessings only. The same favourable inclination is all round the country. Wherever we go, they receive us as angels of God.<sup>22</sup> Were this to last, I would escape for my life to America.

Many are turned from their outward sins, and if they went no farther the saints of the world would like them well enough. When the power of godliness, the forgiveness of sins, the gift of the Holy Ghost, is preached, many will fall off. But as yet the work is very superficial. Not one justified person have I yet found.

Passing by the marsh at 5:00 I saw hundreds waiting there for the word and was told it was their custom from the beginning, and that last Sunday many were there from 1:00 in the morning.

I declared, with divine assistance, “one thing is needful.”<sup>23</sup> The sin-convincing Spirit was present. He struck the hard rock, and the waters gushed out.<sup>24</sup> The assizes brought many strangers. I did not spare them, and they bore my plainness of speech. Several of the better sort, particularly two justices, thanked and wished me success. [2:351]

**Tuesday, August 23.** Laboured to convince my hearers of unbelief. More and more are awakening out of sleep.<sup>25</sup>

In the evening near a dozen clergymen attended. I would all our brethren would do us the same justice of hearing before they judge us.

**Wednesday, August 24.** By a clergyman’s advice, I went to wait on the bishop.<sup>26</sup> He was not at his palace. The housekeeper begged a few words with me. She trembled exceedingly and struggled to speak, and at last told me her whole life. From twelve years old she had had violent conflicts with the old murderer [Satan]. She seemed a chosen vessel, one who, like Obadiah, had served God from her youth.<sup>27</sup> I told her what she wanted, even faith and forgiveness. She received my saying with all readiness of mind, begged me to let her have the prayer I used for her, wept and rejoiced, and sent me away with many thanks and blessings.

In the evening expounded blind Bartimeus to as genteel an audience as I have ever seen.<sup>28</sup> Several ministers of all denominations, the governor’s lady,<sup>29</sup> and many strangers attended out of various motives. The word did not return void. Some of the clergy acknowledged it was the truth.

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<sup>22</sup>See Gal. 4:14.

<sup>23</sup>Luke 10:42.

<sup>24</sup>See Ps. 78:20.

<sup>25</sup>See Eph. 5:14.

<sup>26</sup>Jemmett Browne (1702–82) was Bishop of Cork at this time.

<sup>27</sup>See 1 Kings 18:12.

<sup>28</sup>Mark 10:46–52.

<sup>29</sup>The “governor” was the British garrison in Cork; at this time, Gervase Parker (1695–1750).

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I designed to have met about two hundred who have given in their names for the society, but such multitudes thronged into the playhouse that it occasioned great confusion. I perceived it was impractical, as yet, to have a regular society.

**Thursday, August 25.** Here is indeed an open door, such as was never set before me till now. Even at Newcastle the awakening was not so general. The congregation last Sunday was computed above ten thousand. As yet there is no *open* opposition, though the people have had the word two months. Nay, it is not impossible but their love may last two months [2:352] longer, before any number of them rise to tear us in pieces.

Met a neighbouring justice and had much serious conversation with him. He seems to have a great kindness for religion, and determined to use all his interest to promote it.

For an hour and half continued calling the poor blind beggars to Jesus.<sup>30</sup> They begin to cry after him on every side, and we must expect to be rebuked for it.

**Friday, August 26.** Spoke severally with the candidates for a society. All seem awakened, none justified. But who hath despised the day of small things?<sup>31</sup> This is, I doubt not, the seed of a glorious church.

Waited on the bishop at Riverstown, and was received with great affability by himself and family. After dinner rode back to Cork.

Drank tea with some well-disposed Quakers, and borrowed a volume of their dying sayings<sup>32</sup>—a standing testimony that the life and power of God was with them at the beginning, as it might [be] again were they humble enough to confess their want.

**Saturday, August 27.** Had much discourse with Mr. Cottrell, a sensible, pious clergyman, one after my own heart in his love to our desolate Mother.<sup>33</sup> Clear in the doctrine of faith. He gave me a delightful account of the bishop. Yet I do not find it good for me to be countenanced by my superiors. It is a snare and burden to my soul. All day long I was bowed down by my late conversation, and stripped of every good desire, especially of preaching. Sometimes our waiting on great men *may* do good, or prevent evil. But how dangerous the experiment! How apt to weaken our hands, and betray us into an undue deference and respect of persons! The Lord send to them by whom [2:353] he will send. But hide me still in disgrace or obscurity.

Set upon in the street by a Romish priest for words which, *he was told*, one of our preachers spoke against him. I tried to undeceive him, but he was too loud, and too fond of showing his learning (as far as Latin went), to hear reason. However we parted without coming to blows.

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<sup>30</sup>Mark 10:46–52.

<sup>31</sup>See Zech. 4:10.

<sup>32</sup>One of the series titled *Piety Promoted: in a Collection of Dying Sayings of many of the People called Quakers*. The first three slim volumes were published by John Tomkins between 1701 and 1706. Four more volumes were added by other editors by 1736.

<sup>33</sup>Rev. Edward Cottrell (b. c. 1709; BA, Trinity College Dublin, 1729) was rector of Marmullane, just outside of Cork; in Crookshank, *Ireland*, 37.



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**Sunday, August 28.** From early sacrament I went to Mr. H—, an *honest attorney*, and with him to Passage, five miles from Cork. There Justice P— received us,<sup>34</sup> and used all his authority with others to do the same. He sent word to the Romish priest that, if he forbade his people hearing me, he would shut up his mass-house and send him to gaol for one year at least. Several of the poor Romans ventured to come, after the justice had assured them he would himself take off the curse their priest had laid upon them. I exhorted all alike to repentance toward God and faith in Jesus Christ,<sup>35</sup> and staked my own salvation upon it that he who believes, whether papist or Protestant, shall be saved.

Hastened back to the marsh. On seeing the multitudes, I thought on that of Prior,

Then (baseness of mankind!) then of all these  
Whom my dilated eye with labour sees.<sup>36</sup>

How few will own God's messengers when the stream turns! Now they all received me with inexpressible eagerness. I discoursed on the good Samaritan,<sup>37</sup> and took occasion to vindicate the Methodists from that foulest slander—that they rail against the clergy. I enlarged on the respect due to them, prayed particularly for the bishop, and laid it on their consciences to make mention of them in all their prayers.

I had appointed part of the society to meet me in a private house. But the people so crowded in [that] there was no room for me. [2:354] Their love at present as effectually prevents our assembling as their hatred will by and by.

**Tuesday, August 30.** Mr. Stockdale drove me to Rathcormack.<sup>38</sup> Mr. Lloyd, the minister, offered me his church;<sup>39</sup> but agreed with me that I had better preach out, or I should lose all the papists. They flocked with the Protestants to the market house, where I strongly urged them to repentance and the obedience of faith.<sup>40</sup> The great man of the place and his lady employ all their authority to promote true vital Christianity.<sup>41</sup> The Romish priest is so intimidated that he dares not forbid his people hearing us. Were every magistrate in Ireland like this, what a multitude of

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<sup>34</sup>Identified as Justice Parsons in Crookshank, *Ireland*, 38.

<sup>35</sup>Acts 20:21.

<sup>36</sup>Matthew Prior, "Solomon," 335–36, *Poems on Several* (London: Johnson, 1720), 430.

<sup>37</sup>Luke 10:29–37.

<sup>38</sup>John Stockdale, a candle maker in Cork, remained active in Methodism. CW spells "Rathcormuck."

<sup>39</sup>Richard Lloyd (1699–1775; BA, Trinity College Dublin, 1720) was current rector of Rathcormack. See W. M. Brady, *Clerical and Parochial Records of Cork, Cloyne, and Ross* (London: Longman, et al., 1864), 2:371–72.

<sup>40</sup>Acts 20:21.

<sup>41</sup>Redmond Barry (1696–1750) was the current heir of the Barry estate in Rathcormack.

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poor Catholics might be turned from darkness to light!<sup>42</sup>

**Wednesday, August 31.** In conference, I found one who had received forgiveness in the sacrament. Two or three more have been justified under the word. Another last Monday.

Passed an useful hour with Mr. [Edward] Cottrell. He rejoiced at my having preached in his parish last Sunday. If our brethren were like-minded, how might their hands be strengthened by us! But we must have patience, as he observed, till the thing speaks itself and, the mist of prejudice being removed, they see clearly that all our desire is the salvation of souls and the establishment of the Church of England.

Talked with a poor innocent girl, who constantly hears the word, but in great fear of the priest. I hope in a little time she will be bold to judge for herself, and save her own soul, without asking any man's leave.

Invited many sinners at the marsh to him who has promised them the rest of pardon, holiness, heaven.<sup>43</sup> They seem to taste the *good* word. One told me after it that from the time I spoke to her at the palace she had expected the blessing every moment, and was sure beyond the possibility [2:355] of a doubt that she should have it. "I seem," said she, "to be laying hold on Christ continually. I am so light, so happy, as I never was before. I waked, two nights ago, in such rapture of joy that I thought, 'Surely this is the peace they preach.' It has continued ever since. My eyes are opened. I see all things in a new light. I rejoice always." Is not this the language of faith, the cry of a new-born soul? But prayed over her that the Lord might confirm it, and was greatly comforted with her consolations.

**September 1748**

**Thursday, September 1.** I met the infant society for the first time in an old playhouse. Several were there from 2:00 in the morning. One received forgiveness in Jonathan Reeves's first prayer. Our Lord's presence consecrated the place. I explained the nature of Christian fellowship. God knit our hearts together in the desire of knowing him.

The people are now ripe for the gospel, which I therefore preached from Isaiah 35, to the poor hungry mourners. Heard that one received the atonement on Monday. Behold, a troop cometh!<sup>1</sup> The angel is come down, the water is troubled, and many are just stepping into the pool.<sup>2</sup>

Spoke with some who told me they had wronged their neighbours in time past, and now their conscience will not let them rest till they have made restitution. I bade them tell the persons injured it was this preaching compelled them to do justice.

One poor wretch told me, before his wife, that he had lived in drunkenness, adultery, and all the works of the devil for twenty-one years; had beat her every day of that time, and never had any remorse till he heard us; but now he goes constantly to church, behaves lovingly to his

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<sup>42</sup>See Acts 26:18.

<sup>43</sup>Likely speaking on Matt. 11:28–30.

<sup>1</sup>See Gen. 30:11.

<sup>2</sup>See John 5:4.

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wife, abhors the thing that is evil, especially his old sins. This is one instance out of many.

[2:356]

An alderman heard me tonight in a covered chair. Met part of the society, who are fully convinced that without present forgiveness they cannot be saved.

Called on Mr. Cottrell, who told me he had had a great battle with his brethren, who confidently averred, "affidavit was made of that wicked brother of mine running away with another man's wife at Athlone." I rejoiced at the report, as a sign that the god of this world is alarmed for his kingdom in danger. How will he and his servants rage by and by! Hitherto they seem asleep, but the witnesses of Jesus are rising to rouse them.

Walking to the marsh, I overtook Mrs. N—, who broke out into strong confession of the faith she received yesterday morning under the word. I marvel not that her daughter says "she is gone distracted." You might as well stop the tide as her testimony. She rides on the high places of the earth.<sup>3</sup> She speaks in the plerophory of faith.<sup>4</sup> She lives in the spirit of triumph. One of her expressions was, "I do not walk, but fly; and seem as if I could leap over the moon."

The marsh was covered with high and low, rich and poor. The gospel had free course, not a word returned empty.<sup>5</sup>

One followed and told me he had found the Lord in the word this morning.

I had much discourse with the young woman above-mentioned, and found she was in Christ before me. But her not using my expressions hindered my perceiving it. Some of her words were:

From the time you spoke to me of forgiveness I have been praying for it day and night, in continual joy. I am inexpressibly happy. All my temptations are gone. I tread [2:357] on all the power of the enemy.

From twelve years old I have walked with God, and found him in all my ways, in every place, and business, and company. In all my words I find him prompting me. From my infancy he has been my guide and instructor. When I would have spoken to the bishop or others, he checked me with that thought, "I will bear all my burdens till the Lord himself delivers me." Many things he has taught me to pray for, which I did not myself understand at the time of my asking, nor fully till the answers came.

I have been urged with that question, "Could you die for the gospel of Jesus Christ?" And when I would have put it by, it still followed me, and the Lord insisted upon my answer. While I have sat at work, it came into my mind, "*These fingers will never corrupt in the grave: I must die for the truth!*" I replied, "But how can it be, Lord? We are all Christians. Who is there to persecute us now?" This thought pursues me still, that I am to suffer for my Saviour, and I should *grudge* the dying in my bed.

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<sup>3</sup>See Isa. 58:14.

<sup>4</sup>See Heb. 10:22.

<sup>5</sup>See Isa. 55:11.

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I never felt more powerful, piercing words. They brought their own evidence, and left me no room to doubt God's special love to this soul. They also confirmed my continual expectations of sufferings.

**Saturday, September 3.** My text was, "I, even I, am he that blotteth out thy transgressions, for my own sake."<sup>6</sup> I felt, as it were, their spirits sink under the word of grace.

From 6:00 to 8:00 I attend those that would speak with me. The first who accosted me was a poor soldier, with, "O sir, I have found the blessing!" I asked, "What blessing?" "Why, the blessing you preach—the forgiveness of my sins." [2:358] "How do you know that?" "I am sure of it. I cannot doubt of it. I feel it in my heart." "When and how did you receive it?" "Yesterday morning, under the word. I strove, and strove hard, before I could lay hold on it. But at last I did venture upon Christ. *I put on boldness*, and did believe; and that moment all my sins were taken away, as you would take the coat from my back. I went home rejoicing and told my wife, and persuaded her to believe like me. She fell a-crying and praying for an hour together, and then she got it too. My mother is not far from it; only for fear of one sin she dares not venture."

His artless confession was confirmed by his wife, who has found the pearl at the same time with him.<sup>7</sup> His brother found it last Sunday. Joyce Baily informs me she received the blessing yesterday morning through the Spirit applying that word, "Ask, and it shall be given you."<sup>8</sup>

Exhorted some of the society, and found them all on full stretch after Christ.

**Sunday, September 4.** Expounded the Prodigal Son to thousands of listening sinners;<sup>9</sup> many of whom, I am assured, are on their return, and will never rest till they rest in the arms of their Father.

**Monday, September 5.** More, I hear, are added to the church: two at the sacrament yesterday; two in the society. One overtook me going to the cathedral<sup>10</sup> and said, "I have found something in the preaching, and cannot but think it is forgiveness. All my sins sunk away from off me in a moment. I can do nothing but pray, and cry, 'Glory be to God!' I have such a confidence of his love as I never knew. I trample all sin and sorrow under my feet." I bade him watch and pray,<sup>11</sup> and expect greater things than these.<sup>12</sup>

Our old master, the world, begins to take it ill that so many desert and clean escape [2:359] its pollutions. Innumerable stories are invented to stop the work; or rather repeated, for they are the same we have heard a thousand times, as well as the primitive Christians: "All manner of wickedness is acted in our society, except the eating of little children." My advice to

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<sup>6</sup>Isa. 43:25.

<sup>7</sup>See Matt. 13:46.

<sup>8</sup>Matt. 7:7.

<sup>9</sup>Luke 15:11–32.

<sup>10</sup>St. Fin Barre's cathedral, Cork.

<sup>11</sup>See Matt. 26:41.

<sup>12</sup>See John 1:50.

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our people is, “Answer them not a word.”<sup>13</sup>

The Romish priests go more secretly to work, deterring their flock by the penalty of a curse. Yet some venture to hear us by stealth.

Took horse for Bandon, with my loving lawyer [Mr. H.] and his wife, who has lately received Christ, as her language and life declare.

On the road I made the following hymn, for the Roman Catholics in Ireland

Shepherd of souls, the great, the good, etc.<sup>14</sup>

By 10:00 we came to Bandon, a town of Protestants only. Several papists from the old neighbourhood attended me to the market house. I stood on a scaffold and called to about a thousand wild, gaping people, “Behold the Lamb of God . . .”<sup>15</sup> Four ministers confessed it was the truth. All seemed hugely pleased, and rejoiced that I should preach again in the evening at the other end of the town.

The whole town was then gathered together, with many out of the country. My text was, “I send thee to open their eyes, to turn them from darkness to light.”<sup>16</sup> Three of the ministers were present again, and the provost, or governor of the town,<sup>17</sup> with many of the better sort in the opposite houses. I was enabled to speak closely, both to pharisees and publicans. Many of the latter wept.

**Tuesday morning (September 6)**, between 4:00 and 5:00, was surprised to find as numerous an audience as last night’s. Breakfasted with the only family of Quakers in the town. They behaved with that love and zeal which we meet with in all *the Friends*, till their worldly-wise and envious brethren pervert them, and make their minds [2:360] evil affected towards us.

Two men from Kinsale came to press me thither. I expounded the Prodigal Son,<sup>18</sup> but could not get through half of it. They drank in every word. In the evening I began again with a sore throat, an heavy heart, and a feeble body. To them that have no might, God increaseth strength.<sup>19</sup> For an hour and an half I strongly called the weeping prodigals to their heavenly Father. Many Romans were present, and others who had not been near a church for years.

Spent an hour in the town hall with some hundreds of them, in prayer and singing. They were impatient to have a society, and to take the kingdom of heaven by violence.<sup>20</sup> I commended them to the grace of God, and departed, laden with their blessings.

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<sup>13</sup>See Matt. 27:14.

<sup>14</sup>See MS Miscellaneous Hymns, 7–11; and MS Richmond, 51–55.

<sup>15</sup>John 1:29.

<sup>16</sup>Acts 26:18.

<sup>17</sup>This may have been D. Connor, see Crookshank, *Ireland*, 39.

<sup>18</sup>Luke 15:11–32.

<sup>19</sup>See 2 Cor. 12:9.

<sup>20</sup>See Matt. 11:12.

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Rode to Kinsale with my trusty lawyer, and at noon walked to the marketplace. The windows were filled with spectators rather than hearers. Many wild-looking people stood with their hats on in the street. The boys were rude and noisy. Some well-dressed women stood behind me, and listened. My text was, "Go out quickly into the lanes and streets of the city, and bring in the poor, the lame . . ." <sup>21</sup> I did most earnestly invite them all to the great supper. It was fallow ground, yet the word was not all lost. Several settled into serious attention. Others expressed their approbation. A few wept.

I was followed to my lodgings by a *devout* soldier, one of our society in Dublin, who keeps his integrity. Some others called and convinced me God hath not left himself without witness in this place.

In the evening the multitude so trod on one another that it was some time before they could settle to hear. I received a blow with a stone on [2:361] the side of my head, and called on the person to stand forth and, if I had done him any wrong, to strike me again. This little circumstance increased their attention. I lifted up my voice like a trumpet, and showed the people their transgressions, and the way to be saved from them. They received my saying, and spoke well of the truth. A sudden change was visible in their behaviour afterwards, for God had touched their hearts. Even the Romans owned "none could find fault with what the man said." Only one did most bitterly curse me, and all that should ever pray for me.

**Thursday, September 8.** The rain drove us to the market house, a far more convenient place for preaching. I was surprised to find such a multitude in such weather. They sank down on every side into a just sense of their wants.

The next time several of the better rank of Romans came to hear for themselves, and a whole army of soldiers. All were profoundly silent as soon as I opened my mouth in the words of our dying Lord, "Is it nothing to you, all ye that pass by?" <sup>22</sup> The love of Christ crucified bore down all before it.

A lady of the Romish church would have me to her house. She assured me the governor of the town (called the Sovereign), as soon as he heard of my coming, had issued out orders that none should dare disturb me; <sup>23</sup> that a gentleman who offered to insult me would have been torn to pieces by the Romans, had he not fled for it; and that the Catholics, in general, are my firm friends.

It is worth observing that in Kinsale I am of every religion. The Presbyterians say I am a Presbyterian; the Church-goers, that I am a minister of theirs; and the Catholics are sure I am a good Catholic in my heart.

I returned to Cork. Here the witnesses [2:362] increase, so that we lose count of them.

**Friday, September 9.** Got the whole morning to myself, and my beloved friends in Wales. Had sweet fellowship with them in reading their letters, and saw them, as it were, all about me at the throne of grace.

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<sup>21</sup>Luke 14:21.

<sup>22</sup>Lam. 1:12.

<sup>23</sup>Walter Bowler was the current Sovereign of Kinsale; see Crookshank, *Ireland*, 40.

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**Saturday, September 10.** A man and his wife laid hold on me and said, “We have followed you from Bandon, to Kinsale, and hither. And if we had not found you here, our hearts are so warm toward you we would have followed you to Dublin, and all the world over.” They so urged me to come once more to Bandon that I could not refuse. Some from Middleton and Youghal pressed me to them also.

In conference, met a gentlewoman who has lately received forgiveness, when she was scarcely seeking it.

Preached at the south prison, “What must I do to be saved?”<sup>24</sup> and made a collection for the prisoners.

Prayed a second time with Sally Gwynne,<sup>25</sup> a sincere mourner, just ready for *the consolation*.

Met the extraordinary young woman, strong in the Lord, impatient to sell all. I charged her to continue in her calling, and wait upon him for direction.

**Sunday, September 11.** Heard a plain, useful sermon at St. Peter’s against judging. Such crowds at church and sacrament were never seen before. So immediately is the gospel, the power of God, saving from sin. Multitudes, from their first hearing it, left off to do evil and learnt to do well.<sup>26</sup>

Much refreshed by part of the Bishop of Exeter’s late charge to his clergy, worthy to be written in letters of gold:

My brethren, I beg you will rise up with me against only<sup>27</sup> moral preaching. We have been long attempting the reformation of the nation by discourses of this kind. With what success? Why, with none at all. On the contrary, we have very [2:363] dexterously preached the people into downright infidelity. We must change our voice; we must preach Christ and him crucified. Nothing but the gospel is, nothing will be found to be, the power of God unto salvation, besides. Let me, therefore, again and again request, may I not add, *let me charge you*, to preach Jesus, and salvation through his name; preach the Lord who bought us; preach redemption through his blood; preach the saying of the great High Priest, “He that believeth shall be saved.” Preach repentance towards God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>24</sup>Acts 16:30.

<sup>25</sup>This is not his future wife, but an Irish woman with the same name. It is clear that CW recognized the irony, because he wrote the name in larger script than normal.

<sup>26</sup>See Isa. 1:16–17.

<sup>27</sup>The word “only” has been written in above the line. It is not clear if the hand is that of CW himself. “Only” was not found in the original document that CW is quoting.

<sup>28</sup>CW is quoting a single-sheet flyer that was distributed in Aug. 1748 purporting to be an extract from the charge George Lavington, Bishop of Exeter (1746–62), had just given to the clergy in his diocese. This extract, which seemed to show some approval of Methodism, was fictitious. Indeed, Lavington accused the Methodists of promoting the fraud—a charge Lady

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**Monday, September 12.** Got to Bandon by 11:00. My poor woman and her husband soon found me out, and carried me to their house in triumph.<sup>29</sup> The neighbours flocked in, and we had indeed a feast of love. A prodigal came, who had been a monster of wickedness for many years, but is now returned to the Father. So are more of the town, who were wicked to a proverb.

I spoke with a woman whom the word has wounded, and convinced that God is among the Protestants. She was bred a Protestant, but turned young to the Romans, and has continued with them these twenty years. She told me she never could rightly believe that any man could forgive her her sins. But Jesus Christ has the power, she is persuaded, and therefore returns to those who preach forgiveness in his blood.

Invited above four thousand sinners to the great supper.<sup>30</sup> God hath given them the hearing ear. I went to Mrs. Jones's, a widow gentlewoman, as teachable as a little child,<sup>31</sup> determined to promote the work of God to the utmost of her power. All in the place *seem* like minded, except the clergy. O why should they be the last to bring home their King?

It grieved me to hear the poor encouragement given last Sunday to the crowds that flocked to church, which some of them had never troubled for years. We send them to church to hear [2:364] ourselves railed at and, what is far worse, the truth of God.

**Tuesday, September 13.** We parted with many tears and mutual blessings. I rode on to Kinsale. Here also the minister, Mr. Parkinson, instead of rejoicing to see so many publicans in the temple, *entertained* them with a railing accusation of me as an impostor, incendiary, and messenger of Satan.<sup>32</sup> Strange justice, that Mr. Parkinson should be voted a friend of the Church, and I an enemy, who send hundreds into the Church, for him to drive them out again.

At noon I discoursed on the Prodigal Son.<sup>33</sup> Many approved by silent tears. I could not dismiss them without a word of advice how to behave toward their enemies, persecutors, and slanderers.

**Thursday, September 15.** After proclaiming liberty to the captives at Cork,<sup>34</sup> took horse for Middleton. Preached there at noon to an attentive congregation, who pressed me much to come again.

Rode on to Youghal, a seaport town twenty Irish miles from Cork. Went forth to the strand. A wild multitude following almost crowded me and one another to death. While I

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Huntingdon helped disprove. Lavington's response was to publish his three-part *The Enthusiasm of Methodists and Papists Compared* (London: Knapton, 1749–51).

<sup>29</sup>Note the predominance given to the wife. This is likely the Mrs. Needham who became the first to enroll her name in the society at Bandon. See Crookshank, *Ireland*, 39–41.

<sup>30</sup>Luke 14:15–24.

<sup>31</sup>The wife of John Jones, who had twice been provost of Bandon. See Crookshank, *Ireland*, 41.

<sup>32</sup>Rev. Dr. Barton Parkinson (c. 1706–58; BA, Trinity College Dublin, 1729) was the current vicar of Kinsale.

<sup>33</sup>Luke 15:11–32.

<sup>34</sup>See Isa. 61:1.



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described our Lord's passion, the waves subsided, the noise ceased, and they earnestly listened to his last dying cries.<sup>35</sup> The minister (as well as people) testified his satisfaction,<sup>36</sup> saying, as I am told, "These gentlemen have done a great deal of good. There is need enough of them in Youghal."

Lodged at Mr. Price's, a friendly Dissenter who, with his family, received me cordially for my work's sake.

**Friday, September 16.** The rain quickened our pace to Middleton. Here my audience was thrice as numerous as yesterday. The town hall could not contain them. All listened to their own history in the prodigal,<sup>37</sup> and begged hard for a continuance of the gospel.

The power of the Lord was present in the society at Cork. I marvel not that Satan so hates it. We never meet but some or other is plucked out of his teeth. [2:365]

Riding with the wind and rain in my face has brought back my old companion, the toothache. I feared it would hinder my taking leave of the people. But let my Lord look to that.

**Saturday, September 17.** After a restless night of pain, rose to confer with those that desired it. A woman testified that the Lord spoke peace to her trembling soul at the sacrament; Thomas Warburton, that faith came by hearing, and now he hates all sin with a perfect hatred and could spend his whole life in prayer.

Stephen Williams witnessed that, "Last night I found my heart burdened and bursting in your prayer. But I repeated after you, till my speech was swallowed up. Then I felt myself as it were fainting, falling back, and sinking into destruction. When on a sudden I was lifted up, my heart was lightened, my burden gone, and I saw all my sins at once—so black, so many, but all taken away. I am now afraid of neither death, devil, or hell. I am happier than I can tell you. I know God has for Christ's sake forgiven me."

Two others in whom I found a real work of grace begun were papists till they heard the gospel, but are now reconciled to the Church, even the true, invisible church, or communion of saints, with whom is forgiveness of sins.<sup>38</sup> A few of these lost sheep we pick up, but seldom speak of it, lest our own good Protestants should stir up the papists to tear us in pieces.

At Mr. Rolt's, a pious Dissenter, I heard of the extreme bitterness of his two ministers, who make it their business from house to house to set their people against the truth, and threaten all that hear us with excommunication. So far beyond the papists are these *moderate men* advanced in persecution.

**Sunday, September 18.** Rose, as I laid down, in pain, which confined me the whole day. I prayed God to suspend it, if it was his will I should speak an useful word at parting with his people. I went to meet them at 5:00, for a few minutes. The marsh [2:366] was quite covered. Above ten thousand, as was supposed, stood fixed in deep attention. Not a breath was heard among them all. I faintly read my text (Acts 2:42), "And they continued . . ." They observed my weakness, and prayed me strong. I urged them to walk as the first followers of Christ. My words

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<sup>35</sup>On the sermon preached, see note for the Aug. 29, 1741 entry.

<sup>36</sup>Apparently Rev. Arthur D'Anvers (d. 1754).

<sup>37</sup>Luke 15:11–32.

<sup>38</sup>See Apostle's Creed, BCP.

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sunk into their hearts, and melted them into tears. For two hours we wept and rejoiced together; commended each other again and again to God.

I mentioned with honour the behaviour of our own clergy, not one of whom has publicly spoken the least word against us. I had told them before, and now I told them again, that persecution will arise because of the word. Great confidence and love the Lord gave me for them, and we parted most triumphantly, with the voice of joy and thanksgiving.<sup>39</sup>

**Monday, September 19.** Rose at 2:00, refreshed as with wine, and set out with Robert Swindells. My pain was kept off by the prayer of those I left behind. Reached Cashel by night. Our host, a serious Roman, and his neighbour, an hearty loving Quaker, made us forget our journey.

**Tuesday, September 20.** Reached Templemore by 9:00. Met several clergy, who were attending the Archbishop, come to confirm.<sup>40</sup> Preached at my inn door. The people behaved better at the end than the beginning.

Found the twelve miles to Roscrea good six hours' riding. The rain attended us all the way. At 5:00 came to Mr. White's, sated with travelling. But I had not time to rest, the people demanding me. My knees and eyes failed me, so that I could neither stand nor see. Leaned on a door and called, "Is it nothing to you, all ye that pass by?"<sup>41</sup> The word was not weak, like me.

**Wednesday, September 21.** By 4:00 got to Mountmellick. Preached in the market house to a crowd of poor, convinced sinners. Could mention nothing but pure promises. They received the word as souls gasping for God.

**Thursday, September 22.** Took in thirty new members. Rode to B—,<sup>42</sup> at the pressing instance [2:367] of a clergyman, who met, carried me home, and (after fairly proposing his objections and attending to my answers) allowed me to speak with great closeness and particular application.

By 4:00 we came to Mr. Jackson's in Birr. I preached "the Lamb of God that . . ."<sup>43</sup> The power of the Highest overshadowed us.<sup>44</sup> One gentlewoman sunk down at Jesus' feet. Most seemed affected.

**Friday, September 23.** Talked with my host's brother, a publican indeed! A monster of wickedness lately, but now so changed that all the town is alarmed by it. At 5:00 preached in a barn of Mr. Wade's near Aughrim;<sup>45</sup> seldom with greater power. Left a young woman in the pangs of regeneration.

**Saturday, September 24.** By 1:00 the Lord brought us safe to our beloved brethren in Athlone. No Father [John] Farrell, or his volunteers, withstood our entrance. The door is wide

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<sup>39</sup>See Ps. 42:4.

<sup>40</sup>Christopher Cobbe (1686–1765), was the current Archbishop of Dublin.

<sup>41</sup>Lam. 1:12.

<sup>42</sup>Likely Ballyboy, where CW had preached Aug. 18 at the house of a Quaker.

<sup>43</sup>John 1:29.

<sup>44</sup>See Luke 1:35.

<sup>45</sup>Jeremiah Wade (1711–72) was a significant landholder in Aughrim, Co. Galway.

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opened—at the expense of one life indeed, if not more. For the first news I heard was that the poor big-bellied woman who covered John Healey from his enemy is lately dead of the blows she then received.

Preached in the market house, and met the society in a barn, which a well-disposed Roman lends us, to the great dissatisfaction of his fellows. Our poor lambs were all in tears, mourning after Jesus.

**Sunday, September 25.** Examined each of the society, who make upward of two hundred. A soldier followed and told me that while I was talking to them, an horrible dread overwhelmed him. He *knew* I was a servant of God; saw himself as called to the bar; felt the burden of all his sins; shook, every bone of him, and trembled exceedingly, for fear of God’s judgments. I could not hinder his falling down again and again at my feet, under such piercing apprehensions of God, the righteous Judge, as made me envy his condition.

Accepted of an invitation from the Rev. Mr. T—.<sup>46</sup> Comforted the mourners at the market house [2:368] by all the precious promises of the gospel, summed up in Isaiah 35.

Dined with Mr. R., a gentleman of the Romish persuasion till he heard my brother; since which, both he and his house, with several others, are come over to the Church of England and, what is far better, to the power of godliness.<sup>47</sup>

In the evening preaching the great blessing came. The cries of the wounded spirits cannot be described. The place rung with loud calls for “Mercy, Mercy!” I concluded, and began again, and again; then sung, and prayed, and sung, not knowing how to give over.

**Monday, September 26.**<sup>48</sup> Took leave in those solemn words, which reached their hearts: “And now, brethren, I commend you to God....”<sup>49</sup> At 3:00 came safe to our dear friends at Tyrrellspass. It should not be forgot that the condemned soldier told me at parting that the Lord had absolved him.

**Tuesday, September 27.** Found much life in applying those words, “Behold, I stand at the door, and knock.”<sup>50</sup>

Took horse for Dublin. Young Mr. Wade accompanied me three or four miles.<sup>51</sup> His mother died last week in peace. He is swiftly following her, through the last stage of a consumption. Has not yet attained, but *knows* he shall not depart till his eyes have seen *his* salvation. I commended him to the Lord Jesus, and appointed to meet him next in paradise.

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<sup>46</sup>The “T” seems clear, but Rev. Arthur Grüber (1713–1802), was vicar of St. Mary’s, Athlone 1747–54; cf. JW to CW, May 3–10, 1749, Bridwell Library (SMU). CW may have misheard the name.

<sup>47</sup>See 2 Tim. 3:5.

<sup>48</sup>For Sept. 26 – Oct. 27, 1748, see also CW’s more detailed draft journal in *Journal Letters*, 295–301.

<sup>49</sup>Acts 20:32.

<sup>50</sup>Rev. 3:20.

<sup>51</sup>This was a younger brother of Jeremiah Wade of Aughrim. He died within the year; see JW to CW, May 3–10, 1749.

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I rode on alone, yet not alone. My noon hour of prayer refreshed my spirit. My absent friends were never *less* absent. Came before night to Dublin.

**Wednesday, September 28.** Breakfasted with Mrs. Folliard, whom I left mourning and found rejoicing in Christ her Saviour. The society is in a flourishing condition.

Spent from 12:00 to 1:00 as usual, in our garden, with my Christian friends. They never fail to meet me at the throne in my retirement. [2:369]

**Friday, September 30.** At night our Lord pierced many hearts with his dying cries.<sup>52</sup> Two received faith, many a deeper sense of his love.

October 1748

**Saturday, October 1.** It was the first time of my meeting the bands. The Lord was with us, and we rejoiced unto him with reverence.

**Sunday, October 2.** One received the blessing under the word. As soon as the society was met, the fire was kindled. Three or four testified the grace of our Lord, which they then first experienced. A poor revolter who, like Demas,<sup>1</sup> had forsaken us, stealing in this evening, found mercy unexpected. His servant at the same time *felt* her sins forgiven, and gave God the glory. So did two or three more. Eight or nine confessed their faith openly. I believe all present rejoiced either in hope or in possession of their Saviour.

**Friday, October 7.** Met at Mr. [William] Lunell's, an old Dutch Quaker who seemed to have deep experience of the things of God. At 2:00 Mr. Lampe and his wife called,<sup>2</sup> and were overjoyed to see me. I cannot yet give up my hope that they are designed for better things than feeding swine—that is, entertaining the gay world.

**Saturday, October 8.** The wind brought in a packet boat, then sunk away into a dead calm. However, we attempted at night to get out to sea. The particulars I sent to a friend:<sup>3</sup>

Holyhead  
October 10th

My very dear Brother,

I did not tell you at parting, that I never had a stronger apprehension of evil near. On Saturday evening, half-hour past 8:00, I entered the small boat. We were two hours getting to the vessel. There was not then water to cross the bar. So we took our rest till 11:00 on Sunday morning. Then God sent us a fair wind, and we sailed smoothly before it five knots an hour. All things promised a speedy, prosperous passage. Yet still I found *the* burden upon my heart usual in times of extreme danger.

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<sup>52</sup>Lam. 1:12.

<sup>1</sup>See 2 Tim. 4:10.

<sup>2</sup>John Frederick Lampe's wife Isabella (Young) Lampe (1715–95) was an operatic soprano.

<sup>3</sup>The journal letter for this period identifies the recipient as Mr. Lunell.

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[2:370]

Towards evening the wind freshened upon us, and we had full enough of it. I was called to account for a bit of cake I had eat in the morning, and thrown into violent exercise. Up or down, cabin or deck, made no difference. Yet in the midst of it I perceived a distinct and heavier concern for I knew not what.

It was now pitch dark, and no small tempest lay upon us. The captain had ordered in all the sails. I kept mostly upon deck till half-hour past 8:00, when, upon my inquiry, he told me he expected to be in the harbour by 9:00. I answered we would compound for 10:00. While we were talking, the mainsail (as I take it) got loose, and flew overboard as [if] it would drag us all after it. The small boat at the same time, for want of fastening, fell out of its place. The master called, "All hands upon deck," and thrust me down into the cabin. Within a minute we heard a cry above, "We have lost the mast!" A passenger ran up, and brought us worse news, that it was not the mast, but the poor master himself, whom I had scarcely left when the boat, as they supposed, struck him overboard. From that moment he was seen and heard no more. My soul was bowed before the Lord. I knelt down, and commended the departing spirit to his mercy in Christ Jesus. I adored his distinguishing goodness. "The one shall be taken, and the other left."<sup>4</sup> Thought of those lines of Young:

No warning given! unceremonious death!  
A sudden rush from life's meridian joys,  
A plunge opaque beyond conjecture!<sup>5</sup>

The sailors were so confounded they knew not what they did. The decks were strewed with sails, boat, etc; the wind shifting about; the compass they could not get at; nor the helm for some time. We were just on the shore, and the vessel drove where or how they knew not. One of our cabin-passengers ran to the helm, gave orders as captain till they had righted the ship. But I ascribe it to our invisible Pilot, that we got safe to the harbour soon after 10:00. The storm was so high, we doubted whether any boat would venture to fetch us. At [2:371] last one answered, and came. I thought it safer to lie in the vessel. But one calling, "Mr. Wesley, you must come," I followed, and by 11:00 found out my old lodgings at Robert Griffith's.

**Monday, October 10.** Blessed God that I did not stay in the vessel last night. A more tempestuous one I do not remember. Wrote a thanksgiving hymn:

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<sup>4</sup>Matt. 24:40.

<sup>5</sup>Edward Young, *The Complaint* (London: Dodsley, 1742–45), Night 2, as slightly abridged in JW, *MSP*, 2:260.

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All praise to the Lord,  
Who rules with a word, etc.<sup>6</sup>

At half-hour past 9:00 took horse with my host, in a perfect hurricane. Were wet through in less than ten minutes. But I rode on, thankful that I was not at sea. By 1:00 reached the Bull's Head.<sup>7</sup> Paid off my extorting guide, and trusted providence to conduct me over the Welsh mountains. Rode near three miles before my genius for wandering prevailed. Then I got out of the way to Bol-y-don ferry, but was met by a Welsh child and set right again. Near 5:00 I entered the boat with a clergyman and others, who crowded our small, crazy vessel. The water was exceeding rough, our horses frightened, we looking to upset every moment. The minister acknowledged he was never in the like danger. We were half drowned in the boat. I sat at the bottom with him and a woman who stuck very close to me, so that my swimming would not have helped me. But the Lord was my support, and I cried out to my brother clergyman, "Fear not. *Christum et fortunas vehis!*<sup>8</sup> The hairs of our head are all numbered.<sup>9</sup> Our Father sits at the helm."

Our trial lasted near half an hour. Then we landed, wet and weary, in the dark night. The minister was my guide to Caernarfon, and by the way entertained me with the praises of a lay preacher he had lately heard and talked with. He could say nothing against his preaching, but heartily wished him ordained. His name, he told me, was Howell Harris. He carried me to his own inn, and at last found me out, which increased our intimacy.

**Tuesday, October 11.** Set out at break of day. Missed my way as soon as I could, but quickly recovered it. Rode on with a cheerful heart in the bright, sunshiny day to a small village three miles beyond [2:372] Tan-y-Bwlch.<sup>10</sup> From 3:00 to 9:00 I enjoyed myself in solitude.

**Wednesday, October 12.** Set out at 6:00; got to Dolgellau by 9:00. Took a guide for the first hour, and then came by myself triumphantly to Machynlleth. Here I got another guide, who soon led me out of all way. We wandered over the mountains at random, and I was quite reconciled to the thought of taking up my lodging there. But providence sent us directors again and again, when we most wanted them. We rode down such precipices that one false step would have put an end to all our journeys. Yet the Lord brought us through all, and by 7:00 we rejoiced to find ourselves in Llanidloes.

**Thursday, October 13.** Soon after 5:00 set out in the dark with a brother, who by 8:00 delivered me over to Mr. [Hugh] Edwards, curate of Rhayader. He could get no horse for love or money, and therefore waited on me on foot to Garth.<sup>11</sup> Met our dearest friends there by 12:00, in

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<sup>6</sup>CW, "Thanksgiving for a Deliverance from Shipwreck," *HSP* (1749), 2:235–36.

<sup>7</sup>An inn in Llangefni, Anglesey, 7 miles west of Menai.

<sup>8</sup>"You carry Christ and fate." Julius Caesar was said to have encouraged the captain of a warship during a storm with the words "*Caesarem Vehis*" – "you carry Caesar."

<sup>9</sup>See Matt. 10:30; Luke 12:7.

<sup>10</sup>Likely Ffestiniog, Merionethshire.

<sup>11</sup>Home of the family of Marmaduke and Sarah (Evans) Gwynne.

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the name of the Lord, and rejoiced and gave thanks for his innumerable mercies. At 7:00 I preached with life and faith, and at 10:00 rested from my labours.

**Friday, October 14.** Rested the whole day, only riding out for an hour to pray by a sick, helpless publican. Preached morning and evening to the family, I hope not in vain, but miss my Cork congregation.

**Saturday, October 15.** Mr. [Rice] Williams read prayers at Llansantffraed.<sup>12</sup> I preached from Matthew 11, "Come unto me all that are weary ...."<sup>13</sup> We were all in tears after him who promises us rest. An happier time have I not known; no, not at Cork or Bandon. Returned with the night to Garth.

**Sunday, October 16.** Preached there at 8:00, and in Maesmynis church at 11:00. It was a solemn season of love, and yet more so at the sacrament. At Builth I published the end of Christ's coming; namely, "that they might have life."<sup>14</sup> Preached a fourth time, at Garth, and set the terrors of the Lord in array against the unawakened.<sup>15</sup>

**Monday, October 17.** Rode with Mr. [Marmaduke] Gwynne to Builth and, preaching there at noon, returned to our little church at Garth.

**Tuesday, October 18.** Rode to Maesmynis with most [2:373] of the family, and enforced those triumphant words of the departing apostle, "I have fought a good fight ...."<sup>16</sup> Great consolation was thereby administered to us. Forty sincere souls, whom the storm could not discourage, joined in receiving the Lord's Supper. It was a Passover much to be remembered. All were melted down in prayer. We were not unmindful of our absent brethren, or of those that travel by water. The church about us was rocked by the tempest, but we had a calm within. O that it might last till we all arrive at the haven! Preached the third time at Builth, and once more at Garth.

**Wednesday, October 19.** Preached again in Llansantffraed church, and took leave of our family in the evening.

**Thursday, October 20.** Set out with brother [Edward] Phillips in the dark and rain. Had not rode a quarter of a mile before I was struck through with pain as with a dart. Whether it was the rheumatism in my shoulder, or what else, I know not. But it took away my breath in an instant, and stopped my progress. I lay some time on my horse, unable to bear the least motion, but determined not to turn back till I fell off. In a few minutes I could bear a foot-pace, and then a small trot. As the rain increased my pain decreased. I was quickly wet to the skin, but some fair blasts dried me again, and in five hours I got well to Bwlch.

After an hour's rest took horse again, and came swiftly to Usk, before 5:00. We went early to bed. Rose at 3:00 the next morning.

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<sup>12</sup>Llansantffraed-yn-Elfael, Radnorshire. CW spells "Llansaintfraid."

<sup>13</sup>Matt. 11:28.

<sup>14</sup>John 10:10.

<sup>15</sup>See Job 6:4.

<sup>16</sup>2 Tim. 4:7.

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**Friday, October 21.** Set out soon after 5:00, and by 8:00 were brought safe to the New Passage. Were from 10:00 to 12:00 crossing, and came to Bristol between 1:00 and 2:00.

Called on Mrs. Vigor,<sup>17</sup> uncertain if she was escaped out of the body. Found her (or rather her shadow) still in the vale, and was much comforted by her calm desire of dissolution. She has no doubt of God's finishing his work in her soul before he calls her hence. But he has, I am persuaded, more work for her to do. [2:374]

Passed the afternoon among my friends, who are much alive unto God. Called on a listening audience, "Rejoice with me, for I have found the sheep that was lost,"<sup>18</sup> and we did rejoice with all the angels in heaven over our younger brethren in Ireland.

**Saturday, October 22.** Rode over to our children in Kingswood, and was much comforted by their simplicity and love.

At night the leaders brought me a good report of the church in general. They walk as becometh the gospel.<sup>19</sup>

**Sunday, October 23.** Our Lord met us at his own table, and our souls lay low and happy at his feet.

In [the] society the Lord comforted us on every side. It was like one of the former days. We were brought a large step on our journey to Sion.

**Monday, October 24.** Met the select band for the first time.<sup>20</sup> The cloud overshadowed us, and we all said, "It is good to be here!"<sup>21</sup>

Rode to Coleford under a great burden. What would I not have given to escape preaching? But as soon as I opened my mouth the skies poured down righteousness.<sup>22</sup> In the society we seemed all rapt up. A cloud of witnesses arose.<sup>23</sup> Five or six received forgiveness, and testified it. We rejoiced with joy unutterable.

My body was quite spent. Mr. Phillips did not much commend our accommodations. Our chamber looked very ghastly, scarce affording a prophet's furniture. Our bed had but one thin quilt to cover us.

**Tuesday, October [25].**<sup>24</sup> Rode to Paulton, where my horse cast me to the ground with such violence as if I had been shot out of an engine. I lay breathless for some time. They set me up on the horse, and led me to Bristol. Got a surgeon to dress my arm and hand, which were much bruised, and my foot crushed.

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<sup>17</sup>Mrs. Elizabeth (Stafford) Vigor (1697–1774), the widow of Quaker roots in Bristol, who would become a close friend of CW and his wife Sarah. See CW's mournful hymn composed on her death in MS Funeral Hymns, p. 73.

<sup>18</sup>Luke 15:6.

<sup>19</sup>See Phil. 1:27.

<sup>20</sup>The select band was for leaders and those who had experienced sanctifying grace.

<sup>21</sup>See Matt. 17:4.

<sup>22</sup>See Isa. 45:8.

<sup>23</sup>See Heb. 12:1.

<sup>24</sup>Orig., "October 26"; an error that continues for the next two entries.



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**Wednesday, October [26].** Woke with a stiff neck and aching bones, which did not interrupt my business, public or private. Preached at night with enlargement of heart.

**Thursday, October [27].** Preached at 5:00 with some pain in my breast, which wears off more and more.

[2:375]

**November 1748**

**Wednesday, November 2.** At sister Perrin's the Spirit helped our infirmities in mighty prayer, and filled us with divine confidence. I had then no doubt, even of my own perseverance.

**Friday, November 4.** Imparted my design to Mrs. Vigor, who advised me with all the kindness and freedom of a Christian friend.

**Monday, November 7.** Had tender sympathy with a sick, absent friend, Mrs. B. L., and much of the divine presence in praying for her.

**Thursday, November 10.** Expounded Isaiah 35 at the Foundery, and lost all my burdens among my brethren.

**Friday, November 11.** My brother and I having promised each other (as soon as he came from Georgia) that we would neither of us marry, or take any step towards it, without the other's knowledge and consent, today I fairly and fully communicated every thought of my heart. He had proposed three persons to me: Sarah Perrin, M[ary] W[ells], and Sarah Gwynne; and entirely approved my choice of the last. We consulted together about every particular, and were of one heart and mind in all things.

**Saturday, November 12.** Waited on Dr. Cockburne, who paid me £50, part of the legacy which my old friend Mrs. Sparrow left me.<sup>1</sup>

**Monday, November 14.** Rejoiced over our sister Peters, whose spirit was on the wing for paradise.<sup>2</sup>

**Wednesday, November 16.** At the hour of intercession the Lord looked upon us, and we lay a long time at his feet weeping. [[Talked with my brother about a provision, in case I married, and he said "the church could not afford it." Then, I thought, the church did not deserve a gospel minister.]]

**Friday, November 18.** [[Consulted old Mr. [Vincent] Perronet, who thought a few of my particular friends might subscribe what would be sufficient for my maintenance, and offered himself to set the example.]]

**Monday, November [21].**<sup>3</sup> Set out with Mr. [James] Waller for Bristol; and on Wednesday met our Lord there, in the midst of his disciples.

**Friday, November 25.** Visited our sister Amos, supposed to be near death. Her joy was so great the earthen vessel could scarce contain it. Her love and thanks and blessings on me

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<sup>1</sup>Dr. David Cockburne (d. 1762), physician at the Greenwich Hospital, was one of the executors named by Jane Sparrow in the last codicil of her will. CW spells "Cockburn."

<sup>2</sup>Sarah Peters appears as a married woman in the Foundery Band Lists (1742–46); a woman of this name was buried in Dec. 1749.

<sup>3</sup>Orig., "November 22"; an error.

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lifted up my hands and heart. I offered up myself, with my absent friends, in fervent, faithful prayer. [2:376]

**Monday, November 28.** Rode to Cardiff.

**Tuesday, November 29.** Mr. James overtook us at Fonmon.<sup>4</sup> Both at Cardiff and here was much assisted in preaching.

**December 1748**

**Thursday, December 1.** Rose at 2:00 and, after prayer, set out with Mr. James. The moors were almost impassable. Yet we got to Brecon soon after 3:00.

**Friday, December 2.** By 9:00 found them at Garth, singing, and was most affectionately received by all, especially Mrs. [Sarah] Gwynne.

Advised with Sally how to proceed. Her judgment was that I should write to her mother.

While the family was at dinner, I got some of *my* flock together, Miss Betsy,<sup>1</sup> Molly Leyson,<sup>2</sup> Betty Williams,<sup>3</sup> and faithful Grace Bowen,<sup>4</sup> with whom I spent a comfortable hour in prayer.

In the evening I pressed upon them, with much freedom, that blessed advice, “Acquaint thyself now with God, and be at peace.”<sup>5</sup>

**Sunday, December 4.** Rode with Sally and Betsy to Maesmynis. Our Lord administered strong consolation to our souls by the word and sacrament. At Builth also we were all melted into tears. Preached at Garth with the same blessing.

Took farther counsel with Sally, quite above all guile or reserve. Afraid of making the proposal. The door of prayer was always open.

**Monday, December 5.** Spoke with Miss Becky,<sup>6</sup> who heartily engaged in the cause, and at night communicated it to her mother, whose answer was, “she would rather give her child to Mr. Wesley than to any man in England.” She afterwards spoke to me with great friendliness above all suspicion of underhand dealing (the appearance of which I was most afraid of), said she had no manner of objection but “want of fortune.” [2:377] I proposed £100 a year. She answered, her daughter could expect no more.

**Wednesday, December 7.** Preached twice a day, and never with more liberty.

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<sup>4</sup>Thomas James, a Brecon attorney and early supporter of the Methodist movement.

<sup>1</sup>Elizabeth Gwynne, Sally’s younger sister.

<sup>2</sup>Mary (“Molly”) Leyshon (1721–50) was Sally Gwynne’s cousin. Her mother was Mary (Gwynne) Leyson (d. 1774), the sister of Marmaduke Gwynne.

<sup>3</sup>Elizabeth (“Betty”) Williams was likely a servant for the Gwynne family.

<sup>4</sup>Grace Bowen (d. 1755) was nurse for the Gwynne family. See CW’s two-part hymn on her death in *Funeral Hymns* (1759), 24–28.

<sup>5</sup>Job 22:21.

<sup>6</sup>Rebecca Gwynne (“Becky” or “Beck”; 1724–99) was Sally’s second oldest, and closest, sister. She never married and was a frequent presence in CW’s family.

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**Thursday, December 8.** A little tried by the brutishness of my friend Phillips,<sup>7</sup> who got my advocate, M[erito]n,<sup>8</sup> over to his side. But their buffetings did me no great harm.

Mr. Gwynne leaving the whole to his wife, I talked the matter fully over, and left it wholly with her to determine. She behaved in the most obliging manner, and *promised her* consent if I could answer for £100 a year.

**Friday, December 9.** Prayed and wept over my dear Miss Becky, in great pain. She begged me not to leave them tomorrow.

**Saturday, December 10.** Mr. Phillips called me, whom I mildly put by. Preached the next day, with great utterance and emotion. Talked once more with Mrs. Gwynne, entirely open and friendly. She promised to tell me if any new objection arose, and confessed I had acted like a gentleman in all things.

**Monday, December 12.** Took a cheerful leave, and set out with Harry<sup>9</sup> and Mr. [Edward] Phillips, somewhat milder. His only concern now was for the people. Them also, I told him, my brother and I had taken into the account, and I had taken not one step without my brother's express advice and direction. We lodged at Usk.

**Tuesday, December 13.** Rejoiced with my Christian friends in Bristol.

**Thursday, December 15.** Preached at Bath, in my way to London.

**Friday, December 16.** Soon after 4:00 set out with Mr. Jones, in thick darkness and hard rain.<sup>10</sup> We had only one shower, but it lasted from morning till night. By half hour past 8:00 we got, in sad plight, to Calne. Left it within an hour, as wet as we came to it, sore against my companion's will, who did not understand me when I told him, "I never [2:378] slack my pace for way or weather." In a quarter of an hour we were wet from head to foot, the rain driving in our faces. On the Downs the storm took my horse off his legs, and blew me from his back. Never have I had such a combat with the wind. It was labour indeed to bear up against it.

No foot of earth unfought the tempest gave.<sup>11</sup>

Many times it stopped me as if caught in a man's arms. Once it blew me over a bank, and drove me several yards out of the road before I could turn. For a mile and an half I struggled on,

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<sup>7</sup>Edward Phillips was interested in Sally Gwynne himself. His close relationship with CW did not survive CW's marriage to Sally.

<sup>8</sup>Sarah (Evans) Gwynne refers to John Meriton by name in a letter of Mar. 10, 1749.

<sup>9</sup>Harry was a servant to Marmaduke Gwynne.

<sup>10</sup>John Jones (1721–85) was one of JW's most scholarly lay helpers. He matriculated at Trinity College, Oxford in 1736, receiving his BA in 1739, his MA in 1742, and a B.Med. in 1745. Originally converted under Whitefield, Jones gravitated to the Arminianism of the Wesley brothers and began serving JW as an assistant in London in 1746. In 1748 JW appointed Jones languages master at Kingswood School. He would eventually marry Sarah Perrin.

<sup>11</sup>Cf. Samuel Wesley Jr., "To the Memory of the Right Rev. Francis Gastrell," In. 233, *Poems* (1736), 136.

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till my strength was quite spent. There was little life in either me or my companion when we came to Hungerford. We dried ourselves, and I scarcely persuaded him to go on to Newbury. There I was forced to leave him, and push forward to Woolhampton by 7:00.

**Saturday, December 17.** Took horse by 4:00, by starlight. Such cheerfulness of heart, such a sense of joy and thankfulness, I have seldom known. For five hours I quite forgot my body. Thomas Hardwick met me at Maidenhead with a post-chaise, and carried me to Brentford, when my last reserve of strength was gone. By 4:00 found my brother at the Foundery, and rejoiced his heart with the account of my prosperous journey.

He had advised me to make the experiment directly, by going to Garth and talking with Mrs. Gwynne. Her negative (or his, or Sally's) I should have received as an absolute prohibition from God. But hitherto it seems as if the way was opened by particular providence.

**Monday, December 19.** So my wise and worthy friend at Shoreham thought when I communicated to him the late transactions.<sup>12</sup> As to my own judgment I set it entirely out of the question, being afraid of nothing so much as trusting my own heart.

**Wednesday, December 21.** Talked with Mr. Blackwell,<sup>13</sup> who [2:379] very freely and kindly promised to assist in the subscription of £100 a year. I thought it better to be obliged for a maintenance to ten or a dozen friends, than to five hundred or five thousand of the people.

In the morning discoursed on Thomas's confession, "My Lord, and my God";<sup>14</sup> and in the evening on the divine testimony, "This is my beloved Son ...."<sup>15</sup> Great life and power accompanied and applied the word.

**Friday, December 23.** Visited our brother White, who has again found mercy on his death-bed, which is to him a triumphal chariot.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>12</sup>Rev. Vincent Perronet.

<sup>13</sup>Ebenezer Blackwell (1711–82) apprenticed in banking under Thomas Martin of Martin's Bank, London—where he became a partner in 1746. Raised as an Anabaptist, Blackwell was baptized into the Church of England by his cousin George Whitefield in June 1739, and in August of that year helped Whitefield deal with money collected for establishing a school for colliers at Kingswood. He became a long-time friend and supporter of the Wesley brothers. On his death in 1782, CW composed an extended funeral hymn. See MS Funeral Hymns (1756–87), 59–62; and published in *AM* 6 (1783): 108–10, 164–66.

<sup>14</sup>John 20:28.

<sup>15</sup>Matt. 3:17. While there are parallel accounts in Luke and Mark, CW quotes the Matt. 3 account below (May 13, 1750). The emphasis on God bearing witness suggests CW is dealing with the baptismal account in Matthew, rather than the Transfiguration (17:5).

<sup>16</sup>Alexander White appears as a single man in the Foundery Band Lists (1742–46); he was buried in Buhill Fields on Jan. 3, 1749.

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**Saturday, December 24.** [[Disclosed my affair to Ned Perronet,<sup>17</sup> who most violently opposed it, offered me his sister;<sup>18</sup> appeased by little and little; at last offered his utmost assistance.]]<sup>19</sup>

**Christmas Day.** [[Told Mr. [William] Holland, who was much for it; as are all to whom I have yet communicated it, except Mrs. Cart.<sup>20</sup>]] We rejoiced in the glad tidings, “To us is born a Saviour,”<sup>21</sup> and yet more in the sacrament were filled with all peace and joy in believing.

**Tuesday, December 27.** One received the pardoning love of God under the word this morning.

**Friday, December 30.** Met Mr. Blackwell with my brother, who proposes £100 a year to be paid me out of the books.

**Saturday, December 31.** The more I pray, the more assured I am. God will not suffer the blind to go out of his way. He was with us at his own table, in solemn power. My ministrations were never more lively, never more blessed to my own and the people’s souls.

I married Thomas Hardwick and Sally Witham.<sup>22</sup> We were all in tears *before* the Lord. Rejoice to hear of our brother White’s translation. Described it in the following hymn:

O what a soul-transporting sight  
Mine eyes today have seen,  
A spectacle of strange delight  
To angels and to men!, etc.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>17</sup>“Ned” is CW’s nickname for Edward Perronet; others, including Edward’s father, apparently referred to him as “Ted.” Cf. letter in Nov. 4, 1749 entry below.

<sup>18</sup>Damaris Perronet (1727–82), who never married. She became quite close to CW’s family and was a leading member of the Methodist society in Shoreham.

<sup>19</sup>See the account in CW’s letter to Sarah Gwynne Jr., Dec. 27, 1748.

<sup>20</sup>Elizabeth (Smith) Cart (c. 1700–73), a widow, saw herself as the better match for CW.

<sup>21</sup>Isa. 9:1.

<sup>22</sup>Sarah Witham (1728–87) was the daughter of Thomas and Elizabeth (Harrison) Witham, and sister of Thomas Witham Jr.

<sup>23</sup>Cf. CW, “On the Death of Alexander White,” *HSP* (1749), 2:83–86.

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[2:380]

[January] 1749

**Tuesday, January 3.** My brother wrote as follows to Mrs. [Sarah] Gwynne. I enclosed it in my own, and sent both letters, after offering them up to the divine disposal.<sup>1</sup> [2:381]

Buried Alexander White, and preached on “I have fought the good fight, I have finished my course . . .”<sup>2</sup> We were all partakers of his joy.

**Monday, January 9.** Visited sister Smith,<sup>3</sup> sick and in pain, but her pain was swallowed up in love. “Were I to choose,” said she, “I should choose death. But let my Lord choose for me. I want nothing but his love.”

**Friday, January 13.** Read undisturbed a letter from Mrs. Gwynne, dissatisfied with my brother’s proposal.<sup>4</sup> Visited Mr. [Vincent] Perronet the next day. He has indeed acted the part of a father, another proof whereof is this letter of his to Mrs. Gwynne.

Shoreham  
January 14, 1748<sup>5</sup>

Madam,

As the trouble of this proceeds from the most sincere friendship, I have reason to believe you will easily excuse it.

Give me leave then, madam, to say that if you and worthy Mr. Gwynne are of opinion that the match proposed by the Rev. Mr. Charles Wesley be of God, neither of you will suffer any objections drawn from this world to break it off. Alas, madam, what is all this world, and the glories of it? How little does the world appear to that mind, whose affections are set on things above! This state is what I trust you are seriously seeking after. I am sure it is a state worth every Christian’s seeking after, and what every Christian must seek after, if ever he hopes to get to heaven.

I have a daughter now designed for a pious gentleman whose fortune is not half that of our friend’s,<sup>6</sup> and yet I would not exchange him for a Star and Garter.<sup>7</sup> I only

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<sup>1</sup>CW left room at this point for copying the text of what JW wrote, but did not actually transcribe the letter. Cf. CW to Sarah (Evans) Gwynne, Jan. 3, 1749.

<sup>2</sup>Tim. 4:7.

<sup>3</sup>Likely Elizabeth Smith, who appears as a married woman in the Foundery Band Lists (1742–46).

<sup>4</sup>Sarah (Evans) Gwynne’s reply, dated Jan. 9, 1749, survives. She approved of the general proposal in CW’s letter of Jan. 3, but raised one concern: “that nothing can be settled where no money is laid down, or lands secured for the due payment thereof” (MARC, DDCW 5/17).

<sup>5</sup>This dating is in “old style.” It is really Jan. 1749.

<sup>6</sup>I.e., William Briggs, whose wedding to Elizabeth Perronet CW would officiate Jan. 28.

<sup>7</sup>I.e., for a Duke.

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mention this that I might not appear to offer an opinion which I would not follow myself.

However, I have been hitherto speaking as if Mr. Wesley's circumstances really wanted an apology. But this is not the case. The very writings of these two gentlemen are, *even at this time, a very valuable estate*; and when it shall please God to open the minds of people more, and prejudice is worn off, it will be still much more valuable. I have seen what an able bookseller has valued a great part of their works at, which is £2,500, but I will venture to say, *that this is not half their value*. They are works which will last and sell while any sense of true religion and learning shall remain among us. However, as they are not of the same nature with an estate in land, they cannot be either sold or pledged without the most manifest loss and inconvenience. [2:382]

I shall trouble you, madam, no farther than only to add that from the time I had the pleasure of seeing Miss [Sarah] Gwynne at my house, I have often had her upon my mind. I then perceived so much grace and good sense in that young lady that, when this affair was first mentioned to me, I could not help rejoicing at what promised so much happiness to the church of God.

May that God in whose hands are the hearts of the children of men direct all of you in such a manner as may tend to the promoting his honour, and the kingdom of his dear Son. I am, with great respect to worthy Mr. Gwynne, yourself, and good family, madam,

Your very sincere and affectionate friend and servant,

Vincent Perronet

**Monday, January 23.** Received letters from Garth, consenting to our proposals.

**Saturday, January 28.** I married William Briggs and Elizabeth Perronet, who seem quite made for each other.<sup>8</sup>

**Tuesday, January 31.** Found life and comfort in the small remnant at Deptford.

**February 1749**

**Tuesday, February 14.** Assisted to preach twice a day the last fortnight, and pitied an unhappy friend for her confident assertion that the Lord is departed from me. Let the rest of her words and actions be buried in eternal oblivion.

At 4:00 this morning set out for Garth, with my brother and Charles Perronet. At Kensington my horse threw me. My foot hung by the spur. My company were gone before, when

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<sup>8</sup>William Briggs (c. 1722–88) was the son of the Rev. Henry Briggs, DD, rector of Holt, Norfolk and Chaplain to George II. William worked at the custom house in London. He wrote CW on Nov. 22, 1742, seeking membership in the Methodist society, and his name appears as a single man throughout the Foundry Band Lists (1742–46). Speedily Briggs's abilities raised him to positions of responsibility. He was named a steward of the Foundry School in 1746 and attended the Conference of 1748 in that capacity. He served as a Book Steward 1753–59. Elizabeth Perronet (1728–1807) was a daughter of Vincent and Charity (Goodhew) Perronet.

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a servant flew to my help, and I rose unhurt.

**Wednesday, February 15.** Dined at the rector of Lincoln's.<sup>1</sup> Waited on our dean and others.<sup>2</sup> All extremely civil.

**Friday, February 17.** Our wanderings through the bogs, etc., ended at 8:00 in the evening. Sally met me before I entered the house with news that her brother was come, and very vehement against the match.<sup>3</sup> Yet he received us with great courtesy.

**Saturday, February 18.** Mrs. [Sarah] Gwynne was extremely open and affectionate; has fought my battles against her own relations, particularly her son, who has behaved [2:383] very violently towards her. Miss Becky told him he might think it a great honour done him by my proposal. Mrs. Gwynne, my brother, and I had a conference. He repeated his proposals and agreed to make them good, being entirely reconciled to the settlement, for which Mr. [Marmaduke] Gwynne and Mr. [Vincent] Perronet were to be the trustees.

**Sunday, February 19.** Returned to Garth from the sacrament at Maesmynis. Mr. Howell Gwynne was very obliging. Drove his father to church, where we heard a good sermon. Had a conference with my brother and Sally. She promised to let me continue my vegetable diet and travelling.

**Monday, February 20.** Mr. Howell Gwynne was now as affable as the rest; said he had nothing to object, and behaved as if his heart was entirely turned towards us.

**Tuesday, February 21.** My brother and Charles Perronet left us. I stayed a week longer, preaching twice a day.

**Sunday, February 26.** Mrs. Gwynne assured me she should not change; talked freely of our marriage, and would have got me to promise not to go again to Ireland. But Sally would not let me, saying she should be glad herself to visit the many gracious souls in that country.

**Monday, February 27.** Commended them once more to God, and took horse with Harry. It rained all day, yet we reached Usk by night, and the next morning breakfasted at Bristol.

**March 1749**

**Friday, March 3.** Met George Whitefield, and made him quite happy by acquainting him with my design.

**Monday, March 6.** Mentioned it to the select band, desiring their prayers, not their advice.

**Friday, March 10.** Prayed by happy Sally Huntington.<sup>1</sup> The approach of death has put all her troubles to flight.

Miss [Susanna] Burdock (to whom I told my affair) expressed the strongest approbation.

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<sup>1</sup>Euseby Isham.

<sup>2</sup>John Conybeare. Doubtless this meeting was to inform him of the pending marriage, which would require CW to resign his studentship at Christ Church.

<sup>3</sup>Howell Gwynne (1718–89), the eldest of the Gwynne children.

<sup>1</sup>Sarah Huntington had been active in the Bristol society since at least 1740; see Mary Purnell to JW, June 20, 1740.



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Had a very solemn watchnight.

**Thursday, March 16.** Rode with Charles Perronet in a day and an half to London. I expounded, in bodily [2:384] weakness, Habakkuk 3, “Though the fig-tree shall not blossom . . . .”<sup>2</sup> The power of the Lord was present, and great love we felt towards each other.

**Saturday, March 18.** Returning from Shoreham, I narrowly escaped being crushed to death by a dray on London Bridge.

**Sunday, [March] 19.**<sup>3</sup> An extraordinary blessing attended the word preached both at the [West Street] chapel and every other place. In the sacrament I was constrained to pray again and again, with strong cryings and tears. So it was every day of this *great and holy week*.

**Easter Day, March 26.** The convincing and comforting Spirit reached our hearts, both in the word and sacrament.

In the evening I took my leave of the society, who express a general satisfaction in my intentions. Surely, both Jesus and his disciples are bidden.<sup>4</sup>

**Wednesday, March 29.** Having by the help of Mr. Lloyd<sup>5</sup> and his lawyers settled everything to Mrs. Gwynne’s wish, I set out at 3:00 with Charles Perronet for Bristol, in my way to Wales. Lodged the first night at Oxford.

**Thursday, March 30.** Took horse again at 7:00, and God prospered our journey to Cirencester. Expounded Romans 8:32 and met the society, to our mutual comfort.

**Friday, March 31.** My text in the morning was, “If ye then be risen with Christ, seek the things which are above, where Christ sitteth at the right hand of God.”<sup>6</sup> He strongly drew our hearts after him, as the tears of many testified.

I stopped to pray by an aged woman, who lay a-dying and knew not God. She then received faith to be healed. By 2:00 we came to Felix Farley’s, and soon after to Kingswood, where we found our beloved sisters Murray<sup>7</sup> and [Mary] Davey, who joined us in prayer and joyful thanksgiving.

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<sup>2</sup>Hab. 3:17; see CW’s earlier hymn on this text: *HSP* (1742), 138–39.

<sup>3</sup>Orig., “May 19”; an error.

<sup>4</sup>See Matt. 22:3.

<sup>5</sup>Samuel Lloyd (c. 1705–75) was a silk merchant in London, with his main office and residence on Devonshire Square. He was drawn into the Methodist revival in late 1748. He became particularly close to CW, but assisted both Wesley brothers in business matters over the next two decades.

<sup>6</sup>Col. 3:1.

<sup>7</sup>This may be the Sarah Murray (b. c. 1726) who CW visited while she was considered near death on Sept. 19, 1739 (see above). No burial record of a woman with that name in Bristol survives from 1739 until 1760.

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[2:385]

April 1749

**Saturday, April 1.** Just as we were setting out for Wales my brother appeared, full of scruples, and refused to go to Garth at all. I kept my temper, and promised “if he could not be satisfied there, to desist.” I saw all was still in God’s hands, and committed myself to him.

**Sunday, April 2.** The Lord opened my mouth to apply those weighty words, “If ye then be risen with Christ, seek the things which are above.”<sup>1</sup>

I had wrote our friends notice that I should be at Cardiff tomorrow, and on Tuesday or Wednesday at Garth. But found my brother had appointed to preach in several places till Friday, which I did not take kindly.

**Monday, April 3.** He seemed quite averse to signing his own agreement. Yet at 5:00 we set out with an heavy heart. Our brother Thomas<sup>2</sup> met us on the Welsh side. Before 5:00 I came, weary, faint, oppressed, to Cardiff and lay down, being unable to stand.

**Tuesday, April 4.** Met Mr. [John] Hodges at Fonmon. He asked me, “My brother, what are you seeing in this thing? Happiness? Then you will be sadly disappointed. If an help and comfort only, look up to God and he will surely give it you.” Heard my brother at the castle, and again in the morning.

**Wednesday, April 5.** Lodged with him at Llantrisant.

**Thursday, April 6.** Was his hearer at 5:00, and 9:00, and 12:00, in Aberther church. By 7:00 we got to Brecknock.<sup>3</sup> An hour after, Mr. [Thomas] James came. Waited with him on Mr. Williams, the surrogate, for a licence.<sup>4</sup> He was extremely civil, refusing his fees from a brother clergyman.

**Friday, April 7.** Rose at 4:00, and got an hour for prayer and the Scripture. That word [2:386] in particular came with power to my heart, “Thus saith the Lord, ‘if my covenant be not with day and night, and if I have not appointed the ordinances of earth and heaven, then I will cast away the seed of Jacob, and David my servant ... for I will cause their captivity to return, and will have mercy upon them’.”<sup>5</sup>

Came to Garth by 9:00, found them at breakfast. Almost equally welcome to all.

We talked over matters with Mrs. Gwynne, and all my brother’s fears were scattered. Read over the settlement. Mrs. Gwynne proposed a bond, till it could be signed. My brother signed the bond and Miss Becky [Gwynne] and Miss Musgrave witnessed it.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Col. 3:1.

<sup>2</sup>Philip Thomas, who was now curate to John Hodges, at Wenvoe.

<sup>3</sup>An older name for Brecon.

<sup>4</sup>Rev. Edward Williams (b. c. 1718), the current vicar of Llansbyddy. This marriage licence survives (MARC, DDCW 6/49).

<sup>5</sup>Jer. 33:25–26.

<sup>6</sup>Mary (“Molly”) Musgrave was a niece of Sarah (Evans) Gwynne; daughter of her deceased older sister Mary (Evans) Musgrave/Musgrove (c. 1680–1708).

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We crowded as much prayer as we could into the day.

SATURDAY, APRIL VIII, 1749<sup>7</sup>

Sweet day! so cool, so calm, so bright,  
The bridal of the earth and sky!<sup>8</sup>

Not a cloud was to be seen from morning till night. I rose at 4:00; spent three hours and an half in prayer or singing, with my brother, with Sally, with Becky. At 8:00 I led MY SALLY<sup>9</sup> to church.<sup>10</sup> Her father, sisters,<sup>11</sup> Lady Rudd,<sup>12</sup> Grace Bowen, Betty Williams, and, I think, Billy Tucker<sup>13</sup> and Mr. [Thomas] James, were all the persons present. At the church door I thought of the prophecy of a jealous friend, “that if we were even at the church door to be married, she was sure, by revelation, that we could get no farther.”<sup>14</sup> We both smiled at the remembrance. We got farther. Mr. Gwynne gave her to me (under God). My brother joined our hands. It was a most solemn season of love! Never had I more of the divine presence at the sacrament.

My brother gave out the following hymn

[2:387]

1. Come thou everlasting Lord,  
By our trembling hearts adored;  
Come, thou heaven-descended Guest,  
Bidden to the marriage-feast!
2. Sweetly in the midst appear,  
With thy chosen followers here.  
Grant us the peculiar grace,  
Show to all thy glorious face.

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<sup>7</sup>As in original, for emphasis.

<sup>8</sup>“Virtue (Altered from Herbert),” st. 1, *HSP* (1739), 9.

<sup>9</sup>As in original, for emphasis.

<sup>10</sup>The Llanlleonfel parish church in Garth.

<sup>11</sup>In addition to Elizabeth and Rebecca, these would be Joan Gwynne (1729–1801), Margaret Gwynne (1733–52). There is no evidence that the oldest sister, Mary (Gwynne) Baldwyn of Ludlow, could attend.

<sup>12</sup>Lady Elizabeth Rudd (c. 1706–1802); widow of Sir John Rudd (d. 1739), 4th baronet, of Aberglassney; and (since 1740) wife of Howell Gwynne, so Sally’s sister-in-law. She retained her title because there was no heir to it.

<sup>13</sup>William Tucker, of Sithney, who was travelling with JW.

<sup>14</sup>Likely Elizabeth (Smith) Cart.

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3. Now the veil of sin withdraw,  
Fill our souls with sacred awe,  
Awe that dares not speak or move,  
Reverence of humble love.
4. Love that doth its Lord descry,  
Ever intimately nigh,  
Hears whom it exults to see,  
Feels the present Deity.
5. Let us on thy spirit rest,  
Dwell in each devoted breast;  
Thou with thy disciples sit,  
Thou thy works of grace repeat.
6. Now the ancient wonder show,  
Manifest thy power below;  
All our thoughts exalt, refine,  
Turn the water into wine.
7. Stop the hurrying spirit's haste,  
Change the soul's ignoble taste;  
Nature into grace improve,  
Earthly into heavenly love.
8. Raise our hearts to things on high,  
To our Bridegroom in the sky;  
Heaven our hope and highest aim,  
Mystic marriage of the Lamb.
9. O might each obtain a share  
Of the pure enjoyments there;  
Now, in rapturous surprise,  
Drink the wine of Paradise;
10. Own, amidst the rich repast,  
Thou hast given the best at last;  
Wine that cheers the host above,  
The best wine of perfect love!<sup>15</sup>

[2:388]

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<sup>15</sup>CW, "A Wedding Song," *Family Hymns*, 172–73.

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He then prayed over us in strong faith. We walked back to the house, and joined again in prayer. Prayer and thanksgiving was our whole employment. We were cheerful without mirth, serious without sadness. A stranger that intermeddleth not with our joy said, "It looked more like a funeral than a wedding." My brother seemed the happiest person among us.

**Sunday, April 9.** We all partook of the Lord's Supper, and our souls were satisfied with his comforts. Spent good part of the day in writing letters. Heard my brother at night.

**Monday, April 10.** At 4:00 my brother took his leave of us. Passed the day in prayer, chiefly with my dearest friend. In the afternoon Mr. Gwynne of Glan Bran came to visit them.<sup>16</sup> He took no notice of me, or I of him. Explained at night the happiness of religion from Proverbs 3, and invited them to partake of it.

**Tuesday, April 11.** Rode with Mr. [Edward] Phillips to Builth. The Lord applied his most precious promise, "I will pour out the Spirit of grace and supplications."<sup>17</sup>

Discoursed at Garth, with delightful enlargement, on "the one thing needful."<sup>18</sup>

**Sunday, April 16.** Preached constantly the last week at Garth; only once at Llansantffraed. Carried my beloved Sally to Maesmynis. We had sweet fellowship in the sacrament and in prayer. Rode on to Llansantffraed, and preached a third time at Garth, with a close application on watching unto prayer.<sup>19</sup>

**Monday, April 17.** The Lord was never more [2:389] with me than he was at Builth, while I spoke from those words, "These are they that came out of great tribulation."<sup>20</sup> All the hearers were in tears, but it was a blessed mourning.

**Thursday, April 20.** Took my leave of Garth in those words of our Lord, "Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life."<sup>21</sup>

**Friday, April 21.** Took horse with Sally, Betsy, and my father.<sup>22</sup> Slept at Abergavenny.

**Saturday, April 22.** Cheerfully left my partner for the Master's work, and rode on with Harry to Bristol. We made so much haste that I left all my strength behind me. Was glad to go to bed as soon as I came in.

**Sunday, April 23.** Dr. [John] Middleton sweated, blooded, vomited me. Yet on

**Monday [April 24]** I attempted to preach; but my body failed.

**Wednesday, April 26.** Received strength to urge my hearers to come boldly to the throne of grace.<sup>23</sup> The word was quick and powerful. Had a second blessing among the bands.

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<sup>16</sup>Roderick Gwynne (1695–1772), the brother of Marmaduke, inherited in 1734 the estate of Glan Bran (i.e., Llanfair-ar-y-bryn), on the west bank of the Bran River, 1 mile southwest of Cynghorby, Carmarthenshire.

<sup>17</sup>Zech. 12:10.

<sup>18</sup>Luke 10:42.

<sup>19</sup>1 Pet. 4:7.

<sup>20</sup>Rev. 7:14.

<sup>21</sup>Rev. 2:10.

<sup>22</sup>That is, Marmaduke Gwynne; now his father-in-law.

<sup>23</sup>Heb. 4:16.

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**Thursday, April 27.** I had prayer for a blessing upon the word this day, and God heard and answered, while I expounded John 17. There was scarce a soul present that was not broken down.

**Friday, April 28.** Some letters from Garth brought life with them.<sup>24</sup> I prayed and wept over the beloved writers.

In the evening proceeded in my exposition of John 17. And still our Lord owned the words for his.

**Saturday, April 29.** “They that seek me early shall find me.”<sup>25</sup> This word was made good to the morning audience.

**Sunday, April 30.** Had a solemn, joyous sacrament in Kingswood. At Conham I thundered, “O ye dry bones, hear ye the word of the Lord.”<sup>26</sup>

[2:390]

**May 1749**

**Monday, May 1.** Never since I preached the gospel have I been more owned and assisted of God than now. He is always with me in the work of the ministry. Therefore I live by the gospel.

**Thursday, May 4.** Preached at Cirencester and Oxford, in my way to London, which I reached on Saturday afternoon.

**Sunday, May 7.** At the [West Street] chapel my subject was, “The end of all things is at hand”;<sup>1</sup> at the Foundery, “Thou shalt show me the path of life.”<sup>2</sup> The word was really a means of grace to our souls. Met the society in very great love, which was only increased by my change of condition. I am married to more than one or one thousand of them.

**Monday, May 8.** Found a blessing in examining the classes. Left out a careless girl, and her mother came abusing me with horrid oaths and curses. Satan, I perceived, did not like our work.

Heard in the evening that old Mr. Adams had brought two constables for me.<sup>3</sup> The poor men were hugely civil and hugely frightened; said they would not see me, but I might send bail. John Healey had threatened him in the morning, if he forced his way into the house again, to put him in the bathing-tub. I had shut the door upon him. Justice Fielding had very wisely granted him a warrant against me.

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<sup>24</sup>The letters of Sarah (Evans) Gwynne and Sarah (Gwynne) Wesley, dated Apr. 23, 1749.

<sup>25</sup>Prov. 8:17.

<sup>26</sup>Ezek. 37:4.

<sup>1</sup>1 Pet. 4:7.

<sup>2</sup>Ps. 16:12 (BCP).

<sup>3</sup>John Adams of Tresmeer again; see Aug. 11, 1746 entry.

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I chose to have a hearing of it directly, and went with Mr. Perronet, Hoy,<sup>4</sup> Windsor,<sup>5</sup> [William] Briggs, and John [Healey], to the next justice, Mr. Withers. He received us with great civility; said, "I am sorry, gentlemen, this has happened; but assure you, you shall have no farther trouble, only your bail." On mentioning Adams, "What!" cried he, "that old man who makes disturbance in the streets? I saw him yesterday raising a riot, and he commanded me to attend him in the name of the Lord. I wonder my brother [2:391] Fielding would grant a warrant to such a madman. He did not consider the consequence."

After 10:00 Mr. Adams came. The justice examined the warrant particularly and showed it was no assault. Asked, "Did they threaten your life?" "No, but Healey threatened to duck me," said the old man; abused the justice, told him I had bribed him, and would have been sent to Newgate for so saying, had we not interposed.

The justice assured [us] he would take care of him if ever he molested us more; made the clerk give back his fees; marked the warrant, "Litigious, malicious, vexatious, false"; discharged the bail, and promised us all the assistance in his power on all occasions.

**Friday, May 12.** Waited on him again, hearing Adams had got me presented at Hick's Hall.<sup>6</sup> The justice said I need give myself no trouble about it; he should be there himself. The next day the bill was thrown out.

**Whitsunday, May 14.** Preached the promise of Christ and the Father,<sup>7</sup> with the demonstration of that Spirit, and received it *partly* with the sacrament. Our brother [George] Thomson partook with us, and declared "he was in heaven!"

**Tuesday, May 16.** A woman, in baptism, received both the outward visible sign and the inward spiritual grace.

**Friday, May 19.** Joined in the Lord's Supper with our happy dying sister Kempthorn.

**Monday, May 22.** Left London at 2:00 in the afternoon, and came to Bath on Tuesday evening.

**Thursday, May 25.** My exhortation was blessed to the society at Bristol. On mention of the persecution in Cork, a spirit of sympathy ran through all our hearts.

**Saturday, May [27].**<sup>8</sup> Hired a small house near my worthy Friend [Elizabeth] Vigor's, such an one as suited a stranger and pilgrim upon earth.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>See the possible identification in the entry for Mar. 18, 1750.

<sup>5</sup>Robert Windsor (1704–90) was one of the first members of the Foundery society and served JW faithfully in various roles at the Foundery and City Road Chapel. See JW's reflections on Windsor's death in JW, *Journal*, Feb. 7, 1790, *Works*, 24:165.

<sup>6</sup>A courthouse at the southern end of St John Street, Clerkenwell.

<sup>7</sup>Acts 1:4–5.

<sup>8</sup>Orig., "May 29"; an error.

<sup>9</sup>This house where CW and SGW first lived in Bristol near the intersection of Charles Street and Barton Street, perhaps what is now No. 19, Charles Street. See Best, *Cradle of Methodism*, 234. They did not move to the house that is now No. 4 Charles Street (and known as Charles Wesley's House) until 1766.

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[2:392]

**Sunday, May 28.** Had a glorious time at Kingswood, never better.

**Monday afternoon, May 29.** At Mrs. Dicken's in Bath I met Miss Stonehouse, the sister of my old friend.<sup>10</sup> Shall I ever meet my poor dear George again?<sup>11</sup> Preached to a very fine audience, whom I did not spare.

June 1749

**Friday, June 2.** Took horse at 2:00, and got to Hereford by 1:00. At half-hour past 3:00 my beloved Sally, with Mrs. Gwynne and her sister Peggy,<sup>1</sup> found me at the Falcon. We sang, rejoiced, and gave thanks till Mr. and Mrs. Harvey came.<sup>2</sup> After dinner drank tea at their house, and went to see the cathedral. I wanted work, but there was no door opened.

**Saturday, June 3.** Carried my companion to Ludlow, to which the family lately removed.<sup>3</sup> My mother and sisters Becky, Betsy, Baldwyn,<sup>4</sup> received me as I expected. Brother Duke and the Captain could not be civiler.<sup>5</sup>

**Sunday, June 4.** The pulpit was refused me, but not the sacrament. In the afternoon the boys began gathering and throwing eggs and stones. Mr. Gwynne sent for the bailiff, who himself fetched the refractory constable and seized the ringleader of the mob. This quelled the increasing riot.

I preached, with tolerable quiet, on "Repent, and believe the gospel."<sup>6</sup>

**Monday, June 5.** With more enlargement, and to a better behaved congregation, from "Behold the Lamb of God, who taketh . . ."<sup>7</sup> I stood at the door; got one stone at last.

**Tuesday, June 6.** Drove my wife to visit Captain Baldwyn, and very gently overturned without hurting her in the least. My hearers at night were very tumultuous, yet could do no mischief.

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<sup>10</sup>Elizabeth Stonehouse (1714–93).

<sup>11</sup>CW's relationship with George Stonehouse was renewed over the next few years.

<sup>1</sup>"Peggy" was the family name for Margaret Gwynne.

<sup>2</sup>George Harvey (1696–1760), a minor canon at Hereford Cathedral, was married to Anne (Gwynne) Harvey (1700–1770), the sister of Marmaduke Gwynne. CW spells "Hervey."

<sup>3</sup>Marmaduke and Sarah (Evans) Gwynne had recently moved to Ludlow, near their oldest daughter, allowing their oldest son Howell to take over the estate at Garth.

<sup>4</sup>Mary (Gwynne) Baldwyn (1720–69), Sarah's oldest sister.

<sup>5</sup>Marmaduke Gwynne Jr. (1722–82), the second son of Marmaduke and Sarah; and Captain Edward Baldwyn (1710–72) of Diddlebury, Shropshire, Mary's husband.

<sup>6</sup>Mark 1:15.

<sup>7</sup>John 1:29.



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**Thursday, June 8.** Preached at the market-place in Leominster, “Is it nothing to you, all ye that pass [2:393] by?”<sup>8</sup> All appeared quite eager to hear. Exhorted about forty serious people in an house at Ludlow to work out their salvation,<sup>9</sup> and the blessing of the Lord was with us.

**Friday, June 9.** Rode with Sally to Leominster and expounded Isaiah 55 in the market-place. The minister was there again.<sup>10</sup> All serious, some visibly affected.

Dr. Young entertained us till we got to Coleford, late at night. It was fair time. With difficulty we got a private lodgings.

**Saturday, June 10.** Came by noon to our dear Mrs. [Elizabeth] Vigor’s. The Lord welcomed us there, and at night among the leaders, with the blessing of peace.

**Sunday, June 11.** Preached first in the streets, and then at Kingswood. My partner and all present rejoiced in the consolation of Israel.<sup>11</sup>

**Tuesday, June 13.** Felt every word I spoke this morning. What comes from the heart usually goes to the heart.

**Wednesday, June 14.** Threw away some advice on an obstinate preacher (James Wheatley<sup>12</sup>). For I could make no impression on him, or in any degree bow his stiff neck.

**Thursday, June 15.** Spoke in conference with a woman admitted lately among the witnesses of pardoning love.

At night preached “Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, today, and for ever.”<sup>13</sup> Most of the congregation were in tears. Many cried after him. Some even fainted under the sense of his love.<sup>14</sup>

**Monday, June 19.** Found much life in the select band. James Jones was carried out in fervent prayer for my partner and me.

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<sup>8</sup>Lam. 1:12.

<sup>9</sup>Phil. 2:12–13.

<sup>10</sup>Apparently Thomas Coates, the curate who had been supportive of JW during his visit to Leominster on Aug. 14, 1746 (see *Journal, Works*, 20:129). The other possibility is the vicar, Rev. Henry Vaughan (1687–1762).

<sup>11</sup>Luke 2:25–32.

<sup>12</sup>James Wheatley (d. 1775) became a traveling Methodist preacher about 1742, and attended the 1745 Conference. While JW initially thought highly of him, doubts began to surface in 1749. In 1751 JW and CW expelled Wheatley from the connexion in light of evidence of sexual improprieties with young women in his circuit.

<sup>13</sup>Heb. 13:8.

<sup>14</sup>To comprehend this reaction, see his set of four hymns written on this passage at the same time: *HSP* (1749), 1:88–93.

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Carried her to Captain James's,<sup>15</sup> where Miss [Susanna] Burdock helped to increase our joy in the Lord.

**Friday, June 23.** Expounded Moses's wish at the watchnight,<sup>16</sup> and the Lord came down into many faithful hearts.

**Saturday, June 24.** We waited on Dr. [John] Middleton, who received us very cordially. All look upon my Sally with my eyes. [2:394]

**Wednesday, June 28.** Read the society an account of the persecution at Cork. All were inflamed with love, grief, pity. We parted in the spirit of prayer.

**Thursday, June 29.** Carried my companion by Bath, to Seend. Many listened to the word of grace.

**Friday, June 30.** Lodged six miles short of Marlborough.

**July 1749**

**Saturday, July 1.** She was quite spent with heat and fatigue, when John Healey and Thomas Hardwick met us at Salt Hill with two chaises. Between 8:00 and 9:00 we got to our lodgings in Moorfields. Who should wait at Mrs. [Susanna] Boulton's to receive us, but Mrs. —,<sup>1</sup> as if she came to atone for her past misbehaviour, like cursing Shimei meeting David.<sup>2</sup>

**Sunday, July 2.** The chapel was excessively crowded, while our Lord applied his own saying, "Behold, I stand at the door and knock ...."<sup>3</sup> Many heard, and testified that they heard, his voice.

Satan came with the sons of God,<sup>4</sup> in the shape of an old perjured enthusiast. I ordered him (Mr. [Thomas] Adams) to be taken quietly out of the church whenever he appeared to disturb the work of God. Colonel Gumley was weak enough to be offended, and went out too. But the Lord did not depart.

He was with us again in his word, "O Israel, thou hast destroyed thyself,"<sup>5</sup> and at our feast of love.

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<sup>15</sup>Captain John James (1714–78) and his wife Margaret (Jenkins) James (1718–76), who were wed in Bristol Mar. 20, 1745, lived in a manor house on Barton Hill. Capt. James had a furrier business at 2 Montague Street, just blocks from CW and Sarah's house. Members of their parish church (St. Philip and St. Jacob), John and Margaret were also early supporters of Methodism in Bristol. Captain James one of the first trustees of the New Room in Bristol (Best, *Cradle of Methodism*, 187).

<sup>16</sup>This was likely on Moses's request to see God's glory (see Exod. 33:18).

<sup>1</sup>Almost certainly Elizabeth (Smith) Cart.

<sup>2</sup>See 2 Sam. 16:5–6.

<sup>3</sup>Rev. 3:20.

<sup>4</sup>See Job 1:6.

<sup>5</sup>Hosea 13:9.

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**Wednesday, July 5.** God, by his word this morning, ministered strong consolation to those in the wilderness.<sup>6</sup>

**Thursday, July 6.** Disowned John Healey before the society, for beating the poor old madman.

**Saturday, July 8.** Mr. [Vincent] Perronet having come to see my partner, today we returned with him to Shoreham. There I left her with such as knew her value, and hastened back to meet the penitents. [2:395]

**Sunday, July 9.** Closed the busy, blessed day with Dr. Young and faithful John Downes.

**Monday, July 10.** Dined with the preachers, and was troubled at James Wheatley's obstinacy. He is gone to the north, expressly contrary to my advice. Whither will his wilfulness lead him at last?

**Thursday, July 13.** Fetched my feeble companion from Shoreham.

**Friday, July 14.** Returning from the watchnight, I found her extremely ill.

**Wednesday, July 19.** Gave the sacrament to our old sister Batchelor, rejoicing in pain and sickness. I found brother Pike still happier, because nearer the haven where he would be.<sup>7</sup>

**Thursday, July 20.** At Ned Perronet's met Mrs. Vazeille, a woman of a sorrowful spirit.<sup>8</sup>

**Sunday, July 23.** Preached a funeral sermon over sister Boquet and brother Pike, departed in the Lord, and added a seasonable word at their graves.<sup>9</sup>

**Monday, July 24.** I was riding over Hounslow Heath, with my wife behind me, when an highwayman crossed the road, passed us, and robbed all the coaches and passengers behind us. By Wednesday evening God blessed our coming in to Bristol.

**Saturday afternoon, July [29].**<sup>10</sup> Mr. B—n, with a troop of his friends, came to visit us at our lodgings in Stoke's Croft.<sup>11</sup> Poor N. S., at the sight of so many predestinarians, fell into a transport of passion and grief.<sup>12</sup> I tried to pacify her with counsel and prayer. At night we were honoured with a crowd of the great vulgar, between forty and fifty of them in their coaches.

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<sup>6</sup>Isa. 51:3.

<sup>7</sup>Thomas Pike appears as a married man in the Foundry Band Lists (1742–46); his wife Sarah's death was recorded above in Jan. 1743.

<sup>8</sup>This is the first mention in CW's MS Journal of Mary (Goldhawk) Vazeille (1710–81), the widow of Anthony Vazeille (c. 1706–47), a London merchant. Both were of Huguenot descent. Mary would eventually be married to JW on Feb. 18, 1751. CW's comment here likely reflects his later disapproval of this marriage.

<sup>9</sup>Mary Boquet appears as a single woman in the Foundry Band Lists (1742–46); CW spells "Bouquet." Thomas Pike appears in the same lists as a married man.

<sup>10</sup>Orig., "July 28"; an error.

<sup>11</sup>They were in temporary lodging, until they could take possession of their rented home on Sept. 1.

<sup>12</sup>This is possibly the Nanny Smith, of Bristol, mentioned in CW's journal letter covering June 21, 1740; *Journal Letters*, 69.

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**Sunday, July 30.** Our worthy brother [William] Grimshaw assisted at Kingswood, and partook of our feast.

I preached, in a field near Lawrence Hill, the word of power and truth and reconciliation. At the society we seemed filled with the spirit of love and of prayer.

[2:396]

**August 1749**

**Thursday, August 3.** Our conference this week with Mr. [George] Whitefield and Mr. [Howell Harris came to nought—I think through their flying off.<sup>1</sup>

**Friday, August 4.** Kept a watchnight, but dismissed the people at 10:00, as an alarm was gone forth of the colliers rising.

**Saturday, August 5.** Gave the sacrament to a dying sister—unjustified till very lately, now ready for the Bridegroom. Then to Sarah Perrin, desiring neither life nor death, but that God might be magnified.

**Sunday, August 6.** With my partner, and all our Kingswood children, exceedingly comforted at the Lord's table, my mouth being opened in strong exhortation and fervent prayer.

**Monday, August 7.** At 6:00 took horse with Sally for Ludlow, and Thomas Butts, and Captain [John] James, my brother, and Grace Murray overtook us before we reached the Passage. Near 9:00 we took up with a sorry lodging two miles short of Hereford.

**Tuesday, August 8.** Dined with our hospitable friends in Ludlow.<sup>2</sup>

**Wednesday, August 9.** Several of the gentry listened to my brother at night.

**Thursday, August 10.** My brother, having signed the settlement,<sup>3</sup> set out at 4:00 with Grace Murray and James Jones. Thomas Butts and I took horse at 6:00. It rained all day. Preached at Evesham with much life. The next evening met my brother and Grace Murray, who came through Birmingham to Oxford. And on

**Saturday, August 12,** Attended him to London.

**Tuesday, August 15.** We had the satisfaction of two hours' conference at Mr. [Samuel] Watkins's, with that loving, mild, judicious Christian, Dr. [Philip] Doddridge.

**Tuesday, August 22.** Preached at Evesham with great effect.

**Wednesday afternoon, August 23.** Rejoiced to find Sally and the rest well at Ludlow. Continued with them a week, preaching the gospel with little fruit. [2:397]

**Wednesday, August 30.** At 9:00 set out with Sally, Becky, Betsy, and Peggy<sup>4</sup>. Preached in Leominster, from Isaiah 61, with a blessing, even the blessing of the gospel. Lay at Hereford,

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<sup>1</sup>The minutes of this two-day meeting can be found in JW, *Works*, 10:229–30. It led to some initial cooperation, such as pulpit exchanges between JW, Harris, and GW in Jan. 1750. The comment here is CW's later assessment; as is his annotation on his manuscript giving the minutes: "Vain agreement" (see 10:226 n 721).

<sup>2</sup>I.e., Marmaduke and Sarah (Evans) Gwynne.

<sup>3</sup>This final settlement related to the marriage of CW and Sarah Gwynne Jr. survives in MARC (DDCW 6/87).

<sup>4</sup>I.e., Sarah (Gwynne) Wesley and her sisters Rebecca, Elizabeth, and Margaret.

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whence Becky returned home.

**Thursday, August 31.** Lodged at Thornbury.<sup>5</sup>

**September 1749**

**Friday, September 1.** By 11:00 saluted our Friend [Elizabeth] Vigor. Saw my house, and consecrated it by prayer and thanksgiving.<sup>1</sup> Spent an hour at the preaching-room in intercession. Began the hour of retirement with joint prayer. Alone, in some measure sensible of the divine presence. Opened the book on those words, “While they spoke, Jesus stood in the midst of them, and said, Peace be unto you.”<sup>2</sup> At 6:00 our first guests, Mrs. Vigor and her sisters, passed an useful hour with us.<sup>3</sup> I preached on the first words I met, Rom. 12:1, “I beseech you therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God, that ye present your bodies a living sacrifice ....” The power and blessing of God was with us. Half-hour past 9:00 I slept comfortable in my own house, yet not my own.

**Saturday, September 2.** Family prayer at 8:00. Began the New Testament. Passed the hour of retirement in my garden, and was melted into tears by the divine goodness.

**Sunday, September 3.** Sally accompanied me to our feast in Kingswood. Poor Betsy<sup>4</sup> was kept away by illness.

**Monday, September 4.** Rose with my partner at 4:00. Both under the word and among the select band we were constrained to cry after Jesus with mighty prayers and tears.

Sang this hymn in my family:

1. God of faithful Abraham, hear  
His feeble son and thine,  
In thy glorious power appear,  
And bless my just design:  
Lo! I come to serve thy will,  
All thy blessed will to prove;  
Fired with patriarchal zeal,  
And pure primeval love.

**[2:398]**

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<sup>5</sup>Thornbury, Gloucestershire, 12 miles north of Bristol.

<sup>1</sup>CW and Sarah were now taking residence in the house at the corner of Barton Street and Charles Street that he had rented on May 27, 1749 (see above).

<sup>2</sup>Luke 24:36.

<sup>3</sup>Elizabeth (Stafford) Vigor had four unmarried sisters, all of whom lived in the same stoke’s Croft neighbourhood: Ann (c. 1710–92), Mary (will proved Jan. 1783), Sarah (will proved Jan. 1783), and Susanna Stafford (1706–90).

<sup>4</sup>Elizabeth Gwynne, Sarah’s sister.

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2. Me and mine I fain would give  
    A sacrifice to thee,  
    By the ancient model live;  
    The true simplicity;  
    Walk as in my Maker's sight,  
    Free from worldly guile and care,  
    Praise my innocent delight,  
    And all my business prayer.
  
3. Whom to me thy goodness lends  
    Till life's last gasp is o'er,  
    Servants, relative, and friends,  
    I promise to restore;  
    All shall on thy side appear,  
    All shall in thy service join,  
    Principled with godly fear,  
    And worshippers<sup>5</sup> divine.
  
4. Them, as much as lies in me,  
    I will through grace persuade,  
    Seize, and turn their souls to thee  
    For whom their souls were made;  
    Bring them to the atoning blood,  
    (Blood that speaks a world forgiven,)  
    Makes them serious, wise, and good,  
    And train them up for heaven.<sup>6</sup>

In the evening was that word fulfilled, "Him that cometh unto me, I will in no wise cast out,"<sup>7</sup> by the reception of a poor sinner to the favour of God in Christ Jesus.

**Thursday, September 7.** As often as I minister the word, our Lord ministers his grace through it. He blessed me also in private as well as family prayer, and conference with my Christian friends. In a word, whatsoever I do prospers.

**Sunday, September 10.** There was a [2:399] multitude of guests at our Lord's Supper; and none of them, I would hope, sent empty away.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>CW first wrote "witnesses"; then struck it out and replaced with "worshippers."

<sup>6</sup> CW never published this hymn written to celebrate their new home; but he did send a manuscript copy to his friend Ebenezer Blackwell in a letter also dated Sept. 4, 1749.

<sup>7</sup>John 6:37.

<sup>8</sup>See Matt. 15:32; Mark 8:3.

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**Friday, September 15.** My throat grew worse and worse, so that I could not preach in the evening.<sup>9</sup>

[2:400]

**October 1749**

**Sunday, October 22.** Rode with Mr. [James] Waller and my family to Kingswood. After the sacrament, we found the usual spirit of prayer.

**Wednesday, October [25].**<sup>1</sup> Among my hearers today at Bath were a son of Lord Chief Justice Lee;<sup>2</sup> my old school fellow, Sir Danvers Osborn;<sup>3</sup> and Lord Halifax.<sup>4</sup> They behaved decently, and were particularly taken with the singing. In the evening God sent forth his awakening power, and his fear fell on all that heard the word.

**Thursday, October 26.** Visited my house in peace.

**Saturday, October 28.** [[Heard that my brother was come. Troubled and burdened, yet went to him.<sup>5</sup> No love or joy or comfort in the meeting. No confidence on either side. He did not want to talk with me. Came home and was much comforted in prayer with [Edward] Perronet and [John] Jones.

[[**Sunday, October 29.** Dead, dead, dead at the sacrament. Rode back quite miserable. Through Trathen's<sup>6</sup> information that he had seen and been locked up with Grace Bennet,<sup>7</sup> and was still desirous to marry. Mournful discourse with Sally. Lost all strength and heart; weighed

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<sup>9</sup>A gap of over a month appears here in the MS Journal—the period when CW rushed to Newcastle to head off JW's potential marriage to Grace (Norman) Murray; officiating her marriage instead to John Bennet, without JW's knowledge. For accounts of this ill-thought intervention, see especially Bufford W. Coe, *John Wesley and Marriage* (Bethlehem, PA: Lehigh University Press, 1996), 29–35, 115–23; and G. M. Best, *A Tragedy of Errors: The Story of Grace Murray* (Bristol: New Room Publications, 2016). See also CW's emotional letter to Murray, Sept. 26, 1749.

<sup>1</sup>Orig., "October 24"; an error.

<sup>2</sup>Sir William Lee (1688–1754) served as Lord Chief Justice, 1737–54. At his death his will mentions only one son, named William.

<sup>3</sup>Danvers Osborn (1715–53), 3rd baronet; married to Lady Mary Montagu (d. 1743), the sister of Lord Halifax; and currently MP of Bedfordshire. No record of Osborn as a student at Westminster or Christ Church has been located.

<sup>4</sup>George Montagu-Dunk (1716–71), 2nd earl of Halifax (1739–71).

<sup>5</sup>CW's unease is due to his recent role in preventing JW's marriage to Grace (Norman) Murray; cf. the set of hymns titled "Written when under Reproach" that were likely composed at this time (MS Miscellaneous Hymns, 75–79).

<sup>6</sup>David Trathen was active among Methodists as a local preacher by 1747, and received as an itinerating preacher in 1748, but laid aside from this work in Nov. 1751 (see *Works*, 10:205, 214, 246).

<sup>7</sup>I.e., the former Grace (Norman) Murray.

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down to the earth. Went to talk with him; the effect,]] παροξυσμός.<sup>8</sup>

**Monday, October 30.** [[Sent a sad account to Mr. [Vincent] Perronet:

[[Dear Sir:

[[I write out of the fulness of my heart. Last Saturday our friend came hither. I went heavily to see him. He spoke very slightly of the fatal letter, insensible both of his own folly and danger, and of the divine goodness in so miraculously saving him.

[[Yesterday I assisted him at the sacrament, but my mouth was stopped all day, my hands hung down, and my heart fainted. At night we had a second weary]] παροξυσμός. [[Forced by his impatience, I had showed him my account of what has lately happened, though I judged it far better to defer it till his passion should be allayed and his eyes opened. It had the effect I expected. He denied the whole. “William Shent’s account was all lies. Jane Keith’s was all lies.<sup>9</sup> His only was all true. He had been in no fault at all, in no passion or inordinate affection, but had done all things well, and with the utmost calmness and deliberation. He had been no temptation; the church and work in no danger. That was nothing but my needless panic.” As soon as I could recover my astonishment, I told him plainly he was given up to Jewish blindness of heart, and the light which was in him was darkness; that God would overcome, but wherefore should he be smitten any more? I declared I would cover his nakedness as long as I could, and honour him before the people; and if I must at last break with him, would retreat gradually, and hide it from the world.

[[He seemed pleased with the thought of parting. Though God knows, as I told him, that I had saved him from a thousand false steps. And still I am persuaded we shall stand or fall together.

[[If he would not foresee the consequence of marrying, I said, he must marry and feel them afterward, while lying at the mercy of the good Bishop of Exeter.<sup>10</sup>

[[What the end of this thing will be, God only knoweth. But the cloud at present hanging over us looks very black.]]

**Tuesday, October 31.** [[I had designed to preach, but towards the time lost all strength and heart.]]

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<sup>8</sup>παροξυσμός is probably used here by CW with the negative sense of “a sharp disagreement” or “irritation”; though the rather more positive “a stirring up” or a “provoking” or “encouraging,” perhaps in love (cf. Heb. 10:24), is also possible.

<sup>9</sup>Jane (‘Jeannie’) Keith was a young Scotswoman from an apparently well-to-do background. About 1745 she found a religious retreat in the Orphan House, Newcastle.

<sup>10</sup>George Lavington (1684–1762), Bishop of Exeter since 1746, had published earlier this year the first two parts of his *The Enthusiasm of Methodists and Papists Compared* (London: John & Paul Knapton, 1749–51). Given JW’s exaltation the single life in *Thoughts on Marriage and a Single Life* (Bristol: Farley, 1743), CW knew that critics like Lavington would portray JW then marrying as hypocritical. See June 3, 1750 entry.



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[2:401]

**Thursday, November 2.** [[Heard him preaching, but how unlike himself!]]

**Saturday, November 4.** [[Letter to Mr. Perronet:

[[Dear Sir,

[[Since I wrote last, my soul has been exceeding sorrowful, and dragged down my body with it. I had fully designed to stand in our friend [JW]'s place, and labour more abundantly till his spirit should revive and his strength and reason return. But his added to my own was a burden too heavy for me to bear. My own you may suppose implies my partner's, to whom this affliction will perhaps prove fatal, so Dr. [John] Middleton says he has reason to fear. She was struck down upon my departure September 18,<sup>1</sup> and my return under such weight of evil has well nigh completed the ruin. One cause of rejoicing I shall have, if she is taken from the evil to come.<sup>2</sup> But alas for him who seethes the kid in its mother's milk.<sup>3</sup>

[[Yesterday he took my wife into his room, told her he almost scrupled to say what he was going to say, yet he broke through the scruple and read her his own account,<sup>4</sup> trying all he could to make a division between her and me. She could say nothing to his confident assertions, though the grossest misrepresentations and falsifications of facts. This last act of unkindness wounded me more than all the rest.

Your son Ted is come and confirms all my account. Told us that our friend has acted with most miserable weakness and imprudence, proposed marriage to one at Leeds,<sup>5</sup> said where ever he came he was going to be married. Talked to him of coming straight to Kingswood and marrying his servant there immediately,<sup>6</sup> and asked him whether he thought I should stay with him afterward. Ted honestly told him that neither he nor I should continue with him if he acted so basely.]]

**Wednesday, November 8.** Set out for London, with my brother and Ned Perronet. In perils of robbers, who were abroad and had robbed many the night before.<sup>7</sup> We commended

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<sup>1</sup>This illness may be related to Sarah's first pregnancy, which she would miscarry in Feb. 1750—for which CW blamed JW's current actions, see Feb. 9, 1750 entry.

<sup>2</sup>See Isa. 57:1.

<sup>3</sup>See Exod. 24:36.

<sup>4</sup>JW's manuscript account of these events, including a long poetic lament survives at the British Library (Add. MS. 7119). A published transcription appears in Augustin Leger, *Wesley's Last Love* (London: Dent, 1910).

<sup>5</sup>Apparently Miss Lundy, see Mar. 22, 1751.

<sup>6</sup>Mary ("Molly") Francis was mistress of the school for girls that was lodged in the "old house" at Kingswood. In 1751 she married John Maddern, one of JW's travelling preachers.

<sup>7</sup>See CW's hymn on this journey in MS Miscellaneous Hymns, 90–91.

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ourselves to God, and rode over the [Hounslow] Heath, singing.

**Friday, November 10.** Kept a joyful watchnight at the Foundery.

**Sunday, November 12.** Heard that our sister Somerset was gone to glory.<sup>8</sup>

God, who giveth power to them that faint,<sup>9</sup> was with my mouth, and strengthened me to preach the word with success.

**Friday, November 17.** Had a Conference of three days at Ned Perronet's.<sup>10</sup> Old Mr. Perronet was present, [[and well he was, for my brother flew out when contradicted, crying "If he must not have so much authority, he would have none at all." Mr. Perronet hardly believed him. I modestly proposed that question "How far is your or my will a law to our preachers?" But it was touching a sore place, meddling with the]] *arcana imperii*.<sup>11</sup> [[He showed the utmost uneasiness and impatience, telling me in Greek (on my urging the question) that I should ruin all, and threatening again to run away and live beyond [the] sea. Once more our good old friend humoured and stroked him into tolerable temper. I saw there was no good to be done, and half resolved I would never be at another Conference.]]<sup>12</sup>

Examined the classes, and returned in great bodily pain to Bristol.

[2:402]

**December 1749**

**Friday, December 1.** Hardly reached my own house, quite exhausted as I was with pain of body and vexation of spirit.

Had little power for several days, and less inclination to preach. My greatest comfort was the conversation of a few faithful friends, such as Mrs. [Elizabeth] Vigor, Sarah Perrin, Mrs. Davis,<sup>1</sup> and Suky Burdock.

**Wednesday, December 13.** [[Answered a soothing letter of Mr. [Vincent] Perronet's:

[[Dear Sir,

[[I thank you for speaking to my brother. But in vain do you refer me to him for the result of your conference. I am no longer of his council since he and I were together. All the security I desired, which you then thought reasonable, was his bare word that he would not take a step of so general importance without advice.

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<sup>8</sup>Martha Somerset was buried Nov. 16, 1749 in Islington.

<sup>9</sup>See Isa. 40:29.

<sup>10</sup>For the minutes of this Conference, see JW, *Works*, 10:230–37. The debates that follow between JW and CW were not part of the Conference, but took place on its edges.

<sup>11</sup>"State secrets."

<sup>12</sup>CW was not present at the next Conference in Bristol, Mar. 1750; and his attendance was sporadic after that.

<sup>1</sup>Mrs. Anne Davis, of London, whom CW met earlier this year, became a close friend of the family, visiting them in Bristol on several occasions. See CW's poetic eulogy on her death in Nov. 1775, in MS Funeral Hymns, 77–78.

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[[He has brought down my strength, and I am next to useless. For when I preach, which is very seldom, my word is without power or life. And my spirit is that of the whole people. All are faint and weary. All seem on the brink of desperation.]]

**Monday, December 18.** My birthday. *Forty* years long have I now grieved and tempted God, proved him, and seen his works.<sup>2</sup> I was more and more sensible of it all day, till I quite sunk under the burden.

**Saturday, December 23.** [[Letter to Mr. Perronet:

[[Reverend and Dear Sir,

[[Charles [Perronet] was exactly right in telling me. Your last was the voice of despairing friendship. You said nothing to the purpose of satisfying me, because you had nothing to say. Neither am I now surprised by your last.]] *Nulla mali nova mi facies inopinave venit.*<sup>3</sup> [[I expected no other than our friend's rejecting me out of his council, refusing to advise with me at all about marriage, which is the same as if he had wrote]] *res tuas tibi habito.*<sup>4</sup>

[[I must strive indeed to "believe the best," or even to hope it. The cry of nature is]] ... *occidit, occidit spes omnis!*<sup>5</sup> [[For I know with whom I have to do. Advise him against his inclination, he answers "Would thou heave up Olympus?" He is resolved, I very well know, to make all sure the next time.

[[His late deliverance by my ministry, and present silence of the w[omen],<sup>6</sup> gives ground to hope God will save him yet, in spite of himself. It is]] *dignus vindice nodus.*<sup>7</sup> [[High time for God to lay to his hand, and send deliverance out of Sion. Lord, we are oppressed, undertake for us. We know not what to do, but our eyes are unto you. Arise, O God, and maintain thine own cause.]]

**Sunday, December 24.** Preached with a little strength. Exhorted the society with more.

**Christmas Day.** The room was full as it could contain! Rejoiced from 4:00 to 6:00, that "to us a son is born, to us a child is given."<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>CW wrote *Forty* in Block Letters, for emphasis; he actually turned 42 that day; cf. the Dec. 18, 1736 entry.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Virgil, *Aeneid*, vi.103–05; "You cause no new evil to come unanticipated before me."

<sup>4</sup>"I consider that to be your matter[, not mine]"; a standard Latin formula for divorce.

<sup>5</sup>Horace, *Odes*, IV.iv.70–71; "Every hope is lost, is lost."

<sup>6</sup>The two other women to whom JW casually proposed; see the Nov. 4 letter above.

<sup>7</sup>Horace, *Art of Poetry*, 191; "A knot worthy to untie."

<sup>8</sup>Isa. 9:6.

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Received the sacrament at the College.<sup>9</sup> In the evening, all were melted down at our solemn lovefeast.

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<sup>9</sup>That is, Bristol Cathedral, on College Green.

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1750

[2:403]

[January] 1750

**Monday, January 1.** At 4:00 in the morning our room was excessively crowded, while I proclaimed the gospel year of jubilee.<sup>1</sup> We did not part without a blessing.

**Friday, January 12.** Preached (with the old power) on “Said I not unto thee, if thou wouldst believe, thou shouldst see the glory of God?”<sup>2</sup> Generally my hands hang down, and I am so feeble in mind that I cannot speak.

**Sunday, January 14.** The Spirit helped our infirmity at Kingswood. Sacrament. A daughter of our brother Grimshaw’s was just departed in the Lord, being perfected in a short space.<sup>3</sup>

**Wednesday, January 31.** We were waked at 2:00 by a clap of thunder unusually loud and terrible. My partner was much frightened.

February 1750

**Thursday, February 1.** Walked with her to Dr. [John] Middleton’s. The rain a little quickened our pace.

**Saturday, February 3.** She miscarried.

**Sunday, February 4.** Brought my friend Grimshaw home with me, comforted for his happy daughter. Had unlooked-for life in preaching.

**Thursday, February 8.** There was an earthquake in London.<sup>1</sup>

**Friday, February 9.** Letter to Mr. Perronet:

[[Sally is slowly recovering her strength after her miscarriage last week. How far it was occasioned by our late affliction I cannot say, but my brother has cast poison into my cup of temporal blessings, and destroyed as far as in him lay all my future usefulness to the Church. Yet still I strive against the stream, and beat the air, dragging myself to the work without love or zeal or faith for it. So the poor people here find it. And so it will be if I come to London.

[[My great comfort is, God does not want me.<sup>2</sup> Let him send whom he will send. He hath sworn that the earth shall be full of his glory; and all things, persons, events, whether good or evil shall work together for this end, till the mystery of God is fulfilled.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Luke 4:16–18; or Isa. 61:1–2.

<sup>2</sup>John 11:40.

<sup>3</sup>Jane Grimshaw (1737–50), of Haworth.

<sup>1</sup>The earthquake was noticeable, but not catastrophic; JW was in London and gives a short description in his *Journal*, Feb. 8, 1750, *Works*, 20:320.

<sup>2</sup>CW is using “want” in the sense of “need,” rather than that of “desire.”

<sup>3</sup>See Rev. 10:7.

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**1750**

Once I had great zeal and strong desires to be used as an instrument in his work, but now I only desire to rest, and stand upon my lot at the end of the days.]]<sup>4</sup>

**Tuesday, February 13.** Preached with a little strength [2:404] at Bearfield, and the next day with more at Freshford. The spirit of the people helped me. An old lady of fourscore received me into her house. We spent the time in prayer and singing. Stephen Naylor, a poor backslider, had another call to repentance, and seemed resolved to close with it.<sup>5</sup> I invited, at night, many burdened souls to Christ,<sup>6</sup> and his healing power was greatly present, and refreshed every weary spirit.

**Sunday, February 18.** Carried my sister Betsy to Kingswood,<sup>7</sup> where the Lord visited us again and feasted us at his table.

**Monday, February 19.** My wife had recovered strength for her journey. We set out with our sisters Betsy and Peggy. Could not reach Newnham Passage till past 7:00.<sup>8</sup> It was then quite dark. The boat on the other side refused to come over. We were got to the edge of the bank, the usual place of embarking, when providence sent a man to stop us. He informed us that the rains had choked up the river with two banks of sand, and where we were going was all quicksands. We followed him, with great difficulty, to another part of the river. My horse sunk up to the shoulders, but with a violent plunge struggled out. The boatmen at last took pity on us; came over, and with much pains carried us into the boat, and landed us safe on the opposite shore.

By **Wednesday, noon, February 21**, God conducted us safe to Ludlow. For the five following days I received fresh strength for the work,<sup>9</sup> and rejoiced in some measure that the gospel had free course.

**Tuesday, February 27.** Preached in their new room at Evesham, and not without a sensible blessing. Met my brother the next day at Oxford.

[2:405]

**March 1750**

**Thursday, March 1.** Rode to London. Ned Perronet supplied me with a lodging. [[Soon after my arrival Mr. Blackwell called on me and with all his awkwardness<sup>1</sup> recommended implicit obedience to my brother.]]

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<sup>4</sup>See Dan. 12:13.

<sup>5</sup>This was either the Mary Naylor's father Stephen (b. 1692) or her brother Stephen (b. 1721); whichever was still alive at this time died in 1754. Freshford was on the outskirts of Bath.

<sup>6</sup>Matt. 11:28.

<sup>7</sup>I.e., Elizabeth Gwynne, his sister-in-law.

<sup>8</sup>A ferry over the River Severn at Newnham, Gloucestershire.

<sup>9</sup>See Isa. 40:31.

<sup>1</sup>OED: "awkwardness or ineptitude."

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**Sunday, March 4.** Visited old Lydia White on her death-bed.<sup>2</sup> She accosted me, “Thou blessed of the Lord, art thou come? I did not expect to see my dear minister till we met in paradise. You and your brother are the instruments of my salvation. I have known the grace of the Lord Jesus long ago. Now I am entering into his glory. He has told me so. I am full of his joy now.” Her words strengthened my hands, as I found at the [West Street] chapel, speaking on those words, “Blessed is the man that endureth temptation.”<sup>3</sup> They sunk into many hearts. [[Stood siege again from Mr. Blackwell, a weak well-meaning man, giving him the hearing and answering only with my leg.]]

**Monday, March [5].** Prayed by my sister Wright,<sup>4</sup> a gracious, tender, trembling soul; a bruised reed, which the Lord will not break.<sup>5</sup>

\* **Thursday, March 8.**<sup>6</sup>

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[2:407]

**Friday, March 9.** Many flocked to the morning word, and were yet more stirred up thereby. Have scarce ever seen so many at intercession. At the chapel I preached on the occasion from Psalm 46, with very great awakening power.<sup>7</sup>

**Saturday, March 10.** Expounded Isaiah 24, a chapter I had not taken much notice of till this awful providence explained it: “Behold, the Lord maketh the earth empty, and maketh it waste, and turneth it upside down, and scattereth abroad the inhabitants thereof. [...] The foundations of the earth do shake. The earth is utterly broken down, the earth is clean dissolved, the earth is moved exceedingly. The earth shall reel to and fro like a drunkard, and shall be removed like a cottage; and the transgression thereof shall be heavy upon it; and it shall fall, and not rise again.”<sup>8</sup>

Prayed by our sister Lewis, quietly expecting her release.<sup>9</sup> Preached at Snowfields, and urged them to enter into the Rock,<sup>10</sup> now the Lord is risen to shake terribly the earth.

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<sup>2</sup>Lydia White appears as a married woman in the Foundery Band Lists (1742–46).

<sup>3</sup>James 1:12.

<sup>4</sup>Mehetabel (Wesley) Wright, who would die on Mar. 21.

<sup>5</sup>See Isa. 42:3.

<sup>6</sup>CW marked with an asterisk in the left margin, and left a full page and a half blank. He surely intended to insert detail about the earthquake that hit London that day (a month after the first). He sent a short account in a letter to JW on this date. He also soon rushed into print *Hymns Occasioned by the Earthquake, March 8, 1750* (London: [Strahan], 1750).

<sup>7</sup>For a sense of the sermon, see his contemporary hymn on the text: *Hymns Occasioned by the Earthquake* (1750), 1:9–12.

<sup>8</sup>Isa. 24:1, 18–20.

<sup>9</sup>Rebecca Lewis appears as a married woman in the Foundery Band Lists (1742–46), and a woman of this name was buried in London on May 25, 1750.

<sup>10</sup>Isa. 2:10.

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**Sunday, March 11.** My spirit and many others' seem revived by the late judgment. The word is with the accustomed power, both at London and Deptford, and wherever I minister it.

**Wednesday, March 14.** Found my sister Wright very near the haven; and again on **Sunday, the 18th.** Yet still in darkness, doubts, and fears, against hope believing in hope.<sup>11</sup>

Preached to a vast attentive multitude over our brother Hoy's grave.<sup>12</sup> As he lived the life, he died the death of the righteous.<sup>13</sup> O might my last end be like his!

**Wednesday, March 21.** At 4:00 call[ed] on my brother [William] Wright. A few minutes after her spirit was set at liberty. Had sweet fellowship with her in [2:408] explaining at the [West Street] chapel those solemn words, "Thy sun shall no more go down, neither shall thy moon withdraw itself. For the Lord shall be thine everlasting light, and the days of thy mourning shall be ended."<sup>14</sup> All present seemed partakers both of my sorrow and my joy.

**Monday, March 26.** Followed her to her quiet grave,<sup>15</sup> and wept with them that wept.<sup>16</sup>

**April 1750**

**Wednesday, April 4.** Saw several happy souls, in spite of their feeble, sick, or pained bodies. One I visited yesterday died in the faith soon after.

Mrs. E.<sup>1</sup> came to the chapel-house as usual, an hour before the service. I perceived she had been with *the Brethren* in her self-sufficiency and utter impatience of contradiction.

Fear filled our chapel, occasioned by a prophecy of the earthquake's return this night. I preached my written sermon on the subject,<sup>2</sup> with great effect, and gave out several suitable hymns. It was a glorious night for the disciples of Jesus.

**Thursday, April 5.** At 4:00 rose, after a night of sound sleep, while my neighbours watched. Sent an account to Mrs. [Sarah] Gwynne, as follows:

The late earthquake has found me work. Yesterday I saw the Westminster end of the town full of coaches, and crowds flying out of the reach of divine justice with astonishing precipitation. Their panic was caused by a poor madman's prophecy: last

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<sup>11</sup>See Rom. 4:18.

<sup>12</sup>Possibly Capt. Robert Hoy, a pensioner since 1742 at the Royal Hospital in Chelsea; buried there Mar. 20, 1750.

<sup>13</sup>See Num. 23:10.

<sup>14</sup>Isa. 60:20.

<sup>15</sup>Mehetabel (Wesley) Wright was buried at St. Anne's church in Westminster.

<sup>16</sup>See Rom. 12:15.

<sup>1</sup>Possibly Susanna (Hathorne) Ewsters; while she and her husband were listed among members of the Fetter Lane Moravian congregation in 1743, she appears as a married woman in the Foundry Band Lists (1742–46) starting in June 1745.

<sup>2</sup>*The Cause and Cure of Earthquakes* (London: [Strahan,] 1750); see the sermon collection on this website (or CW, *Sermons*, 225–37).



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night they were all to be swallowed up. The vulgar were in almost as great consternation as their betters. Most of them watched all night; multitudes in the fields and open places, several in their coaches. Many removed [2:409] their goods. London looked like a sacked city. A lady, just stepping into her coach to escape, dropped down dead. Many came all night knocking at the Foundry door, and begging admittance for God's sake. Our poor people were calm and quiet, as at another time.

**Saturday, April 7.** Visited a dying sister, speechless yet full of earnest love, as her looks and signs confessed.

Among the penitents, our Lord visited us in a spirit of prayer and contrition.

**Sunday, April 8.**<sup>3</sup> Buried our brother Somerset, who came to the grave as a ripe shock of corn in its season.<sup>4</sup> He has now overtook his companion, and death can no more separate them.

**Monday, April 9.** Visited Mrs. [Martha] Colvill at St. Anne's Hill. Much delighted with the wood, much more with the company. I did not think there was any such creature upon earth as a girl of twelve years old without guile and without vanity.<sup>5</sup>

Another was gathered into the garner. I buried her earthly part—for a short season.

**Sunday, April 15.** Met Mr. Salmon's *Foreigner's Companion through the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford*, printed 1748,<sup>6</sup> and made the following extract, p. 25:

The times of the day the University go to this church, are 10:00 in the morning, and 2:00 in the afternoon, on Sundays and holidays, the sermon usually lasting about half an hour. But when I happened to be at Oxford, in 1742, Mr. Wesley, the Methodist, of Christ Church, entertained his audience two hours, and, having insulted and abused all degrees, from the highest to the lowest, was in a manner hissed out of the pulpit by the lads.

And high time for them to do so, if the historian said true. But, unfortunately for him, I measured the time by my watch, and it was within the hour. I abused neither high nor low, as [2:410] my sermon in print will prove.<sup>7</sup> Neither was I hissed out of the pulpit, or treated with the least incivility, either by young or old.

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<sup>3</sup>This was the first anniversary of CW's marriage to Sarah Gwynne Jr. See the hymn he sent her on that occasion in CW to SGW, Apr. 3, 1750; and MS Richmond, 123–24.

<sup>4</sup>John Somerset was buried next to his wife in Islington.

<sup>5</sup>Mary Degge (1737–1829), who lived with her aunt Martha (Meighen) Colvill. In 1756 CW will officiate her marriage to Lord Robert Manners (b. 1721–82).

<sup>6</sup>Thomas Salmon (1679–1767), *Foreigner's Companion through the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford* (London: W. Owen, 1748).

<sup>7</sup>CW, *A Sermon Preached on April 4, 1742 before the University of Oxford* (London: Strahan, 1742). This is "Awake Thou that Sleepest."

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What then shall I say to my old high-Church friend,<sup>8</sup> whom I once so much admired? I must rank him among the apocryphal writers, such as the judicious Dr. Mather, the wary Bishop Burnet, and the most modest Mr. Oldmixon.<sup>9</sup>

**Friday, April 20.** Found my Sally well among her friends at Ludlow. She rejoiced my heart with her account of Molly Leyson,<sup>10</sup> whom she saw triumphant in her last hour. Here is another blessed soul gone to paradise with a good report of us.

Continued ten or eleven days, mostly preaching every night and morning, here or at Leominster. The latter part of the time a prisoner of pain.

**May 1750**

**Wednesday, May 2.** Took horse at 3:00, and came weary to Bristol by night.

**Friday, May 4.** Hearing the Moravians had been soliciting some of our children, I exhorted them this evening to “put on the whole armour of God,”<sup>1</sup> and his power was present to confirm the souls of the disciples.

**Sunday, May 6.** The Lord was with us as in the former times, both at the sacrament and while I applied to thousands that word, “Thou fool, this night shall thy soul be required of thee.”<sup>2</sup>

Doubted whether I should again warn the society against the Moravians. Led unawares to mention them. Read some of their miserable hymns;<sup>3</sup> spoke of our children, both the living and the dead; commended my brother; pleaded with them in words not my own. Our hearts were knit together in love which neither men nor devils shall dissolve. [2:411]

**Sunday, May 13.** Baptized Hannah, Mrs. Gibbs’s maid, and the whole congregation with her were conscious of the descent of the Spirit, who bears witness with the water.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>CW seems to be confusing Thomas Salmon (1679–1767), the Scottish historian, with the Thomas Salmon (b. 1705) who matriculated at Christ Church the same year as he did.

<sup>9</sup> CW is comparing Salmon to Cotton Mather (1663–1728), who was infamous for his support of the witch trials in Salem, MA; Gilbert Burnet (1643–1715); Bishop of Salisbury 1689–1715), whose portrayal of his supporters and friends in *History of His Own Times* spawned charges of misrepresentation and naiveté; and John Oldmixon (1673–1742), a strongly biased whig historian who notoriously accused his opponents of falsifying an edition of Clarendon’s standard *History of the Rebellion*.

<sup>10</sup>See CW’s epitaph on this cousin of his wife: “On Miss Molly Leyson,” MS Richmond, 127; and the funeral hymn in *Funeral Hymns* (1759), 22–23.

<sup>1</sup>Eph. 6:11–17.

<sup>2</sup>Luke 12:20.

<sup>3</sup>CW was surely reading from JW’s satirical collection: *Hymns Composed for the Use of the Brethren by the Right Rev. and Most Illustrious C[ount] Z[inzendorf]* (London: Strahan, 1749); see *Works*, 14:77–90.

<sup>4</sup>See 1 John 5:6–8.

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Spoke with two of the society whom the Moravians had inspired with their own spirit of self-conceit. They were wiser than their old teachers, [though] not because they keep God's commandments,<sup>5</sup> for those they have nothing to do with. I was grieved for the pride and blindness of their hearts, but the Lord lifted me up, and many others, by his word "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased."<sup>6</sup> We joyfully received the record which God hath given of his Son, and believed—without the Brethren's leave.

**Tuesday, May 15.** Set out with Mrs. [Mary] Vazeille, etc., for Ludlow, and the next day saluted our friends there. During our nine days' stay they showed her all the civility and love that they could show, and she seemed equally pleased with them.

**Thursday, May 24.** My Sally was so very ill in the evening that I gave up the hope of her company to town. But the next morning,

**Friday, May 25,** she would go, notwithstanding we all dissuaded her. At 8:00 we mounted. Had fair weather after last night's excessive rain. She mended every stage. I preached in the evening at Worcester.

**Saturday, May 26.** Our brother Watson met us with a chaise,<sup>7</sup> and carried Mrs. Vazeille and Sally to Mrs. Keech's in Evesham by noon.<sup>8</sup> Mr. [James] Waller and I rode by them. Preached with life and liberty.

**Sunday, May 27.** Accepted the mayor's offer of the townhall.<sup>9</sup> The door was quite open. Many gentry and others listened to the word of life. So again in the evening. Rejoiced with the society, whose enemies God has made to be at peace with them. [2:412]

**Monday, May 28.** Saw Blenheim in our way to Oxford.<sup>10</sup> Our old friend Mr. [William] Evans received us with his wonted hospitality.

**Tuesday, May 29.** Showed Mr. Waller and Mrs. Vazeille the buildings and gardens. Gave the sacrament to Mrs. Neal, a true daughter of affliction. Preached again at night.

**Wednesday, May 30.** Had a long day's journey to St. Anne's [Hill]. It was past 9:00 before we got under shelter. Mrs. [Priscilla] Rich was there, who, with our old friends, received us gladly.

**Thursday, May 31.** Mr. Waller and Mrs. Vazeille went to town.

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<sup>5</sup>See Ps. 119:99–101.

<sup>6</sup>Matt. 3:17.

<sup>7</sup>John Watson (1689–1765) of Bengeworth, on the outskirts of Evesham; a supporter of the Wesley brothers.

<sup>8</sup>John Keech had died in 1751, so Martha (Glover) Keech was now a widow; cf. JW, *Journal*, Mar. 20, 1751, *Works*, 20:380.

<sup>9</sup>Thomas Hull was the current mayor of Evesham.

<sup>10</sup>Blenheim Palace, Woodstock, Oxford. It was built between 1705 and 1722.

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June 1750

**Saturday, June 2.** Took up our quarters for eight or nine days at Mrs. Vazeille's.<sup>1</sup>

**Whitsunday, June 3.** [[Weighed down all day by my brother's threatenings to marry. O why did he ever preclude himself from it? Why did he publish his rash book against it?]]<sup>2</sup>

**Monday, June 4.** Preached at the chapel with the usual blessing [[but continued feeble and faint in my mind the whole week]].

**Thursday, June 7.** Carried Sally to see our old friends at Newington Green.<sup>3</sup> It is remarkable that the first time Mrs. Stotesbury ever saw her, she said within herself, "That person is to be my minister's wife."

**Monday, June 11.** Paid our friends at St. Anne's [Hill] a short visit, and returned the next day.

**Wednesday, June 13.** Fetched back my hostage from Chertsey.

**Monday, June 18.** Called on Mrs. [Hannah] Dewell at Croydon, and drove on to Westerham,<sup>4</sup> where we met an hearty welcome from Mr. Waller's mother and sister Dudley.<sup>5</sup> Walked in Mr. Turner's, and then in General Campbell's, gardens.<sup>6</sup> He appeared, carried us into his house, and entertained us with great courtesy.

**Tuesday, June 19.** Rode back to the Foundery, and [2:413] read the letters.

**Thursday, June 21.** Took horse at 3:00, and *waked* them at Westerham. Passed the day with them in the gardens, reading, singing, and conversing.

**Friday, June 22.** Met a daughter of my worthy old friend Mr. Erskine's at the Foundery.<sup>7</sup> She was deeply wounded by the sword of the Spirit.<sup>8</sup> Confessed she had turned many to deism, and feared there could be no mercy for her.

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<sup>1</sup>Mary (Goldhawk) Vazeille lived on Threadneedle Street in London.

<sup>2</sup>JW, *Thoughts on Marriage and a Single Life* (Bristol: Farley, 1743).

<sup>3</sup>Captain Edward Stotesbury (1683–1755) and his wife Mary (Jackson) Stotesbury (d. 1759) lived in Newington Green and were supportive of the Wesley brothers. JW did the funeral service for Edward; see JW, *Journal*, Aug. 16, 1755. CW wrote a hymn celebrating Mary's life, on the occasion of her death; see *Funeral Hymns* (1759), 18–20.

<sup>4</sup>CW uses the common shorter name "Westram."

<sup>5</sup>Anne (Smyth) Waller (c. 1690–1781) had been a widow for some time. She was staying with her daughter—one of James's sisters—Esther (Waller) Dudley (c. 1714–57), who had married John Dudley in 1734.

<sup>6</sup>John Campbell (c. 1693–1770), who was currently a Lieutenant General of the British Dragoons, and later the 4th Duke of Argyll. His estate was at Combe Bank, just outside of Westerham.

<sup>7</sup>James Erskine had one daughter, Mary (1714–72), who had married John Keith, 3rd Earl of Kintore.

<sup>8</sup>See Eph. 6:17.

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**Saturday, June 23.** A woman whom I baptized perceived her sins to be then washed away. Found much of the spirit of contrition among the penitents.

**Sunday, June 24.** My text was, “Comfort ye, comfort ye my people, saith the Lord,”<sup>9</sup> and his consolations were not small with us. At the sacrament they abounded.

Poor Mrs. C— told me she was in an agony, the pangs of labour nothing to what she felt.

I believe God owned me more this day on account of one who, in an abusive letter, had affirmed that the Lord was departed from me.<sup>10</sup>

**Thursday, June 28.** Prayed by our faithful brother [Thomas] Hogg, just departing in the Lord and to him. [[Read letters from my brother, not yet married, in Ireland. Yet enabled to preach with great success.]]<sup>11</sup>

**Friday, June 29.** The scriptures for the day were much blessed to my comfort. My mouth and heart were both opened to preach the word. The presence of the Lord made it a solemn sacrament.

Visited the widow (Hogg) in her affliction, and tried to turn it into the right channel.<sup>12</sup>

Continued in watching and prayer till 1:00.

[2:414]

**July 1750**

**Monday, July 2.** Buried our late brother Hogg, and preached at his grave to a countless multitude on “These are they that came through great tribulation . . .”<sup>1</sup> The Lord gave me utterance, and them the hearing ear.

**Monday, July 9.** Administered the sacrament to a dying believer; lately called, but now made equal to them that have borne the heat and burden of the day.<sup>2</sup>

**Wednesday, July 11.** Preached a written sermon at Spitalfields,<sup>3</sup> on my beloved friend and brother Hogg.<sup>4</sup> The chapel was crowded, and the house of mourning was turned to an house of great rejoicing.

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<sup>9</sup>Isa. 40:1.

<sup>10</sup>This letter is not known to survive.

<sup>11</sup>These specific journal letters from JW are not known to survive.

<sup>12</sup>Thomas Hogg married Mary Hastin in 1732.

<sup>1</sup>Rev. 7:14.

<sup>2</sup>See Matt. 20:12.

<sup>3</sup>Spitalfields is an area about 1 mile north of Tower Bridge that was settled by French Huguenot refugees in the late seventeenth century. Sometime prior to 1750 the Methodists took over one of the Huguenot chapels on Grey Eagle Street, and referred to it as Spitalfields chapel. See Martin, *Wesley's Chapels*, 53–54.

<sup>4</sup>This sermon does not appear to have survived. However, CW also published at this time a letter that Thomas Hogg had written to him in 1741 detailing his religious conversion: *A Short Account of God's Dealings with Mr. Thomas Hogg* (London: [Strahan], 1750). Appended to this is a hymn by CW “On the Death of Thomas Hogg, June 29, 1750,” and an epitaph (pp. 11–12).

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**Monday, July 16.** Rode to St. Anne's [Hill], and returned in such a storm of thunder, lightening, and rain as I hardly remember to have seen out of America.

**Wednesday, July 18.** Had the satisfaction of bringing back to Mr. [James] Erskine his formerly disobedient daughter.<sup>5</sup> She fell at his feet. It was a moving interview. All wept. Our heavenly Father heard our prayers.

I preached immediately after on "And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me."<sup>6</sup> We had a double blessing and power. Poor Jane Cox said she was even compelled to receive Christ.

**Friday, July 20.** Kept a solemn watchnight at Spitalfields.

**Sunday, July 22.** After evening service I set out with Robert Windsor.<sup>7</sup> Got two or three hours' rest at Mr. [Charles] Manning's, and

**Monday, July 23,** breakfasted with Mr. [William] Evans in Oxford. I lodged at Worcester, and by 8:00 on **Tuesday morning, July 24,** found Sally well at Ludlow.

Every evening we retired to pray together, and our Lord's presence made [2:415] it a little church.

**Saturday, July 28.** Wrote to Mrs. [Sarah] Gwynne, earnestly beseeching her to do all in her power to reconcile her son and daughter.<sup>8</sup>

**Tuesday, July 31.** The word I preached this day at Leominster was accompanied with the power and blessing of God.

**August 1750**

**Tuesday, August 7.** At 7:00 set out with Sally for Bristol, without the consent of the rest. It rained small rain till we came to Leominster, and so most of the way to Ross.<sup>1</sup>

**Wednesday, August 8.** It rained hard soon after we set out, but quickly gave over. We had a rough, dangerous passage at Framilode.<sup>2</sup> Dined at Cambridge Inn.<sup>3</sup> Had trying journey,

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<sup>5</sup>See the June 22, 1750 entry.

<sup>6</sup>John 12:32.

<sup>7</sup>Robert Windsor (1704–90) was one of the first members of the Foundery society and served JW faithfully in various roles at the Foundery and City Road Chapel. See JW's reflections on Windsor's death in JW, *Journal*, Feb. 7, 1790 (*Works*, 24:165).

<sup>8</sup>This may refer to marital difficulty between Marmaduke Gwynne Jr. and Jane (Howells) Gwynne; cf. Sarah (Evans) Gwynne to CW, Dec. 26, 1749. Or Howell Gwynne might have been objecting to the pending marriage of Elizabeth Gwynne to James Waller. This letter is not known to survive.

<sup>1</sup>Ross-on-Wye, Herefordshire.

<sup>2</sup>CW spells "Frommelow."

<sup>3</sup>In Cambridge, Gloucestershire.

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driven by the wind, and battered by the rain.<sup>4</sup>

Sally was frightened with the thunder, which often forced us to trees and huts for shelter. Yet at 7:00, by the assistance of God, we entered our own house in peace.

**Friday, August 10.** Sally accompanied me in my visits to the sick.

**Sunday, August 12.** The Lord met us, who remembered him in his ways.<sup>5</sup>

**Monday, August 13.** Met my sister Hall in the churchyard, and carried her to the Room. I had begun preaching when Mr. Hall walked up the room, and through the desk, and carried her off with him.<sup>6</sup> I was somewhat disturbed, yet went on.

**Wednesday, August 15.** He came up again, calling me by my name. I fled and he pursued, but could not find me in my lurking place.

**Tuesday, August 28.** Many rejoiced in hope, our Lord applying that precious promise, “I will allure her, and will bring her into the wilderness, and will speak comfortable unto her.”<sup>7</sup>

[2:416]

**September 1750**

**Saturday, September 1.** Finished Rapin’s *History*,<sup>1</sup> which has cured me in some degree of the prejudices of education.

**Sunday, September 2.** Baptized Hannah Skinner. He remembered his promise, “Lo, I am with you.”<sup>2</sup>

**Tuesday, September 4.** Carried Sally to Mr. [Thomas] Haynes, and preached with an enlarged heart, as I always do at Wick.

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<sup>4</sup>Thomas Parnell, “The Hermit,” ln. 96, *Poems*, 170.

<sup>5</sup>See Luke 22:19.

<sup>6</sup>Westley Hall’s marital infidelity, resulting in children other than by his wife Martha (Wesley) Hall, led to scandal in Salisbury and his first desertion of Martha in Oct. 1747; as recorded in an anonymous letter dated Oct. 30, 1747 published in *Gentleman’s Magazine* 17 (1747): 531 (also in JW, *Works*, 20:199n). JW visited Martha in Salisbury in early Dec. 1747, where she remained, and again in late Jan. 1748, when Westley Hall had returned and the couple were reconciled for a bit; see JW, *Journal*, Dec. 1, 1747 to Jan. 25, 1748, *Works*, 20:199–205. But Westley’s infidelity continued, becoming more overt, which led Martha (Wesley) Hall to leave him, going first to London, where she stayed at the Foundery, and now to Bristol. Having lost his church, Hall followed Martha around for a time, trying to reclaim her.

<sup>7</sup>Hosea 2:14.

<sup>1</sup>Paul Rapin de Thoyras (1661–1725), *The History of England, as well ecclesiastical as civil*, 15 vols. (London: Knapton, 1727–31). This was the text assigned at Kingswood school. CW later bought his own set of the 20 volume 4th edition, which can be found (with his inscription) in MARC (CW79–98).

<sup>2</sup>Matt. 28:20.

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**Wednesday, September 5.** My worthy friend Mr. [William] Evans looked upon us in his return to Oxford.

**Sunday, September 9.** Proclaimed to a great multitude in the Orchard “Christ the way, the truth, and the life,”<sup>3</sup> and left, I humbly hope, a blessing behind me.

**Monday, September 10.** Set out with Sally, and parted; she for Ludlow, I for London; where I arrived on Wednesday morning.

**Thursday, September 13.** Met my brother and the stewards.

**Friday, September 14.** Met James Hervey at the Tabernacle,<sup>4</sup> and in the fellowship of the Spirit of love.

**Sunday, September 16.** A great number of communicants perceived the Lord present. He gave us his blessing at our lovefeast also. Restless all night, through a boil rising on my neck.

**Monday, September 17.** Rose at 2:00 and set out for the north. Beyond Islington my mare threw and fell upon me. Held on as far as St. Albans and was then forced to lie down. Yet could not sleep, day or night.

**Tuesday afternoon, September 18.** With much difficulty got back to London.

**Friday, September 28.** Continued in great pain for several days, till the boil broke.

Passed three days at Newington Green,<sup>5</sup> and found benefit by my physic and fresh air. Mr. [James] Waller and his sisters frequently called, and rejoiced with the church in our house.

[2:417]

**October 1750**

**Sunday, October 7.** Got out to the [West Street] chapel on this and every Lord’s Day. The rest of the month confined to the house mostly. Dr. Wathen attended me constantly, till both my neck and swollen hand were quite well.<sup>1</sup>

**Monday, October 29.** Set out with Mr. [James] Waller and Bridgin.<sup>2</sup> Slept the first night at Oxford, the second at Moreton.<sup>3</sup>

**Wednesday, October 31.** By 10:00 came to Evesham, and had great comfort in praying over our sick brother [John] Watson. Lodged at Worcester, and was refreshed with the little

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<sup>3</sup>John 14:6.

<sup>4</sup>James Hervey (1714–58). See CW’s hymn on Hervey’s death in *Funeral Hymns* (1759), 61–63.

<sup>5</sup>At the home of Edward and Mary Stotesbury.

<sup>1</sup>Samuel Wathen (1720–87) was apprenticed to William Thornhill (a surgeon on Corn Street) when the Methodist revival broke out in Bristol in 1738. He emerged quickly as a leading member of the Baldwin Street society. He went on to secure academic qualifications, receiving his MD at Aberdeen in 1752, and was granted a Licentiate of the College of Physicians in 1756. He settled in London and frequently offered care to the Wesley brothers.

<sup>2</sup>Edward Bridgin appears as a single man in the Foundery Band Lists (1742–46).

<sup>3</sup>Moreton in Marsh, Gloucestershire.



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handful at sister Blackmore's.<sup>4</sup>

**November 1750**

**Thursday, November 1.** Preached in Ludlow, where I stayed the whole month, exercised by severe and unexpected trials. One night (November 28) Mr. Waller fell into convulsions, through the distractions of his mind. I was on the point of following him. Betsy and Juggy<sup>1</sup> fainted away. Confusion reigned throughout the family.

**December 1750**

**Saturday, December 1.** Rode out with Miss Becky to meet Mrs. Allen and Mrs. Dudley,<sup>1</sup> and brought them to Ludlow.

**Sunday, December 2.** Encouraged a poor girl to seek for her cure from him who had wounded her. She has the outward mark too, being daily threatened to be turned out of doors by her master—a great swearer, and strict Churchman; a constant communicant, and habitual drunkard.

**Tuesday, December 4.** Mr. Waller's wedding-day.<sup>2</sup> How unlike my own! Rose after a sleepless night, in the spirit of heaviness. Prayed for them and with them. Soon after 8:00 they were married, "And 'twas my ministry to deal the blow!"<sup>3</sup> [2:418]

**Friday, December 7.** Left the house of woe, and the next day rejoiced to find myself among my friends at Bristol.

**Sunday, December 9.** Visited my sick friends, four of them in the triumph of faith. Sister Page was almost overpowered, had desired to live only to see me.<sup>4</sup> She began recovering from our praying together.

The society seemed filled with consolation. It was a glorious time, and made me forget my late sorrows and sufferings.

**Monday, December 10.** Visited our sister Arnett, aged eighty-six, just ripe for glory; and a child of brother Walcam's, departing in the spirit of praise and love.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>In a letter to his wife, Sept. 30, 1753, CW describes Mrs. Blackmore as a hatter.

<sup>1</sup>"Juggy" was the nickname for Joan Gwynne (1728–1801), one of Sally's sisters. "Betsy" was her sister Elizabeth.

<sup>1</sup>Two of James Waller's sisters, come for the wedding: Anne (Waller) Allen (b. 1717) and Esther (Waller) Dudley.

<sup>2</sup>James Waller was marrying Elizabeth Gwynne, the younger sister of CW's wife Sally.

<sup>3</sup>Thomas Parnell, "The Hermit," l. 231.

<sup>4</sup>Marieanne (Deschamps) Page, wife of Isaac Page (d. 1739), and one of the members of the earliest women's bands in Bristol; cf. JW to James Hutton, Apr. 16, 1739, *Works*, 25:631.

<sup>5</sup>Elizabeth Walcam (1733–51); cf. the account of her death in JW's *Journal* (June 1, 1751), *Works*, 20:389–90. John Walcam, a Bristol merchant, appears as a married man in a

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**Sunday, December 16.** Two went home from the word justified.

**Sunday, December 23.** Gave a close exhortation to the society, which seemed to sink into every heart.

**Tuesday, Christmas Day.** Rejoiced from 4:00 to 6:00, with as many as our room could contain. Then rode to Newbury with Thomas Hamilton.<sup>6</sup> Eating, immediately he fainted away. I found myself going, and prevented it by a vomit.

**Thursday, December 27.** Did not reach the Foundery till 11:00. Found Sally at Mrs. Allen's.<sup>7</sup>

**Friday, December 28.** Officiated at Spitalfields chapel. One received forgiveness with the sacrament.

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surviving list of the Methodist bands in Bristol in 1741; cf. *WHS* 19 (1934): 161.

<sup>6</sup>Apparently the Thomas Hamilton who was received into the early society at Bristol in 1739, at the age of 14; see JW to James Hutton, June 4, 1739, *Works*, 25:654.

<sup>7</sup>I.e., her new sister-in-law, Anne (Waller) Allen.

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[January] 1751

[2:419]

**Tuesday, January 1.** Began the new year as usual, with the voice of joy and thanksgiving.<sup>1</sup>

**Wednesday, January 2.** Visited a sick believer, who talked of death as of going to sleep. “When I think of the grave,” said she, “I think it is a sweet, soft place. But my spirit shall mount above.”

Mr. [James] Waller having always insisted on our sojourning with him a while, when he should have an house of his own, I carried Sally thither, to her two inseparable sisters, Betsy and Peggy.<sup>2</sup>

**Friday, January 4.** Spent the evening at Mrs. [Martha] Colvill’s, and left my partner there.

**Sunday afternoon, January 6.** Mrs. Colvill and Miss [Mary] Degge brought her me back. We had the pleasure of frequent visits from them.

**Sunday, January 13.** Preached at Hayes church,<sup>3</sup> morning and evening, on “Come unto me, all that labour,”<sup>4</sup> and “Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away . . .”<sup>5</sup> They were patient, at least, of the truth. Rode back to town [[and heard my brother exhort the society. I thought he misspent his strength in trifles]].

**Monday, January 14.** Mr. Waller’s three sisters were at our family prayers;<sup>6</sup> in which I was even overwhelmed with their burden, and constrained to warn them with tears and vehement expressions of my fear and sorrow. The arrows of conviction pierced one of their hearts. The others were rather confounded than alarmed.

**Thursday, January 24.** [[Heard my brother again in the society. A poor society indeed! His words were quite trifling.]]

Sunday, January 27. Preached at the Foundery with great severity. [[Betsy was among my hearers, but alas her hunger for righteousness and the word is all gone.]]

**Wednesday, January 30.** Got an hour’s very useful conversation with Lady Piers.<sup>7</sup>

[2:420]

February 1751

**Saturday, February 2.** My brother, returned from Oxford, sent for and told me *he was resolved to marry!* I was thunderstruck, and could only answer he had given me the first blow,

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<sup>1</sup>I.e., in corporate worship; see Ps. 42:4.

<sup>2</sup>I.e., Elizabeth (Gwynne) Waller and Margaret Gwynne.

<sup>3</sup>Hayes, Middlesex, where Charles Manning was vicar.

<sup>4</sup>Matt. 11:28.

<sup>5</sup>John 1:29.

<sup>6</sup>Anne (Waller) Allen, Sarah (Waller) Young (b. c. 1720), and Esther (Waller) Dudley.

<sup>7</sup>Lady Cornelia Gertrude (Pigott) Piers (d. 1777), wife of Sir John Piers (d. 1747), 4th Baronet, of Tristernagh Abbey; and a relative of Rev. Henry Piers.

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and his marriage would come like the coup de grace. Trusty Ned Perronet followed, and told me the person was Mrs. [Mary] Vazeille! One of whom I had never had the least suspicion. I refused his company to the [West Street] chapel, and retired to mourn with my faithful Sally. Groaned all the day, and several following ones, under my own and the people's burden. I could eat no pleasant food, nor preach, nor rest, either by night or by day.

**Sunday, February 3.** Gave the sacrament, but without power or life. No comfort in it, no singing between, no prayer after it.

**Thursday, February 7.** My excessive cough helped to pull me down, and then a sore throat. My companion sympathized with me too sensibly.

**Thursday, February 14.** She was often in great pain, especially today. I watched by her in great distress, but could not remove her pain by sharing it. Sent for Mr. [Samuel] Wathen, who prescribed what gave her immediate relief. I gave God, who heareth prayer, the glory.

**Sunday, February 17.** Dragged myself to the [West Street] chapel, and spoke on those words, "Thy sun shall no more go down ...."<sup>1</sup> The whole congregation seemed infected by my sorrow. Both under the word and at the sacrament we wept and made supplication. It was a blessed mourning to us all.

At the Foundery heard my brother's lamentable apology,<sup>2</sup> which made us all hide our faces. Several days afterwards I was one of the last that heard of his unhappy marriage.<sup>3</sup>

**Monday, February 18.** Carried Sally out of the confusion to Mrs. [Martha] Colvill's.

**[2:421]**

**Sunday, February 24.** After sacrament, Mr. [Ebenezer] Blackwell fell upon me in a manner peculiar to himself, beating, driving, dragging me to my dear sister.<sup>4</sup>

**Wednesday, February 27.** My brother came to the chapel-house with his wife.<sup>5</sup> I was glad to see him. Saluted her. Stayed to hear him preach, but ran away when he began his apology.

**March 1751**

**Friday, March 1.** [[Miss Hardy related my brother's apology "that in Oxford he had an indep[endent] fellowship,<sup>1</sup> was universally honoured, etc., but left all for the people's sake, returned to town,<sup>2</sup> took up his cross, and married. That at Oxford he had no more thought of a

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<sup>1</sup>Isa. 60:20.

<sup>2</sup>JW's explanation for why he would marry, despite recommending the single state, particularly to his lay preachers.

<sup>3</sup>JW was wed to Mary (Goldhawk) Vazeille on Feb. 18, 1751, in Hays, Middlesex, with Rev. Charles Manning presiding; see *WHS* 59.2 (2013): 67.

<sup>4</sup>I.e., Mary (Goldhawk / Vazeille) Wesley; now his sister-in-law.

<sup>5</sup>The residence connected to West Street chapel; where CW and Sally were residing.

<sup>1</sup>That is, a fellowship that did not require him to remain resident in Oxford as a tutor.

<sup>2</sup>I.e., London.

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woman than of any other animal b[eneath the] r[ealm] of heaven, but married to break down the breach<sup>3</sup> between the w[orld] and him!” His easily won lady sat by.]]

[[He said “I am not more sure that God sent his Son into the world, than that it is his will I should marry.”]]

**Saturday, March 9.** Felt great emotion in the word, both morning and evening.

**Thursday, March 14.** Saw the necessity of reconciliation with my brother, and resolved to save the trouble of umpires.

**Saturday, March [16].**<sup>4</sup> Called on my sister;<sup>5</sup> kissed and assured her I was perfectly reconciled to her and to my brother.

**Monday, March 18.** Finished Marcus Antoninus,<sup>6</sup> having learnt from him, I hope, some useful lessons, particularly not to resent, not to revenge myself, not to let my peace lie at the mercy of every injurious person.

**Tuesday, March 19.** Brought my wife and sister together, and took all opportunities of showing the latter my sincere respect and love.

**Thursday, March 21.** At 4:00 in the morning met the watchman, who told me the first news of the Prince’s death.<sup>7</sup>

**Friday, March 22.** [[With my brother. Said I desired entire reconciliation, that all the advantage Satan had gained was owing to our want of mutual confidence, that I did not believe him in so dangerous situation as he was before his marriage. He owned his promise to Molly Francis and Miss Lundy,<sup>8</sup> was in good humour and high spirits, talked freely and fully, would fain have had me engage for the year to come but I declined it.]] [2:422]

**Monday, March 25.** Visited one on his death-bed who had been converted from deism, and washed in the blood of *his* Redeemer.

**April 1751**

**Tuesday, April 9.** Spent a week with Mrs. [Martha] Colvill and Miss [Mary] Degge, chiefly in reading, singing, and prayer.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>An alternative expansion would be ‘bridge’.

<sup>4</sup>Orig., “March 15”; an error.

<sup>5</sup>Again, his sister-in-law, Mary (Goldhawk / Vazeille) Wesley.

<sup>6</sup>Marcus Aurelius, *The Commentaries of the Emperor Marcus Antoninus, containing his maxims of science, and rules of life*, translated by James Thomson (London: T. Parker, 1747). CW’s signed copy of this work can be found in MARC (ref. CW65).

<sup>7</sup>Prince Frederick, son of King George II, died on Mar. 20, 1751.

<sup>8</sup>I.e., that in his despondency over the loss of Grace Murray, he had glibly promised each of them he would marry them; see above, Nov. 4, 1749.

<sup>1</sup>CW also likely composed four hymns during this week; see MS Richmond, 146–48, and MS Spencer, 13–15.

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**Saturday, April 13.** Passed the evening with Sally at Mr. I'Anson's,<sup>2</sup> and saw the Prince's funeral pass. The house was full of strangers. We joined in many suitable hymns till near midnight.

**Monday, April 15.** Heard Lovybond preach, most miserably!<sup>3</sup> By how many degrees are such preachers worse than none!

**Sunday, April 21.** God was present in the word and sacrament, as in the months that are past, when the candle of the Lord was upon our heads.<sup>4</sup>

**Monday, April 22.** [[Met sister Hall and her son at the Foundery, and received them as kindly as I could.<sup>5</sup> She had been invited by my brother, who left no orders for her reception, nor took any notice afterwards.]]

**Thursday, April 25.** Our Lord again confirmed his word, "In the world ye shall have tribulation, but be of good cheer ...."<sup>6</sup>

**Friday, April 26.** After intercession met John Hutchinson and engaged him for the next day.<sup>7</sup> Then laboured to stir him up to do the first works.

**Sunday, April 28.** Buried our sister Pocock, a silent, secret, unpretending Christian, who died the death, as she lived the life, of the righteous.<sup>8</sup> Strongly warned the bands against sin and apostasy.

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<sup>2</sup>Bryan I'Anson (1708–75) was a solicitor at Old Palace Yard, Westminster, whom the Wesley brothers consulted for legal advice from at least 1750. I'Anson married Elizabeth Sewel in 1729, and bequeathed his estate to his wife "Lucy" on his death. He also included the Wesley brothers, as his "highly esteemed friends," in his will.

<sup>3</sup>In a letter to CW of Aug. 24, 1751, JW mentions sending "J. Loveybond" back to his previous form of employment. He never reached the rank of a formal traveling preacher.

<sup>4</sup>See Job 29:3.

<sup>5</sup>CW was less sympathetic than JW with Martha (Wesley) Hall's repeated forgiveness of and returns to Westley Hall. Yet he joined JW in helping care for Westley Hall Jr. (1742–57), their only child to survive early childhood, after the final separation of the couple. They enabled Westley Jr. to attend a boarding school, where he unfortunately contracted smallpox and died at the age of fourteen; cf. CW's poems on this death in *Funeral Hymns* (1759), 20–23.

<sup>6</sup>John 16:33.

<sup>7</sup>John Hutchinson (1722–54) was the son of Timothy (1693–1747) and Mary (b. 1695) Hutchinson of Leeds, where Mary was a member of the Methodist society. CW had just met the fatherless John, who quickly became attached. Hutchinson suffered from ill health, and CW soon arraigned to host him in Bristol, where he might benefit from treatment at Hotwells. Caring for Hutchinson proved a strain over the next couple of years (cf. CW's hymnic prayers in MS *Miscellaneous Hymns*, 44–55). But CW remained devoted, and wrote three mournful hymns on the occasion of Hutchinson's death in July 23, 1754; see *Funeral Hymns* (1759), 6–12.

<sup>8</sup>Mrs. Elizabeth Pocock was buried in Bunhill Fields this day.

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[**Tuesday**],<sup>9</sup> **April 30.** Took horse in the afternoon, Mr. [Samuel] Lloyd and Sally in the chaise, and lodged at Thomas Hardwick's.

[2:423]

**May 1751**

**Wednesday, May 1.** I rode to Lewisham, and thence to the Foundery; went to bed ill.

**Thursday, May 2.** Returned to Sally at Brentford, my purging violent as before.

**Friday, May 3.** Set out with her for St. Anne's [Hill], was driven back by the rain.

**Saturday, May 4.** Carried my companion thither, and rode back to town [[having first corrected Mrs. [Martha] Colvill's will. She had left my brother]] £200 [[a year, before his marriage]].

**Sunday, May 5.** [[Met my sister<sup>1</sup> at Mrs. Emery's, and walked with her to [West Street] chapel. She had been told I said I did not love my brother, nor ever should.]]

My subject was, "In me ye shall have peace,"<sup>2</sup> and he did even in that hour extend to us peace like a river.<sup>3</sup> In the afternoon rode to St. Anne's [Hill].

**Monday, May 6.** Mr. [Samuel] Lloyd paid us a visit. Passed our time no less usefully than agreeably, in reading and singing. He and I witnessed to Mrs. Colvill's will.

**Wednesday, May 8.** Set out in a post-chaise for Bristol. Heard, in passing Reading, that our friend Mr. Richards was departed in peace.<sup>4</sup> Lay at Newbury the first night, the second at Calne, and on

**Friday, May 10,** came safe with Sally to Charles Street. Our friends [Elizabeth] Vigor, [Anne] Davis, etc., were there to welcome us. We were much drawn out in prayer.

**Sunday, May 12.** With Sally at Kingswood, greatly quickened by that promise, "The third part I will bring through the fire."<sup>5</sup> In the sacrament we were swallowed up in the spirit of prayer. Met my sister at the Horsefair, and behaved to her *as such*—gave an earnest exhortation to repentance.<sup>6</sup>

**Tuesday, May 14.** Showed her, both at my own house and the houses of my friends, all the civility in my power.

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<sup>9</sup>Orig., "Friday"; an error.

<sup>1</sup>CW is likely referring to Martha (Wesley) Hall; see Apr. 22, 1751 above.

<sup>2</sup>John 16:33.

<sup>3</sup>See Isa. 66:12.

<sup>4</sup>Silvester Richards (d. 1751), a woolen draper, who had constructed a preaching house for the Methodists in Reading after his brother John refused further use of his buildings. See Aug. 3, 1747 entry.

<sup>5</sup>Zech. 13:9.

<sup>6</sup>It is unclear whether one of CW's sibling – Anne (Wesley) Lambert or Emily (Wesley) Harper; both of whom lived in London now – was currently in Bristol. Or CW may mean one of Sarah (Gwynne) Wesley's sisters or sister-in-laws.

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[2:424]

**Friday, May 17.** The congregation was melted into blessed mourning through the word.

**Sunday, May 19.** Preached out[side] to a vast multitude on “Thanks be to God, who giveth us the victory”;<sup>7</sup> was carried out to the unawakened wholly. The society seemed much alive to God.

**Wednesday, May 22.** Rode with Sally to Wick, and received the never-failing blessing.

**Thursday, May 23.** Returning by the widow Jones’s, I asked her daughter at the door how she was. “Just alive,” she answered me, “and no more.” I lighted, and prayed over her earnestly with tears, as sent to minister the last blessing to an old friend, torn from us by false brethren. She was full of hope and love and prayer for me, and desire to be dissolved. I went on my way rejoicing.

**Tuesday, May 28.** My very good old friend Mrs. Cradock came to see me, with Mrs. [Martha] Motte. We sang, and conversed, and prayed (particularly for their Lady<sup>8</sup>) as in the former days. In the evening, Mrs. [Mary] Jones of Fonmon called, and told me her Ladyship would be very glad to see me.

**Thursday, May 30.** Sally resolved to bear me company to Newcastle. *Deus vertat bene!*<sup>9</sup> Wrote to John Bennet to meet us.

**June 1751**

**Saturday, June 1.** In the fear of God, and by the advice of my friends, I went once more to visit Lady Huntingdon.<sup>1</sup> She expressed great kindness toward me, as did all the family; spoke much and well of sufferings, etc. My heart was turned back again, and forgot all that is past. The Spirit of love is a spirit of prayer, and sealed the reconciliation.

**Sunday, June 2.** Baptized Sarah and Elizabeth, a Quaker and a Baptist, before a full [2:425] congregation. All were moved by the descent of that Spirit. Many wept, and trembled, and rejoiced; the persons baptized, most of all.

**Monday, June 3.** My wife accepted her Ladyship’s invitation, and went with me to see her. We employed an hour or two in very useful conversation, and singing, and prayer. Our old friend appeared as such. Seemed taken with Sally, and said “Mrs. Wesley, I will come to see you.” Appointed the next day.

**Tuesday, June 4.** Instead of proceeding in Ezekiel, I expounded Hebrews 10:38, “Now the just shall live by faith. But if he draw back, my soul shall have no pleasure in him.” Saw the reason with Mr. [Westley] Hall. He came up toward the desk. Mr. [Thomas] Hamilton stopped him. I gave out an hymn. He sang louder than us all. I spoke sharply of his apostasy, and prayed

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<sup>7</sup>1 Cor. 15:57.

<sup>8</sup>Lady Huntingdon, who was staying at her house in Clifton, Gloucestershire, 2 miles west of Bristol, near Hotwells.

<sup>9</sup>“God, turn it to good.”

<sup>1</sup>Having resisted earlier overtures (see the Apr. 27, 1747 entry), CW was now open to renew his connection with Lady Huntingdon, which had been severed in early 1745.



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earnestly for him. Desired their prayers for me, lest after preaching to others I myself also should be a castaway. He walked away, turned back, threatened. The people were all in tears and agony of prayer.

Spent an hour in prayer with our sisters [Sarah] Perrin, [Susannah] Designe, Robertson, Thomas Hamilton, and Charles Perronet, making particular mention of my brother and Lady Huntingdon. From 5:00 to 7:00 she and her daughters spent with us.<sup>2</sup>

**Sunday, June 9.** At 8:00 in the evening I preached with life and freedom to a great multitude at Poynt's Pool.<sup>3</sup>

**Monday afternoon, June 10.** At sister Croker's,<sup>4</sup> on "God, having raised up his Son Jesus, sent him to bless you ...."<sup>5</sup>

**Tuesday, June 11.** Our sister Silby brought me a letter from our brother Pearce at Bradford[-on-Avon],<sup>6</sup> pressing me to bring James Wheatley thither, to answer some horrible practices of his. [2:426]

**Wednesday, June 12.** Rode to Bradford[-on-Avon]. Talked with our brother Pearce, then with Miss [Mary] Bradford and another of the *abused* persons.<sup>7</sup> Preached on "Having our conversations honest among the Gentiles."<sup>8</sup> Spoke kindly to John Hewish and got from him his *book and licence to preach*.<sup>9</sup> I wish he were the only worthless, senseless, graceless man to whom my brother had given the same encouragement under his hand.

**Thursday, June 13.** Preached close and severe warnings. Advised Hewish to leave off preaching, which he promised to do. Talked with more women whom James Wheatley had treated in the same vile manner. Met the rest at Wick, in all seven. What they told me, they repeated more at large to Sarah Perrin and Mary Naylor.

Prayed with strong faith and tears by our mournful, dying brother Cottle.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>The daughters were Elizabeth Hastings (1731–1808) and Selina Hastings (1737–63).

<sup>3</sup>Northeastern suburb of Bristol, just outside of Lawford's Gate. CW spells "Points Pool."

<sup>4</sup>Sister Croker's house was near Old Passage (present-day Aust, Gloucestershire); see JW, *Journal*, Aug. 10, 1746, *Works*, 20:127. CW spells "Crockar."

<sup>5</sup>Acts 3:26.

<sup>6</sup>Richard Pearce was landlord of the Cross Keys and a pillar of the society at Bradford-on-Avon; cf. *WHS* 6 (1908): 116. Sister Silby was another leader in that society; cf. JW, *Journal*, July 8, 1751, *Works*, 20:394.

<sup>7</sup>The first name for Miss Bradford and several other women upon whom James Wheatley had been accused of improper sexual relations are compiled by JW in his *Journal*, July 8, 1751, *Works*, 20:394.

<sup>8</sup>1 Pet. 2:12.

<sup>9</sup>John Hewish (d. 1757), of Bradford-on-Avon, would have been licenced only as a local preacher.

<sup>10</sup>John Cottle was buried June 27, 1751 in Monkton Farleigh, Wiltshire.

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Rode to Freshford, and urged them to come boldly to the throne of grace.<sup>11</sup> The Lord was with my mouth.

**Friday, June 14.** Kept the hour of intercession at Bristol. Bowed down under the mighty hand of God. Carried James Wheatley to my house and set before him, in tender love and pity, the things which he had done. At first he was stubborn and hard, but relented afterwards. Seemed willing to confess, satisfied of my good will.

**Sunday, June 16.** Baptized a young Quaker at Kingswood, and then we all joined in the Lord's Supper. He was mightily present in both sacraments, and afterwards gave me words to shake the souls of those that heard.

**Monday, June 17.** Sally set out for Ludlow.

**Wednesday, June 19.** Carried my brother home. Offered to join with him heartily and entirely. Consulted what to do with Wheatley. [2:427]

**Thursday, June 20.** Got Wheatley again to my house, and talked with him as he was able to bear.

**Friday, June 21.** Administered the sacrament to Lady Huntingdon, Sarah Perrin, etc., under a deep and solemn awe of the divine presence.

Found my sister in tears.<sup>12</sup> Professed my love, pity, and desire to help her. Heard her complaints of my brother. Carried her to my house where, after supper, she resumed the subject, and went away comforted.

**Saturday, June 22.** Passed another hour with her in free affectionate conference, then with my brother, and then with both together. Our explanation ended with prayer and perfect peace.

**Sunday, June 23.** Lady Huntingdon, with Mrs. [Catherine] Edwin and Mrs. [Anne] Knight, desired admittance to our lovefeast. My mouth was opened in exhortation and prayer. Afterwards I introduced my sister[-in-law] to her Ladyship and the rest, who received her with great friendliness.

**Tuesday, June 25.** My brother and I carried James Wheatley, at his own request, to Bearfield. Mrs. Deverel and sister Bradford proved their charge to his face.<sup>13</sup> He pleaded guilty, yet justified himself. I walked with him apart. He threatened to expose *all* our preachers—who, *he said*, were like himself. Conferred with my brother, and drew up our resolution in writing that he should not preach. Put him on reading it before Wheatley and the women. Wheatley absolutely refused to submit. "Then," said I, "bear witness I am pure from the blood of this man." We reasoned with him in vain, and at last told him he might preach where Christ was not named (such a place as Norwich, my brother added.) He insisted on preaching occasionally in our societies.

Transcribed the declarations taken from [2:428] their mouths.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>11</sup>Heb. 4:16.

<sup>12</sup>Mary (Goldhawk / Vazeille) Wesley, who had accompanied JW to Bristol; cf. Samuel Lloyd to JW, June 25, 1751, *Works*, 26:465–66.

<sup>13</sup>Mary Deverel and Mary Bradford; cf. JW, *Journal*, July 8, 1751, *Works*, 20:394.

<sup>14</sup>The transcription of these declarations is not known to survive.

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**Wednesday, June 26.** With Lady Huntingdon, Sarah Perrin declared the matter. She much approved of what had been done, strengthened our hands, proposed writing to Wheatley herself; quite cordial to advise and to bear our burden. We were enabled to pray earnestly for the divine direction and blessing.

**Thursday, June 27.** We talked again with stiff-necked James, but prevailed nothing. He was resolved to preach. Neither would he discover which of the preachers it was whom, he *said*, he knew to be a gross sinner.

Communicated with my brother and sister[-in-law] at Lady Huntingdon's.

**Friday, June 28.** James Wheatley having, to screen himself, traduced all the preachers, we had him face to face with about ten of them together. And Thomas Maxfield first, then each of the others, asked him, "What sin can you charge me with?" The accuser of the brethren was silent in him,<sup>15</sup> which convinced us of his wilful lying. However it put my brother and me upon a resolution of strictly examining into the life and moral behaviour of every preacher in connexion with us; and the office fell upon me.

I set out for this purpose on **Saturday, June 29, 1751**,<sup>16</sup> Francis Walker and Sarah Perrin accompanying me.<sup>17</sup> Lodged at Ross that night. Overtook Sally the next day at Ludlow, by 2:00, unhurt by the incessant rains.

Preached to as many as the hall and parlour could contain. They seemed increased in earnestness as well as number. I found unexpected life and comfort among them, and the following evening had still more reason to hope that my past labour has not been in vain.

[2:429]

**July 1751<sup>1</sup>**

**Friday, July 5.** Between 6:00 and 7:00 set out with Sarah Perrin, my wife, and sister Becky [Gwynne], and honest Francis Walker. Coming to Worcester in the afternoon, we heard the rioters had been at the room on Monday evening, in expectation of me, and made great disturbance. I doubted all along whether I had any business here at this time. Yet, at the desire of the poor people, went to their room at 7:00. Almost as soon as I began the mob interrupted. But in spite of their lewd, hellish language, I preached the gospel, though with much contention. They had no power to strike the people as usual, neither did any molest us in our way home.

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<sup>15</sup>See Rev. 12:10.

<sup>16</sup>For June 29 – July 20, 1751, see also CW's more detailed journal letter to JW, in *Journal Letters*, 304–13.

<sup>17</sup>Francis Walker (1722–87) was serving as one of JW's itinerant preachers as early as 1744. He is listed as an Assistant in the *Minutes* starting in 1745 (see *Works*, 10:159), until he married and settled in Gloucester in 1755, becoming a local preacher (10:274).

<sup>1</sup>See also CW's record of dealing with a lay preacher in July 1751, in *Journal Letters*, 339.

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**Saturday, July 6.** We were hardly met when the sons of Belial poured in upon us,<sup>2</sup> some with their faces blacked, some without shirts, all in rags. They began to “stand up for the Church,” by cursing and swearing, by singing and talking lewdly, and throwing dust and dirt all over us; with which they had filled their pockets, such as had any to fill. I was soon covered from head to foot, and almost blinded. Finding it impossible to be heard, I only told them I should apply to the magistrates for redress and walked up stairs. They pressed after me, but Mr. Walker and the brethren blocked up the stairs and kept them down. I waited a quarter of an hour, then walked through the midst of them to my lodgings, and thence to the mayor’s.<sup>3</sup>

I spent an hour with him, pleading the poor people’s cause. He said he had never before heard of their being so treated—that is, pelted, beat, and wounded, their house battered, and windows, partitions, locks broke; that none had applied to him for justice or he should have granted it; that he was well assured of the great [2:430] mischief the Methodists had done throughout the nation, and the great riches Mr. [George] Whitefield and their other teachers had acquired; that their societies were quite unnecessary, since the Church was sufficient; that he was for having neither Methodist nor Dissenters.

I easily answered all his objections. He treated me with civility and freedom, and promised at parting to do our people justice. Whether he does or not, I have satisfied my own conscience.

At 10:00 we took horse for Tipton Green. Our brother [James] Jones gave me a melancholy account of the society at Wednesbury, which from three hundred is reduced to seventy weak, lifeless members. Those who had borne the burden and heat of the day,<sup>4</sup> and stood like a rock in all the storms of persecution, were removed from their steadfastness and fallen back into the world through vain janglings.<sup>5</sup> Well had it been for them if the predestinarians had never come hither.

**Sunday, July 7.** Preached out[side] to a numerous congregation, whom I could not look upon without tears. My text was Rev. 3:3, “Remember therefore how thou hast received and heard, and hold fast, and repent.” Out of the abundance of my heart my mouth spoke,<sup>6</sup> and called them back to their first love and first works.<sup>7</sup> It was a solemn season of sorrow. The Lord, I trust, knocked at many hearts, which will hear his voice, and open to him again.<sup>8</sup> He stirred up the faithful remnant to pray for their backsliding brethren, and their prayers shall not return empty.

Another hour I employed in earnestly exhorting the society to repentance.

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<sup>2</sup>See 1 Sam. 2:12.

<sup>3</sup>Philip Tomlins was mayor of Worcester in 1751.

<sup>4</sup>See Matt 20:12.

<sup>5</sup>See 1 Tim. 1:6.

<sup>6</sup>See Matt. 12:34.

<sup>7</sup>See Rev. 2:4–5.

<sup>8</sup>See Rev. 3:20.

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**Monday, July 8.** Preached at 5:00 with much freedom, and hope of their recovery. In the afternoon the curate met me—a well-disposed [2:431] youth, just come from college,<sup>9</sup> where his tutor, Mr. [Edward] Bentham, gave him an early prejudice for true religion. He invited me to his lodgings, joined with us in serious conversation and singing, and seeming ready for all good impressions.

At 6:00 I preached on Bromwich Heath to a multitude of the poor,<sup>10</sup> who heard me gladly and knew not when to leave off.

**Tuesday, July 9.** The many hearers at Dudley seemed to drink in every word.

**Wednesday, July 10.** Exhorted them at Wednesbury to “lay aside every weight ....”<sup>11</sup> Joined with the brethren in fervent prayer for a general revival.

**Thursday, July 11.** Examined the classes and rejoiced to find them all orderly walkers. Received some backsliders upon trial, and prayed by a sick sister quietly waiting for full redemption.

Dined in Darlaston, at our brother [James] Jones’s uncle’s. The master was gone to his house not made with hands, and left a good report behind him. He was a good and hardy soldier of Jesus Christ, bold to confess him before men; for whose sake he suffered the loss of all things, and continued faithful unto death.<sup>12</sup> The people are a pattern to the flock:

Meek, simple followers of the Lamb;  
They live and speak and think the same.<sup>13</sup>

By their patience and steadfastness of faith they have conquered their fiercest adversaries. God give them rest, and they walk in his fear and comforts, increasing daily both in grace and number.

I preached to most of the town, and pressed them to “come boldly to the throne of grace.”<sup>14</sup> My spirit was greatly assisted by theirs. Those without seemed all given into my hands. The society was all in a flame of love. They [2:432] made me full amends for my sorrow at Wednesbury.

**Friday, July 12.** Took my leave of them at Wednesbury, exhorting them to continue in the apostles’ doctrine, and in fellowship, etc.<sup>15</sup> Sarah Perrin met, and found much grace among the women. Half a dozen more wandering sheep I gathered in, and restored to their brethren.

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<sup>9</sup>The current curate was Henry Saunders (b. c. 1728), who had taken his BA from Oriel College, Oxford, in 1750.

<sup>10</sup>CW spells “Bromidge Heath.”

<sup>11</sup>Heb. 12:1.

<sup>12</sup>See Phil. 3:8; Rev. 2:10.

<sup>13</sup>Cf. CW, “Primitive Christianity,” st. 2, *HSP* (1749), 2:333.

<sup>14</sup>Heb. 4:16.

<sup>15</sup>Acts 2:42.

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I preached at Birmingham to several of the better rank, who received the word with a ready mind.<sup>16</sup>

**Saturday, July 13.** At morning and at night my mouth was opened to make known the mystery of the gospel.<sup>17</sup>

**Sunday, July 14.** Examined the society, who adorn the gospel of Christ.<sup>18</sup> Heard a good sermon at church about using the world as not abusing it. But alas, it supposed the congregation to be Christians!

I preached at 5:00 before brother Bridgins's door.<sup>19</sup> We expected a disturbance, but the power of the Lord was over all.

The cloud stayed on the assembled society.<sup>20</sup> The word of exhortation went from my heart to theirs. The Spirit helped us to pray, especially for some at Bristol, and our souls were like a watered garden.

**Monday, July 15.** At 5:00 took horse with our brother Bridgins, an old disciple past eighty. Lay at Duffield.

**Tuesday, July 16.** At 2:00 rejoiced to meet some of our dear children in Sheffield. I encouraged them by that *most* glorious promise, "Behold, he cometh with clouds, and every eye shall see him."<sup>21</sup> The door has continued open ever since Mr. Whitefield preached here, and quite removed the prejudices of our first opposers. Some of them were convinced by him, some converted and added to the church. "He that escapes the sword of Jehu shall Elisha slay."<sup>22</sup>

**Wednesday, July 17.** Preached at Rotherham [2:433] and met, to my comfort, several solid believers. Talked severally with the growing society. Returned and preached in the streets at Sheffield, without life or power, to a wild, tumultuous rabble. Equally dead at the society.

**Thursday, July 18.** Rode toward Barley Hall. Baited three hours at our sister Booth's,<sup>23</sup> and laboured all the time to strip an old, self-righteous pharisee. At last our Lord got himself the victory. We left her in tears and deep convictions, a greater miracle of grace than the conversion of a thousand harlots!

Dined at Barley Hall with our dear sister Johnson (a widow indeed) and her six sons and daughter, all believers. I had heard at Sheffield that the society here was come to nothing. Yet

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<sup>16</sup>According to the journal letter CW preached both this evening and the next morning from Heb. 4:16.

<sup>17</sup>See Eph. 6:19.

<sup>18</sup>See Titus 2:10.

<sup>19</sup>CW spells "Bridgen" in *Journal Letters*; and JW identifies as "George Bridgins" in his *Journal* on Mar. 18, 1768 (*Works*, 22:122). George Bridgens buried in Birmingham on Mar. 8, 1769.

<sup>20</sup>See Num. 9:15–23.

<sup>21</sup>Rev. 1:7.

<sup>22</sup>1 Kings 19:17.

<sup>23</sup>Elizabeth Booth (fl. 1740–65) was one of the earliest members of the Methodist society at Woodseats, about three miles south of Sheffield.

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the word was attended with the blessing which never failed me in this place, and I felt the Lord was not departed. I was still more agreeably surprised in examining the society to find near seventy earnest souls, most of them believers and grown in grace. But who can stand before envy? The preacher that brought up an evil report of them, had it from some of Sheffield, who, through prejudice and jealousy, would always hinder our preaching at this place. How cautious should we be in believing any man! I marvel not now that my mouth was stopped at Sheffield.

**Friday, July 19.** Preached once more to this lively, loving people and left them sorrowful, yet rejoicing. We had a pleasant ride to Wakefield, where our brother Johnson received us joyfully.<sup>24</sup> He himself was sick of a fever. But the Lord makes his bed, and he waits upon him, without trouble, care, or choice.

By 5:00 we were welcomed to Leeds by our sister Hutchinson and others.<sup>25</sup> I preached at 8:00, to many more than the house could hold. The Lord gave us a token for good. [2:434]

**Saturday, July 20.** The leaders informed me that, of the two hundred and fifty members of the society, every one could challenge the world, “Which of you convinceth me of sin?”<sup>26</sup>

Visited a faithful brother, whose wife and sister were drawing back. We laboured to restore them, in the spirit of meekness, and the Lord added weight to our words. They departed for a while, we trust, that we might receive them again for ever.<sup>27</sup>

At 8:00 I preached the gospel to a multitude of poor sinners, unfeignedly poor, and hungering after righteousness.

**Sunday, July 21.** Preached in the shell of our house<sup>28</sup> on Zechariah 4, “The hands of Zerubbabel have laid the foundations . . . .”<sup>29</sup> Rode to Birstall, where John Nelson comforted our hearts with his account of the success of the gospel in every place where he has been preaching, except Scotland. There he has been beating the air for three weeks, and spending his strength in vain. Twice a day he preached at Musselburgh to some thousands of *mere* hearers, without converting one soul.

I preached at 1:00 to a different kind of people. Such a sight have I not seen for many months. They filled the valley and side of the hill, “as grasshoppers for multitude.”<sup>30</sup> Yet my voice reached the most distant, as I perceived by their bowing at the holy Name. Not one

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<sup>24</sup>In the journal letter covering Oct. 13, 1756, this man is identified as John Johnson. He was a local Methodist in Wakefield and father of Thomas Johnson (1720–97), who was converted in 1748, and became a traveling preacher in 1752.

<sup>25</sup>Mary Hutchinson (b. 1695) of York married Timothy Hutchinson (1693–1747) of Baildon in 1715. They settled in Leeds, where Mary became a member of the Methodist society.

<sup>26</sup>John 8:46.

<sup>27</sup>See Phil. 1:15.

<sup>28</sup>They were building a new preaching house in Leeds; JW had preached in the unfinished walls on May 14, 1751; see *Journal*, 20:389.

<sup>29</sup>Zech. 4:9.

<sup>30</sup>Judg. 6:5.

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appeared unconcerned. I directed them to “the Lamb of God that ....”<sup>31</sup> God gave me the voice of a trumpet, and sent the word home to many hearts.

After evening service I met them again, but much increased, and lifted up my voice to comfort them by the precious promises; which were then fulfilled in many. The eyes of the blind were opened, the ears of the deaf unstopped, [2:435] the lame men leaped like harts, and the tongue of the dumb sang.<sup>32</sup>

The society, collected from all parts, filled their new room; whom I earnestly exhorted to walk as becometh the gospel.<sup>33</sup>

**Tuesday, July 23.**<sup>34</sup> Showed the believers at Leeds how they ought to walk, from “Ye are the salt of the earth ....”<sup>35</sup> In the evening preached repentance and forgiveness, in the name of Jesus,<sup>36</sup> to a mixed multitude of rich and poor.

Visited a sick sister, destitute of all things, yet triumphing over want, sickness, death.

**Wednesday, July 24.** Preached at Woodhouse, faint and ill, as before a fever. So I told Sally; yet strove to hold up, till I had wrote, with many tears, to my dear John Hutchinson.<sup>37</sup> At 8:00 the fever came.

**Thursday, July 25.** Was carried to Miss Norton’s,<sup>38</sup> who quitted her house for us and Sarah Perrin.

**Friday, July 26.** John Nelson assured me that above seventy had died in triumph, out of [the] Birstall society only.

**Sunday, July 28.** My fever increasing, I judged it incumbent on me to leave my thoughts concerning the work and instruments, and began dictating to Sarah Perrin the following letter:<sup>39</sup>

[2:436–38 left blank]

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<sup>31</sup>John 1:29.

<sup>32</sup>See Isa. 35:5–6.

<sup>33</sup>Phil. 1:27.

<sup>34</sup>For July 22 – Aug. 13, 1751, see also CW’s more detailed journal letter to JW, in *Journal Letters*, 314–20.

<sup>35</sup>Matt. 5:13.

<sup>36</sup>Luke 24:47.

<sup>37</sup>This letter is not known to survive.

<sup>38</sup>Anne Norton (fl. 1750), a single woman of some means, was an early supporter of the Methodist work in Leeds. In 1755 she would side with those calling for separation from the Church of England and provided the property on which John Edwards would build White Chapel, as an independent congregation that drew away many of the Methodist society.

<sup>39</sup>CW’s letter is not given in the MS. Rather, there is a gap of about three and one-third pages, which corresponds to the size of CW to JW, July 28, 1751.



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**Monday, July 29.** Dr. Milner constantly attended me.<sup>40</sup> Had some discourse with Paul Greenwood, an Israelite indeed; glad to work with his hands, as well as to preach.<sup>41</sup>

**August 1751**

**Thursday, August 1.** Mr. Polier, a minister from Switzerland,<sup>1</sup> was brought to me by my doctor. He inquired thoroughly into our affairs. I told him all I knew of the Methodists, with which he appeared fully satisfied. He seemed a man of learning and piety. In the evening we were strongly drawn out in prayer for him.

**Friday, August 2.** I had missed my fit through taking the bark.<sup>2</sup> Today my purging returned and threatened to bring my fever, yet God kept it off.

**Saturday, August 3.** Was enabled to ride out, and to confer with the preachers and others.

**Sunday, August 4.** Found my strength sensibly increase in the fresh air. Spent an hour with the women leaders, and appointed them to meet as a band.

**Monday, August 5.** Went to the room, that I might hear with my own ears one of whom many strange things had been told me. But such a preacher have I never heard, and hope I never shall again. It was beyond description. I cannot say he preached false doctrine, or true, or any doctrine at all, but pure, unmixed nonsense. Not one sentence did he utter that could do the least good to any one soul. Now and then a text of Scripture, or a verse quotation, was dragged in by head and shoulders. I could scarce refrain from stopping him. He set my blood a-galloping, and threw me into such a sweat, that I expected the fever to follow. Some begged me to step into the desk, and speak a few words to the poor dissatisfied hearers. I did so, taking no notice of Michael Fenwick, late superintendent of all Ireland!<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>40</sup>Joseph Milner, MD (d. 1778), of Leeds.

<sup>41</sup>Paul Greenwood (d. 1767) began itinerating about 1747, serving for some years as one of “Grimshaw’s men” in the Haworth round. He was one of the preachers that started serving the Lord’s Supper in 1760 without ordination, a practice that was soon quashed. Greenwood died in the Manchester circuit in Mar. 1767.

<sup>1</sup>Rev. Jean-Antoine-Noé Polier (1713–83), who was a minister in Lausanne at that time.

<sup>2</sup>Cinchona, known popularly as “Jesuits bark” or “Peruvian bark,” is a source of quinine.

<sup>3</sup>Michael Fenwick (d. 1797) first appeared as a preacher on trial in 1749 (see *Works*, 10:237). He accompanied JW on a preaching trip to Ireland in Apr. 1750, and when JW returned to England in July he reportedly designated Fenwick the superintendent of the work there for the coming year; cf. Crookshank, *Ireland*, 74. But both JW and CW were becoming doubtful of his gifts and discipline (see JW to CW, Aug. 3, 1751). In 1755 JW took Fenwick as his groom for a period, commenting that he was “upon occasion a tolerable preacher” (JW to E. Blackwell, Sept. 12, 1755). But by 1758 Fenwick had been encouraged by Conference to return to his career in business (*Works*, 10:283).

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I talked closely with him, utterly averse to working, and told him plainly he should either labour with his hands or preach no more. He hardly complied, though he confessed it was his ruin his having been taken off his business. He complained of my brother. I answered I would repair the supposed injury by setting him up again in his barber's shop. At last he yielded to work, so it might be *in private*.

Thomas Colbeck brought Eleazer Webster to me.<sup>4</sup> I spoke in vain to a self-hardened slave of sin, and silenced him.

**Tuesday, August 6.** Prayed with the society, in solemn fear of God present. It seemed as if he spoke with an articulate voice, "Return to me, and I will return unto you."<sup>5</sup> My faith was greatly strengthened for the work. The manner and instruments of carrying it on I leave entirely to God.

**Wednesday, August [7].**<sup>6</sup> Took horse for Newcastle with Sally, Sarah Perrin, Miss [Anne] Norton, and William Shent. Could get no farther than Topcliffe. Found an aged woman reading [Thomas à] Kempis. Asked her the foundation of her hope. She simply answered, "A good life." I endeavoured to teach her better, and preached Christ the atonement as the only foundation. She received my saying with tears of joy. We joined in fervent prayer for her. All the family seemed much affected. I found myself refreshed in body as well as soul, and easily rode on to Sandhutton.

We were no sooner in the house than it began to pour down, and continued raining till we set out next morning.

**Thursday, August 8.** Rested at Durham.

**Friday, August 9.** By noon our travels ended at Newcastle. My companions are better both in mind and body for their long journey.

I preached, but very feeble, on "The third part I will bring through the fire."<sup>7</sup> Preaching, I perceive, [2:441] is not now my principal business. God knoweth my heart, and all its burdens. O that he would take the matter into his own hand, though he lay me aside as a broken vessel!

**Sunday, August 11.** Felt the fever hanging about me all day, notwithstanding the bark which I continue taking. The society appeared lively and solid. I vehemently exhorted them to watch and pray,<sup>8</sup> as well for the labourers as themselves, that none of us might bring a reproach

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<sup>4</sup>Thomas Colbeck (1723–79), a highly respected grocer and mercer, was steward of the Keighley Methodist society from 1746 until his death, and steward also of the Keighley or Haworth circuit. In 1748 JW accepted him as an Assistant among his travelling preachers, though in fact he was never stationed away from the West Riding of Yorkshire. He served (and attended Conference occasionally) as one of JW's major local preachers. Eleazer Webster was another local preacher that CW removed from the role; see *Journal Letters*, 339.

<sup>5</sup>Mal. 3:7.

<sup>6</sup>Orig., "August 6"; an error.

<sup>7</sup>Zech. 13:9.

<sup>8</sup>Matt. 26:41.

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upon the gospel.

**Monday, August 12.** Had much discourse with a brother from Scotland,<sup>9</sup> who has preached there many weeks and not converted one soul. “You may just as well preach to the stones,” he added, “as to the Scots.” Yet, to keep my brother’s word, I sent William Shent to Musselburgh. Before he went he gave me this memorable account of their late trial at Leeds:

At Whitecote Hill<sup>10</sup>, three miles from Leeds, a few weeks since, as our brother Maskew was preaching,<sup>11</sup> a mob arose, broke the windows and doors, and struck the constable, Jacob Hawley, a brother. On this we indicted them for an assault; and the ringleader of the mob, John Hillingworth, indicted our brother the constable, and got persons to swear the constable struck him. The grand jury threw out our indictment, and found that against us. So we stood trial with them on Monday, July 15th, 1751, and the recorder, Richard Wilson Esq., gave it in our favour, with the rest of the court. But the foreman of the jury, Matthew Priestly, with two others, Richard Cloudsley and Jabez Bunnel[l], would not agree with the rest, being our avowed enemies; the foreman Mr. [John] Murgatroyd’s great friend and champion against the Methodists.

However, the recorder gave strict order to a guard of constables to watch the jury, that they should have neither meat, drink, candles, nor tobacco, till they were agreed in their [2:442] verdict. They were kept prisoners all that night and the next day, till 5:00 in the afternoon, when one of the jury said he would die before he would give it against us. Then he spoke closely to the foreman concerning his prejudice against the Methodists, till at last he condescended to refer it to one man. Him the other charged to speak as he would answer it to God in the day of judgment.<sup>12</sup> The man turned pale, and trembled, and desired another might decide it. Another (Joseph Hardwick) being called on, immediately decided it in favour of the Methodists. After the trial, Sir Henry Ibbetson,<sup>13</sup> one of the justices, called a brother, and said, “You see God never forsakes a righteous man. Take care you never forsake him.”

While the trial lasted, hundreds of our enemies were waiting for the event, who showed by their fierceness what they designed, had we lost our cause. They intended to begin with pulling down our house. But thanks be to God, who hath not delivered us over

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<sup>9</sup>This is apparently “J. J–n the drummer,” a Methodist soldier stationed in Scotland; see Aug. 16, 1751 below.

<sup>10</sup>Whitecote Hill is in northwest Leeds. CW spells “Whitecoat Hill.”

<sup>11</sup>Jonathan Maskew (1718–93) was a Yorkshireman, born in Otley. He was drawn into revival efforts by William Grimshaw, and then introduced to JW. Maskew laboured as an itinerant preacher almost exclusively in the north, continuing to preach widely throughout the area even after he had married and settled down at Deanhead, near Rochdale.

<sup>12</sup>The journal letter identifies this as Joseph Inkersley.

<sup>13</sup>Sir Henry Ibbetson (d. 1761), baronet, would be elected mayor of Leeds the following year. CW spelled “Ibison.”

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as a prey into their teeth.

The judge of the court was Richard Wilson Esq., Recorder of Leeds; the justices: J. Frith, Mayor, Alderman [Thomas] Micklethwait, Alderman [Robert] Denison, Alderman [Thomas] Sawyer, Alderman [Robert] Smith[son], Alderman [John] Brooke; Jury: Matthew Priestly, Richard Cloudsley, Jabez Bunnel[1], H[enry] Briscoe, W[illiam] Wormill, Richard Cockell, Joseph Naylor, Joseph Inkersley, George Dixon, Richard Sharp, W. Upton, and Joseph Hardwick. Four witnesses against, six for, us.

**Tuesday, August 13.**<sup>14</sup> Rode with my little family to Sunderland. Examined the society of about a hundred, most of whom received the atonement in meeting their classes—an argument for such meetings as I cannot get over. At 7:00 I preached in a large [2:443] convenient room, filled with attentive souls, on whom I called, “Behold the Lamb of God . . .”<sup>15</sup> For an hour and a half my strength held out.

**Wednesday, August 14.** At 9:00 set out, and in half an hour’s riding overtook a woman and girl leading an horse. She begged us to help them up, and forward them on their way. We did so. But the horse turned with them again, and rode back toward Sunderland. We had the riders to pick up again, and remount. Their horse we put between us. But he broke through a gap and galloped back. When he had shook them off, he stood still. I bade my companion take up the girl behind him, hoping the horse would carry the woman alone; but in vain, though we all beat the poor beast to drive him on. He kicked and flounced, till he had dismissed his rider. I then said, “Surely, good woman, God withstands you. You are going somewhere contrary to his will. I can compare your horse to nothing but Balaam’s ass.<sup>16</sup> What can be the meaning of it?” She answered, “Sir, I will tell you all, for there must be something extraordinary in the great pains you have taken for me. That child I had by a gentleman who promised me marriage, but since married another because [she is] richer than me. I am going to try if he will do anything for the child and me. But I fear it is not pleasing to God.” I asked what she had to live upon. She told me she was married to a blacksmith, had a child by him, and it was but low with them. I advised her to take God’s warning and utterly renounce the first wicked man; to spend the rest of her days in repentance and working out her salvation; gave her something, and recommended her to a sister in Sunderland. She seemed overwhelmed with joy and gratitude, mounted with her child, and the horse carried them quietly home.

**Friday, August 16.** Heard J. J. the drummer [2:444] again, and liked him worse than at first. He might perhaps have done good among the soldiers. But to leave his calling and set up for an itinerant was, in my judgment, a step contrary to the design of God, as well as to his own and the Church’s interest.

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<sup>14</sup>For Aug. 13 – Oct. 3, 1751, see also CW’s more detailed draft letter in *Journal Letters*, 321–38.

<sup>15</sup>John 1:29.

<sup>16</sup>See Num. 22:21ff.

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At 7:00 I walked toward Ouse Burn<sup>17</sup> to meet the classes. But my strength totally failed me by the time I got to Sandgate,<sup>18</sup> where I rested at a brother's till I had recovered strength to return.

At 3:00 I was sent for by the gaoler's wife to a poor wretch under sentence of death for murdering his own daughter of fourteen. Never have I spoke to a more hardened, ignorant, stupid sinner. He utterly denied the fact. I prayed for him, but with little hope.

After preaching at the Orphan House,<sup>19</sup> I commended him to the prayers of the congregation, and we found free access to the throne.

At my next visit I perceived little change in him, only he suffered me to speak and said nothing of his innocence.

**Sunday, August 18.** Heard Jonathan Reeves at Sheep Hill,<sup>20</sup> and added a few words in confirmation of his. Returned to Newcastle comforted.

Preached in great weakness. At our love-feast the spirit of supplication was given, and the poor murderer brought to our remembrance. I have not been more refreshed for this many a day.

**Tuesday, August 20.** Preached in the prison on "Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law ...."<sup>21</sup> Still I could not discern any signs of true repentance in the poor man, though he is to die tomorrow. He persists in his innocence, but confesses he deserves far worse punishment at the hands of God. I prayed over him with tears, and told him our next meeting would be at the judgment-seat.

I was ready to wonder why providence had directed me to him, and engaged his people to pray for him, when one informed [2:445] me that while I was earnestly praying for him, in the congregation a woman had received forgiveness. Many other good ends may be answered, which we do not know. At least our prayer shall turn again into our own bosom. At night I was drawn out again in prayer for him, and continued instant therein for half an hour. The people were deeply affected. It is impossible for so many prayers to be lost.

**Wednesday, August 21.** The first news I heard this morning from Jonathan Reeves was that he had been, with John Downes and others, visiting the poor malefactor, and they verily believed he had found mercy. He told them his heart was so light, he could not express it, and he was not in the least afraid to die. Two days before, Jonathan Reeves had talked an hour and an half with him and put him in great fear. But now he appeared quite calm and resigned, and so

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<sup>17</sup>Industrial area just outside the walls of Newcastle Upon Tyne, in valley of the Ouse Burn River where it enters the River Tyne. CW spells "Ewe's Bourn."

<sup>18</sup>Sandgate was on the southwestern edge of Newcastle at that time, on the bank of the River Tyne, and the home for the keel men.

<sup>19</sup>The Orphan House was the first Methodist building in the north of England, built in 1743 to serve as the principal base in that region. It stood just outside of the town walls in Newcastle, on the west side of what is now Northumberland Street.

<sup>20</sup>An area within Burnopfield, Co. Durham, England; 3 miles northwest of Stanley.

<sup>21</sup>Gal. 3:13.

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continued to the last moment.

Took horse at 9:00 for Horsley, leaving Jonathan to attend the execution, and bring us word. He overtook us in the afternoon with the same account of his convert, who showed all the marks of repentance and faith in death.

Passed the afternoon with Mr. Carr, a young minister from Scotland, and our brother and sister Ord from Hexham.<sup>22</sup> Preached at 7:00, quite overcome with the heat. By noon returned to Newcastle.

**Friday, August 23.** Spoke with our brother Allen, an exhorter, whom one would fain have persuaded to forsake his business.<sup>23</sup> I persuaded him to continue in it.

**Saturday, August 24.** At 1:00 set out with Sally, Sarah Perrin, Miss [Anne] Norton, etc. Preached at Durham, repentance and faith in our Lord Jesus.<sup>24</sup>

**Sunday, August 25.** Communicated at the Abbey. Preached in a yard, to many quiet hearers, "Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away ...."<sup>25</sup> Enlarged much at the society.

**Monday, August 26.** Lodged at Thirsk.

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<sup>22</sup>John Ord and his wife Jane (Lumley) Ord, who were married in 1716.

<sup>23</sup>CW's journal letter for this period specifies that Allen had an office in the coal mines. See *Journal Letters*, 324. He is apparently the John Allen, a disgraced local preacher, mentioned in Joseph Cownley to CW, Apr. 26, 1760.

<sup>24</sup>Mark 1:15.

<sup>25</sup>John 1:29.

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[3:1]

September 1756<sup>1</sup>

**Friday, September 17th, 1756.**<sup>2</sup> At 7:00 I left Bristol with John Downes, and came to Wallbridge by 2:00.<sup>3</sup> In the evening several attended the word, and seemed stirred up to watch and pray.<sup>4</sup> I spoke to each of the little steady society. Forty-three have kept together for years, under the care of our brother Watts. There are no disputes or disorders among them. I added a few words, exhorting them to continue steadfast in the communion of the Church of England. We were much refreshed and parted in great love.

**Saturday, September 18.** Set out at 6:00, and in three hours reached Cheltenham. The twelve miles thence to Evesham cost us near six hours. But we rode the short (that is, the vale) way, and have taken our leave of it for ever. By 4:00 we got, weary enough, to Mr. [Thomas] Canning's. The preaching room was full. I exhorted them to watch and pray always, that they might be counted worthy to escape all these things which shall come to pass, and to stand before the Son of man.<sup>5</sup> Again at 7:00 next morning, and at 5:00 in the evening, they received my saying, the Lord applying his own word, both to awaken and to confirm.

I went to church morning and afternoon, and between the services visited three or four of the society who had been disabled by age and infirmity from assembling with their brethren, and were therefore neglected as not belonging to them. Wrote their names again in the society book, with Mr. Canning's family, and John Watson's, who seemed all resolved to do the first works.<sup>6</sup>

I did not forget to confirm the brethren in their calling—that is, to live and die in the Church of England.

**Monday, September 20.** After commending them to God and to the word of his grace,<sup>7</sup> rode with our loving guide, John Watson, toward Birmingham. At Studley he left us, full of his former zeal and resolved to carry fire among his neighbours of the village to which he is removed.

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<sup>1</sup>In the MS Journal CW has a page with the date Aug. 27, 1751 at the top that is left blank. It then skips to Sept. 1756. (But see the account of events from Nov. 29–Dec. 11, 1753; July 8–Aug. 13, 1754; Oct. 17–24, 1754; and Aug. 26–30, 1756 in *Journal Letters*, 355–94.) This large lacuna reflects that after 1751 CW dramatically reduced his role as a traveling preacher. This was due in part to the desire to be closer to family. But it also reflected the strained relationship between CW and JW. This final section in the MS Journal, for the last quarter of 1756, details CW's one further tour of the Methodist work in the northern England.

<sup>2</sup>For Sept. 17–28, 1756, see also CW's more detailed journal letter to JW, in *Journal Letters*, 395–99.

<sup>3</sup>CW spells "Walbridge."

<sup>4</sup>Luke 21:36.

<sup>5</sup>Luke 21:36.

<sup>6</sup>See Rev. 2:5.

<sup>7</sup>Acts 20:32.

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About 2:00 we got to Birmingham, [3:2] and soon after heard at the door Mr. [Bryan] I'Anson's voice. He brought life with him. As a watchman of Israel, I warned a numerous audience of the sword coming.<sup>8</sup> The word seemed to sink into their hearts.

I had not time to meet the society, but in conversing with several I conceived fresh hopes that they will at last become a settled people. Some who had forsaken us I received in again.

**Tuesday, September 21.** The Lord gave us a parting blessing. Mr. I'Anson's chaise kept pace with us to Ashby,<sup>9</sup> where our brother Adams received us joyfully. The wild beasts here are tamed at least, if not converted. None molested while I pointed them to the Lamb of God, who taketh away the sin of the world.<sup>10</sup> We prayed earnestly for the conversion of these hardened sinners. I was comforted with the little company of twenty-one, who meet to build up each other.<sup>11</sup> Great life and love was in the midst of them.

**Wednesday, September 22.** Warned them of the impending judgments, and left them standing on the watchtower.<sup>12</sup> We passed a profitable hour at Donington Park, with Mr. H.<sup>13</sup> Mr. I'Anson attended us five or six miles on our way to Nottingham, which we reached by 2:00. I spent the afternoon in taking down the names of the society, and conversing with them. We rejoiced to meet once more after so long a separation. My subject, both at night and in the morning, was, "I will bring the third part through the fire."<sup>14</sup> It was a time of solemn rejoicing. There had been twelve months ago a great revival and increase of the society. But Satan was beginning again to sow his tares.<sup>15</sup> My coming at this season will, I trust, be the means of preventing a division.

**Thursday, September 23.** It rained hard all night. John Downes's lame horse detained him at Nottingham, by which the poor people got another sermon day. At 7:00 I set out in the rain with a blind guide, who at last blundered out his way to Sheffield. Here also I delivered my own soul, and the people seemed awakened [3:3] and alarmed. I spoke plainly and lovingly to the society of continuing in the Church and, though many of them were Dissenters and predestinarians, none were offended.

**Friday, September 24.** I had left William Shent sick in Charles Street. But to my great surprise, entering brother [William] Green's at Rotherham this morning, the first person I set eyes on was William [Shent] himself. The Sunday after I left him he had had another fit of his ague. Yet on Monday morning he *would* needs mount his horse, and ride homeward. He had

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<sup>8</sup>Ezek. 33:1–6.

<sup>9</sup>Ashby de la Zouch, Leicestershire.

<sup>10</sup>John 1:29.

<sup>11</sup>See Heb. 10:24.

<sup>12</sup>Ezek. 33:1–6.

<sup>13</sup>Donington Park was the home of Lady Huntingdon, near Castle Donington, Leicestershire. Her husband died in 1746, so this was likely a conversation with her son Francis Hastings (1729–89), who became 10th Earl of Huntingdon in 1749.

<sup>14</sup>Zech. 13:9.

<sup>15</sup>See Matt. 13:25.



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only one visit from his ague on the road, and grew stronger and stronger by virtue of prayer, more than of physic.

When I was last here the society were on the brink of a separation, through a party for Mr. [James] Wheatley and Mr. Edwards.<sup>16</sup> They proposed it to honest Mr. Cousins, whose opposing quashed it at that time. I then advised them to go to Church. The weak and wavering were confirmed; three or four of the others offended, and said I made the Church Christ. After preaching as awakening as I could, I plainly told the society that “there was no salvation out of the church”;<sup>17</sup> that is, out of “the mystical body of Christ, or the company of faithful people.”<sup>18</sup> When I had fully explained myself on this head, we were all of one mind and heart. They then *suffered* the word of exhortation, and were even glad when I said unto them, “Let us go into the house of the Lord.”<sup>19</sup>

**Saturday, September 25.** I encouraged them by that precious promise, “I will bring the third part through the fire,”<sup>20</sup> and parted in great love. At 8:00 I preached on the same subject at Barley Hall, and found there the never-failing blessing. Rode on with William Shent, who was threatened last night with the return of his fever. I was at a loss for a companion to York when, in passing through Hunslet, one called after me. I turned, and saw Mr. Crook,<sup>21</sup> who told me Dr. Cockburn was at his house and had waited for me this week, to carry me to York.<sup>22</sup> We lighted, and spent a delightful hour with the doctor (my old schoolfellow) and him, both in their first love; [3:4] both full of life, and zeal, and simplicity. Mr. Crook pressed me to assist him at the morning sacrament.

**Sunday, September 26.** At 7:00 I preached to the people at Leeds on “Thy kingdom come.”<sup>23</sup> The disciples lifted up their heads. Walked with Dr. Cockburn to Hunslet. Mr. Crook insisted on my preaching, which I did again, from the same words. His congregation seemed to make no opposition to the truth. There were hundreds of communicants, mostly of Mr. Crook’s

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<sup>16</sup>John Edwards (1714–85) was converted under Whitefield in Ireland. He became a lay preacher in 1745 and a traveling preacher in 1747. By the mid 1750s he was chafing under JW’s control of the itinerants, the restriction of lay preachers from the sacramental office, and JW’s Arminian theology. Assigned the Leeds circuit in 1754, at the end of the 1755 Conference Edwards refused to move, taking many in society with him to form the independent congregation that built White Chapel in Leeds. He remained their pastor until his death.

<sup>17</sup>Cf. Cyprian of Carthage, *Unity of the Catholic Church*, 6.1.

<sup>18</sup>BCP, Communion collect.

<sup>19</sup>Ps. 122:1.

<sup>20</sup>Zech. 13:9.

<sup>21</sup>Rev. Henry Crook (1708–70), curate of Hunslet.

<sup>22</sup>Dr. Thomas Cockburn (1710–68), a native of Kingston, Jamaica, was a fellow student with CW at Westminster from 1724–27, before he pursued medical training. In 1747 Cockburn married Sarah (Lawrence) Drinkwater, the widow of James Drinkwater (d. 1745), who also had connections to Jamaica. Sarah had children from her first marriage.

<sup>23</sup>Matt. 6:10; Luke 11:2.

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awakening.

We passed an hour and an half at his house, with the voice of joy and thanksgiving.<sup>24</sup> Then he pressed me into the service again. His church, which holds nearly as many as our preaching house, was filled from end to end. At his desire I preached on those words, “His blood be on us, and on our children.”<sup>25</sup> Our Lord turned the curse into a blessing.

I doubted my strength, yet set out for Leeds. The room was excessively crowded, both within and without. I was very faint, as I mentioned my text, “When these things begin to come to pass, then look up . . .”<sup>26</sup> My little strength I increased by using it, and the word refreshed both soul and body. The hearers were variously affected. O that all may be found watching!<sup>27</sup>

I could speak of nothing but love in the society, for I felt nothing else. Great was our rejoicing over each other. Satan, I believe, has done his worst, and will get no farther advantage by exasperating their spirits against their departed brethren.<sup>28</sup> They were unanimous to stay in the Church, because the Lord stays in it, and multiplies his witnesses therein more than in any other church in Christendom.

**Monday, September 27.** I was surprised at the numbers that flocked to the early preaching, and eagerly received that saying of our Lord, “Behold, I come as a thief. Blessed is he that watcheth and keepeth his garments.”<sup>29</sup>

Breakfasted with Miss Norton, and found nothing in my heart towards her but love.<sup>30</sup> She was not so evil-affected towards her forsaken brethren as I expected. Nothing can ever bring such [3:5] as her back but the charity which hopeth all things, beareth all things, endureth all things.<sup>31</sup>

Several came to confer with me, particularly Benjamin Stork.<sup>32</sup> I had great satisfaction with him. While we were drinking tea at a brother’s, Mr. [John] Edwards found me out. We talked freely and lovingly, till the time of preaching. I walked with him to the house. Mr. Crook was another of my hearers. My text was, “His blood be on us, and on our children.”<sup>33</sup> The power of the Lord was present more than yesterday. I went to the Church-prayers, with several who have been long dealt with to forsake them utterly. They will stand the firmer, I hope, for their

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<sup>24</sup>See Ps. 42:4.

<sup>25</sup>Matt. 27:25.

<sup>26</sup>Luke 21:28.

<sup>27</sup>See Luke 12:37.

<sup>28</sup>Those who had left with John Edwards, to form an independent congregation.

<sup>29</sup>Rev. 16:15.

<sup>30</sup>Anne Norton had sided with those calling for separation from the Church of England, and provided the property on which John Edwards built White Chapel.

<sup>31</sup>See 1 Cor. 13:6–7.

<sup>32</sup>Benjamin Stork lived in Woodhouse, just north of Leeds. CW had preached in his yard on July 24, 1751; see *Journal Letters*, 314.

<sup>33</sup>Matt. 27:25.

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shaking.

**Tuesday, September 28.** Set out with the Doctor [Cockburn] and William Shent for York. The rain brought back poor William's ague. I preached from Habakkuk 3:2, "O Lord, revive thy work." The crowd made our room excessively hot, but that did not hinder their attention.

**Wednesday, September 29.** Our preacher stationed here had quite left off preaching in the morning. Many told me I could not get a congregation at 5:00, but I found it otherwise. The room was almost full while I explained, "Being made free from sin, and become the servants of God, ye have your fruit unto holiness, and the end everlasting life."<sup>34</sup> I insisted largely on freedom from sin, as the lowest mark of faith, and the necessity of labouring after holiness. The hearers appeared much stirred up.

Spent the day in conferring with all comers. The doctor's house was open to all, and his heart also—his whole desire being to spread the gospel.

**[Thursday],<sup>35</sup> September 30.** My subject was John 5:14, "Afterward Jesus findeth him in the temple, and said unto him, Behold, thou art made whole. Sin no more, lest a worse thing come unto thee." I warned them against that sweet doctrine, "Once in grace, always in grace," but not in a controversial way. Pointed out some of the infinite ways whereby they might forfeit their pardon. Exhorted them to go to Church, that they might be found of Jesus in the temple, and above all to pray always, that that word might be written on [3:6] their hearts, "Go and sin no more."

The day was well spent in making up a difference which the sower of tares<sup>36</sup> had occasioned among the principal members of the society.

Between 6:00 and 7:00 I got the society together, with many out of the country, and for two hours showed them how they ought to walk.<sup>37</sup> They gladly received instruction.

**October 1756**

**Friday, October 1.**<sup>1</sup> Preached again to the awakened, and perceived the word take place. Breakfasted with T. Brooke,<sup>2</sup> who has once more left the Brethren. Went with him to the

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<sup>34</sup>Rom. 6:22.

<sup>35</sup>Orig., "Wednesday"; an error.

<sup>36</sup>See Matt. 13:25.

<sup>37</sup>See 1 Thess. 4:1.

<sup>1</sup>For Oct. 1–10, 1756, see also CW's more detailed journal letter, in *Journal Letters*, 400–06.

<sup>2</sup>This is apparently the "young Dr. [Thomas] Brook[e]," originally of Birstall, who located for a while with his wife in Thirsk and were pioneers of the society there. See *WHS* 14 (1923): 87; and *JW, Journal*, Feb. 28, 1747, *Works*, 20:161. He seems now to reside in York.

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Minster<sup>3</sup> which he constantly frequents. I met, at his house, Miss T[h—],<sup>4</sup> earnestly seeking salvation. The means of awakening her was *Theron and Aspasio*.<sup>5</sup>

Heard that the young woman who cried out last night under convictions was the same hour delivered into the glorious liberty of God's children.

Passed an hour at Mr. D.'s, and answered his candid objections. Had an opportunity of vindicating my old friend Benjamin Ingham. It is hard a man should be hanged for his looks—for the *appearance* of Moravianism. Their spirit and practices he has as utterly renounced as we have; their manner and phrase cannot so soon be shaken off.

Found out *Mercy Bell*, and had sweet fellowship with her.<sup>6</sup> I marvel not that the Friends (so fallen from their first simplicity) cannot receive her testimony.

We had a most triumphant watchnight. Began between 7:00 and 8:00. The enemy did not like our employment, and stirred up his servants without to interrupt us. But our voices prevailed. We sung the "Hymns in a Tumult"<sup>7</sup> with great calmness and consolation. Mr. Williamson's maid was deeply wounded.<sup>8</sup> The shout of a king was in the midst of us,<sup>9</sup> and the people thought it full early to part at 11:00.

**Saturday, October 2.** The whole day was spent in [3:7] singing, conference, and prayer. I attended the choir service. The people there were marvelously civil, and obliged me with the anthem I desired, Habakkuk 3, "a feast for a king," as Queen Anne called it. Mr. Williamson walked with me to his house in the face of the sun. I would have spared him, but he was quite above fear. A pious, sensible Dissenter clave to us all day, and accompanied us to the preaching. I discoursed on my favourite subject, "I will bring the third part through the fire."<sup>10</sup> We glorified God in the fire, and rejoiced in hope of coming forth as gold.

**Sunday, October 3.** From 5:00 till near 8:00 I talked closely with each of the society. Then, on Mr. Williamson's request, preached on the ordinances from Isaiah 64:5, "In those is continuance, and we shall be saved." I dwelt longest on what had been most neglected: family prayer, public prayer, and the sacrament. The Lord set to his seal, and confirmed the word with a double blessing. I dismissed them at 9:00. Our preachers had often kept them till near 10:00, and thereby hindered their going to Church.

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<sup>3</sup>The popular name for the Cathedral Church of St. Peter's, York.

<sup>4</sup>The "h" is added to the abbreviated name in the journal letter.

<sup>5</sup>James Hervey, *Theron and Aspasio*, 2 vols. (Dublin: Robert Main, 1755). This was a pointedly Calvinist Methodist work by one of JW's former students.

<sup>6</sup>Ann Mercy Bell (c. 1707–76), raised Quaker in London, married Nathaniel Bell of York in 1731. About 1745 she took on a ministry role that included public exhortation among the Friends and in public settings.

<sup>7</sup>A set of four hymns at the end of *Hymns for Times of Trouble and Persecution* (London: Strahan, 1744), 43–47.

<sup>8</sup>Rev. William Williamson (d. 1758), vicar of St. Mary Bishophill Junior, York.

<sup>9</sup>See Num. 23:21.

<sup>10</sup>Zech. 13:9.

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Received the sacrament at the Minster. It was a solemn passover. They were forced to consecrate twice, the congregation being doubled and trebled through my exhortations and example. Glory be to God alone! I found great faith to pray for him that consecrated, and heard afterwards that it was Mr. B., one who had known the Methodists from their rise at Oxford and was no enemy to them. I expect (if I hold out myself) to meet that soul in paradise.

Went to Mr. Williamson's church. He read prayers as one that felt them, and beckoned me. According to our private agreement, I stepped up into the pulpit, when no one expected it, and cried to a full audience, "The kingdom of God is at hand. Repent ye, and believe the gospel."<sup>11</sup> They were all attention. The word did not return void, but accomplished that for which it was sent. Neither is he that planted anything, neither is he that watereth.<sup>12</sup>

Dr. Cockburn carried me in his chair to Acomb. I [3:8] lost my voice in the rain, and could not, without much straining, cry, "Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sin of the world."<sup>13</sup> A clergyman<sup>14</sup> and the gentry of the place were present. The rain dispersed us in half an hour. I attempted to meet the society at York, but could not speak to be heard. We got thereby a longer evening at the hospitable Doctor's. Mr. Williamson and his family, etc., were helpers of joy.

**Monday, October 4.** Took my leave in the words of the apostle, "The grace of God which bringeth salvation hath appeared unto all men, teaching us ...."<sup>15</sup> From hence I strongly pressed the obedience of faith. We parted in body only.

Through God's blessing on my week's stay among them, I hope: 1) peace and love are restored, 2) they will recover their rising at 5:00; 3) they are brought back again to Church, and sacrament, and family prayer.

Dr. Cockburn and his lady [Sarah] attended me to Tadcaster, where I found both voice and strength to point many earnest souls to the all-atoning Lamb.<sup>16</sup> The gentry listened as well as the poor. Both dismissed me with blessings.

It rained as soon as we took horse. We were quickly wet to the skin, the high wind driving the storm full in our faces. I was most concerned for poor William Shent, and forced him to stop at the first house. There I reprov'd a countryman for swearing, and gave a word of advice, which was kindly taken. We took refuge again at Seacroft, and enjoyed the last fair hour which brought us to Leeds by 2:00. I renewed my strength against preaching time. After which I met the leaders, and earnestly exhorted them to set a pattern to the flock.

**Tuesday, October 5.** At 5:00 preached in William Shent's shop. Breakfasted at Miss [Anne] Norton's. There Mr. [John] Edwards assured me he had "never *desired* anyone of our children to leave us." Doubtless they did it of their own mere motion. No one ever dealt or took

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<sup>11</sup>Mark 1:15.

<sup>12</sup>See 1 Cor. 3:7.

<sup>13</sup>John 1:29.

<sup>14</sup>Likely Rev. John Coates (c. 1716–82), vicar of Acomb, 1740–65.

<sup>15</sup>Titus 2:11.

<sup>16</sup>John 1:29.

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any pains with them about it. No one ever spoke against the Church to unhinge them. They dropped into his mouth (as our [3:9] first children into the Count's) without his ever suspecting it.

If he has robbed us of our children, I bless God to find he has not robbed us of our peace and love. He several times expressed his readiness to preach in our societies. I only answered the people could not trust him, that he would not do in every place as he has done in Leeds.

I endeavoured to treat him with due respect and love, according to our rule. "If it be possible, as much as in you lies, live peaceably with all men."<sup>17</sup>

Passed the day at Mr. [Henry] Crook's, who told me his experience. I cannot doubt of his having known the pangs of the new birth. Our brethren question it because he does not use all their phrases, and cannot follow all their violent counsels. I begged him to do nothing rashly; least of all to go from his post, preaching everywhere like us.

Drank tea at a sister's who has been as the troubled sea ever since the separation, and as rough towards all, especially her husband, as Mr. Edwards is smooth. I laboured to quiet her, and she was sensible of the great advantage Satan had gained over her. Alas for the man by whom the offence cometh!<sup>18</sup>

Walked to Hunslet with William Shent, and heard Mr. Crook expound in the church. Dined with him, and was provoked by his zeal. Returning, I found [[Joseph Tucker]] at my lodgings,<sup>19</sup> and threw away some words on one wiser in his own eyes than seven men that can render a reason.<sup>20</sup> He entirely justified Mr. Edwards. Therefore I can have no confidence in him that he will not do, were it in his power, as Mr. Edwards has done.

Henry Thornton came to spend an hour or two with us, and we sharpened each other's countenance.<sup>21</sup> At 6:00 I met the leaders and inquired into the behaviour of each member of the society. Upwards of forty Mr. Edwards has carried off—but not by *desiring* any to leave us. I carried them with me to prayers, and wished them to follow my example, by carrying the whole society to church with them. [3:10]

Returned to the room, and explained the believer's privilege, 1 Peter 1, "Kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation."<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>17</sup>Rom. 12:18.

<sup>18</sup>See Matt. 18:7.

<sup>19</sup>Joseph Tucker appears as a probationer in the 1749 Minutes (JW, *Works*, 10:237), and as a "chief local preacher" stationed in Ireland in the 1755 Minutes (ibid, 10:274). He appears to have left the itinerancy about 1756.

<sup>20</sup>See Prov. 26:16.

<sup>21</sup>Henry Thornton (1710–63), who married Mercy Gregory in 1737, appears as a married man throughout the Foundery Band Lists (1742–46). He assisted the Wesley brothers with some legal matters through the mid 1750s. See Thornton to CW, Nov. 26, 1741. He was apparently in Leeds on business.

<sup>22</sup>1 Pet. 1:5.

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**Thursday, October 7.** After a most tempestuous night, I preached to a few whom the hurricane could not keep from the word.

Had more talk with [[Joseph Tucker]] who frankly confessed if any of our societies should desire him to take charge of them, as a distinct body, he should not refuse them. I told him plainly that the ground of all such designs was pride. But my words were spoken into the air.

After church set out in a storm for Seacroft, and rode on to Aberford. My old friend Mr. [Benjamin] Ingham was labouring in the vineyard. But I had the happiness to find Lady Margaret at home, and their son Ignatius.<sup>23</sup> She informed me that his round takes in above four hundred miles; that he has six fellow labourers, and one thousand souls in his societies, most of them converted. I sincerely rejoiced in his success. Ignatius would hardly be pacified at my not preaching. We passed an hour and an half very profitably, and set out again. The rain met and drove us to a tree for shelter. We narrowly missed several heavy showers, and got safe back to Seacroft before night.

Soon after, our dearest brother [William] Grimshaw found us, and brought a blessing with him. I preached from Luke 21, “Take heed to yourselves ...”;<sup>24</sup> and farther enforced our Lord’s warning on the society. I strongly exhorted them to continue steadfast in fellowship with each other, and the whole Church of England. Our hearts were comforted and knit together.

**Friday, October 8.** We had another blessed hour with them, before we left this lively people. Continued till 1:00 in conference with my worthy friend and fellow labourer (a man after my own heart!), whose love of the Church flows from his love of Christ. With such may my lot be cast in both worlds!

Spent an hour in intercession for the Church and nation. I exhorted the many persons present to continue instant in this prayer, and mark the answer and the end! [3:11]

Rode with my faithful brother Grimshaw to Bramley. Preached in a large barn (now a convenient chapel) to a multitude of serious souls, who eagerly received our Lord’s saying, “Look up, and lift up your heads ....”<sup>25</sup>

**Saturday, October 9.**<sup>26</sup> They all seemed broad awake when I called again in the morning, “Watch ye, therefore, and pray always ....”<sup>27</sup> Their spirit quickened mine. We had sweet fellowship together. I have no doubt but they will be counted worthy to escape, and to stand before the Son of man.<sup>28</sup>

Returning to Leeds, I met my brother [George] Whitefield, and was much refreshed by the account of his abundant labours. Waited on him to our room, and gladly sat under his word.

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<sup>23</sup>Lady Margaret Hastings (1700–68), sister-in-law of Lady Huntingdon, was the first of the Hastings family to befriend the Methodists, and married Benjamin Ingham in 1741. Their son Ignatius was born in 1746.

<sup>24</sup>Luke 21:34–36.

<sup>25</sup>Luke 21:28.

<sup>26</sup>In the original the date is incorporated into the text. It has been separated out for clarity.

<sup>27</sup>Luke 21:36.

<sup>28</sup>See *ibid.*

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Preached myself at Rothwell. Their large house was full, though it was an harvest day. I warned them of the impending storm,<sup>29</sup> with much freedom and faith for the sincere, concluding with a warm exhortation to continue in the ship.<sup>30</sup>

**Sunday, October 10.** From Isaiah 64:5, “In those is continuance, and we shall be saved,” I earnestly pressed the duties of constant communicating, of hearing, reading, practising the word, of fasting, of private, family, and public prayer. The society I advised to continue in fellowship and never more give place to the sower of tares,<sup>31</sup> the divider of the brethren. I spoke healingly of the breach; told them how to behave toward Mr. Skelton,<sup>32</sup> and the rest who have rose up to draw away disciples after them; and insisted on that apostolical precept, let all your things be done in charity.<sup>33</sup> I did not mention the author of the late division, being convinced he left us for bread. The Spirit of love and union was in the midst of us.

I came to Birstall before noon. My congregation was less by a thousand or two, through George Whitefield’s preaching today at Haworth. Between four and five thousand were left to receive my warning from Luke 21. After church we met again. Every soul seemed to hang on the word. Two such precious opportunities I have not enjoyed this many a day. It was the old time [3:12] revived. A weighty spirit ran through the congregation, and they stood like men prepared to meet the Lord.

**Monday, October 11.**<sup>34</sup> After preaching at 5:00 to this solid people, I returned to Leeds and spent an hour with the leaders. They informed me that my late exhortations have stopped some who were on the point of going over to Mr. Edwards’s society, and brought others back to the Church ordinances. A woman in particular, after hearing me on Sunday morning, went to Church, which she had long forsaken, and received a manifestation of Jesus Christ in the prayers. I earnestly pressed them to recommend to their brethren, both by advice and example, the neglected duties of family and public prayer, and to watch over the flock with all diligence.

Hearing Mr. Whitefield and Mr. Grimshaw were returning to our watchnight, I waited for them at their lodgings, with zealous, humble, loving Mr. Crook. It rained so hard, that Mr. Whitefield was agreeably surprised at 8:00 to find our house as full as it could cram. They forced me to preach first, which I did from Zechariah 13, “The third part I will bring through the fire.”<sup>35</sup> My brother George seconded me in the words of our Lord: “I say unto all, Watch.”<sup>36</sup> The prayers

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<sup>29</sup>This was likely a sermon on Ezek. 33:1–6.

<sup>30</sup>I.e, the Church of England.

<sup>31</sup>See Matt. 13:25.

<sup>32</sup>Charles Skelton (c. 1725–98), a native of Ireland, was received as one of JW’s traveling preachers in 1748. But he soon chafed under JW’s hand. He settled in Bury St. Edmunds as a dissenting minister in 1754, and later was an Independent minister in Southwark.

<sup>33</sup>See 1 Cor. 16:14.

<sup>34</sup>For Oct. 11–23, 1756, see also CW’s more detailed journal letter, in *Journal Letters*, 407–15.

<sup>35</sup>Zech. 13:9.

<sup>36</sup>Mark 13:37.



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and hymns were all attended with a solemn power. Few, if any, I hope, went unawakened away.

**Tuesday, October 12.** I took my leave of Leeds in prayer at William Shent's. Some having ascribed the division to him, I examined that matter to the bottom—having talked largely with all parties, especially Miss [Anne] Norton and Mr. [John] Edwards himself. Upon the whole, I am convinced that the ground of all was Miss Norton's hatred to William Shent. This induced her to draw away Mr. Edwards from us. He could not resist the temptation of a certain provision for his family. Interest blinded his eyes, so that the means to his end seemed right and honest to him, though base and treacherous to us. As for William Shent, I do not find he did more than every upright man would have done on this occasion. He watched to counteract them who were daily [3:13] seducing our children. He gave early notice to my brother of their design, and thereby drew all their resentment upon himself—as every honest preacher will *qui cum ingeniis conflictatur ejusmodi*.<sup>37</sup> Since the separation (Mr. Edwards's friend informed me) he had behaved with such mildness and discretion as has kept the rest of the flock together, when violence or harsh treatment might have scattered them all.

Preached in Wakefield at 10:00, to a quieter audience than I have ever met with there.

Took a friendly leave of Miss Norton, who assured me some of our ablest preachers were entirely in Mr. Edwards's interest. *Nec nihil, nec omnia*.<sup>38</sup>

Rode to Joseph Bennet's, near Dewsbury, and preached very awakening to a mixed, attentive congregation. My vehement exhortation to the society was on the usual subject, "continuance in the word,"<sup>39</sup> and in prayers, family and public. Passed the evening with Jonas Eastwood.<sup>40</sup> I would gladly part with five hundred Methodists, to be ordained and useful like him.

**Wednesday, October 13.** The word at Birstall was clothed with power, both to awaken and to confirm. My principal concern is for the disciples, that their houses may be built on the rock, before the rains descend.<sup>41</sup> I hear in most places the effect of the word. But I hearken after it less than formerly, and take little notice of those who say they receive comfort, or faith, or forgiveness. Let their fruits show.

Preached at night, and rejoiced in steadfast hope of being brought through the fire.<sup>42</sup>

**Thursday, October 14.** Baptized a Dissenter's child, and set out with faithful Titus Knight for Halifax.<sup>43</sup> A mixed multitude listened to the word: "When thy judgments are in the

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<sup>37</sup>Cf. Terence, *The Lady of Andros*, 93; "who is involved with characters like that."

<sup>38</sup>"Neither nothing, nor everything."

<sup>39</sup>See John 8:31.

<sup>40</sup>Jonas Eastwood (d. 1772) had been a headmaster at Kingswood school, but sought ordination and was now curate at Dewsbury; in 1757 he was appointed curate of Cleckheaton, Yorkshire and served there the remainder of his life.

<sup>41</sup>See Matt. 7:24–27.

<sup>42</sup>Zech. 13:9.

<sup>43</sup>Titus Knight (d. 1792), of Halifax, is listed as a Methodist local preacher in 1753 and 1755 (see JW, *Works*, 10:260, 275). He later became an Independent minister.

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earth, the inhabitants of the world will learn righteousness.”<sup>44</sup> I have not found so great freedom in any place as this, where I expected least. Set out in hard rain for Bradford.<sup>45</sup> My subject there was Habakkuk 3:2, “O Lord, revive thy work . . .” Many Dissenters were present. Some [3:14] of them I believe were reached, for I spoke in irresistible love and warned them to flee from the wrath to come.<sup>46</sup>

**Friday, October 15.** After preaching I gathered into the fold a wandering sheep, whom John Whitford’s pride and folly had scattered.<sup>47</sup> Having lost her first love, she married an unconverted man; whereupon the society gave her up for lost. I rejoiced to find her miserable in prosperity, and restless to recover her only happiness.

Found comfort in the first lesson at church (Wisdom 5). Could be glad to attend the public prayer constantly, for my own as well as for example’s sake.

The preaching house was filled with those that came from far. Our Lord did not send them empty away.<sup>48</sup> A girl of fourteen (who had walked from Birstall) told me she seemed carried under the word as out of the body. What to call the manifestation of the Spirit then given her, time and temptation will show.

Near two hours more we rejoiced at a primitive lovefeast.

**Saturday, October 16.** Breakfasted again with my lost sheep that is found,<sup>49</sup> for whose sake chiefly I believe myself sent to Bradford. Last night at the lovefeast she recovered her shield.<sup>50</sup> Took my leave of the brethren in that promise, “He that endureth to the end, the same shall be saved.”<sup>51</sup> Rode with faithful Thomas Colbeck to Keighley.

Found at 4:00 a large, handsome room well filled. Did my office as a watchman,<sup>52</sup> and delivered my own soul. Mr. Grimshaw assisted at the society. I recommended family-religion with all my might. For near an hour and an half the cloud stayed on the assembly.<sup>53</sup>

**Sunday, October 17.** We had no room to spare at 6:00 in the morning, while I commended them to God, and to the word of his grace.<sup>54</sup> Preached a second time at Haworth

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<sup>44</sup>Isa. 26:9.

<sup>45</sup>Bradford, Yorkshire.

<sup>46</sup>See Matt. 3:7; Luke 3:7.

<sup>47</sup>John Whitford was listed as an “assistant in one place” in the 1747 Minutes (JW, *Works*, 10:205), and received as a probationary assistant in 1748 (10:214). He left the connexion to become an Independent minister in Bolton in 1754 (see 10:270 n 947).

<sup>48</sup>See Matt. 15:32; Mark 8:3.

<sup>49</sup>See Luke 15:6.

<sup>50</sup>See Eph. 6:16.

<sup>51</sup>Matt. 10:22.

<sup>52</sup>Ezek. 33:1–6.

<sup>53</sup>See Num. 9:11.

<sup>54</sup>Acts 20:32.

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(Mr. Grimshaw reading prayers), from Psalm 46:8–9,<sup>55</sup> “O come hither and behold the works [3:15] of the Lord, what destruction he hath brought on the earth. He maketh wars to cease in all the world . . .” My mouth was opened to declare the approaching judgments, and the glory which shall follow, when the Lord is exalted in all the earth. The church, which had been lately enlarged, could scarce contain the congregation, who seemed all to tremble at the threatenings, or rejoice in the promises, of God.

We had a blessed number of communicants, and the Master of the feast in the midst. I prayed and exhorted afterwards. Our hearts were lifted up to meet him in his glorious kingdom.

After an hour’s interval we met again, as many as the church walls could contain. But twice the number stood without, till the prayers were over. Then I mounted a scaffold and, lifting up my eyes, saw the fields white unto harvest.<sup>56</sup> We had prayed for a fair day, and had the petitions we asked. The churchyard, which will hold thousands, was quite covered. God gave me a voice to reach them all. I warned them of those things which shall come to pass,<sup>57</sup> and warmly pressed them to private, family, and public prayer; enlarged on the glorious consequences thereof, even deliverance from the last plagues, and standing before the Son of man. I concluded, and began again, for it was an accepted time. I do not remember when my mouth has been more opened, or my heart more enlarged.

A young preacher of Mr. Ingham’s came to spend the evening with me at Mr. Grimshaw’s.<sup>58</sup> I found great love for him, and wished all *our* sons in the gospel were equally modest and discreet.

**Monday, October 18.** He accompanied us to Heptonstall, where I preached at 10:00 on Isaiah 64:5, “In those is continuance, and we shall be saved.” I was very faint when I began. The more plainly did it appear that the power was not of man, but of God.<sup>59</sup> I warned them of the wiles of the devil, whereby he would draw them away from the Church and the other means of grace. I spoke as the oracles of God, and God gave testimony, [3:16] bowing the hearts of all present except a few bigoted Baptists. Went on our way rejoicing to Ewood.<sup>60</sup>

There the hard rain cut short my discourse from Ezekiel 9.<sup>61</sup> Mr. Allen could not leave us yet, but rode with us next morning,

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<sup>55</sup>CW wrote “46:5,” which is in error for both the AV and BCP.

<sup>56</sup>See John 4:35.

<sup>57</sup>Almost certainly preaching on Ezek. 33:1–6.

<sup>58</sup>He is identified as Mr. Allen two paragraphs later. James Allen (1734–1804) of Gayle, Yorkshire, became one of Ingham’s chief preachers in 1752 and was ordained by Ingham in 1756.

<sup>59</sup>See 2 Cor. 12:9.

<sup>60</sup>Likely Ewood, Lancashire, about 1 mile south of Blackburn.

<sup>61</sup>See his related three-part hymn on this passage in *Hymns for the Year 1756*, 7–11.

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**Tuesday, October 19**, as far as Gaulksholme.<sup>62</sup> I stood on a scaffold at the foot of a *Welsh* mountain, having all the people in front, and called, “Behold the Lamb of God, who taketh away the sin of the world.”<sup>63</sup> The word was as a two-edged sword.<sup>64</sup> I knew not then that several Baptists were present, a carnal, cavilling, contentious sect, always watching to steal away our children and make them as dead as themselves. Mr. Allen informed me that they have carried off no less than fifty out of one society, and that several Baptist meetings are wholly made out of old Methodists. I talked largely with Mr. Grimshaw how to remedy the evil. We agreed: 1) that nothing can save the Methodists from falling a prey to every seducer but *close* walking with God in all the commandments and ordinances, especially the word and prayer—private, family, and public; 2) that the preachers should be allowed more time in every place to visit from house to house, after Mr. Baxter’s manner;<sup>65</sup> 3) that a small treatise be written, to ground and preserve them against seducers, and lodged in every family.<sup>66</sup>

We came to Bolton with the night. Above forty of this poor shattered people still keep together. Many of those without flocked to the word. In great bodily weakness I warned them to fly to the city of refuge.<sup>67</sup> Tried to calm the spirits of our children, and we were comforted together through hope of our Lord’s appearing.

**Wednesday, October 20.** Talked kindly to poor John Whitford, who seemed quite sick of his separate congregation, so headstrong and untractable—so like their humble slave and teacher! His principles as well as spirit have cut off his retreat. *Vestigia nulla retrorsum*<sup>68</sup> when once a Methodist preacher has abused both ours and our children’s confidence, by setting up for himself. This he could never think of, till the salt had lost its savour.<sup>69</sup> [3:17]

The rain quickened our pace to Manchester. Took up my lodgings at Mr. Philips’s. My subject at night was, “When there things begin to come to pass, then look up.”<sup>70</sup> Many Arian and Socinian Dissenters were present, and gnashed upon me with their teeth, while I preached the coming of Jesus Christ, the one eternal self-existing God, to take vengeance on them and on all

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<sup>62</sup>JW describes this as a lone house set on the side of an enormous mountain in *Journal*, July 20, 1759, *Works*, 21:210. It was 1 mile southwest of Todmorden, Lancashire.

<sup>63</sup>John 1:29.

<sup>64</sup>See Heb. 4:12.

<sup>65</sup>Richard Baxter, *Gildas Salvianus, The Reformed Pastor; showing the nature of the pastoral work, especially in private instruction and catechizing* (London: Robert White, 1656).

<sup>66</sup>JW would attempt to meet this need in 1758 with his *Preservative Against Unsettled Notions in Religion*.

<sup>67</sup>See Josh. 20:1–3.

<sup>68</sup>This is a proverb taken from Horace’s Fable of the Fox and Lion (*Epistles*, I.i.74–75). It translates literally “no signs of returning.” But it came to mean proverbially “There is no turning back.”

<sup>69</sup>See Matt. 5:13.

<sup>70</sup>Luke 21:28.

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his enemies who would not have him to reign over them.

**Thursday, October 21.** I finished my discourse to our Lord's disciples. Parted with my right hand, my brother and bosom friend, Grimshaw. Breakfasted at Mrs. Fanshaw's, and rejoiced to find that, though she had left us, she had not utterly forsaken God. Her soul has suffered loss, yet her good desires remain. Here my old friend [John] Boulton found me out, and confirmed his love to me.

From church I went to dine with our sister Rider, still waiting for the consolation of Israel.<sup>71</sup> I drank tea with Dr. [John] Byrom, and was hard put to it to defend my brother's book against Mr. Law.<sup>72</sup> We got at last to a better subject, and parted not without a blessing.

At night I discoursed on Titus 2:11. Spoke close and home on practical faith and relative duties; but more closely still to the society.

It seems the famous Mr. Roger Ball is now among them, picking up their pence and their persons.<sup>73</sup> They were smit with admiration of so fine a man (Thomas Williams himself was nothing to him<sup>74</sup>), and invited him to settle with them. Another new preacher they have also got, a young Baptist, who is gathering himself a meeting out of them like the Baptist teachers who have borrowed so many of Mr. Grimshaw's children. Our society in Manchester was upward of two hundred, but their itching ears<sup>75</sup> have reduced them to half the number.

To these I showed the melancholy state of the members of the established Church, who are the most unprincipled and ignorant of all that are called Protestants, and therefore exposed to every seducer [3:18] who thinks it worth his while to turn them Dissenters, Moravians, or papists. I told them, "Of all the members of the Church of England the poor Methodists are most exposed, because serious, and therefore worth stealing; and of all the Methodists those of Manchester are in the greatest danger, because the most unsettled and unadvisable." I challenged them to show me one Methodist who had ever prospered by turning Dissenter. I asked what would become of them when my brother should die. Whether they would not then be scattered, and broken into twenty sects, old and new? To prevent this, I advised them: 1) to get grace, or the love and power of God, which alone could keep and establish their hearts; 2) to continue in all the means of obtaining this, especially the word, and prayer of all kinds—to read the Scriptures daily, to go constantly to Church and sacrament.

I make more allowance for this poor shattered society because they have been sadly neglected, if not abused, by our preachers. The leaders desired me not to let [[Joseph Tucker]] come among them again, for he did them more harm than good by talking in his *witty way* against the Church and clergy. As for poor [[John Hampson]], he *could* not advise them to go to

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<sup>71</sup>See Luke 2:25.

<sup>72</sup>JW, *A Letter to the Rev. Mr. Law; Occasioned by Some of His Late Writings* (London: [Strahan,] 1756).

<sup>73</sup>An immoral antinomian preacher, Roger Ball had insinuated himself into the Dublin society a few years earlier; see JW, *Journal*, Apr. 10, 1750, *Works*, 20:330.

<sup>74</sup>See the May 2, 1744 entry above.

<sup>75</sup>See 2 Tim. 4:3.

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Church, for he never went himself.<sup>76</sup> But some informed me that he advised them *not* to go. When we set the wolf to keep the sheep, no wonder that the sheep are scattered.

Our brother Johnson tells me since he sent the people back to Church two have received forgiveness in the prayers there, and two more in the sermon of a Church minister.<sup>77</sup> There are now three sound preachers in these parts.<sup>78</sup> If they continue steadfast, they may undo the great evil which the unsound preachers have done, and confirm our children in their calling.

I cannot leave them in so unsettled a condition; and therefore intend, with God's leave, to spend another week among them. Talked with the leaders, and earnestly pressed them to set an example to the [3:19] flock by walking in all the commandments and ordinances.

Wrote my thoughts to my brother as follows:

Mr. Walker's letter deserves to be seriously considered.<sup>79</sup> One only thing occurs to me now which might prevent in great measure the mischiefs which will probably ensue after our death, and that is *greater, much greater, deliberation and care in admitting preachers*. Consider seriously if we have not been too easy and too hasty in this matter. Let us pray God to show us if this has not been the principal cause why so many of our preachers have lamentably miscarried. Ought any new preacher to be received before we know that he is grounded, not only in the doctrines we teach, but in the discipline also, and particularly in the communion of the Church of England? Ought we not to try what he can answer a Baptist, a Quaker, a Papist, as well as a predestinarian or Moravian? If we do not insist on that *στοργή*<sup>80</sup> for our desolate mother as a prerequisite, yet should we not be well assured that the candidate is no enemy to the Church?

Is it not our duty to stop Joseph Cownley, and such like, from railing and laughing at the Church?<sup>81</sup> Should we not now, at least, shut the stable door? The short

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<sup>76</sup>John Hampson (c.1732–95) became a Methodist traveling preacher in 1752, took a hiatus between 1765–76, and withdrew entirely in 1784 in a dispute over how leadership would be structured on JW's death.

<sup>77</sup>Thomas Johnson (1720–97), son of John Johnson of Wakefield, who was converted in 1748 and became a traveling preacher in 1752. He was currently appointed to the Leeds circuit.

<sup>78</sup>The other two sound preachers are named in the journal letter: John Hacking and Richard Lucas.

<sup>79</sup>Samuel Walker (1714–61), rector of Truro; cf. his letter to JW, Sept. 5, 1755, in *Works*, 26:582–86.

<sup>80</sup>“Affection,” or “love.”

<sup>81</sup>Joseph Cownley (1723–92) was spiritually awakened under JW's preaching in Bath in 1743, and on returning to his native Leominster joined the Methodist society there and began to preach. By the 1746 Conference he was an Assistant, and JW described him as “one of the best preachers in England.” CW was not questioning his abilities but his commitment to the Church of England.

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remains of my life are devoted to this very thing, to follow our sons (as Charles Perronet told me we should you) with buckets of water, to quench the flame of strife and division, which they have or may kindle.

**Friday, October 22.** After preaching I talked with several of the society, particularly a young woman who seemed quite overwhelmed with the love of Christ, which she received yesterday in private prayer. I went to St. Ann's prayers,<sup>82</sup> and thence to the room. Began our first hour of intercession. Many more than I expected were present. I gave an exhortation, showing the end of our meeting every Friday, as Englishmen and members of the Church of England, to deprecate the national judgments and to pray for the peace of Jerusalem.<sup>83</sup> I have rarely known so solemn an assembly. They were pleased to hear that we design to continue meeting every week. [3:20]

I went thence to seek that which was lost, poor A[dam] O[lidham]. He made me very happy by his misery and restlessness to return. Once more, I trust, there will be joy in heaven over him.<sup>84</sup>

Began in the evening to expound the whole armour of God (Ephesians 6<sup>85</sup>). After I had done, the famous Mr. Ball lifted up his voice—and a magnificent voice it was. I bade our people depart in peace, which they did. The enemy roared some time in the midst of the room (not congregation) threatening me for scandalizing him and depriving his family of their bread. I believe he is defrauded of his prey through my coming in *ipso temporis articulo*<sup>86</sup> when he promised himself a good provision out of our society. No wonder Satan rages at his disappointment.

I met the society in calm love. There was no farther need of my mentioning Satan's apostle, for he has sufficiently showed himself. The snare is thereby broken, and the simple souls delivered. I lovingly exhorted them to stand fast in one mind and one spirit, in the old paths or ways of God's appointing.<sup>87</sup> Hence forth they will not believe every spirit.<sup>88</sup> The Lord establish their hearts with grace.

Experience convinces me more and more that the Methodists can never prosper, or even stand their ground, unless they continue steadfast in the ordinances. The society here used to be scattered on the Lord's day in the fields, or sleeping in their houses. This invited all the beasts of the forest to devour them. Suffice the time that is past. We are not ignorant now of Satan's

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<sup>82</sup>St. Ann's church, an early eighteenth century addition to Manchester.

<sup>83</sup>On May 17, 1756 Britain had declared war on France, leading into the Seven Years War.

<sup>84</sup>See Luke 15:7.

<sup>85</sup>See Eph. 6:11–17.

<sup>86</sup>“the very same moment of time.”

<sup>87</sup>Phil. 1:27.

<sup>88</sup>See 1 John 4:1.

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devices.<sup>89</sup>

**Saturday, October 23.** Proceeded to expound the whole armour of God.<sup>90</sup> We were a little too early for Mr. Ball and his friends, two of whom last night had laid violent hands on me. One *was* a sister of ours, till her curiosity betrayed her into the hands of Mr. Ball.

Breakfasted at brother [Richard] Barlow's, and rejoiced in the remembrance of his blessed sister, now in glory.<sup>91</sup> For seven years she adorned the gospel in all things.

Took horse with brother Philips for Hayfield, which we reached by 1:00. The sun shone all day without a cloud, to the great comfort of the poor husbandmen. I found at Hayfield just such a family [3:21] as *was* once at Fonnon Castle.<sup>92</sup> The master indeed was absent, but had left word that his church and house expected me.

I preached at 7:00 to an house full of the parishioners, on "Repent ye, therefore, and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out . . ."<sup>93</sup> I did not spare them. They bore my plain speaking. The awakened were much comforted.

The voice of joy and thanksgiving is in the habitations of the righteous.<sup>94</sup> I thought I was got back to Mr. [Robert] Jones's castle. We continued our triumph two hours longer, and could hardly part at last, and not without grudging our bodies their necessary rest.

**Sunday, October 24.** Spent from 7:00 to 8:00 in advising and praying with the sincere, whom Mr. Baddeley has divided into classes like ours. Read prayers at 10:00, and preached "the one thing needful."<sup>95</sup> The Lord filled my mouth with awakening words. I never spoke more convincingly. All seemed to feel the sharp two-edged sword.<sup>96</sup>

The church was fuller than was ever known in a morning. But in the afternoon it was crowded every corner of it. I tasted the good word while reading it.<sup>97</sup> Indeed the Scripture comes with double weight to me in a Church. If any pity me for my bigotry, I pity them for their blind prejudice, which robs them of so many blessings.

My text was Lamentations 1:12, "Is it nothing to you, all ye that pass by? Behold . . ."  
The love of Christ crucified melted many hearts. I addressed myself by turns to the unawakened, the sincere, and the backsliders. For an hour God enabled me to speak with convincing and

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<sup>89</sup>See 2 Cor. 2:11.

<sup>90</sup>Eph. 6:11–17.

<sup>91</sup>This is surely the "sister Barlow of Manchester" to whom JW refers in his letter to Jonathan Pritchard, Jan 16, 1753, *Works*, 26:500. It may be the Ellen Barlow buried in Manchester on July 9, 1756.

<sup>92</sup>CW is visiting John Baddeley (1706–64), rector in Hayfield and a Methodist sympathizer.

<sup>93</sup>Acts 3:19.

<sup>94</sup>See Ps. 42:4.

<sup>95</sup>Luke 10:42.

<sup>96</sup>See Heb. 4:12.

<sup>97</sup>See Heb. 6:5.



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comforting power. After the psalm, began again, and recapitulated the whole. Why does God always accompany the word with a double blessing when preached in the Church? Is it a sign that he is leaving or that he is returning to it? I have never been more assisted since I left Bristol, than in this church, and Mr. Crook's, and Mr. Williamson's. Those of the Methodist preachers who have faith and patience may, by and by, have all the churches in England opened to them. Got another blessed, lively hour [3:22] with the society. Then my whole stock of strength was exhausted.

**Monday, October 25.** From 6:00 to 7:00 I warned and exhorted them with many tears, tasting the bitterness of life, and the various evils we are still to be brought through. By 11:00 returned to Manchester.

Here I rejoiced to hear of the great good Mr. Whitefield had done in our societies. He preached as universally as my brother. He warned them everywhere against apostasy, and strongly insisted on the necessity of holiness *after* justification, illustrating it with this comparison: "What good would the king's pardon do a poor malefactor dying of a fever? So, notwithstanding you have received forgiveness, unless the disease of your nature be healed by holiness, ye can never be saved." He beat down the separating spirit, highly commended the prayers and services of our Church, charged our people to meet their bands and classes constantly, and never to leave the Methodists or God would leave them. In a word, he did his utmost to strengthen our hands, and deserves the thanks of all the churches for his abundant labour of love.

I consulted the leaders what could be done for this unstable people. Richard Barlow and the rest ascribed their fickleness to their neglect of the means, particularly going to Church, and "when we advised them to it, they would answer us, 'The preachers do not advise us to go, neither do they go themselves.'" Nay, some spoke against it, even Mr. Hopper and those we most confided in.<sup>98</sup> As for Joseph Tucker, they assured me his whole conversation wherever he came was to ridicule both the Church and the clergy. And John Haughton is just now informed by a faithful sister from Cork that James Deaves continues the same vile treacherous practice, and lately made a mock of the sacrament before all the society.<sup>99</sup> My brother and I must wink very hard not to see the hearts of such men.

**Tuesday, October 26.** My *former* friend Mr. Clayton read prayers at the old church, with great solemnity.<sup>100</sup> Richard Lucas returned from Bolton.<sup>101</sup> Informed me that John Hampson had

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<sup>98</sup>Christopher Hopper (1722–1802), a native of County Durham, was converted under Methodist preaching in 1743. That same year JW made him a class-leader, and he began to preach locally. About 1750 he became a full-time itinerant, and emerged as one of JW's longest serving and most trusted lay preachers.

<sup>99</sup>James Deaves appears in the *Minutes* as a traveling preacher first in 1753 (JW, *Works*, 10:267), and remains listed through 1767 (10:344). He served mainly in Ireland.

<sup>100</sup>John Clayton (1709–73) had been active in the Oxford Methodists with JW and CW. He cultivated their interest in the early church and introduced them to John Byrom and Thomas Deacon; but broke off his connection to the Wesley brothers after 1738. Clayton had been chaplain at The Collegiate Church of St. Mary, St. Denys, and St. George, in central Manchester

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been scattering his firebrands there also, [3:23] mocking the people for going to “Old Peg,” as his fellows and he call our Church. What should hinder him from providing for himself and growing family when opportunity serves by following Mr. Edwards’s example? Or what security can we have that all the preachers of his mind will not do the same? I am incapable of trusting them till they are convinced of their pride and treachery.

But what should we do in the meantime? Trust the flock to them, as superintendents? Enlarge their power of doing mischief? Or retrench it? Is it not high time for us *to be* what we profess, ministers and guardians of the Church of England? Should we leave York to the mercy of Mr. [Thomas] Johnson? Newcastle to Jacob Rowell<sup>102</sup> and Joseph Cownley? Ireland to James Deaves? And why not then Bristol to Charles Perronet, and London to Ned [Perronet]? By doing nothing we give up all into the enemy’s hands.

Spent the day in writing letters at sister Fanshaw’s, whom I have received again into the fold. She had never left us in heart, but the cares of the world interrupted her outward fellowship. She seems now resolved to live and die with the poor afflicted people of God.

Made up a quarrel of many months’ standing between two sisters. The occasion of it was absolutely nothing. Such is the subtlety of our adversary!

After preaching I examined three of the most wavering classes, and persuaded all except the Dissenters to go back to Church and sacrament. The treacherous dealers have dealt very treacherously. Even *before* our departure the grievous wolves are entered in, not sparing the flock. How much more *after* our departure will men arise of ourselves, speaking perverse things, to draw away disciples after them!

**Wednesday, October 27.** I preached from Romans 6, “But now being made free from sin, and become the servants of God, ye have your fruit unto holiness, and the end everlasting life.”<sup>103</sup> The Lord confirmed his word with a double blessing. [3:24]

Went with John Haughton to the old church, as usual. Preached at 6:00. Then met, and lovingly reproved, the society. Talked with more of the classes, and could find only two who would not take advice. Amalek had smote the hindmost,<sup>104</sup> so I let Amalek take them, at least while they prefer Mr. Ball to all the Methodists. The rest, a few Dissenters excepted, determined to live and die with us in the communion of the Church of England.

**Thursday, October 28.** Mr. Fanshaw dragged his feeble body to the early preaching. After all his wanderings and backslidings, we have received him again, as we trust, for ever.

Preached at noon near Davyhulme, with great enlargement, to a simple-hearted people,

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(now the cathedral) since 1740.

<sup>101</sup>Richard Lucas served as a traveling preacher 1755–65 (see JW, *Works*, 10:273, 305).

<sup>102</sup>Jacob Rowell (1722–84) became a Methodist exhorter in 1749 and appears in the Minutes as a travelling preacher by 1752 (JW, *Works*, 10:251). He laboured faithfully, mainly in the northeast, until his retirement in 1780 (*Works*, 10:499). JW valued his preaching, but had to restrain his inclination to separation from the Church of England.

<sup>103</sup>Rom. 6:22.

<sup>104</sup>See Exod. 17:8–13.

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who made me some amends for my long exercise at Manchester.

Passed the remainder of the day with some Manchester friends who are not of the society. The unsteadiness of our children has kept many from venturing among us.

Began our watchnight exactly at 7:00, and concluded a quarter before 11:00. Hereby we had more time with less inconvenience, and the whole congregation stayed from first to last. I expounded the Ten Virgins.<sup>105</sup> The solemn power of God rested upon us. It was one of the happiest nights I have known.

Was constrained to write the following letters:

To Mr. [William] Grimshaw

Manchester  
October 29th

I could not leave this poor shattered society so soon as I proposed. They have not had fair play from our treacherous sons in the gospel, but have been scattered by them as sheep upon the mountains. I have once more persuaded them to go to Church and sacrament, and stay to carry them thither the next Lord's day.

Nothing but grace can keep our children, after our departure, from running into a thousand [3:25] sects, a thousand errors. Grace, exercised, kept up, and increased in the use of all the means, especially family and public prayer, and sacrament, will keep them steady. Let us labour, while we continue here, to ground and build them up in the Scriptures, and all the ordinances. Teach them to handle well the sword of the Spirit, and the shield of faith.<sup>106</sup> Should I live to see you again, I trust you will assure me, there is not a member of all your societies but reads the Scripture daily, uses private prayer, joins in family and public worship, and communicates constantly. "In those is continuance, and we shall be saved."<sup>107</sup>

To my beloved brethren at Leeds, etc.

Grace and peace be multiplied! I thank my God, on your behalf, for the grace which is given unto you, by which ye stand fast in one mind and in one spirit. My Master, I am persuaded, sent me unto you at this time to confirm your souls in the present truth, in your calling, in the old paths of gospel ordinances. O that ye may be a pattern to the flock for your unanimity and love! O that ye may continue steadfast in the word, and in fellowship, and in breaking of bread, and in prayers (private, family, and public) till we all meet around the great white throne!<sup>108</sup>

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<sup>105</sup>Matt. 25:1–13.

<sup>106</sup>See Eph. 6:16–17.

<sup>107</sup>Isa. 64:5.

<sup>108</sup>See Acts 2:42.

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I knew beforehand that the Sanballats and Tobiahs<sup>109</sup> would be grieved when they heard there was a man come to seek the welfare of the Church of England. I expected they would pervert my words, as if I should say, “*The Church could save you.*” So, indeed, you and they thought, till I and my brethren taught you better, and sent you *in and through* all the means to Jesus Christ. But let not their slanders move you. Continue in the old ship. Jesus hath a favour for our Church, and is wonderfully visiting and reviving his work in her. It shall be shortly said, “Rejoice ye with Jerusalem, and be [3:26] glad with her, all ye that love her. Rejoice for joy with her, all ye that mourn for her” (Isaiah 66:10, etc.).

Blessed be God, ye see your calling. Let nothing hinder your going constantly to Church and sacrament. Read the Scriptures daily in your families, and let there be a church in every house. The word is able to build you up. And if ye watch and pray always, ye shall be counted worthy to stand before the Son of man.<sup>110</sup>

“Watch ye, therefore; stand fast in the faith; quit yourselves like men; be strong. Let all your things be done in love.”<sup>111</sup>

I rejoice in hope of presenting you all in that day. Look up, for your eternal redemption draweth near.<sup>112</sup>

As the people here leave work at 12:00, we pitched upon that hour for our intercession. Many flocked to the house of mourning; and again the Lord was in the midst of us, making soft our hearts, and helping our infirmity to pray.<sup>113</sup> We never want faith in praying for King George, and the Church of England.

I recovered another straggler, as I do every day. The enemy has had a particular grudge to this society. His first messenger to them was a *still sister*, who abounded in visions and revelations. She came to them as in the name of the Lord, and forbade them to pray, sing, or *go to church*. Her extravagance at last opened their eyes, and delivered them from the snare of mysticism. Then the Quakers, the predestinarians, the dippers desired to have them to sift them like wheat.<sup>114</sup> They were afterwards thrust sore at by Mr. [John] Bennet, [Thomas] Williams, [James] Wheatley, Cudworth,<sup>115</sup> [John] Whitford, [Roger] Ball. It is a miracle that two of them are left together. Yet, I am persuaded, the third part will be brought through the fire.<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>109</sup>See Neh. 4:1–3.

<sup>110</sup>See Luke 21:36.

<sup>111</sup>1 Cor. 16:13–14.

<sup>112</sup>See Luke 21:28.

<sup>113</sup>See Rom. 8:26.

<sup>114</sup>See Luke 22:31.

<sup>115</sup>William Cudworth (c. 1717–63), a lay preacher from London, who was trained by George Whitefield but went independent. He became connected with James Wheatley in 1752.

<sup>116</sup>Zech. 13:9.

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Examined more of the society. Most of them have known the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ. [3:27] Several received it at Church; one in the litany, another in the Lord's Prayer—with that word "Thy kingdom come" Christ came into his heart. To many he has been made known in the breaking of bread.<sup>117</sup>

**Saturday, October 30.** Dined with my candid friend and censor Dr. [John] Byrom. I stood close to Mr. [John] Clayton in church (as all the week past), but not a look would he cast towards me;

So stiff was his parochial pride,<sup>118</sup>

and so faithfully did he keep his covenant with his eyes, not to look upon an old friend when called a Methodist.

**Sunday, October 31.** Spoke from 5:00 to 7:00 with the rest of the classes. Left out Richard Glover, with his second wife, whom he has married, contrary to my advice, when his first was scarce cold in her grave.<sup>119</sup> This scandalous practice, seldom named among the heathen, should never be tolerated among Christians. I refused tickets to James and Elizabeth Ridgworth, till they should have enough of Mr. Ball. All the others were willing to follow my advice, and go constantly to Church and sacrament. The Dissenters I sent to their respective meetings.

At 7:00 I found freedom to explain and enforce Isaiah 64:5, "In those is continuance, and we shall be saved." It struck 8:00 before I had got half through my subject. Breakfasted with a wanderer, and brought him back to his brethren. We were all at the old church. Heard a good sermon from Mr. Clayton on constant prayer, and joined to commemorate our dying Lord. Mr. M.,<sup>120</sup> the senior chaplain, sent for me up to the table, to administer first to me, with the other clergy. I know not when I have received a greater blessing. The addition of fourscore communicants made them consecrate twice or thrice. A few of our Dissenting brethren communicated with us, and confessed to me afterwards that the Lord met them at his [3:28] table. It was a passover much to be remembered. We renewed our solemn covenant with God, and received fresh strength to run the race set before us.<sup>121</sup>

Dined at Adam Oldham's. The first *was* become last, but is now I hope becoming first again.<sup>122</sup> I readmitted both him and his wife into the society, with several others who were fallen off.

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<sup>117</sup>See Luke 24:35.

<sup>118</sup> Cf. Matthew Prior, "Paulo Purganti and His Wife," ln. 52, *Poems*, 103: "And stiff was her parochial pride."

<sup>119</sup>Richard Glover had married Elizabeth Holden in 1745. She was buried in Manchester on July 11, 1756; and Glove married Dorothy Varnom on Oct. 28, 1756.

<sup>120</sup> It was actually the Fellows of the Collegiate Church who presided at Eucharist. CW is most likely referring to Thomas Moss, one of these Fellows.

<sup>121</sup>See Heb. 12:1.

<sup>122</sup>See Matt. 20:16; Mark 10:31; Luke 13:30.

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From the new church [St. Ann's], walked to our crowded room and once more *preached up* the ordinances. Now the long-delayed blessing came. The skies as it were poured down righteousness.<sup>123</sup> The words I spoke were not my own, therefore they made their way into many hearts.

I received double power to exhort the society (now upwards of one hundred and fifty members), and *believed for them* that they will henceforth walk in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord blameless.<sup>124</sup>

**November 1756**

**Monday, November 1.** Met about a score of the Dissenters at 4:00, and administered the Lord's Supper, to the great consolation of us all.

Took my leave in the promise we wait for, "I will bring the third part through the fire,"<sup>1</sup> and left a blessing behind me. Mr. Philips attended me as far as Stone. The heavens smiled upon us all day.

**Tuesday, November 2.** Took horse at 7:00, and came safe by 2:00 to my old friend Francis Ward in Wednesbury. At night I enforced the divine counsel, Isaiah 6:20: "Come, my people, enter thou into thy chambers, and shut thy doors about thee. Hide thyself as it were for a little moment, until the indignation be overpast. For, behold, the Lord cometh out of his place to punish the inhabitants of the earth for their iniquity." I found much freedom of love among my oldest children, and they readily received my warnings;

**(Wednesday, November 3)** which I repeated the next morning from Psalm 46. [3:29] Employed the morning in visiting the sick and shut up. Three or four stragglers I gathered in. Comforted our sister Spittle, left with five small children by her husband, who was lately killed in a coal pit, by the earth falling in. No death could be sudden to him. John Eaton was killed by falling into a pit. His daughter Edge told me she was warned by a repeated dream of his death, and begged him in vain not to go out that morning.<sup>2</sup>

While I was talking with her, a woman came in and accosted me in such a bold, violent manner that I told her I did not like her spirit. This raised and called it forth. She quickly *showed* herself a Nicolaitan by her boisterous, shocking antinomian *assurance*.<sup>3</sup> I told her she was a false witness for God. To which she horribly answered, "If I am a liar, God himself is a liar." I shut up the discourse with, "Get thee behind me, Satan!"<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>123</sup>See Isa. 45:8.

<sup>124</sup>See Luke 1:6.

<sup>1</sup>Zech. 13:9.

<sup>2</sup>Mary Eaton had married Richard Edge in May 1742.

<sup>3</sup>See Rev. 2:6.

<sup>4</sup>See Matt. 16:23; Mark 8:33; Luke 4:8.

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I was much assisted, both at 1:00 and at 7:00, to warn many listening souls of the flood coming. There was great life in the society. *All* the first, I am confident, shall not become last.<sup>5</sup>

**Thursday, November 4.** Left that promise upon their hearts, "I will bring the third part through the fire,"<sup>6</sup> and took horse with James Jones. Encouraged the remnant at Birmingham with the same words, and rode on to Worcester.

About a score I had left here some years ago, twelve of whom are fallen off to the Quakers, seeking the living among the dead.<sup>7</sup> I described the last times to between forty and fifty at our sister Blackmore's, and it was a solemn time of refreshing.

**Friday, November 5.** Set out before day with faithful John Dornford. Lodged at Cambridge Inn; and by 11:00 on Saturday morning, November 6th, God brought me safe to my friends in Bristol.

*Source:* holograph; Methodist Archive and Research Center, DDCW 10/2.

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<sup>5</sup>See Matt. 20:16; Mark 10:31; Luke 13:30.

<sup>6</sup>Zech. 13:9.

<sup>7</sup>See Luke 24:5.

## SIGNS, SPECIAL USAGES, ABBREVIATIONS

### *Signs*

- [ ] Square brackets enclose editorial insertions or substitutions in the original text, or (with a query – ?) doubtful readings.
- < > Angle brackets enclose conjectural readings where the original text is defective or obscured.
- ... An ellipsis indicates a passage omitted by the preparer of the original source—for this purpose Wesley generally employed a dash.
- [...] An ellipsis within square brackets indicates a passage omitted silently by Wesley from a text he was quoting, to which the present editors are drawing attention.
- [[ ]] Double square brackets enclose passages that are expanded from Wesley’s use of John Byrom’s shorthand.
- / A solidus or slant line, in address or endorsement information, marks the division between two lines of text in the original.

### *Special Usages*

- Cf. Before a scriptural or other citation by Wesley, indicates that he was quoting with more than minimal inexactness, yet nevertheless displaying the passage as a quotation.
- See Before a scriptural citation, indicates an undoubted allusion or a quotation that was not displayed as such by Wesley.

### *Abbreviations*

In addition to common abbreviations like c[irca], ed[itio]n, n[ote], orig[inal], and st[anza], the footnotes in this volume utilize the following abbreviated forms or short titles for items referred to repeatedly.

<i>AM</i>	<i>Arminian Magazine</i> (London, 1778–97).
<i>AV</i>	<i>Holy Bible</i> , Authorized Version, 1611 (KJV).
<i>BCP</i>	The Book of Common Prayer (London, 1662).
Benham, <i>Hutton</i>	Daniel Benham, <i>Memoirs of James Hutton</i> (London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co., 1856).
Best, <i>Cradle of Methodism</i>	G. M. Best, <i>The Cradle of Methodism, 1739–2017; a history of the New Room and of Methodism in Bristol and Kingswood</i> (Bristol: New Room Publications, 2017).
Bristol Bands (1741)	Photograph of partial list of men’s bands in Bristol in 1741; published in Nehemiah Curnock (ed.), <i>The Journal of the Rev. John Wesley</i> (London: Epworth, 1909–16), 2:398.
<i>CPH</i> (1737)	John Wesley (ed.), <i>A Collection of Psalms and Hymns</i> (Charleston: Lewis Timothy, 1737).



- CPH (1738) [John Wesley (ed.),] *A Collection of Psalms and Hymns* (London: Bowyer for Hutton, 1738).
- Crookshank, *Ireland* Charles H. Crookshank, *History of Methodism in Ireland*, Vol. 1 (Belfast: Allen, 1885).
- CW Rev. Charles Wesley (1707–88).
- CW, *Journal Letters* Randy L. Maddox, et al. (eds.), *The Journal Letters and Related Biographical Items of The Rev. Charles Wesley, M.A.*, Enlarged 2nd edn. (Nashville: Kingswood Books, 2023).
- CW, *Sermons* Kenneth G. C. Newport (ed.) *The Sermons of Charles Wesley* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).
- DEB Donald Lewis, ed. *Dictionary of Evangelical Biography, 1730–1860*. 2 vols. (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2004).
- Foundery Band Lists (1742–46) MARC, MA 1977/503/2; manuscript notebook containing lists in JW's hand of members of bands and select societies at the Foundery in London between 1742 and 1746.
- Funeral Hymns* (1746) [Charles Wesley.] *Funeral Hymns* [London: Strahan, 1746].
- Funeral Hymns* (1759) [Charles Wesley.] *Funeral Hymns* (London: [Strahan,] 1759).
- Georgia Settlers* E. Merton Coulter & Albert B. Saye, *A List of the Early Settlers of Georgia* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1949).
- HSP (1739) John and Charles Wesley, *Hymns and Sacred Poems* (London: Strahan, 1739).
- HSP (1740) John and Charles Wesley, *Hymns and Sacred Poems* (London: Strahan, 1740).
- HSP (1742) John and Charles Wesley, *Hymns and Sacred Poems* (Bristol: Farley, 1742).
- HSP (1749) Charles Wesley, *Hymns and Sacred Poems*, 2 vols. (Bristol: Farley, 1749).
- Jackson, *CW Journal* Thomas Jackson (ed.), *The Journal of the Rev. Charles Wesley, M.A. ... to which are appended Selections from his Correspondence and Poetry*, 2 vols. (London: Wesleyan-Methodist Book Room, 1849).
- JW Rev. John Wesley (1703–91).
- JW, *Works* *The Bicentennial Edition of the Works of John Wesley*, Frank Baker, et al. (eds.) (Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 1984ff.) [Volumes 7, 11, 25, and 26 originally appeared as the *Oxford Edition of The Works of John Wesley*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1975–83.]
- MARC Methodist Archives and Research Centre, The John Rylands Library, The University of Manchester, Manchester, England.
- Martin, *Wesley's Chapels* J. Henry Martin, *John Wesley's London Chapels* (London: Epworth, 1946).
- MS Clarke MARC, MA 1977/561.
- MS Funeral Hymns MARC, MA 1977/578.
- MS Miscellaneous Hymns MARC, MA 1977/556.
- MS Richmond MARC, MA 1977/55.

<i>ODNB</i>	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> (online edition, 2003).
<i>OED</i>	<i>The Oxford English Dictionary</i> , 2nd edn. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989).
<i>PCWS</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Charles Wesley Society</i> .
<i>Redemption Hymns</i> (1747)	Charles Wesley, <i>Hymns for Those That Seek and Those That Have Redemption in the Blood of Jesus Christ</i> (London: Strahan, 1747).
<i>Simmonds List</i>	A manuscript pastoral list by JW of the passengers accompanying him and CW on the <i>Simmonds</i> to Georgia (MARC, WCB, D 6/1/148); published with some errors in Adam Clarke, <i>Memoirs of the Wesley Family</i> , 2nd edn. (London: Tegg, 1836), 2:175–77.
<i>Vickers, Dictionary</i>	John Vickers (ed.), <i>A Dictionary of Methodism in Britain and Ireland</i> (London: Epworth, 2000). Online access: <a href="http://wesleyhistoricalsociety.org.uk/dmbi/index.php">http://wesleyhistoricalsociety.org.uk/dmbi/index.php</a>
<i>WHS</i>	<i>The Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society</i> .
<i>WMM</i>	<i>Wesleyan Methodist Magazine</i> (London, 1822–1913).

NOTE: Full transcriptions of all of the published hymn collections above, and of Charles Wesley's manuscript verse, can be found on the website of the Center for Studies in the Wesleyan Tradition at Duke Divinity School:

<http://divinity.duke.edu/initiatives/cswt>