

CHAPTER II.

CONTAINING A FURTHER ACCOUNT OF MR. WESLEY'S LABORS: A SUMMARY OF THE MINUTES OF CONFERENCE RESPECTING THE DOCTRINES HE TAUGHT: AND A VIEW OF THE SPREAD OF METHODISM UNTIL THE CONFERENCE IN 1751.

THE plan on which Mr. Wesley had hitherto governed the societies and the preachers, was imperfect; and as the number increased must soon have become insupportably laborious. When the preachers at first went out to exhort and preach it was by Mr. Wesley's permission and authority; some from one part of the kingdom, some from another: and though strangers, yet on his credit and sanction alone, they were received and provided for as friends, by the societies wherever they came. But having little or no communication or intercourse with one another, nor any subordination among themselves, they must have been under a continual necessity of recurring to Mr. Wesley for direction, how and where each one was to labor. By calling

them together to a conference, he brought them into closer union with each other, and made them sensible of the utility of acting in concert and harmony under his direction and appointment. He soon found it necessary, however, to bring their itinerancy under certain regulations, and reduce it to some fixed order; both to prevent confusion, and for his own ease. He therefore took fifteen or twenty societies, more or less, which lay round some principal society in those parts, and which were so situated, that the greatest distance from one to the other was not much more than twenty miles, and united them into what was called a *circuit*. At the yearly conference, he appointed two, three, or four preachers to one of these circuits, according to its extent, which at first was often very considerable, sometimes taking in part of three or four counties. Here, and here only, they were to labor for one year, that is, until the next conference. One of the preachers on every circuit, was called the Assistant, for the reason before mentioned. He took charge of all the societies within the limits assigned him; he enforced the rules every where; and superintended, and directed the labors of the preachers associated with him. Having received a list of the societies forming his circuit, he took his own station in it, gave to the other preachers a plan of it, and pointed out the day when each should be at the place fixed for him, to begin a progressive motion round it, in such order as the plan directed. They now followed one another through all the societies belonging to that circuit at stated distances of time; all being governed by the same rule, and undergoing the same labor. By this plan, every preacher's daily work was appointed beforehand, each knew every day where the others were, and each society when to expect the preacher, and how long he would stay with them. But of late years, since the great increase of Methodism, the circuits have been divided and subdivided, which has made way for a great increase of preachers, and rendered the fatigues of itinerancy trifling, compared with what they were in the beginning. Many of the preachers too, have been suffered to stay two years, sometimes three, on the same circuit, and even then have been removed to a circuit only a few miles distant. Nay, it is said, that the societies in London itself, with the places adjacent, have been divided into three circuits, by which a few preachers may become stationary for a great number of years. Mr. Wesley considered itinerancy as of the utmost importance to Methodism: but by dividing the circuits in this manner, the effects of it have already been much diminished, and may in time be totally destroyed.

The conference being ended, Mr. Wesley observes, "The next week we endeavored to purge the society of all that did not walk worthy of the gospel. By this means we reduced the number of members to less than nineteen hundred. But number is an inconsiderable circumstance. May God increase them in faith and love!" This shows us, the astonishing increase of members in the Methodist

societies. Four years before this period, Mr. Wesley separated from the brethren at Fetter-Lane, and soon after fifty or sixty joined with him: these were now increased, in and about London, to nineteen hundred! Had the original piety, zeal, and disinterestedness been preserved unabated among the preachers, and their first plan inviolably kept in every place, it is impossible to say how far the beneficial influence of Methodism over the morals of the people of all ranks in this nation, would have been extended!

“August 24, St. Bartholomew’s Day,” says Mr. Wesley, “I preached for the last time before the university of Oxford. I am now clear of the blood of these men. I have fully delivered my own soul. And I am well pleased that it should be the very day, on which, in the last century, near two thousand burning and shining lights, were put out at one stroke.* Yet what a wide difference is there between their case and mine! They were turned out of house and home, and all that they had: whereas I am only hindered from preaching, without any other loss; and that in a kind of honorable manner: it being determined, that when my next turn to preach came, they would pay another person to preach for me. And so they did twice or thrice; even to the time that I resigned my fellowship.”

All this summer the preachers and people of Cornwall, had hard service, the war against the Methodists being carried on more vigorously than that against the Spaniards. In September, Mr. Wesley received the following letter from Mr. Henry Millard, one of the preachers in Cornwall, giving some account of their difficulties. “The word of God,” says he, “has free course here: it runs and is glorified. But the devil rages horribly. Even at St. Ives, we cannot shut the door of John Nance’s house to meet the society, but the mob immediately threatens to break it open. And in other places it is worse. I was going to Crowan on Tuesday, and within a quarter of a mile of the place where I was to preach, when some one met me, and begged me not to go up: saying, ‘If you do, there will surely be murder; if there is not already: for many were knocked down, before we came away.’ By their advice I turned back to the house where I had left my horse. We had been there but a short time, when many people came in very bloody. But the main cry of the mob was, ‘Where is the preacher?’

* Bartholomew’s Day has been twice remarkable for the cruelties exercised upon it. The first instance was, the massacre of seventy thousand French Protestants throughout the kingdom of France, by the Papists, attended with circumstances of the most horrid treachery and cruelty. It began at Paris, in the night of the festival of St. Bartholomew, August 24, 1572, by secret orders from Charles IX. king of France, at the instigation of the Queen Dowager, Catharine de Medicis, his mother. The second instance was the Act of Uniformity, which was enforced on Bartholomew’s Day, August 24, 1662, by which two thousand ministers, many of them the most pious and learned men in the nation, were cast out from the Church of England, because they could not conform to certain ceremonies in divine worship, which the bishops chose to impose upon them. By this proceeding they were not only deprived of their usefulness, but many of them with their families, reduced to poverty and want.

whom they sought for in every part of the house; swearing bitterly, 'If we can but knock him on the head, we shall be satisfied.'

"Not finding me, they said, 'However we shall catch him on Sunday at Cambourn.' But it was Mr. Westall's turn to be there. While he was preaching at Mr. Harris's, a tall man came in, and pulled him down. Mr. Harris demanded his warrant; but he swore, 'Warrant or no warrant, he shall go with me.' So he carried him out to the mob, who took him away to the church-town. They kept him there till the Tuesday morning, when the Rev. Dr. Borlase wrote his *mittimus*, by virtue of which he was to be committed to the house of correction at Bodmin, as a vagrant. So they took him as far as Cambourn that night, and the next day to Bodmin."

The justices who met at the next quarter sessions in Bodmin, knowing a little more of the laws of God and man, or at least showing more regard for them, than Dr. Borlase, declared Mr. Westall's commitment to be contrary to all law, and immediately set him at liberty.*

All this year God was carrying on the same work, that is, reformation of manners on evangelical principles, in the English army abroad, though on a smaller scale: some account of which Mr. Wesley received from one of their preachers, in the following letter dated November. "We make bold," says Mr. Evans, the writer, "to trouble you with this, to acquaint you with some of the Lord's dealings with us here. We have hired two rooms: one small, wherein a few of us meet every day: and another large, wherein we meet for public service twice a day, at nine and at four. And the hand of the omnipotent God is with us, to the pulling down of the strongholds of satan.

"The seventh instant, when we were met together in the evening, as I was at prayer, one that was kneeling by me, cried out like a woman in travail, 'My Redeemer! my Redeemer!' When he was asked, what was the matter? he said, 'he had found that which he had often heard of, an heaven upon earth.' And several others had much ado to forbear crying out in the same manner.

"Dear sir, I am a stranger to you in the flesh. I know not, if I have seen you above once, when I saw you preaching on Kennington Common. I then hated you as much as, by the grace of God, I love you now. The Lord pursued me with convictions from my infancy; and I made many good resolutions. But finding I could not keep them, I at length gave myself over to all manner of profaneness. So I continued till the battle of Dettingen. The balls there came very

*How seldom have we seen clergymen in the commission of the peace, but they have neglected the duties of their profession, and grossly abused the power committed to them! Our Lord declared his kingdom was not of this world: and when his ministers of any denomination, obtain dominion and authority over the temporal things of others, or acquire any share in the civil government, it seems as if a curse attended every thing they do. They mar whatever they meddle with; and occasion infinite confusion and mischief.

thick about me, and my comrades fell on every side. Yet I was preserved unhurt. A few days after, the Lord was pleased to visit me. The pains of hell got hold upon me; the snares of death encompassed me. I durst no longer commit any outward sin, and I prayed God to be merciful to my soul. Now I was at a loss for books: but God took care of this also. One day I found an old Bible in one of the train waggons. This was now my only companion; and I believed myself a very good Christian, till we came to winter quarters, where I met with John Haine. But I was soon sick of his company; for he robbed me of my treasure, telling me, I and my works were going to hell together. This was strange doctrine to me, and as I was of a stubborn temper, he sometimes resolved to forbid my coming to him any more.

“When the Lord had at length opened my eyes, and shown me, that by grace we are saved through faith, I began immediately to declare it to others, though I had not yet experienced it myself. But October 23, as William Clements was at prayer, I felt on a sudden, a great alteration in my soul. My eyes overflowed with tears of love: I knew, I was through Christ, reconciled to God; which inflamed my soul with love to him, whom I now saw to be my complete Redeemer.

“O the tender care of Almighty God in bringing up his children! Dear sir, I beg you will pray for him, who is not worthy to be a door-keeper to the least of my Master’s servants.”

February 4, 1745, Mr. Wesley observes, “I had the pleasure of receiving from Dr. Hartley, a particular account of Dr. Cheyne’s last hours.* During his last illness he felt a gentle and gradual decay,

* Dr. George Cheyne, a physician of great learning and abilities, was born in Scotland, in 1671. He passed his youth in close study and great temperance. But coming to London, when about thirty, and finding the younger gentry and free-livers to be the most easy of access, he suddenly changed his former manner of living to associate with them; having observed that this method had succeeded to introduce some others into practice. The consequence was, that he grew daily in bulk, swelling to such an enormous size, that he exceeded thirty-two stone in weight, and was forced to have the whole side of his chariot made open to receive him: he grew short-breathed, lethargic, nervous and scorbutic; so that his life became an intolerable burden. After trying all the power of medicine in vain, he resolved to try a milk and vegetable diet; the good effects of which soon appeared. His size reduced almost a third; and he recovered his strength, activity, and cheerfulness, with the perfect use of all his faculties. He lived to a mature period, dying at Bath in 1742, aged 72. He wrote several treatises that were well received; particularly, “An Essay on Health and Long Life;” and, “The English Malady, or a Treatise of Nervous Diseases;” both the result of his own experience. His “Philosophical Principles of Natural Religion, published in 1705, is a work that shows great strength of mind, and extensive knowledge. Mr. Wesley was well acquainted with him, and always spoke of him with esteem.

David Hartley, M. A. here mentioned by Mr. Wesley, was born at Ilingsworth, where his father was curate, and received his academical education at Jesus College, Cambridge, of which he was a fellow. He first began to practise physic at Newark, in Nottinghamshire; from whence he removed to St. Edmund’s Bury, in Suffolk. After this, he settled for some time in London; and lastly went to live at Bath, where he died in 1757, aged fifty-three. His most considerable literary production, is a work entitled, “Observations on Man, his frame, his duty, and his expectations, in two parts;” London, 1749, 2 vols.

so that he apprehended what the event would be. But it did not appear to give him any concern. He seemed quite loose from all below, till without any struggle, either of body or mind, he calmly gave up his soul to God."

March 11, Mr. Wesley observes, "Many persons still representing the Methodists as enemies to the clergy, I wrote to a friend the real state of the case, in as plain a manner as I could.

"1. About seven years since, we began preaching inward, present salvation, as attainable by faith alone. 2. For preaching this doctrine we are forbidden to preach in most churches. 3. We then preached in private houses, and when the houses could not contain the people, in the open air. 4. For this many of the clergy preached or printed against us, as both heretics and schismatics. 5. Persons who were convinced of sin, begged us to advise them more particularly, how to flee from the wrath to come? We desired them, being many, to come at one time, and we would endeavor it. 6. For this we were presented both from the pulpit and press, as introducing Popery, and raising sedition. Yea, all manner of evil was said both of us, and of those who used to assemble with us. 7. Finding that some of these *did* walk disorderly, we desired them not to come to us any more. 8. And some of the others we desired to overlook the rest, that we might know whether they walked worthy of the gospel. 9. Several of the clergy now stirred up the people, to treat us as out-laws or mad dogs. 10. The people did so both in Staffordshire, Cornwall, and many other places. 11. And they do so still wherever they are not restrained by fear of the magistrates.

8vo. of which, a few years ago, a second edition was published. The first part contains observations on the frame of the human body and mind, and their mutual connections and influences. This is a most curious and ingenious system; but it is founded on conjecture, and the parts are held together only by a vague and uncertain analogy. Dr. Hartley supposes, that what has been called the nervous fluid, is a fine elastic ether, through which vibrations are propagated to the brain, and through the whole of its substance. By these vibrations, and their various combinations and associations, he attempts to explain the operations of the soul. But he has not proved the existence of such an ether, nor of the vibrations which he supposes to exist. And if he had, yet he ought to have explained to us in the clearest manner, how these vibrations are the mechanical causes of the operations of the mind; or at least have shown, that there is a constant correspondence and harmony between the laws they observe, and the laws of the phenomena they are brought to explain. But neither of these things has he done. The first he has totally omitted; and in attempting the latter, his analogical reasoning is so vague and uncertain, that no man of common prudence would act upon such evidence in the affairs of life in which he was much interested. In reference to this subject the authors of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* observe, "We think it our duty to remonstrate against this slovenly way of writing: we would even hold it up to reprobation. It has been chiefly on this faithless foundation, that the blind vanity of men has built that degrading system of opinions called MATERIALISM, by which the affections and faculties of the soul of man have been resolved into vibrations and pulses of ether."

Dr. Reid, in his *Essays on the Intellectual and Active Powers of Man*, 2 vols. 4to. has proceeded on a plan much more simple and satisfactory. Soon after the first volume was published, I asked the late Dr. Price, his opinion of it: he replied, "I think it unanswerable, either by Dr. Priestley, or any other person."

“Now what can *we* do, or what can *you* or our brethren do, towards healing this breach? Desire of *us* any thing which we can do with a safe conscience, and we will do it immediately. Will *you* meet us here? Will you do what we desire of you, so far as you can with a safe conscience?

“Do you desire of us, 1. To preach another, or to desist from preaching this doctrine? We cannot do this with a safe conscience.

“Do you desire us, 2. To desist from preaching in *private houses*, or *in the open air*? As things are now circumstanced, this would be the same as desiring us not to preach at all.

“Do you desire us, 3. Not to advise those who meet together for that purpose? To dissolve our societies? We cannot do this with a safe conscience; for we apprehend many souls would be lost thereby.

“Do you desire us, 4. To advise them one by one? This is impossible because of their numbers.

“Do you desire us, 5. To suffer those who walk disorderly, still to mix with the rest? Neither can we do this with a safe conscience: for evil communications corrupt good manners.

“Do you desire us, 6. To discharge those leaders, as we term them who overlook the rest? This is, in effect, to suffer the disorderly walkers still to remain with the rest.

“Do you desire us, lastly, to behave with tenderness, both to the characters and persons of our brethren the clergy? By the grace of God, we can and will do this: as indeed we have done to this day.

“If you ask what we desire of you to do? We answer, 1. We do not desire any of you, to let us preach in your church, either if you believe us to preach false doctrine, or if you have the least scruple. But we desire any who believes us to preach true doctrine, and has no scruple in the matter, not to be either publicly or privately discouraged from inviting us to preach in his church.

2. “We do not desire, that any who thinks it his duty to preach or print against us, should refrain therefrom. But we desire, that none will do this, till he has calmly considered both sides of the question; and that he would not condemn us unheard, but first read what we say in our own defence.

3. “We do not desire any favor, if either Popery, sedition, or immorality be proved against us. But we desire you would not credit without proof, any of those senseless tales that pass current with the vulgar; that if you do not credit them yourselves, you will not relate them to others: yea, that you will discountenance those who still retail them abroad.

4. “We do not desire any preferment, favor, or recommendation, from those that are in power, either in church or state. But we desire, 1. That if any thing material be laid to our charge, we may be permitted to answer for ourselves. 2. That you would hin-

der your dependants from stirring up the rabble against us, who are certainly not the proper judges in these matters : and 3. That you would effectually suppress and discountenance all riots and popular insurrections, which evidently strike at the foundation of all government, whether of church or state.

“ Now these things you certainly can do, and that with a safe conscience. Therefore till these things be done, the continuance of the breach, if there be any, is chargeable on you, and you only.”

In June Mr. Wesley paid another visit to Cornwall, where the preachers were continually persecuted, only not unto death ; both by the great vulgar and the small. They showed a little more courtesy to him till July 4, when he went to see a gentlewoman at Falmouth, who had been long indisposed. “ I had scarce,” says he, “ sat down, when the house was beset by an innumerable multitude of people. They quickly forced open the outer door and filled the passage, there being now only a wainscot-partition between us. Among them were, the crews of some privateers, who being angry at the slowness of the rest, thrust them away, and setting their shoulders to the inner-door cried out, ‘ Avast, lads, avast ! ’ Away went all the hinges at once, and the door fell back into the room. I stepped forward into the midst of them and said, ‘ Here I am ; which of you has any thing to say to me ; ’ I continued speaking till I came into the middle of the street, though I could be heard by a few only. But all that could hear were still and quiet. At length, one or two of their captains turned and swore, ‘ Not a man shall touch him.’ A clergyman then came up and asked, ‘ Are you not ashamed to use a stranger thus ? ’ ” He was seconded by some gentlemen of the town, who walked with Mr. Wesley to a friend’s house. They then sent his horse by a person to Penryn, and sent him thither by water : the sea running close by the back-door of the house where he was.

On this occasion he makes the following observations : “ I never saw before, no not even at Walsal, the hand of God so clearly shown as here. There I received blows, was covered with dirt, and lost part of my clothes. Here, although the hands of hundreds of people were lifted up to strike or throw, yet they were one and all stopped in the midway ; so that not a man touched me with his fingers : neither was any thing thrown from first to last, so that I had not a speck of dirt upon my clothes. Who can deny that God heareth the prayer ? Or that he hath all power in heaven and earth ? ”

August 1, and the following days, Mr. Wesley held the second Conference, with as many of the preachers as could conveniently be present. They reviewed their doctrines, and added such rules of discipline as the increase of the work required, or prudence suggested. These will all be laid before the reader as soon as they form something like a complete system.

In October, he was at Newcastle upon Tyne, where the English

army lay, to oppose the progress of the rebels. Observing with great concern, the drunkenness, and profane swearing that prevailed among the soldiers, he wrote the following letter to Alderman Ridley; which is highly characteristic of his zeal for the propagation of christian knowledge, and christian piety and virtue, considered as a national blessing.

“Sir—The fear of God, the love of my country, and the regard I have for his Majesty King George, constrain me to write a few plain words to one, who is no stranger to these principles of action.

“My soul has been pained day by day, even in walking the streets of Newcastle, at the senseless, shameless wickedness, the ignorant profaneness of the poor men to whom our lives are intrusted. The continual cursing and swearing, the wanton blasphemy of the soldiers in general, must needs be a torture to the sober ear, whether of a Christian or an honest infidel. Can any that either fear God or love their neighbor, hear this without concern? Especially if they consider the interest of our country, as well as of these unhappy men themselves? For can it be expected, that God should be on their side who are daily affronting him to his face? And if God be not on their side, how little will either their number, or courage, or strength avail!

“Is there no man that careth for these souls? Doubtless there are some who ought so to do. But many of these, if I am rightly informed, receive large pay, and do just nothing.

“I would to God it were in my power, in any degree, to supply their lack of service. I am ready to do what in me lies, to call these poor sinners to repentance, once or twice a day, while I remain in these parts, at any hour or at any place. And I desire no pay at all for doing this: unless what my Lord shall give at his appearing.

“If it were objected, that I should only fill their heads with peculiar whims and notions! That might easily be known. Only let the officers hear with their own ears: and they may judge, whether I do not preach the plain principles of manly, rational religion.

“Having myself no knowledge of the general, I took the liberty to make this offer to you. I have no interest herein: but I should rejoice to serve, as I am able, my king and country. If it be judged that this will be of no real service, let the proposal die and be forgotten. But I beg you, sir, to believe, that I have the same glorious cause, for which you have shown so becoming a zeal, earnestly at heart: and that therefore I am, with warm respect, sir,

“Your most obedient servant.”

This letter was written on the 26th, and on the 31st, Mr. Wesley preached on Newcastle Town-Moor, at a small distance from the English camp. November 1, he preached again on a little eminence before the camp, and continued this practice occasionally till the 30th of this month. At half an hour after eight on this day, he preached

to a larger congregation than any before; and adds, "Were it only for the sake of this hour, I should not have thought much of staying at Newcastle longer than I intended. Between one and two in the afternoon, I went to the camp once more. Abundance of people now flocked together, horse and foot, rich and poor, to whom I declared, 'There is no difference; for all have sinned and come short of the glory of God.' I observed many Germans standing disconsolate in the skirts of the congregation. To these I was constrained, though I had discontinued it so long, to speak a few words in their own language. Immediately they gathered up close together, and drank in every word."

"All this year," says Mr. Wesley, "the work of God gradually increased in the Southern counties, as well as in the North of England. Many were awakened in a very remarkable manner: many were converted to God. Many were enabled to testify, that 'the blood of Jesus cleanseth from all sin.' Meantime we were in most places tolerably quiet, as to popular tumults. Where anything of the kind appeared, the Magistrates usually interposed, as indeed it was their duty to do. And wherever the peace officers do their duty, no riot can long subsist."

Mr. Wesley and his brother began to be spoken of in Scotland, and a few of the most pious ministers there, though differing from the two brothers on many points of doctrine, yet rejoiced in the great revival of practical religion in England, by their means. Mr. James Robe, minister of Killisyth, having received from a friend some account of them, wrote as follows: "I was much pleased with what you wrote to me of the Messrs. Wesleys. I rejoice that justification, the imputed righteousness of Jehovah our Righteousness, received by faith alone, and gospel holiness, are the subjects of their sermons; and the debated points (various sentiments about which are not inconsistent with saving faith and our acceptance with God) are laid aside. I embrace fellowship with them, and pray that the Lord of the vineyard may give them success in preaching the faith of Christ, so much needed in England.—As many as be perfect, let them be thus minded; and if in any other things ye be otherwise minded, God shall reveal even this unto you. Nevertheless whereunto we have attained, let us walk by the same rule, let us mind the same things.—How good would it be for the christian world, if this were believed, and regarded as the word of God! When the happy days upon the wing are come, so it will be: and in as far as any have really shared in the late revival, it is so with them in some good measure. I learned something new, as to the exhorters,* from the account you gave of them. I look upon them as so many licensed probationers, or useful public teachers; which is the case of our probationers. It provides me with an answer to objections, besides that of the extraordinary circum-

* He means, the lay-preachers.

stances of the established church. I beg you to salute the two brothers for me, much in the Lord. I wrote to my correspondent formerly, upon yours to me from Newcastle, that there were hopes of their joining in our concert for prayer and praise, for the revival of real Christianity. Now I can write that they have acceded; and I hope we shall expressly remember one another before the throne of grace."

Mr. James Erskine, who frequently in the course of this year corresponded with Mr. Wesley, transmitted this part of Mr. Robe's letter to him; and with a liberality not common to Scotchmen at that time, he asks, "Are the points which give the different denominations (to Christians) and from whence proceed separate communions, animosities, evil-speakings, surmises, and, at least, coolness of affection, aptness to misconstrue, slowness to think well of others, stiffness in one's own conceits, and over-valuing one's own opinion, &c. &c. are these points (at least among the far greatest part of Protestants) as important, as clearly revealed, and as essential, or as closely connected with the essentials of practical Christianity, as the loving of one another with a pure heart fervently, and not forsaking, much less refusing, the assembling of ourselves together, as the manner of some was, and now of almost all is?"—Every candid man will most certainly answer this question in the negative. And it requires no great degree of discernment to perceive, that the narrow party spirit which prevails among most denominations of Christians with regard to communion and church fellowship, even where it is acknowledged that the essential doctrines of the gospel are held fast, is one grand hindrance of brotherly-love, and of a more general diffusion of real experimental religion.

In the latter end of this year, Mr. Wesley had expressed a desire to be useful to the Scots, and to preach the gospel in Scotland. His friend Mr. James Erskine wrote to him on the subject, and set before him some of the difficulties he would have to struggle with in the attempt. Mr. Erskine, in his letter expresses an ardent wish for union and christian fellowship among all those of different denominations and opinions, who love the Lord Jesus Christ. He reprobates the animosity and bigotry, too prevalent among them under the specious name of zeal for the truth. He then sets before him some of the difficulties he would meet with in attempting to preach and form societies in Scotland. "You have," says he, "some sentiments and ways of speaking different from the generality, and almost from all the real Christians of the Presbyterian persuasion in Scotland, among whom, from my long acquaintance with my countrymen, I cannot help thinking are about five in six of the real Christians there. And to my great regret, of these worthy people, I fear three out of five are wofully bigoted: a vice too natural to us Scots, from what our country-

man George Buchanan* wrote was our temper—*perfervidum Scotorum ingenium*. And some of you English have as much of it as any Scot; but it is not so national with you, as among the Scots.—You would have the same prejudices to struggle with among the

* George Buchanan, the best Latin poet of his time, perhaps inferior to none since the Augustan age, was born in the village of Killearn, in Sterlingshire, Scotland, in 1506. The abject poverty in which his father died, might have confined him to toil at the lowest employments of life, if the generosity of an uncle had not assisted him in his education, and enabled him to pursue his studies for two years, at Paris. But his uncle dying, he returned to Scotland, surrounded with the horrors of indigence. In this extremity, he enlisted for a soldier: but nature had not destined him for a hero, and he was disgusted with the first campaign. John Major, then professor of philosophy at St. Andrews, hearing of his necessity and his merit, afforded him a temporary relief. He now studied the subtilities of logic under John Maiz, whom he followed to Paris. There, after encountering many difficulties, he was invited to teach grammar in the college of St. Barbe. In this occupation he was found by the Earl of Cassels, with whom, having staid five years at Paris, he returned to Scotland. He next acted as preceptor to the famous Earl of Murray, the natural son of James V. But while he was forming this nobleman for public affairs, he found his life was in danger. He had written some beautiful but poignant satires against the Franciscan Monks; who in return branded him with the appellation of Atheist. Cardinal Beaton gave orders to apprehend him, and bribed King James, it is said, with a considerable sum to permit his execution. He was seized upon accordingly; and the first genius of the age was about to perish by the halter, or by fire, to satisfy the malignant resentment of men, whose false notions of religion have always made them thirst for the blood of their opponents. He happily eluded the vigilance of his guards, and escaped to England; from thence he went to France, and afterwards with his friend Govea, to Portugal. His friend died within the year, and left Buchanan exposed to his inveterate enemies, the monks. He was confined to a monastery, till he should learn what these men fancied to be religion. Here they enjoined him to translate the Psalms of David into Latin verse; a task which every man of taste knows with what admirable skill and genius he performed.

Having obtained his liberty, he had the offer of a speedy promotion from the King of Portugal; of which however, his aversion to the clergy would not allow him to wait the issue. He spent much of his time in France, which seems to have been more agreeable to his taste, than his native country. Queen Mary, having determined that he should have the charge of educating her son James, the sixth of Scotland, and the first of England, he was recalled, and provided for, till the young prince should arrive at a proper age. His success, as James's preceptor, is well known. When he was reproached with having made his majesty a pedant, "It is a wonder," said he, "that I have made so much of him." Mackenzie relates, that the young king being one day at play with his fellow-pupil, Buchanan, who was then reading, desired them to make less noise. Finding that they disregarded his admonition, he told his majesty, if he did not hold his tongue, he would certainly whip his breech. The king replied, he would be glad to see who would *bell the cat*. alluding to the fable. Buchanan, in a passion, threw the book from him, and gave his majesty a sound flogging. The old Countess of Mar, who was in the next apartment, rushed into the room, and taking the king in her arms, asked how he dared to lay his hand on *the Lord's unointed*? "Madam," said Buchanan, "I have whipped his a—; and you may kiss it, if you please."

On the misfortunes which befell Queen Mary, he went over to the party of the Earl of Murray; at whose earnest request he was prevailed upon to write his "Detection," a work which his greatest admirers have read with regret. After having vied with almost all the more eminent of the Latin poets, he contested with Livy and Sallust, the palm of political eloquence and sagacity. But it is to be lamented, that, like the former of these historians, he was not always careful to preserve himself from the charge of partiality. He died at Edinburgh, in 1582. His works were various. An edition of them collected together, was printed at Edinburgh in 1704, in 2 vols. folio. See *Encyclop. Brit.*

Presbyterians, that Mr. Whitefield had, that is, that you are of the Church of England, and use the Liturgy. And you would have more, because of the difference of sentiment, and ways of speaking, as to some doctrines, about which his opinions and expressions were the same as theirs: and though this might make you more acceptable to most of the Episcopal persuasion, yet your way of speaking of Christian perfection, and their regard for what they call church order and regularity, would make them fly from you; for which last the Presbyterians would not be so offended with you: and your urging so strict holiness in practice, would recommend you to the Presbyterians, but I am afraid not to the Episcopalians. And your doctrine of man's utter ruin by the fall, and utter inability to do anything for his own recovery; and the necessity of regeneration, and an interest in Christ by faith alone that works by love, and produces holiness in heart and life, &c. would be sweet to the Presbyterians, but not to many of the Episcopalians.

“Mr. Whitefield, in fewer months than one would have thought could have been done in as many years, overcame the prejudices of the far greatest part of the Presbyterians, especially the most religious, only by preaching that faith and holiness you preach; by meddling with no debates, and by the power of the Lord, signally accompanying his administrations: awakening, converting, and building up almost wherever he went, in places remote from one another. The same evangelical doctrine, of faith, holiness, regeneration, and divine influence, &c., and such blessed divine power on your administrations, managed with christian prudence and simplicity, and that wisdom from above which is profitable to direct, would likewise overcome the strong prejudices against you and your brother.

“But Mr. Whitefield had one other advantage which you would not have at present. The sermons and other things he had printed, were earnestly read by the Presbyterians, and were to their taste; as well as the sermons, conversations, and prayers among them. And there is hardly anything printed by your brother and you, in which I fear they would not find some thought or expression that would stumble and offend them.”—Mr. Wesley did not go to Scotland, till some years after this period.

It was in this year also, that Mr. Wesley began a private correspondence with a clergyman of considerable abilities, and probably of high station, if not the highest in the church. He concealed his real name, and only said, as he lived at a considerable distance from London, a letter would find him, directed to John Smith, at Mr. Richard Mead's, the Golden-cross, Cheapside. He introduced himself to Mr. Wesley, in a very candid and liberal manner; and preserved candor and good temper through the greatest part of their controversy. He introduces himself thus:

“REVEREND SIR,

“The laboring to bring all the world to solid inward vital religion, is a work so truly christian and laudable, that I shall ever highly esteem those who attempt this great work even though they should appear to me to be under some errors in doctrine, some mistakes in their conduct, and some excess in their zeal. You may therefore, expect in me a candid adversary; a contender for truth, and not for victory: one who would be glad to convince you of any error which he apprehends himself to have discovered in you; but who would be abundantly more glad to be convinced of errors in himself. Now, the best way to enable you to set me right wherever I may be wrong, will be by pointing out to you, what I have to object to those works of yours which have fallen into my hands: and for order sake I shall reduce my objections to matter of doctrine, to matter of phraseology, and to matter of fact.”—He then mentions several particulars under the different heads, which he discusses with an open manly freedom, and a good degree of ingenuity and ability. He concludes his first letter thus, “Having now freely told you what I take to be wrong in you, I shall readily and thankfully attend to whatever you shall point out amiss in me. I am desirous to retract and amend whatever is wrong. To your general design of promoting true religion, I am a hearty friend: nay to your particular scheme and singularities, I am no enemy.—If I come not fully into your scheme, it is not for want of good will, but for want of evidence and conviction that it is true. I pray God to grant me all needful illumination: and I pray you to tell me what is lacking on my part.”

Mr. Wesley received this letter with the same friendliness, and answered it with the same openness and candor, with which it was written. “I was determind,” says he, in his reply, “from the time I received yours, to answer it as soon as I should have opportunity. But it was the longer delayed because I could not persuade myself to write at all, till I had leisure to write fully. And this I hope to do now; though I know you not, not so much as your name. But I take it for granted, you are a person that fears God, and that speaks the real sentiments of his heart. And on this supposition I shall speak without any suspicion or reserve.

“I am exceedingly obliged by the pains you have taken to point out to me what you think to be mistakes. It is a truly christian attempt, an act of brotherly love, which I pray God to repay seven-fold into your bosom. Methinks I can scarce look upon such a person, on one who is, ‘a contender for truth, and not for victory,’ whatever opinion he may entertain of me, as an adversary at all. For what is friendship, if I am to account him mine enemy who endeavors to open my eyes, or to amend my heart.”—And in the conclusion of his letter he says, “Smite me friendly and reprove me. It shall be a precious balm; it shall not break my head. I am deeply convinced that I know noth-

ing yet, as I ought to know. Fourteen years ago, I said with Mr. Norris,* I want heat more than light: but now I know not which I want most. Perhaps God will enlighten me by your words. O speak and spare not. At least you will have the thanks and prayers of, your obliged and affectionate servant,
JOHN WESLEY."

John Smith, for so we must call him for the sake of distinction, prefaces his second letter in the following manner; "I heartily thank you for your very kind and very handsome letter. I have yielded it that attention which I think it justly deserves; and am now sat down to give you my thoughts upon it. I shall first most readily take notice of those things wherein I stand corrected, and am gone over to you: and next I shall, with some reluctance, proceed to those in which we seem unfortunately to differ."—But though he yielded up several things to Mr. Wesley, in whole or in part, yet he pressed him very hard on one or two points of doctrine; and I think his objections had afterwards some influence on Mr. Wesley's mind.—I am obliged to a friend for the copies of these letters, with liberty to make any use of them I might think proper. There are six on each side, written with ability and spirit. I think Mr. Wesley's opinions will admit of more illustration, and clearer evidence, than he has given them in this controversy. He himself afterwards, stated some points to much greater advantage. I should therefore be sorry to see these letters published without occasional remarks, by some person who thoroughly understands the subjects therein discussed. They are too long to be inserted here, as they would fill, at least, one fourth part of the volume.

Mr. Wesley continued his labors with the same zeal and diligence, through the most distant parts of the kingdom during the year 1746. Methodism spread rapidly on every side: the societies flourished, and the people increased in number, and in knowledge and love of the

* John Norris, the person here mentioned, was born in 1657, at Collingborne-Kingston, in Wiltshire, where his father was then minister. He was a learned divine, and Platonic philosopher. He was educated first at Winchester-School, and in 1676, sent to Oxford. In 1680, he was elected Fellow of All-Souls, soon after he had taken his degree of bachelor of arts. In 1684, he commenced master of arts; and the same year opened a correspondence with the learned mystic divine Dr. Henry More, of Christ's College in Cambridge. He had also a correspondence with the learned Lady Masham, Dr. Cudworth's daughter, and the ingenious Mrs. Astel. In 1691, his distinguished merit procured him the rectory of Bemerton, near Sarum. This living, upwards of two hundred pounds a year, was a comfortable provision for his family, and the easiness of the parochial duty, gave him leisure to pursue his favorite studies. He died in 1711. Mr. Norris published two octavo volumes on, "The Theory of the Ideal World." In this work he opposed Locke, and adorned Malebranche's opinion, of seeing all things in God, with all the advantages of style and perspicuity of expression. His philosophical errors may easily be pardoned on account of the general excellence of his writings, especially on subjects of practical divinity, which are universally esteemed. Mr. Wesley published extracts from two of his works, "A Treatise on Christian Prudence," and "Reflections on the Conduct of Human Life." No person can read these, without reaping advantage; and young persons ought to study them with diligence and attention.

truth. At this period the lay-preachers were not of that class of men who have been blessed with opportunities of improving their minds by an early education, or much reading. In general their knowledge extended not beyond the first principles of religion, and the practical consequences deducible from them; "Repentance towards God, faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ;" and the fruits that follow, "Righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost." These were the subjects of their daily discourses, in which there was little variety. But such was the low state of religious knowledge among the people, that they were not prepared for anything higher. It was absolutely necessary to make them well acquainted with first principles, and to give these principles a practical influence on the heart and life, before they were led any further. In these circumstances the limited knowledge of the preachers, was so far from being an inconvenience, that it was an unspeakable advantage; as it necessarily confined them to those fundamental points of experimental and practical religion, which were best adapted to the state of the people. Preachers of education, and diversified knowledge, seldom dwell sufficiently in their sermons on these important points; and hence the lay-preachers were far more successful in awakening sinners to a sense of their dangerous state, and in bringing them to a saving knowledge of Christ, than other preachers of much more cultivated minds. To enforce the necessity of repentance, and of seeking salvation by grace alone through a Redeemer, the preacher would often draw a picture of human nature in such strong and natural colors, that every one who heard him saw his own likeness in it, and was ready to say, he hath shown me all that was in my heart. The effect was surprising. The people found themselves under every discourse, emerging out of the thickest darkness into a region of light; the blaze of which being suddenly poured in upon them, gave exquisite pain at first, but soon showed them the way to peace and consolation. Mr. Wesley foresaw, that as knowledge was increased among the people, it ought to be increased in the same, or even in a greater proportion among the preachers; otherwise they would become less useful, and in the end be despised. He therefore began to think of a collection of such books in the English language, as might forward their improvement in treating of the various branches of practical divinity. He seemed conscious, that the plan of his own education, and the prejudices he had early imbibed against the non-conformists of the last century, had shut him out from the knowledge of many writings which possibly might be very useful on this occasion. This induced him to request Dr. Doddridge, with whom he had a friendly correspondence, to give him a list of such books as he might think proper for the improvement of young preachers. March 15, the Doctor wrote to him, apologizing for the delay in complying with his request. "I am quite grieved," says he, "and ashamed, that any hurry, public

or private, should have prevented my answering your very obliging letter from Newcastle; especially as it has a face of disrespect, where I am sure I ought to express the very reverse, if I would do justice either to you, or my own heart. But you have been used to forgive greater injuries.

“I have been reading (I will not pretend to tell you with what strong emotion) the fourth edition of your *Further Appeals*: concerning which, I shall only say, that I have written upon the title-page, ‘How forcible are RIGHT WORDS.’ I am daily hurried by my printer, to finish the third volume of my *Family Expositor*. And I have unwillingly, a secular affair on my hands, in consequence of a guardianship, which calls me away from my usual business for some days next week: on which account I must beg your patience for a little while longer, as to the list of books you desire me to send you. But if God permit, you shall be sure to have it in a few weeks.

“I lately published a *Thanksgiving Sermon*, for the retreat of the rebels, which if you think worth calling for, at Mr. Waugh’s, at the *Turk’s-Head* in *Gracechurch-Street*, I shall desire you to accept. I was willing to greet the first openings of mercy; and so much the rather, as I think with Lord Somerville, who first made the reflection in one of his letters; that, had the blow at *Falkirk* been pursued, our whole army had been destroyed. The wisest and best of men, I know, agree to fear: oh! that they could also agree in their efforts to save! I trust I can call God to record on my soul, that to bring sinners to believe in Christ, and universally to obey him from a principle of grateful love, is the reigning desire of my heart, and has been the main business of my life. But alas, that it is so unsuccessful a labor! Yet, God knows, that could I have foreseen only the tenth part of that little success I seem to have had, I would have preferred the ministry, with ten times the labors and sorrows I have gone through in it, to any other employment or situation in life. I shall not forget Colonel Gardener’s words, speaking of a much despised and persecuted, but very useful minister, ‘I had rather be that man, than emperor of the world!’

“But I must conclude. May God, even your own God, continue to increase all his blessings on your head, heart, and labors; and may he sometimes lead you to remember in your prayers,

“Reverend and dear sir,

“Your affectionate brother and servant,

“P. DODDRIDGE.

P. S. “I presume the list you desire is chiefly theological. Perhaps my desire of making it too particular, has hindered me from setting about it, till I had a leisure time, which I have not yet found. But under the impression your book made upon me, I could not delay writing one post longer. Let me know in one word, how you do, what your success is, and what your apprehensions are. I fear we must have some hot flame to melt us.”

The reader will recollect, that this letter was written in the time of the last rebellion, when the nation was thrown into the greatest consternation. June 18, Dr. Doddridge sent the list of books which Mr. Wesley had requested,* and the next day wrote to him as follows: "I send this by way of postscript, to thank you for the entertaining account you gave me of that very extraordinary turn which affairs took in the battle of Falkirk.—I perceive our rebel enemies were as confident of victory as possible, just before the action at Culloden, which proved so fatal to them. A friend of mine from thence, brings word, that just as the armies joined, an officer was sent back to make proclamation at the Market-Cross, at Inverness, that every householder should bake a bushel of bread, that it might be ready to refresh the prince's victorious army on its return; which was required on pain of military execution. The consequence of this was, that our army found much better provision for their refreshment after the fatigue of that glorious day, than they could otherwise have done. I have also reason to believe, that a day or two before this action. Lord Kilmarnock, having quartered himself and some of his chief officers, at a minister's house of the Scotch established church, in those parts, obliged the master of the house and his eldest son, to wait upon them at table, and in a profane manner undertook to say grace himself; which was, 'May God d—n and confound all Presbyterian parsons, their wives, and children and families henceforth and for evermore. Amen.' †—It is not to be wondered, that such a deliverance after such circumstances as these, should make a strong impression on the mind of ministers and people in general, which I am assured it does. I heartily pray God the impression may be lasting and produce that reformation which is so much needed among them as well as amongst us.

"I shall not be at all surprised, if the next winter should open upon us a much more afflictive scene than the last, if we will not be reformed by such judgments and deliverances as these. Yet I think with you, dear sir, that God will not make a full end of us. I look upon every sinner converted from the error of his ways, by the power of God working in his gospel, as a token for good, that we shall not be utterly forsaken.

"I am, dear sir,

"Most faithfully and affectionately yours,

" P. DODDRIDGE."

In the latter end of December, Mr. Wesley received the following observations in a letter from a friend. No doubt the writer thought

* The letter is too long to be inserted here: it is printed in the first volume of the *Arminian Magazine*.

† After the rebels were dispersed, Lord Kilmarnock was apprehended, deprived of all his honors, and executed on the scaffold; but not before he had well deserved it. His son who served in the king's army, afterwards succeeded to the Earldom of Errol, a title much more ancient and honorable than that of Kilmarnock.

them necessary at that time, and they will not be out of season at present. "The knowledge and understanding of the Scriptures of Truth," says he, "I take to be of the last importance, and is what real Christians need as much to have their attention awakened unto, as the generality of those who are called by the christian name need to be taught that they are dead while they have a name to live.

"The understanding of the true meaning and intent of the Scriptures, is understanding the mind of God in every place. And he who opens that does more, and so to speak, gives more opportunity unto the Spirit of God to operate in the heart by his own word, than he who says abundance of serious things which are not contained in the subject (the text) he discourses from. In the other way, a man may preach numbers of years unto a congregation, and never explain the direct meaning of the Holy Spirit in one Scripture; meanwhile he is not increasing their knowledge in the word of God.—The word of God is that by which the Holy Ghost influences the heart of a believer; and I cannot think it sufficient for the carrying on of that work, that Christians be taught a few general truths, which possibly by frequent teaching they may acquire some distinct notion of, without ever seeing them in the Scripture in their genuine beauty and dress. And do not all foolish and injudicious clamors about orthodoxy and heresy, arise from this?

"I apprehend the Scriptures contain a more glorious, beautiful, and various display of the eternal God, than the inconceivable variety in nature gives us of this creation, which is his work. And I would have all Christians search the Scriptures, and study God there, with as much assiduity as the naturalists do nature in his material works. What infinite reward of enjoyment would arise from thence? It is true indeed, a head-knowledge of these things is nothing. The Spirit of God must make the heart sensible of all that our understandings can comprehend in revelation. But these are two distinct things which God hath joined together: even as the power of God in raising up Christ from the dead, is one thing to be understood and believed from the Scriptures; and the quickening of a sinner, is a work actually performed in the heart by the Spirit of Christ, but is inseparable from the faith of the former. This is it which makes the understanding I speak of so necessary; for without it a person shall never be able to judge by the word of God, of what passes within himself: for it is the only standard by which to try the spirits, and to prove every man's work.

"Serious people are generally in danger of regarding only what they feel in themselves, when their affections are lively and they receive great consolation from a belief of the love of God in Christ. They take that for the knowledge of God, which is only the effect of it. Consequently they are in hazard of seeking the knowledge of God in their own feelings, and of measuring their knowledge by them:

not attending, that our nourishment is not from within ourselves, but comes from without. It is God's whole glory displayed in revelation (by Christ) communicated by the Holy Ghost, received by faith, which ought to be the Christian's daily bread."

These observations are certainly of importance to those who know any thing of experimental religion: who are desirous to increase in the knowledge and love of God, and to have their experience built on a foundation that cannot be shaken. The gentleman who made them, had mentioned his thoughts on the subject to Mr. Wesley in conversation, who desired him to put them down in writing more at length, which gave birth to the letter of which the above is an abstract.

Mr. Wesley continued his frequent visits to the most distant parts of the kingdom. No season of the year, no change of weather, could either prevent or retard his journies. He generally preached two or three times every day, and regulated the societies wherever he came. His whole heart was in the work, and his fixed resolution surmounted every difficulty. In February, 1747, being in Yorkshire, he met with a clergyman, who told him, some of the preachers had frequently preached in his parish; and his judgment was, 1. That their preaching had done some good, but more harm. Because 2. Those who had attended it, had only turned from one wickedness to another; they had only exchanged sabbath-breaking, swearing or drunkenness, for slandering, backbiting, and evil speaking: and 3. Those who did not attend it, were provoked hereby to return evil for evil. So that the former were, in effect, no better, the latter worse than before.

"The same objection, in substance," says Mr. Wesley, "has been made in most other parts of England. It therefore deserves a serious answer, which will equally hold in all places. It is allowed, 1. That our preaching has done some good; common swearers, sabbath-breakers, drunkards, thieves, fornicators, having been reclaimed from those outward sins. But it is affirmed, 2. That it has done more harm: the persons so reclaimed, only changing one wickedness for another: and their neighbors being so provoked thereby, as to become worse than they were before.

"Those who have left their outward sins, you affirm, have only changed drunkenness or sabbath-breaking for backbiting or evil-speaking. I answer, if you affirm this of them all, it is notoriously false: many we can name, who left cursing, swearing, backbiting, drunkenness, and evil-speaking altogether, and who are to this day, just as fearful of slandering, as they are of cursing or swearing. And if some are not yet enough aware of this snare of the devil, we may hope they will be ere long. Meantime bless God for what he has done, and pray that he would deliver them from this death also.

"You affirm further, 'That their neighbors are provoked hereby,

to return evil for evil ; and so while the former are no better, the latter are worse than they were before.'

"I answer, 1. 'These are worse than they were before.' But why? Because they do fresh despite to the spirit of grace : because they despise that long-suffering love of God which would lead them as it does their neighbors, to repentance. And in laying the blame of this on those who will no longer run with them to the same excess of riot, they only fulfil the Scriptures, and fill up the measure of their own iniquity.

"I answer, 2. There is still no proportion at all between the good on the one hand, and the harm on the other : for they who reject the goodness of God, were servants of the devil before ; and they are but servants of the devil still. But they who accept it, are brought from the power of satan, to serve the living and true God."

In April, Mr. Wesley, on his return from the North, spent an hour with the same clergyman, and pressed him to make good his assertion, that the preaching of the Methodists had done more harm than good. This he did not choose to pursue ; but enlarged on the harm it might occasion in succeeding generations. Mr. Wesley adds, "I cannot see the force of this argument. I dare not neglect the doing certain present good, for fear of some probable ill consequences, in the succeeding century."

June 4. Mr. Wesley wrote down the following instructions for the stewards of the society in London.

1. "You are to be men full of the Holy Ghost, and of wisdom ; that you may do all things in a manner acceptable to God.—2. You are to be present every Tuesday and Thursday morning, in order to transact the temporal affairs of the society.—3. You are to begin and end every meeting with earnest prayer to God, for a blessing on all your undertakings.—4. You are to produce your accounts the first Tuesday in every month, that they may be transcribed into the ledger.—5. You are to take it in turn, month by month, to be chairman. The chairman is to see that all the rules be punctually observed, and immediately to check him who breaks any of them.—6. You are to do nothing without the consent of the minister, either actually had, or reasonably presumed.—7. You are to consider whenever you meet, 'God is here.' Therefore, be serious. Utter no trifling word. Speak as in his presence, and to the glory of his great name.—8. When any thing is debated, let one at once stand up and speak, the rest giving attention. And let him speak just loud enough to be heard, in love and in the spirit of meekness.—9. You are continually to pray and endeavor, that a holy harmony of soul may in all things subsist among you : that in every step, you may keep the unity of the spirit, in the bond of peace.—10. In all debates, you are to watch over your spirits, avoiding as fire, all clamor and contention, being swift to hear, slow to speak ; in honor every man preferring another before

himself.—11. If you cannot relieve, do not grieve the poor. Give them soft words, if nothing else. Abstain from either sour looks, or harsh words. Let them be glad to come, even though they should go empty away. Put yourselves in the place of every poor man. And deal with them as you would God should deal with you.

These instructions, we whose names are underwritten (being the present stewards of the society in London,) do heartily receive, and earnestly desire to conform to. In witness whereof, we have set our hands.—N. B. If any steward shall break any of the preceding rules after having been thrice admonished by the chairman (whereof notice is to be immediately given to the minister) he is no longer steward."

June 15. The fourth conference began, and ended on Saturday the 20th. The minutes of the several conferences were now collected together, and printed: a summary of which, respecting doctrines agreed upon, I shall here subjoin.

After some time spent in prayer at the first conference, the design of the meeting was proposed; namely to consider, 1. What to teach; 2. How to teach; and, 3. What to do? That is, how to regulate their doctrine, discipline, and practice. The meeting being thus opened, they proceeded as follows:

"It is desired, that all things be considered as in the immediate presence of God: that we may meet with a single eye, and as little children who have every thing to learn.

"That every point which is proposed, may be examined to the foundation: that every person may speak freely whatever is in his heart: and that every question which may arise, should be thoroughly debated and settled. Meantime let us all pray for a willingness to receive light: to know of every doctrine, whether it be of God.

"**Q. 1.** How may the time of this Conference, be made more eminently a time of watching unto prayer?

"**Ans. 1.** While we are conversing, let us have an especial care to set God always before us. 2. In the intermediate hours, let us visit none but the sick, and spend all the time that remains in retirement. 3. Let us give ourselves to prayer for one another, and for a blessing on this our labor.

"**Q. 2.** How far does each of us agree to submit to the judgment of the majority?

"**A.** In speculative things, each can only submit so far as his judgment shall be convinced: in every practical point, each will submit so far as he can without wounding his conscience.

"**Q. 3.** Can a Christian submit any further than this to any man, or number of men upon earth?

"**A.** It is plain he cannot, either to Bishop, Convocation, or general Council. And this is that general principle of private judgment,

on which all the reformers proceeded; 'Every man must judge for himself, because every man must give an account of himself to God.'

They now proceeded to consider the doctrine of Justification: the questions relating to which, and the substance of the answers given thereto, were as follows:

I. Q. 1. "What is it to be justified?"

A. "To be pardoned and received into God's favor; into such a state, that if we continue therein, we shall be finally saved.

Q. 2. "Is faith the condition of justification?"

A. "Yes; for every one who believeth not is condemned; and every one who believes is justified.

Q. 3. "But must not repentance and works meet for repentance go before this faith?"

A. "Without doubt: if by repentance you mean conviction of sin; and by works meet for repentance, obeying God as far as we can, forgiving our brother, leaving off from evil, doing good and using his ordinances according to the power we have received.

Q. 4. "What is Faith?"

A. "Faith in general is a divine, supernatural *elenchos* of things not seen; *i. e.* of past, future, or spiritual things: it is a spiritual sight of God and the things of God.

"First, a sinner is convinced by the Holy Ghost, 'Christ loved me and gave himself for me.'—This is that faith by which he is justified or pardoned, the moment he receives it. Immediately the same spirit bears witness, 'Thou art pardoned: thou hast redemption in his blood'—And this is saving faith, whereby the love of God is shed abroad in his heart.

Q. 5. "Have all Christians this faith? May not a man be justified and not know it?"

A. "That all true Christians have such a faith as implies an assurance of God's love, appears from Rom. viii. 15. Eph. iv. 32. 2 Cor. xiii. 5. Heb. viii. 10. 1 John iv. 10; v. 19. And that no man can be justified and not know it, appears further from the nature of the thing. For faith after repentance is ease after pain, rest after toil, light after darkness. It appears also from the immediate, as well as distant fruits thereof.

Q. 6. "But may not a man go to heaven without it?"

A. "It does not appear from holy writ that a man who hears the gospel, can: (Mark xvi. 16 :) whatever a Heathen may do. Rom. ii. 14.

Q. 7. "What are the immediate fruits of justifying faith?"

A. "Peace, joy, love, power over all outward sin, and power to keep down inward sin.

Q. 8. "Does any one believe, who has not the witness in himself, or any longer than he sees, loves, and obeys God?"

A. "We apprehend not; seeing God being the very essence of faith; love and obedience the inseparable properties of it.

Q. 9 "What sins are consistent with justifying faith?"

A. "No wilful sin. If a believer wilfully sins, he casts away his faith. Neither is it possible he should have justifying faith again, without previously repenting.

Q. 10. "Must every believer come into a state of doubt or fear, or darkness? Will he do so, unless by ignorance or unfaithfulness? Does God otherwise withdraw himself?"

A. "It is certain, a believer, *need* never again come into condemnation. It seems, he need not come into a state of doubt or fear, or darkness: and that (ordinarily at least) he will not, unless by ignorance or unfaithfulness. Yet it is true, that the first joy does seldom last long: that it is commonly followed by doubts and fears; and that God frequently permits great heaviness, before any large manifestation of himself.

Q. 11. "Are works necessary to the continuance of faith?"

A. "Without doubt; for a man may forfeit the free gift of God, either by sins of omission or commission.

Q. 12. "Can faith be lost, but for want of works?"

A. "It cannot but through disobedience.

Q. 13. "How is faith made perfect by works?"

A. "The more we exert our faith, the more it is increased. To him that hath shall be given.

Q. 14. "St. Paul says, Abraham was not justified by works. St. James, he was justified by works. Do they not contradict each other?"

A. "No: 1. Because they do not speak of the same justification. St. Paul speaks of that justification which was when Abraham was seventy-five years old, above twenty years before Isaac was born. St. James of that justification which was when he offered up Isaac on the altar.

2dly. "Because they do not speak of the same works. St. Paul speaking of works that precede faith: St. James of works that spring from it.

Q. 15. "In what sense is Adam's sin imputed to all mankind?"

A. "In Adam all die, i. e. 1. Our bodies then became mortal. 2. Our souls died, i. e. were disunited from God. And hence, 3. We are all born with a sinful devilish nature: by reason whereof, 4. We are children of wrath, liable to death eternal. Rom. v. 18. Eph. ii. 3.

Q. 16. "In what sense is the righteousness of Christ imputed to all mankind, or to believers?"

A. "We do not find it expressly affirmed in Scripture, that God imputes the righteousness of Christ to any. Although we do find, that faith is imputed to us for righteousness.

"That text, 'As by one man's disobedience all men were made sin-

ners, so by the obedience of one, all were made righteous,' we conceive means, by the merits of Christ, all men are cleared from the guilt of Adam's actual sin.

"We conceive further, That through the obedience and death of Christ, 1. The bodies of all men become immortal after the resurrection. 2. Their souls receive a capacity of spiritual life; and, 3. An actual spark or seed thereof. 4. All believers become children of grace, reconciled to God, and 5. made partakers of the divine nature.

Q. 17. "Have we not then unawares leaned too much towards Calvinism?

A. "We are afraid we have.

Q. 18. "Have we not also leaned towards Antinomianism?

A. "We are afraid we have.

Q. 19. "What is Antinomianism?

A. "The doctrine which makes void the law through faith?

Q. 20. "What are the main pillars hereof?

A. 1. "That Christ abolished the moral law. 2. That therefore Christians are not obliged to observe it. 3. That one branch of Christian liberty, is liberty from obeying the commandments of God. 4. That it is bondage, to do a thing, because it is commanded, or forbear it because it is forbidden. 5. That a believer is not obliged to use the ordinances of God or to do good works. 6. That a preacher ought not to exhort to good works: not unbelievers, because it is hurtful; not believers, because it is needless.

Q. 21. "What was the occasion of St. Paul's writing his Epistle to the Galatians?

A. "The coming of certain men amongst the Galatians, who taught, Except ye be circumcised and keep the law of Moses ye cannot be saved.

Q. 22. "What is the main design therein?

A. "To prove, 1. That no man can be justified or saved by the works of the law, either moral or ritual. 2. That every believer is justified by faith in Christ without the works of the law.

Q. 23. "What does he mean by the works of the law? Gal. ii. 16, &c.

A. "All works which do not spring from faith in Christ.

Q. 24. "What by being under the law? Gal. iii. 23.

A. "Under the Mosaic dispensation.

Q. 25. "What law has Christ abolished?

A. "The ritual law of Moses.

Q. 26. "What is meant by liberty? Gal. v. 1.

A. "Liberty, 1. From the law; 2. From sin."

II. Q. 1. "How comes what is written on this subject* to be so intricate and obscure? Is this obscurity from the nature of the thing

* *i. e.* on justification.

itself? Or, from the fault or weakness of those who have generally treated of it?

A. "We apprehend this obscurity does not arise from the nature of the subject: but, partly from the extreme warmth of most writers who have treated of it.

Q. 2. "We affirm faith in Christ is the sole condition of justification. But does not repentance go before that faith? Yea, and (supposing there be opportunity for them) fruits or works meet for repentance?

A. "Without doubt they do.

Q. 3. "How then can we deny them to be conditions of justification? Is not this a mere strife of words?

A. "It seems not, though it has been grievously abused. But so the abuse cease, let the use remain.

Q. 4. "Shall we read over together Mr. Baxter's aphorisms concerning justification?

A. "By all means: which were accordingly read. And it was desired, that each person present would in the afternoon consult the Scriptures cited therein, and bring what objections might occur the next morning.

Q. 5. "Is an assurance of God's pardoning love absolutely necessary to our being in his favor? Or may there possibly be some exempt cases?

A. "We dare not positively say, there are not.

Q. 6. "Is such an assurance absolutely necessary to inward and outward holiness?

A. "To inward, we apprehend it is: to outward holiness, we incline to think it is not.

Q. 7. "Is it indispensably necessary to final salvation?

A. "Love hopeth all things. We know not how far any may fall under the case of invincible ignorance.

Q. 8. "But what can we say of one of our own society, who dies without it, as J. W. at London?

A. "It may possibly be an exempt case, (if the fact was really so.) But we determine nothing. We leave his soul in the hands of him that made it.

Q. 9. "Does a man believe any longer than he sees a reconciled God?

A. "We conceive not. But we allow there may be infinite degrees in seeing God: even as many as there are between him who sees the sun, when it shines on his eye-lids closed, and him who stands with his eyes wide open, in the full blaze of his beams.

Q. 10. "Does a man believe any longer than he loves God?

A. "In no wise. For neither circumcision or uncircumcision avails, without faith working by love.

Q. 11. "Have we duly considered the case of Cornelius? Was not he in the favor of God, when his prayers and alms came up for a memorial before God? i. e., before he believed in Christ?"

A. "It does seem that he was, in some degree. But we speak not of those who have not heard the gospel.

Q. 12. "But were those works of his splendid sins?"

A. "No; nor were they done without the grace of Christ.

Q. 13. "How then can we maintain, that all works done before we have a sense of the pardoning love of God, are sin? And, as such, an abomination to him?"

A. "The works of him who has heard the gospel, and does not believe, are not done as God hath willed and commanded them to be done. And yet we know not how to say, that they are an abomination to the Lord in him who feareth God, and from that principle, does the best he can.

Q. 14. "Seeing there is so much difficulty in this subject, can we deal too tenderly with them that oppose us?"

A. "We cannot; unless we were to give up any part of the truth of God.

Q. 15. "Is a believer constrained to obey God?"

A. "At first he often is. The love of Christ constraineth him. After this, he may obey, or he may not; no constraint being laid upon him.

Q. 16. "Can faith be lost, but through disobedience?"

A. "It cannot. A believer first inwardly disobeys, inclines to sin with his heart: then his intercourse with God is cut off, i. e. his faith is lost. And after this, he may fall into outward sin, being now weak, and like another man.

Q. 17. "How can such an one recover faith?"

A. "By repenting and doing the first works. Rev. ii. 5.

Q. 18. "Whence is it that so great a majority of those who believe fall more or less into doubt or fear?"

A. "Chiefly from their own ignorance or unfaithfulness: often from their not watching unto prayer; perhaps sometimes from some defect, or want of the power of God in the preaching they hear.

Q. 19. "Is there not a defect in us? Do we preach as we did at first? Have we not changed our doctrines?"

A. 1. "At first we preached almost wholly to unbelievers. To those therefore we spake almost continually, of remission of sins through the death of Christ, and the nature of faith in his blood. And so we do still, among those who need to be taught the first elements of the gospel of Christ:

2. "But those in whom the foundation is already laid, we exhort to go on to perfection: which we did not see so clearly at first; although we occasionally spoke of it from the beginning.

3. "Yet we now preach, and that continually, faith in Christ, as

the prophet, priest, and king, at least, as clearly, as strongly, and as fully, as we did six years ago.

Q. 20. "Do not some of our assistants preach too much of the wrath, and too little of the love of God?"

A. "We fear they have leaned to that extreme; and hence some of their hearers may have lost the joy of faith?"

Q. 21. "Need we ever preach the terrors of the Lord to those who know they are accepted of him?"

A. "No; it is folly so to do; for love is to them the strongest of all motives.

Q. 22. "Do we ordinarily represent a justified state so great and happy as it is?"

A. "Perhaps not. A believer walking in the light, is inexpressibly great and happy.

Q. 23. "Should we not have a care of depreciating justification, in order to exalt the state of full sanctification?"

A. "Undoubtedly we should beware of this: for one may insensibly slide into it.

Q. 24. "How shall we effectually avoid it?"

A. "When we are going to speak of entire sanctification, let us first describe the blessings of a justified state, as strongly as possible.

Q. 25. "Does not the truth of the gospel lie very near both to Calvinism and Antinomianism?"

A. "Indeed it does: as it were, within a hair's breadth. So that it is altogether foolish and sinful, because we do not quite agree either with one or the other, to run from them as far as ever we can.

Q. 26. "Wherein may we come to the very edge of Calvinism?"

A. "In ascribing all good to the free grace of God: 2. In denying all natural free will, and all power antecedent to grace; and 3. In excluding all merit from man; even for what he has or does by the grace of God.

Q. 27. "Wherein may we come to the edge of Antinomianism?"

A. 1. "In exalting the merits and love of Christ. 2. In rejoicing evermore.

Q. 28. "Does faith supersede (set aside the necessity of) holiness or good works?"

A. "In no wise. So far from it that it implies both, as a cause does its effects."

III. Q. 1. "Can an unbeliever (whatever he be in other respects) challenge anything of God's justice?"

A. "Absolutely nothing but hell. And this is a point which we cannot too much insist on.

Q. 2. "Do we empty men of their own righteousness, as we did at first? Do we sufficiently labor, when they begin to be convinced of sin, to take away all they lean upon? Should we not then endeavor with all our might to overturn their false foundations?"

A. "This was at first one of our principal points. And it ought to be so still. For, till all other foundations are overturned, they cannot build upon Christ.

Q. 3. "Did we not *then* purposely throw them into convictions? Into strong sorrow and fear? Nay, did we not strive to make them inconsolable? Refusing to be comforted?

A. "We did. And so we should do still. For the stronger the conviction, the speedier is the deliverance. And none so soon receive the peace of God, as those who steadily refuse all other comfort.

Q. 4. "What is sincerity?

A. "Willingness to know and do the whole will of God. The lowest species thereof seems to be faithfulness in that which is little.

Q. 5. "Has God any regard to man's sincerity?

A. "So far, that no man in any state can possibly please God without it; neither indeed in any moment wherein he is not sincere.

Q. 6. "But can it be conceived that God has any regard to the sincerity of an unbeliever?

A. "Yes, so much, that if he perseveres therein, God will infallibly give him faith.

Q. 7. "What regard may we conceive him to have, to the sincerity of a believer?

A. "So much, that in every sincere believer he fulfils all the great and precious promises.

Q. 8. "Whom do you term a sincere believer?

A. "One that walks in the light, as God is in the light.

Q. 9. "Is sincerity the same with a single eye?

A. "Not altogether. The latter refers to our intention; the former to our will or desires.

Q. 10. "Is it not all in all?

A. "All will follow persevering sincerity. God gives everything with it; nothing without it.

Q. 11. "Are not then sincerity and faith equivalent terms?

A. "By no means. It is at least as nearly related to works as it is to faith. For example; Who is sincere before he believes? He that then does all he can: he that, according to the power he has received, brings forth 'fruits meet for repentance.' Who is sincere after he believes? He that, from a sense of God's love, is zealous of all good works.

Q. 12. "Is not sincerity what St. Paul terms a willing mind? ἡ προθυμία? 2 Cor. viii. 12.

A. "Yes: if that word be taken in a general sense. For it is a constant disposition to use all the grace given.

Q. 13. "But do we not then set sincerity on a level with faith?

A. "No. For we allow a man may be sincere, and not be justified, as he may be penitent, and not be justified: (not as yet) but he cannot have faith, and not be justified. The very moment he believes he is justified.

Q. 14. “But do we not give up faith, and put sincerity in its place, as the condition of our acceptance with God?”

A. “We believe it is one condition of our acceptance, as repentance likewise is. And we believe it a condition of our continuing in a state of acceptance. Yet we do not put it in the place of faith. It is by faith the merits of Christ are applied to my soul. But if I am not sincere, they are not applied.

Q. 15. “Is not this that going about to establish your own righteousness, whereof St. Paul speaks, Rom. x. 4?”

A. “St. Paul there manifestly speaks of unbelievers, who sought to be accepted for the sake of their own righteousness. We do not seek to be accepted for the sake of our sincerity; but through the merits of Christ alone. Indeed, so long as any man believes, he cannot go about (in St. Paul’s sense) ‘to establish his own righteousness.’

Q. 16. “But do you consider, that we are under the covenant of grace? And that the covenant of works is now abolished?”

A. “All mankind were under the covenant of grace from the very hour that the original promise was made. If by the covenant of works you mean, that of unsinning obedience made with Adam before the fall: no man, but Adam, was ever under that covenant: for it was abolished before Cain was born. Yet it is not so abolished, but that it will stand, in a measure, even to the end of the world, i. e. if we do this, we shall live; if not, we shall die eternally; if we do well, we shall live with God in glory: if evil, we shall die the second death. For every man shall be judged in that day, and rewarded according to his works.

Q. 17. “What means then, ‘to him that believeth, his faith is counted for righteousness’?”

A. “That God forgives him that is unrighteous as soon as he believes, accepting his faith instead of perfect righteousness. But then observe, universal righteousness follows, though it did not precede faith.

Q. 18. “But is faith thus counted to us for righteousness, at whatsoever time we believe?”

A. “Yes. In whatsoever moment we believe, all our past sins vanish away. They are as though they had never been, and we stand clear in the sight of God.

Q. 19. “Are not the assurance of faith, the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, and the revelation of Christ in us, terms nearly of the same import?”

A. “He that denies one of them, must deny all; they are so closely connected together.

Q. 20. “Are they ordinarily, where the pure gospel is preached, essential to our acceptance?”

A. “Undoubtedly they are; and as such, to be insisted on, in the strongest terms.

Q. 21. “Is not the whole dispute of salvation by faith, or by works, a mere strife of words?”

A. “In asserting salvation by faith, we mean this; 1. That pardon (salvation begun) is received by faith, producing works. 2. That holiness (salvation continued) is faith working by love. 3. That heaven (salvation finished) is the reward of this faith.

“If you who assert salvation by works, or by faith and works, mean the same thing (understanding by faith, the revelation of Christ in us, by salvation, pardon, holiness, glory,) we will not strive with you at all. If you do not, this is not a strife of words: but the very vitals, the essence of Christianity is the thing in question.

Q. 22. “Wherein does our doctrine now differ from that we preached while at Oxford?”

A. “Chiefly in these two points: 1. We then knew nothing of that righteousness of faith, in justification; nor 2. Of the nature of faith itself, as implying consciousness of pardon.

Q. 23. “May not some degree of the love of God, go before a distinct sense of justification?”

A. “We believe it may.

Q. 24. “Can any degree of sanctification or holiness?”

A. “Many degrees of outward holiness may: yea, and some degrees of meekness, and several other tempers which would be branches of Christian holiness, but that they do not spring from Christian principles. For the abiding love of God cannot spring, but from faith in a pardoning God. And no true Christian holiness can exist, without that love of God for its foundation.

Q. 25. “Is every man, as soon as he believes, a new creature, sanctified, pure in heart? Has he then a new heart? Does Christ dwell therein? And is he a temple of the Holy Ghost?”

A. “All these things may be affirmed of every believer, in a true sense. Let us not therefore contradict those who maintain it. Why should we contend about words?”

IV. Q. 1. “How much is allowed by our brethren who differ from us, with regard to entire sanctification?”

A. “They grant, 1. That every one must be entirely sanctified, in the article of death.

“2. That till then, a believer daily grows in grace, comes nearer and nearer to perfection.

“3. That we ought to be continually pressing after this, and to exhort all others so to do.

Q. 2. “What do we allow them?”

A. “We grant, 1. That many of those who have died in the faith, yea, the greater part of those we have known, were not sanctified throughout, not made perfect in love till a little before death:

“2. That the term, ‘sanctified’ is continually applied by St. Paul, to all that were justified, were true believers:

“3. That by this term alone, he rarely (if ever) means saved from all sin.

“4. That consequently, it is not proper to use it in this sense, without adding the words, ‘wholly, entirely,’ or the like.

“5. That the inspired writers almost continually speak of or to those who were justified; but very rarely, either of or to those who were wholly sanctified.

“6. That consequently, it behoves us to speak in public almost continually of the state of justification: but more rarely, at least in full and explicit terms, concerning entire sanctification.

Q. 3. “What then is the point wherein we divide?

A. “It is this: Whether we should expect to be saved from all sin, before the article of death?

Q. 4. “Is there any clear scripture promise of this? That God will save us from all sin?

A. “There is. Psalm cxxx. 8. ‘He shall redeem Israel from all his sins.

“This is more largely expressed in the prophecy of Ezekiel: ‘Then will I sprinkle clean water upon you, and you shall be clean; from *all* your filthiness, and from *all* your idols will I cleanse you—I will also save you from all your uncleannesses, c. xxxvi. v. 25, 29. No promise can be more clear. And to this the apostle plainly refers in that exhortation, ‘Having these promises, let us cleanse ourselves, from all filthiness of flesh and spirit, perfecting holiness in the fear of God.’ 2. Cor. vii. 1. Equally clear and express in that ancient promise, ‘The Lord thy God will circumcise thine heart and the heart of thy seed, to love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul.’ Deut. xxx. 6.

Q. 5. But does any assertion answerable to this, occur in the New Testament?

A. “There does, and that laid down in the plainest terms. So St. John iii. 8. ‘For this purpose the Son of God was manifested, that he might destroy the works of the devil.’ The works of the devil without any limitation or restriction: but all sin is the work of the devil. Parallel to which is that assertion of St. Paul, Eph. v. 25, 27. ‘Christ loved the church and gave himself for it—that he might present it to himself a glorious church, not having spot or wrinkle or any such thing, but that it should be holy and without blemish.’

“And to the same effect is his assertion in the viiith of the Romans (v. 3, 4.) ‘God sent his Son—that the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled in us, walking not after the flesh but after the spirit.’

Q. 6. “Does the New Testament afford any further ground, for expecting to be saved from all sin?

A. Undoubtedly it does, both in those prayers and commands which are equivalent to the strongest assertions.

Q. 7. “What prayers do you mean?

A. "Prayers for entire sanctification; which, were there no such thing, would be mere mockery of God. Such, in particular, are 1. Deliver us from evil; or rather, from the evil one. Now when this is done, when we are delivered from all evil, there can be no sin remaining. 2. 'Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also which shall believe on me through their word: that they all may be one, as thou Father art in me and I in thee, that they also may be one in us: I in them and thou in me, that they may be made perfect in one.' John xvii. 20, 21, 23.

"3. 'I bow my knees unto the God and father of our Lord Jesus Christ—that he would grant you—that ye being rooted and grounded in love, may be able to comprehend with all saints, what is the breadth and length and height; and to know the love of Christ which passeth knowledge, that ye might be filled with all the fulness of God.' Eph. iii. 14, 16—19. 4. 'The very God of peace sanctify you wholly. And I pray God, your whole spirit, soul and body, be preserved blameless, unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ.' 1 Thess. v. 23.

Q. 8. "What command is there to the same effect?"

A. "'Be ye perfect as your father which is in heaven is perfect.' Matt. vi. ult.

"2. 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind.' Matt. xxii. 37. But if the love of God fill all the heart, there can be no sin there.

Q. 9. "But how does it appear that this is to be done before the article of death?"

A. "First, from the very nature of a command, which is not given to the dead, but to the living.

"Therefore, 'Thou shalt love God with all thy heart,' cannot mean, Thou shalt do this when thou diest, but while thou livest.

"Secondly, from express texts of scripture:

"1. 'The grace of God that bringeth salvation hath appeared to all men; teaching us, that having renounced (*ἀπονησάμενοι*) ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world: looking for—the glorious appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ; who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity; and purify unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works.' Tit. ii. 11—14.

"2. 'He hath raised up an horn of salvation for us—to perform the mercy promised to our fathers; the oath which he swore to our father Abraham, that he would grant unto us, that we being delivered out of the hands of our enemies, should serve him without fear, in holiness and righteousness before him, all the days of our life. Luke i. 69, &c.

Q. 10. "Does not the harshly preaching perfection tend to bring believers into a kind of bondage or slavish fear?"

A. "It does. Therefore we should always place it in the most amiable light, so that it may excite only hope, joy, and desire.

Q. 11. "Why may we not continue in the joy of faith even till we are made perfect?"

A. "Why, indeed? Since holy grief does not quench this joy: since even while we are under the cross, while we deeply partake of the sufferings of Christ, we may rejoice with joy unspeakable.

Q. 12. "Do we not discourage believers from rejoicing evermore?"

A. "We ought not so to do. Let them all their life long, rejoice unto God, so it be with reverence. And even if lightness or pride should mix with their joy, let us not strike at the joy itself (this is the gift of God) but at that lightness or pride, that the evil may cease and the good remain.

Q. 13. "Ought we to be anxiously careful about perfection? Lest we should die before we had attained?"

A. "In no wise. We ought to be thus careful for nothing, neither spiritual nor temporal.

Q. 14. "But ought we not to be troubled, on account of the sinful nature which still remains in us?"

A. "It is good for us to have a deep sense of this, and to be much ashamed before the Lord. But this should only incite us, the more earnestly to turn unto Christ every moment, and to draw light and life, and strength from him, that we may go on, conquering and to conquer. And therefore, when the sense of our sin most abounds, the sense of his love should much more abound.

Q. 15. "Will our joy or our trouble increase as we grow in grace?"

A. "Perhaps both. But without doubt our joy in the Lord will increase as our love increases.

Q. 16. "Is not the teaching believers to be continually poring upon their inbred sin, the ready way to make them forget that they were purged from their former sins?"

A. "We find by experience, it is; or to make them undervalue, and account it a little thing: whereas indeed (though there are still greater gifts behind) this is inexpressibly great and glorious."

The controversy with John Smith, now drew towards a conclusion: and here I shall state one particular in which I think it had some influence on Mr. Wesley's mind. Hitherto he had expressed his notion of justifying faith, in the words of the Church of England, in her Homily on salvation. That it is, A sure trust and confidence which a man hath in God, that his sins are forgiven, and he reconciled to the favor of God. But in July he seems to have examined the subject more closely, and wrote to his brother Charles, as follows:

"DEAR BROTHER,

"Yesterday I was thinking on a *desideratum* among us, a *Genesis*

problematica on justifying faith. A skeleton of it (which you may fill up, or any one that has leisure) I have roughly set down.

“Is justifying faith a sense of pardon? *Negatur.*” It is denied.

I. “Every one is deeply concerned to understand this question well: but preachers most of all: lest they either make them sad whom God hath not made sad; or, encourage them to say peace, where there is no peace.

“Some years ago we heard nothing of justifying faith, or a sense of pardon: so that when we did hear of them, the theme was quite new to us; and we might easily, especially in the heat and hurry of controversy, lean too much either to the one hand or to the other.

II. “By justifying faith I mean, that faith, which whosoever hath not, is under the wrath and the curse of God. By a sense of pardon, I mean a distinct, explicit assurance that my sins are forgiven.

“I allow, 1. That there is such an explicit assurance. 2. That it is the common privilege of real Christians. 3. That it is the proper christian faith, which purifieth the heart, and overcometh the world.

“But I cannot allow, that justifying faith is such an assurance, or necessarily connected therewith.

III. “Because, if justifying faith necessarily implies such an explicit assurance of pardon, then every one who has it not, and every one so long as he has it not, is under the wrath and under the curse of God. But this is a supposition contrary to Scripture, as well as to experience.

“Contrary to Scripture: to Isaiah l. 10. ‘Who is among you, 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.’

“Contrary to Acts x. 34. ‘Of a truth I perceive, that God is no respecter of persons; but in every nation, he that feareth God, and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him.’

“Contrary to experience: for J. R. &c. &c. had peace with God, no fear, no doubt, before they had that sense of pardon. And so have I frequently had.

“Again. ‘The assertion, that justifying faith is a sense of pardon, is contrary to reason: it is flatly absurd. For how can a sense of our having received pardon, be the condition of our receiving it?’

IV. “If you object, 1. ‘J. T., St. Paul, &c. had this sense:’ I grant they had; but they were justified before they had it.—2. ‘We know fifteen hundred persons who have this assurance.’ Perhaps so: but this does not prove, they were not justified till they received it.—3. ‘We have been exceedingly blessed in preaching this doctrine.’ We have been blessed in preaching the great truths of the gospel; although we tacked to them, in the simplicity of our hearts, a proposition which was not true. 4. ‘But does not our church give this account of justifying faith?’ I am sure she does of saving or christian faith: I

think she does of justifying faith too. But to the law and to the testimony. All men may err: but the word of the Lord shall stand forever."

In the spring and summer of this year, Mr. Wesley, and the preachers were invited into many parts of Yorkshire, Lancashire, and Cheshire, where they had not been before. Mr. John Bennet,* was a most indefatigable and successful laborer, for several years, in these parts of the country. He was a man of sound judgment, and of considerable abilities as a preacher. From a letter which he wrote to Mr. Wesley, sometime after this period, we may form some notion of the labors of the preachers. "Many doors," says he, "are opened for preaching in these parts, but cannot be supplied for want of preachers. I think some one should be sent to assist me, otherwise we shall lose ground.—My circuit is one hundred and fifty miles in two weeks; during which time I preach publicly thirty-four times, besides meeting the societies, visiting the sick, and transacting the temporal business. I think the above is too much for me, considering my weak constitution."

This was great labor; but Mr. Wesley, and his brother Mr. Charles, labored still more. They preached as often, did all the other business, and frequently travelled near treble the distance in the same space of time. Hitherto they had been enabled to labor, and form societies with the assistance of the other preachers, in most parts of England, though frequently at the peril of their lives: but now their line was stretched a little further. One of the lay-preachers had gone over to Dublin, and after preaching there for some time, formed a society.—He wrote an account of his success to Mr. Wesley, who determined to visit Ireland immediately. Accordingly, August 4, he set out from Bristol, and passing through Wales, arrived in Dublin on Sunday the 9th, about ten o'clock in the forenoon. Mr. Wesley observes, "Soon after we landed, hearing the bells ringing for church, I went thither directly.—About three I wrote a line to the curate of St. Mary's, who sent me word he should be glad of my assistance. So I preached there, another gentleman reading prayers, to as gay and senseless a congregation as ever I saw. After sermon Mr. R. thanked me very affectionately, and desired I would favor him with my company in the morning. Monday 10, Between eight and nine I went to Mr. R. the curate of St. Mary's: he professed abundance of good will, commended my sermon in strong terms, and begged he might see me again the next morning. But at the same time he expressed the most rooted prejudice against lay-preachers, or preaching out of a church; and said, the Archbishop of Dublin was resolved to suffer no such irregularities in his diocese."

In the course of the day Mr. Wesley went to wait on the archbishop;

* Father of the late Rev. Mr. Bennet, minister to a congregation on the stones in Moor-fields.

but he was gone out of town. The next day he waited upon him at New-Bridge, ten miles from Dublin. He had the favor of conversing with the archbishop two or three hours; in which time he answered abundance of objections. In the evening he returned to Mr. Lunell's, at whose house he was hospitably entertained.

On the 14th, Mr. Wesley observes, "I procured a genuine account of the great Irish massacre in 1641. Surely never was there such a transaction before, from the beginning of the world! More than two hundred thousand men, women, and children, butchered within a few months in cool blood; and with such circumstances of cruelty as makes one's blood run cold! It is well if God has not a controversy with the nation, on this very account to this day."—May the gracious Providence of God superintend our public affairs in such a way as may prevent the return of a like calamity.

Saturday the 15th, he staid at home, and spake to all who came to him. "But," says he, "I found scarce any Irish among them. At least ninety-nine in an hundred of the native Irish, remain in the religion of their forefathers. The Protestants, whether in Dublin or elsewhere, are almost all transplanted from England. Nor is it any wonder, that those who are born Papists, generally live and die such; when the Protestants can find no better ways to convert them, than penal laws and acts of parliament."—I never understood, that penal laws and acts of parliament, were intended as the means of converting the Papists; but as means of preventing, or hindering them from breaking the peace, from murdering their neighbors who think differently from them, and from making proselytes to opinions subversive of the government. The bulls of the Popes, their decretals, and the oaths of the Romish bishops, taken even at present, will not allow us to doubt for a moment, that principles subversive of every Protestant government, enter into the essence of every establishment of the Roman-Catholic* religion; and will infallibly produce their natural effects, as opportunities offer. And therefore the creed, or public professions of individuals in that church to the contrary, are of no avail; they ought to weigh nothing with the legislature in Protestant countries, until the Pope of Rome annul, abrogate, and totally disavow the bulls, and decretals, which infringe on the rights of kings, and of all civil governors; and change the oaths of the bishops acting under his authority.—But perhaps, Mr. Wesley intended no more, by the sentence quoted above, than a reproach either on the church or state, for not appointing proper methods of diffusing knowledge among the native Irish; most of whom are kept by their priests in a state of the grossest ignorance.

The house wherein they preached at this time, was originally designed for a Lutheran church, and contained about four hundred

* There never was a more indecent abuse of words, than in the Church of Rome assuming the title of the Catholic Church.

people: but abundantly more might stand in the yard. Mr. Wesley preached morning and evening to many more than the house could contain; and had more and more reason to hope, they would not all be unfruitful hearers. Monday the 17th, he began to examine the society, which contained about two hundred and fourscore members, many of whom had found peace with God. "The people in general," says Mr. Wesley, "are of a more teachable spirit than in most parts of England: but on that very account, they must be watched over with the more care, being equally susceptible of good and ill impressions."

Mr. Wesley proceeds. "Sunday the 23d, I began in the evening before the usual time; yet were a multitude of people got together, in the house, yard, and street: abundantly more than my voice could reach. I cried aloud to as many as could hear, 'All things are ready; come ye to the marriage.' Having delivered my message, about eleven I took ship for England, leaving J. Trembath, then a burning and a shining light, a workman that needed not to be ashamed, to water the seed which had been sown. Wednesday 26, about two in the afternoon we landed at Holyhead. Saturday 29, I preached at Garth, in Brecknockshire, in the evening, where I met my brother, in his way to Ireland."*—The remaining part of this year, Mr. Wesley spent in Bristol, London, Salisbury, and the neighboring places.

The following letter, written in November, may show us how careful Mr. Wesley was, to guard the preachers against a party spirit in their public labors. "My dear brother," says he, "in public preaching speak not one word against opinions of any kind. We are not to fight against notions, but sins. Least of all should I advise you, once to open your lips against predestination. It would do more mischief than you are aware of. Keep to our one point, present inward salvation by faith, by the divine evidence of sins forgiven."

At this time, the work of God ("It is no cant word," says Mr. Wesley, "it means the conversion of sinners from sin to holiness") was both widening and deepening, not only in London and Bristol, but in most parts of England; there being scarcely any county, and not many large towns, wherein there were not more or fewer witnesses of it. Mean time the greatest numbers were brought to the great Shepherd of their souls (next to London and Bristol) in Cornwall, the West-Riding of Yorkshire, and Newcastle upon Tyne. But still they were obliged in many places, to carry their lives in their hands. Several instances of this have already been related; and many more might still be added.

February 15, 1748, he left Bristol, and proceeded through Wales on his way to Ireland. On the 24th he reached Holyhead, where he was detained about twelve days. He did not remain idle; but

* See vol. i. page 195.

preached every day at some place in the neighborhood. "I never knew men," says Mr. Wesley, "make such poor lame excuses, as these captains did, for not sailing. It put me in mind of the epigram,

"There are, if rightly I may think,
Five causes why a man should drink.

"Which, with a little alteration would just suit them.

"There are, unless my memory fail,
Five causes why we should not sail.
The fog is thick : the wind is high :
It rains : or may do by and by :
Or——any other reason why."

March 8, about one o'clock in the morning, they sailed, and came to Dublin in the evening, where Mr. Wesley found his brother meeting the society. On the 16th, he inquired into the state of the society. "Most pompous accounts," says Mr. Wesley, "had been sent me from time to time, of the great numbers that were added to it; so that I confidently expected to find therein, six or seven hundred members. And how is the real fact? I left three hundred and ninety-four members; and I doubt if there are now, three hundred and ninety-six!

"Let this be a warning to us all, how we give into that hateful custom of painting things beyond the life. Let us make a conscience of magnifying or exaggerating any thing. Let us rather speak under, than above the truth. We, of all men, should be punctual in all we say, that none of our words may fall to the ground." It is to be greatly lamented, that some few of the preachers have not given more attention to this caution, and to some others Mr. Wesley has left on record, concerning evil-speaking, than they seem to have done. I cannot conceive how any man can keep a good conscience, who does not religiously observe them.

Wednesday the 23d, he preached to the prisoners in Newgate. On the 30th he left Dublin, and rode to Philip's-Town, the shire town of the King's-County. The street was soon filled with those who flocked from every side. And even at five in the morning he had a large congregation. After preaching he spoke severally to those of the society; of whom forty were troopers. At noon he preached to a larger congregation than in Dublin; and adds, "I am persuaded, God did then make an offer of life to all the inhabitants of Philip's-Town."

The following days he preached at Tullamore, Tyrrell's-Pass, Claro, Temple-Maqueteer, Moat; and on Saturday April 2d, came to Athlone. His brother Charles, had been here some time before; though it was with the imminent hazard of his life. For within about a mile of the town, he was waylaid by a very numerous Popish

mob, who discharged a shower of stones, which he very narrowly escaped.* “This,” says Mr. J. Wesley, “had an exceeding happy effect, prejudicing all the Protestants in our favor. And this seemed to increase every day. The morning I went away, most of the congregation were in tears. Indeed almost all the town seemed to be moved; full of good-will, and desires of salvation. But the waters were too wide to be deep. I found not one under strong conviction, much less had any one attained the knowledge of salvation, in hearing above thirty sermons. After re-visiting the towns I had seen before, on Tuesday the 16th, I returned to Dublin. Having staid a few days there, I made another little excursion through the country societies. May the 14th, I returned to Dublin, and had the satisfaction to find that the work of God, not only spread wider and wider, but was also much deepened in many souls. Wednesday the 18th, we took ship, and the next day landed at Holyhead.”

Notwithstanding Mr. Wesley’s daily employment in preaching, often morning, noon, and night, and his continual travelling from place to place; yet he had some years before this, formed the design of making collections from the most approved writers in the English language, on the subjects of practical divinity, and of printing them under the title of, *A Christian Library*. The letter which Dr. Doddridge sent him, with the list of books he had requested, greatly facilitated his labor, and he had now large materials ready for the work. He wrote to a friend, and mentions an intention of immediately executing the design. “Are you,” says he, “still pressing toward the mark, the prize of your high calling? Is your hope full of immortality? Do you continue to count all things loss, for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus? Some time since I was in much concern for you, lest you should be swallowed up in the things of earth. But I trust God has wrought a great deliverance for you, and given you to choose him for your God, and your all. O seek him with an undivided heart, till you see him as he is!

“I have often thought of mentioning to you, and a few others, a design I have had for some years, of printing a little library, perhaps of fourscore, or one hundred volumes, for the use of those that fear God.† My purpose was to select whatever I had seen most valuable in the English language, and either abridge, or take the whole tracts, only a little corrected or explained, as occasion should require. Of these I could print ten or twelve, more or less, every year, on a fine paper, and large letter, which should be cast for the purpose.—As soon as I am able to purchase a printing-press and types, I think of entering on this design. I have several books now ready; and a printer who desires nothing more than food and raiment. In three or

* See vol. i. page 197.

† It is evident enough from Dr. Doddridge’s letter, that the first intention was, the benefit of the preachers.

four weeks I hope to be in London, and if God permit, to begin without delay."—He at length accomplished his design in fifty *duodecimo* volumes.

"June 24th," says Mr. Wesley, "being the day we had appointed for opening the school at Kingswood (that is for boarders) I preached there, on 'Train up a child in the way that he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it.' My brother and I then administered the Lord's supper to many who came from far."—The following is an abstract from Mr. Wesley's "Short Account of the School in Kingswood, near Bristol," which was printed some years after this period.

"Our design is, with God's assistance, to train up children in every branch of useful learning.

"The school contains eight classes :

"In the first class the children read Instructions for Children, and Lessons for Children; and begin learning to write.

"In the second class they read The Manners of the ancient Christians, go on in writing, learn the Short English Grammar, the Short Latin Grammar, read *Prælectiones Pueriles*: translate them into English, and the Instructions for Children into Latin: part of which they transcribe and repeat.

"In the third class they read Dr. Cave's Primitive Christianity, go on in writing, perfect themselves in the English and Latin Grammar; read *Corderii Colloquia Selecta* and *Historiæ Selectæ*: translate *Historiæ Selectæ* into English, and Lessons for Children into Latin: part of which they transcribe and repeat.

"In the fourth class they read the Pilgrim's Progress, perfect themselves in writing: learn Dilworth's Arithmetic: read Castellio's Kempis and Cornelius Nepos: translate Castellio into English, and Manners of the Ancient Christians into Latin: transcribe and repeat select portions of moral and sacred poems.

"In the fifth class they read the Life of Mr. Haliburton, perfect themselves in arithmetic; read Select Dialogues of Erasmus, Phædrus and Sallust: translate Erasmus into English, and Primitive Christianity into Latin: transcribe and repeat select portions of moral and sacred poems.

"In the sixth class they read the Life of Mr. De Renty, and Kennet's Roman Antiquities: they learn Randal's Geography: read Cæsar, Select Parts of Terence and Velleius Paterculus: translate Erasmus into English, and the Life of Mr. Haliburton into Latin: transcribe and repeat select portions of sacred hymns and poems.

"In the seventh class they read Mr. Law's Christian Perfection, and Archbishop Potter's Greek Antiquities: they learn Bengelii *Introductio ad Chronologiam*, with Marshal's Chronological Tables: read Tully's Offices and Virgil's *Æneid*: translate Bengelius into English, and Mr. Law into Latin: learn (those who have a turn for it) to

make verses, and the Short Greek Grammar: read the Epistles of St. John: transcribe and repeat select portions of Milton.

“In the eighth class they read Mr. Law’s Serious Call, and Lewis’s Hebrew Antiquities: they learn to make themes and to declaim: learn Vossius’s Rhetoric: read Tully’s Tusculan Questions, and Selecta ex Ovidio, Virgilio, Horatio, Juvenale, Persio, Martiale: perfect themselves in the Greek Grammar; read the Gospels and Six Books of Homer’s Iliad: translate Tully into English, and Mr. Law into Latin: learn the Short Hebrew Grammar, and read Genesis: transcribe and repeat Selecta ex Virgilio, Horatio, Juvenale.

“It is our particular desire, that all who are educated here, may be brought up in the fear of God: and at the utmost distance as from vice in general, so in particular from idleness and effeminacy. The children therefore of tender parents, so called, have no business here: for the rules will not be broken, in favor of any person whatsoever. Nor is any child received unless his parents agree, 1. That he shall observe all the rules of the house, and 2. That they will not take him from school, no, not a day, till they take him for good and all.

“The method observed in the school is this:

“*The First Class.*

- | | |
|------------------|------------------------|
| Morn. 7. Read. | 10. Write till eleven. |
| Aftern. 1. Read. | 4. Write till five. |

“*The Second Class.*

- M. 7. Read the Manners of the Ancient Christians:
 8. Learn the English Grammar: when that is ended, the Latin Grammar.
 10. Learn to write.
 A. 1. Learn to construe and parse Prælectiones Pueriles:
 4. Translate into English and Latin alternately.

“*The Third Class.*

- M. 7. Read Primitive Christianity:
 8. Repeat English and Latin Grammar alternately.
 9. Learn Corderius, and when that is ended, Historiæ Selectæ.
 10. Write.
 A. 1. Learn Corderius and Historiæ Selectæ.
 4. Translate.

“*The Fourth Class.*

- M. 7. Read the Pilgrim’s Progress:
 8. Repeat the Grammar:
 9. Learn Castellio’s Kempis, and when that is ended, Cornelius Nepos.
 10. Write and learn Arithmetic:
 A. 1. Learn Kempis and Cornelius Nepos.
 4. Translate.

“*The Fifth Class.*

- M. 7. Read Mr. Haliburton’s Life.

- M. 8. Repeat the Grammars :
 9. Learn Erasmus ; afterwards Phædrus ; then Sallust :
 10. Learn Arithmetic :
 A. 1. Learn Erasmus, Phædrus, Sallust :
 4. Translate.

“ *The Sixth Class.* ”

- M. 7. Read Mr. de Renty’s Life :
 8. Repeat the Grammars :
 9. Learn Cæsar ; afterwards Terence ; then Velleius Paterculus :
 10. Learn Geography :
 A. 1. Learn Cæsar ; Terence ; Paterculus :
 3. Read Roman Antiquities :
 10. Translate.

“ *The Seventh Class.* ”

- M. 7. Read Mr. Law’s Christian Perfection :
 { M. W. F. Learn the Greek Grammar ; and read the Greek
 Testament :
 Tu. Th. Sat. Learn Tully ; afterwards Virgil :
 10. Learn Chronology :
 A. 1. Learn Latin and Greek alternately, as in the morning :
 3. Read Grecian Antiquities :
 4. Translate and make verses alternately.

“ *The Eighth Class.* ”

- M. 7. Read Mr. Law’s Serious Call :
 { M. Th. Latin.
 Tu. Frid. Greek.
 W. S. Hebrew ; and so at one in the afternoons :
 10. Learn Rhetoric :
 A. 3. Read Hebrew Antiquities :
 4. Mond. Thurs. translate.
 Tues. Frid. make verses :
 Wed. make a theme :
 Sat. write a declamation.

“ All the other classes spend Saturday afternoon in Arithmetic, and in transcribing what they learn on Sunday, and repeat on Monday morning.”

Mr. Wesley adds ; “ The following method may be observed, by those who design to go through a course of academical learning.

“ FIRST YEAR. ”

- | | |
|------------------------------|------------------|
| “ Read Lowth’s English Gram- | Corn. Nepos, |
| mar, | Sallust, |
| Latin, | Cæsar, |
| Greek, | Tully’s Offices, |
| Hebrew, | Terence, |
| French, | Phædrus, |
| } Grammars, | |

Æneid,	Moral and Sacred Poems,
Dilworth, Randal, Bengel, Vos-	Hebrew Pentateuch, with the
sius,	Notes,
Aldrich and Wallis's Logic,	Greek Testament, Matt.
Langbain's Ethics,	—————Acts, with the Notes.
Hutchinson on the Passions,	Xenophon's Cyrus,
Spanheim's Introduction on the	Homer's Iliad,
Ecclesiastical History,	Bishop Pearson on the Creed,
Puffendorf's Introduction to the	Ten volumes of the Christian
History of Europe,	Library.

" SECOND YEAR.

"Look over the Grammars,	Usher's Annals,
Read Vell. Patereulus,	Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation,
Tusculan Questions,	Spenser's Fairy Queen,
Excerpta,	Historical Books of the Hebrew
Vidæ Opera,	Bible,
Lusus Westmonasteriensis,	Greek Testament,
Chronological Tables,	Homer's Odyssey,
Euclid's Elements,	Twelve volumes of the Christian
Well's Tracts,	Library,
Newton's Principia,	Ramsay's Cyrus,
Mosheim's Introduction to Church	Racine.
History,	

" THIRD YEAR.

"Look over the Grammars,	Hume's History of England,
Livy,	Neal's History of the Puritans,
Suetonius,	Milton's Poetical Works,
Tully de Finibus,	Hebrew Bible, Job—Canticles,
Musæ Anglicanæ,	Greek Testament,
Dr. Burton's Poemata,	Plato's Dialogues,
Ld. Forbes' Tracts,	Greek Epigrams,
Abridgment of Hutchinson's Wks.	Twelve volumes of the Christian
Survey of the Wisdom of God in	Library,
the Creation,	Pascal,
Rollin's Ancient History,	Corneille."

" FOURTH YEAR.

"Look over the Grammars,	Watts's Ontology,
Tacitus,	Locke's Essay,
Grotii Historia Belgica,	Malebranche,
Tully de Natura Deorum,	Clarendon's History,
Prædium Rusticum,	Neal's History of New England.
Carmina Quadragesimalia,	Antonio Solis' History of Mexico,
Philosophical Transactions abrid-	Shakspeare,
ged	Rest of the Hebrew Bible,
Watt's Astronomy, &c.	Greek Testament,
Compendium Metaphysicæ,	Epictetus,

Marcus Antoninus,
Poetæ Minores,
End the Christian Library,

La Fausseté de les Vertues hu-
manes. Quesnell sur les Evan-
giles.

“Whoever carefully goes through this course, will be a better scholar than nine in ten of the graduates at Oxford or Cambridge.”

About the time this short account was printed, Mr. Wesley asked in the Conference, “What can be done to make the Methodists sensible of the excellency of Kingswood School?”—The answer agreed upon, was,

“Let every Assistant read the following account of it yearly, in every society. 1. The wisdom and love of God have now thrust out a large number of laborers into his harvest; men who desire nothing on earth but to promote the glory of God, to save their own souls, and them that hear them. And those to whom they minister spiritual things, willingly minister to them of their carnal things; so that they have food to eat and raiment to put on, and are content therewith.

2 “A competent provision is likewise made for the wives of married preachers. These also lack for nothing, having a weekly allowance over and above for their little children: so that neither they nor their husbands need be careful about many things, but may wait upon the Lord without distraction.

3. “But one considerable difficulty lies on those who have boys, when they grow too big to be under their mother’s direction. Having no father to govern and instruct them, they are exposed to a thousand temptations. To remedy this, we have a school on purpose for them, wherein they have all the instruction they are capable of, together with all things needful for the body, clothes only excepted. And it may be, if God prosper this labor of love, they will have these too shortly.

4. “In whatever view we look upon this, it is one of the noblest charities that can be conceived. How reasonable is the institution? Is it fit that the children of those who leave wife, home, and all that is dear, to save souls from death, should want what is needful either for soul or body? Ought not we to supply what the parent cannot, because of his labors in the gospel? How excellent are the effects of this institution? The preacher eased of this weight can the more easily go on in his labor. And perhaps many of those children may hereafter fill up the place of those that shall rest from their labors.

5. “But the expense of such an undertaking is very large: so that although we have at present but thirteen or fourteen poor children, we are continually running behind, notwithstanding the yearly subscription made at London and Bristol. The best means we could think of at our late Conference to supply the deficiency is, once a year to desire the assistance of all those in every place who wish well to the work of God; all who long to see sinners converted to God, and the kingdom of Christ set up in all the earth.”

From this time a public collection has been made through all the societies once in every year, for Kingswood School. The last year, 1794, it amounted to twelve hundred and eighty-four pounds, eighteen shillings and one penny !

July 18th, Mr. Wesley was at Newcastle upon Tyne; and from thence proceeded northward, preaching at several places in his way, till he came to Berwick upon Tweed. Here he preached three or four times, in a large green space, near the governor's house. A little society had been formed at this place some time before, which was now considerably increased : and several members of it, walked worthy of the vocation wherewith they were called. On the 23d, after preaching at other places on his way back, he returned to Newcastle.

During the summer, there was a large increase of the work of God, both in Northumberland, the county of Durham, and Yorkshire : as also in the most savage part of Lancashire ; though here in particular the preachers carried their lives in their hands. A specimen of the treatment they met with there, may be seen in the following brief account.

“On August 26th,” says Mr. Wesley, “while I was speaking to some quiet people at Roughley, near Coln in Lancashire, a drunken rabble came, the captain of whom said he was a deputy constable, and I must go with him. I had scarce gone ten yards, when one of his company struck me in the face with all his might. Another threw his stick at my head : all the rest were like as many ramping and roaring lions. They brought me, with Mr. Grimshaw, the minister of Haworth ; Mr. Colbeck of Kighley, and Mr. Macford of Newcastle (who never recovered the abuse he then received) into a public-house at Barrowford, a neighboring village, where all their forces were gathered together.

“Soon after Mr. Hargrave, the high constable, came, and required me to promise I would come to Roughley no more. This I flatly refused. But upon saying, I will not preach here now, he undertook to quiet the mob. While he and I walked out at one door, Mr. Grimshaw, and Colbeck, went out at the other. The mob immediately closed them in, tossed them to and fro with the greatest violence, threw Mr. Grimshaw down, and loaded them both with dirt and mire of every kind. The other quiet harmless people, who followed me at a distance, they treated full as ill. They poured upon them showers of dirt and stones, without any regard to age or sex. Some of them they trampled in the mire, and dragged by the hair of the head.— Many they beat with their clubs without mercy. One they forced to leap from a rock, ten or twelve feet high, into the river. And when he crept out, wet and bruised, were hardly persuaded not to throw him in again. Such was the recompense we frequently received from our countrymen, for our labor of love.”

I find nothing very remarkable during the following year, except Mr. Wesley's perseverance in his frequent jourmies, and incessant

labors. In the beginning of the year 1750, having been informed of the violence of the mobs at Cork, against both the preachers and people, and being in nothing terrified by the adversaries, he determined to set out for the scene of riot. Accordingly, April 7th, he embarked at Holyhead in the morning, and in the evening landed in Dublin. Here he received a full account of the shocking outrages which had been committed at Cork, for several months together; and which the good magistrates had encouraged rather than opposed. At the Lent assizes, several depositions were laid before the grand jury, against the rioters: yet they did not find any of these bills! But they found a bill against a poor baker, who, when the mob were discharging a shower of stones upon him, discharged a pistol without ball, over their heads, which put them into such bodily fear, that they all ran away, without looking behind them.

Having tarried ten or twelve days in Dublin, Mr. Wesley began his journey through the country societies, towards Cork, where he arrived May the 19th. The next day, understanding the house was small, he went out about eight o'clock, to Hammond's Marsh: at that time a large open space, but since built over. Here he preached, to a large and deeply attentive congregation. In the afternoon, two of the preachers went to the mayor, and asked, if it would be disagreeable to him, that Mr. Wesley should preach on the Marsh? He answered, "Sir, I will have no more mobs and riots." One of them replied, "Sir, Mr. Wesley has made none." He then spake plainly. "Sir, I will have no more preaching. And if Mr. Wesley attempts it, I am prepared for him." Here was a chief magistrate, who, if Mr. Wesley attempted to preach and instruct the people in their duty to God and man, was determined to make a riot to hinder him!

The following is an abstract from Mr. Wesley's Journal, of what took place afterwards, at Cork, and at Bandon. "I would not therefore, attempt to preach on the Marsh, but began in our own house about five (in the evening on the same day, being Sunday.) The good mayor, mean time, was walking on the 'Change, and giving orders to his sergeants and the town drummers, who immediately came down to the house, with an innumerable mob attending him. They continued drumming, and I continued preaching, till I had finished my discourse. When I came out, the mob presently closed me in. Observing one of the sergeants standing by me, I desired him to keep the king's peace. But he replied, 'Sir, I have no orders to do that.' As soon as I came into the open street, the rabble threw whatever came to hand. But all went by me, or over my head; nor do I remember that any thing touched me. I walked straight through the midst of the rabble, looking every man before me in the face; and they opened to the right and left, till I came near Dant's Bridge. A large party had taken possession of this: but when I came up, they likewise shrunk back, and I walked through them to Mr. Jenkins's

house. But a stout Papist-woman stood just within the door, and would not let me come in, till one of the mob, aiming I suppose at me, knocked her down flat. I then went in, and God restrained the wild beasts, so that no one attempted to follow me.

“But many of the congregation were more roughly handled; particularly Mr. Jones, who was covered with mud, and escaped with his life almost by miracle. Finding the mob were not inclined to disperse, I sent to Alderman Pembroke, who immediately desired Alderman Wentthrop, his nephew, to go down to Mr. Jenkins’s: with whom I walked up the street, none giving an unkind or disrespectful word.

“All the following week it was at the peril of his life, if any Methodist stirred out of doors. And the case was much the same, during the whole mayoralty of Mr. Crone. But the succeeding mayor, declared in good earnest, ‘There shall be no more mobs or riots in Cork.’ And he did totally suppress them. So that from that time forward, even the Methodists enjoyed the same liberty with the rest of his majesty’s subjects.

“In the mean time the work of God went on with little opposition, both in other parts of the county of Cork, and at Waterford, and Limerick; as well as in Mountmelick, Athlone, Longford, and most parts of the province of Leinster. In my return from Cork, I had an opportunity of visiting all these. And I had the satisfaction of observing, how greatly God had blessed my fellow-laborers, and how many sinners were saved from the error of their ways. Many of these had been eminent for all manner of sins: many had been Roman Catholics. And I suppose the number of these (Roman-Catholics, converted) would have been far greater, had not the good Protestants, as well as the Popish priests, taken true pains to hinder them.”

During Mr. Wesley’s stay at Cork, and in its neighborhood, he observes, “All this time God gave us great peace at Bandon, notwithstanding the unwearied labors, both public and private of Dr. B. to stir up the people. But Saturday 26, many were under great apprehensions, of what was to be done in the evening. I began preaching in the main street at the usual hour, but to more than twice the usual congregation. After I had spoke about a quarter of an hour, a clergyman, who had planted himself near me, with a very large stick in his hand, according to agreement opened the scene. Indeed his friends assured me, ‘he was in drink, or he would not have done it.’ But before he had uttered many words, two or three resolute women, by main strength pulled him into an house, and after expostulating a little, sent him away through the garden.—The next champion that appeared, was a young gentleman of the town.—But his triumph too was short: for some of the people quickly bore him away, though with much gentleness and civility. The third came on with far greater fury: but he was encountered by a butcher of the town, not

one of the Methodists, who used him as he would an ox, bestowing one or two heavy blows on his head. This cooled his courage, especially as none took his part. So I quietly finished my discourse."

Mr. Wesley continued his labors in Ireland, till July 22, when he set sail for Bristol. He staid here only a few days, and then went on to visit the societies through the West of England, as far as Cornwall; in which service he spent near six weeks. August 15, he observes, "By reflecting on an odd book which I had read in this journey, 'The general delusion of Christians with regard to prophecy,' I was fully convinced of what I had long suspected; 1. That the Montanists, in the second and third centuries, were real scriptural Christians: and 2. That the grand reason why the miraculous gifts were so soon withdrawn, was, not only that faith and holiness were well-nigh lost, but that dry, formal, orthodox men, began even then to ridicule whatever gifts they had not themselves, and to decry them all, as either madness or imposture."*

On his return from Cornwall, he preached in the street at Shaftsbury; but none made any noise, or spake one word, while he called the wicked to forsake his way. When he was returned to the house where he lodged, a constable came, and said, "Sir, the mayor discharges you from preaching in this borough any more." Mr. Wesley replied, "While King George gives me leave to preach, I shall not ask leave of the mayor of Shaftsbury."

Sept. 8, he came to London, and received the following account of the death of one of the travelling preachers. "John Jane was never well after walking from Epworth to Hainton, on an exceeding hot day, which threw him into a fever. But he was in great peace and love, even to those who greatly wanted love to him. He was some time at Alice Shadforth's house, with whom he daily talked of the things of God; spent much time in private prayer; and joined likewise with her in prayer several times in a day: On Friday, Aug. 24, he sat in the evening by the fire-side: about six he fetched a deep sigh, and never spoke more. He was alive till the same time on Saturday, when without any struggle or sign of pain, with a smile

* The Montanists were a sect of Christians, which sprung up about the year of Christ 171. They took their name from Montanus, a Phrygian by birth. They made no alteration in the creed, or articles of belief then commonly received. They were abstemious and moral in their conduct. But they maintained that the miraculous gifts of the Holy Ghost, were not withdrawn from the faithful and pious; and that they had among themselves the gift of prophecy, &c. It is to be lamented, that, at this early period of Christianity, Christian principles, and Christian practice, or morality, were too much separated: and that whoever differed from the rulers of the church, were immediately branded with the name of Heretics; their principles and practices represented with little or no regard to truth; and all manner of evil was spoken of them, to deter the people from going near them. I wish the modern professors of Christianity, of every denomination, with all their boasted liberality and professions of candor, were wholly free from this contagious leprosy, which so deforms the Christian character, and leads directly to persecution.

on his face, he passed away. His last words were, 'I find the love of God in Christ Jesus.'

"All his clothes, linen, and woollen, stockings, hat, and wig, are not thought sufficient to answer his funeral expenses, which amount to one pound seventeen shillings and three-pence. All the money he had was, one shilling and four-pence."—"Enough," adds Mr. Wesley, "for any unmarried preacher of the gospel, to leave to his executors."—Mr. Wesley spent the remainder of the year in London, Bristol, and the neighboring places; and in preparing several books for the use of the children at Kingswood School.

Mr. Wesley had many difficulties to encounter, not only from those who openly opposed him; but from many who were in connexion with him: especially from some of the preachers, who already began to wish, that the Methodists might become a distinct and complete body, or church, among themselves; by which step, they would have, in order to support their own existence, a separate interest to maintain, in opposition to the established church, and in some respects to every denomination of Dissenters. This was in flat opposition to Mr. Wesley's design in forming the Methodist Societies, which was to promote scriptural holiness through the land, without any particular regard to the distinction of parties. At this time, and for some years afterwards, he frequently corresponded with Mr. Edward Perronet, whom he sincerely esteemed, and to whom he often opened his mind with great freedom. I shall make an extract or two, from the letters written in the present year,* relative to this and some other subjects.

From Ireland, he observes, "I have abundance of complaints to make, as well as to hear. I have scarce any on whom I can depend, when I am an hundred miles off. 'Tis well if I do not run away soon, and leave them to cut and shuffle for themselves. Here is a glorious people. But O! where are the shepherds?"

"The society at Cork have fairly sent me word, that they will take care of themselves, and erect themselves into a Dissenting congregation. I am weary of these sons of Zeruah: they are too hard for me. Dear Ted, stand fast, whether I stand or fall."

In another letter, he says, "Charles,† and you behave as I want you to do. But you cannot, or will not, preach where I desire. Others, can and will preach where I desire: but they do not behave as I want them to do. I have a fine time between the one and the other." And again in the third, "I think both Charles, and you have, in the general, a right sense of what it is to serve as sons in the Gospel. And if all our helpers had had the same, the work of God would have prospered better, both in England and Ireland." About a fort-

* The letters written by Mr. Wesley to Mr. Perronet, came into the hands of Mr. Shrubsole, after Mr. Perronet's death; and I am greatly obliged to him for the use of them.

† Charles Perronet, the brother of Edward.

night afterwards, he writes thus on the same subject, "You put the thing right. I have not one preacher with me, and not six in England, whose wills are broken enough, to serve me as sons in the Gospel."

On the subject of reproof, and of remedying things that were amiss, he observes to his friend, "Come on, now you have broke the ice, and tell me the other half of your mind. I always blamed you for speaking too little, not too much. When you spoke most freely, as at Whitehaven, it was best for us both.

"I did not always disbelieve, when I said nothing. But I would not attempt a thing, till I could carry it. *Tu quod scis, nescis*, is an useful rule, till I can remedy what I know. As you observe, many things are remedied already: and many more will be. But you consider, I have none to second me. They who should do it, start aside as a broken bow."

The following abstract from a letter written to Mr. Wesley by one who loved and highly esteemed him, may show us, that he had some friends who spake their minds freely, when they saw any thing which in their judgment deserved œnure or blame. "I love, I honor, I reverence you," says the writer, "for your great worth, wisdom and high office: yet I have not that fellowship with you, that I once had with T. S.—I have loved your company, loved your conversation, admired your wisdom, been greatly blessed under your discourses and exhortations: and yet we are two spirits!—I think you have the knowledge of all experience, but not the experience of all you know. You know, speaking with limitation, the heights and depths, the beginning and the end of true religion. You know the fallen state of man, his inability to rise again; the freeness of redeeming love, and the mighty workings of the Holy Ghost. You know, the heaven and happiness of man, is to feel a change of nature, to enjoy deep communion with God, and to walk in love with all around. All these things you know, partly by the information of others, and partly from experience. But I think your experience is buried in your extensive knowledge. I think you feel not, abidingly, a deep sense of your own spiritual weakness, the nearness of Christ to save, nor a sweet communion with God, by the Holy Ghost. You have the appearance of all Christian graces, but they do not, I think, spring from a deep experience, or change of nature. A good nature (temper of mind) with great abilities, will mimic grace; but grace is more than outward; it brings the soul to a deep union with God, and its fellow Christians. One outward proof from which I think I judge aright, is, the want of SYMPATHY in your discourses and conversation. Those who attend to an inward work, more than to an outward, pass through many weighty and grievous conflicts, from the stubbornness of their own nature, or the subtilty of the devil, so that often they go on lamenting and weeping, and yet trusting in God. When do you

feelingly, and with tears address yourself unto such?—That the cause, the only cause of my disunion with you, may be in myself, I cannot but allow. My ignorance, my weakness, my aptness to mistake, is great! My judgment is often biassed by circumstances too immaterial to be the ground of determination; and therefore often, yea mostly, rather than be in danger of judging amiss, I remain in doubtful silence.” Signed, W. Briggs.

January 30, 1751, Mr. Wesley at the pressing request of Dr. Isham, then rector of Lincoln-College, set out early in the morning to vote for a member of parliament. It was a severe frost, the wind north-west, full in his face, and the roads so slippery that the horses could scarcely keep their feet. Nevertheless about seven in the evening, he, and those with him, for he never travelled alone, came safe to Oxford. A congregation was waiting for him, whom he immediately addressed in those awful words, “What is a man profited, if he shall gain the whole world and lose his own soul.”—The next day he went to the schools, where the convocation was met. “But,” says he, “I did not find that decency and order which I expected. The gentleman for whom I voted, was not elected: yet I did not repent of my coming; I owe much more than this to that generous, friendly man, who now rests from his labors.” Mr. Wesley means Dr. Morley, who so generously assisted him with his interest, when he was elected Fellow of Lincoln-College.*

A year or more, before this period, Mr. Wesley had formed a resolution to marry. But the affair coming to the knowledge of Mr. Charles Wesley before marriage took place, he found means to prevent it; for reasons which appeared to him of sufficient importance to authorize him to interfere in the business. Mr. John Wesley, however, thought otherwise, and this was the first breach of that union and harmony which had now subsisted between the two brothers, without interruption, for more than twenty years. Notwithstanding this disappointment, Mr. Wesley still continued in the resolution to marry; and having fixed his choice of a partner, he proposed the matter to the Reverend Mr. Perronet, of Shoreham. February 2, he received Mr. Perronet’s answer, who wrote as a Christian minister ought to write, in favor of marriage. In a few days after, he married Mrs. Vizelle, a widow lady of independent fortune. But before the marriage, he took care that her fortune should be wholly settled upon herself, refusing to have the command of one shilling of her property. Mr. Wesley’s constant habit of travelling from place to place, through Great Britain and Ireland, the number of persons who came to visit him wherever he was, and his extensive correspondence with the members of the society, were circumstances unfavorable to that social intercourse, mutual openness and confidence, which form the basis of happiness in the married state. These circumstances, indeed,

would not have been so very unfavorable, had he married a woman who could have entered into his views, and have accommodated herself to his situation. But this was not the case. Had he searched the whole kingdom on purpose, he would hardly have found a woman more unsuitable in these respects, than she whom he married.

Some years before his marriage, Mr. Wesley had written a small tract in favor of celibacy. Not that he condemned, or even disapproved of prudent marriages, but he thought celibacy, to those who could live comfortably in it, more favorable to religious improvement than a state of matrimony. He considered Paul's advice to the church at Corinth, as a standing rule in all circumstances of Christians. It is really wonderful how he could fall into this error, as the Apostle expressly says, that he gave that advice *διὰ τῆς ἐνεσθῆσαν ἀνάγκης*, 'on account of the impending distress;' that is, on account of the persecutions both from Jews and Gentiles, which already threatened the churches; when men and women being dragged to prison, or to death, it would be more easy and convenient not to be entangled with the cares of a family. It does not appear however, that Mr. Wesley, in writing that tract, had any reference to his own situation in particular; or, that he had formed a resolution never to marry. But had even this been the case, his marriage would only show the truth of the words of Horace, *Naturam expellas furca, tamen usque recurret*. You may repel nature by violence, but still she will return upon you. This is undoubtedly true of those propensities which are purely natural and congenial to the human constitution. Juvenal, indeed, asserts nearly the same thing of vicious habits, which form a kind of secondary nature:

——— *Tamen ad mores natura recurret*
Damnatos, fixa et mutari nescia———

This might perhaps be true, without the light of the gospel, and the interpositions of divine grace.

March 27, Mr. Wesley set out on his northern journey. He travelled through the societies as far as Whitehaven, and April 20, came to Newcastle. On the 24th, he set out with Mr. Hopper, to pay his first visit to Scotland. He was invited thither by captain (afterwards colonel) Galatin, who was then quartered at Musselborough. "I had no intention," says he, "to preach in Scotland; not imagining that there were any that desired I should. But I was mistaken. Curiosity, if nothing else, brought abundance of people together in the evening. And whereas in the kirk, Mrs. Galatin informed me, there used to be laughing and talking, and all the marks of the grossest inattention; it was far otherwise here. They remained as statues from the beginning of the sermon to the end. I preached again at six in the evening, on, 'Seek ye the Lord while he may be found.' I used great plainness of speech towards high and low: and they all re-

ceived it in love : so that the prejudice which had been several years planting, was torn up by the roots in one hour. After preaching, one of the bailiffs of the town, with one of the elders of the kirk, came to me, and begged I would stay with them a while ; nay, if it were but two or three days, and they would fit up a larger place than the school, and prepare seats for the congregations. Had not my time been fixed, I should gladly have complied. All that I could now do, was to give them a promise, that Mr. Hopper would come back the next week and spend a few days with them. And it was not without a fair prospect. The congregations were very numerous ; many were cut to the heart ; and several joined together in a little society.”

May 15. Mr. Wesley came to Leeds. Here he held a conference with about thirty of the preachers. He inquired particularly into their qualifications, as to their grace and gifts ; and into the fruits of their labors ; and tells us he found no reason to doubt, except of one only.

Mr. Wesley had now been married upwards of three months : and June the 1st he resigned his fellowship. His letter of resignation was, I believe, in the words of one of the established forms of the college, for that purpose. It was as follows. “ Ego Johannes Wesley, Collegii Lincolnienſis in Academia Oxoniensi Socius, quicquid mihi juris est in prædicta Societate, ejusdem Rectori et Sociis sponte ac liberè resigno : illis universis et singulis, perpetuam pacem, ac omnimodam in Christo felicitatem exoptans.”