

Figure 1: *Hymns and Sacred Poems*, a new collection of Wesley hymns, published for the first time by Samuel Powell; one of seven collections published in Dublin in 1747.

## CHARLES WESLEY IN IRELAND (1747–1748): A RECONSTRUCTION FROM PRIMARY SOURCES.<sup>1</sup>

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### Introduction

Charles Wesley (1707–1788) is a very important figure. At the very least he is important historically in that, together with his brother John, he helped fashion a religious movement that was to have lasting significance and exert an influence across the globe. Indeed, if Halévy is to be believed, it stopped revolutions.<sup>2</sup> Historians need to take note of Charles. Charles is important also from a literary point of view, particularly, of course, with regards to his poetical output: of his c. 9,000 published poetical works, perhaps 2,500 were specifically designed as hymns, some of which are among the very best in the English language. His reputation as one of the greats is well-deserved. Scholars of English literature will need to take him seriously. However, as I have sought to argue elsewhere, Charles's importance extends even further. He is important also theologically and pastorally in that his particular brand of 'experiential' theology (as we have become accustomed to calling it) both built upon and contributed to an

<sup>1</sup> A shorter version of this paper, originally presented at a joint meeting of the Charles Wesley Society and the MHSI at Edgehill College, Belfast, on 24 July 2015, was, by prior arrangement, published in the *Proceedings of the Charles Wesley Society*, Vol. 19, pp. 15–27.

<sup>2</sup> Élie Halévy, *A History of the English People in the Nineteenth Century*. Translated by E.I. Watkin (London: Ernest Benn, 1949–1952). The argument is summarized in Gordon Marshall, *A Dictionary of Sociology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998); see <<http://www.encyclopedia.com/doc/1O88-Halvythesis.html>>.

important strand of spiritual discernment that is still important in world Christianity today. Phenomenologists of religion will find much here that is not only intriguing, but also historically important as one places Charles into a stream of religious experience, and the structures that come to surround it, that has again become a centre piece of twenty-first century world Christianity.

But for many, and I include myself here, Charles is important on the level of the individual and that individual's grappling with the unknowns of human existence. Charles was very well-acquainted with the ups and downs of the Christian life, and while routinely able to pen some of the most magnificent words of confident praise to be found anywhere in Christian literature, he was also quite capable of some truly desolate ones almost on the level of 'my God, my God, why have you forsaken me?' In Charles, then, we have a figure of literary, historical and theological significance and the study of his writings can feed the mind, that is for sure. But we have here also someone who can speak to the heart. He repays study.

### Sources<sup>3</sup>

There have of course been many studies of Charles. Such works are principally concerned with Charles's poetic corpus, an important enough subject. Studies of Charles's life have, however, been held back rather by the lack of authoritative primary sources. A particular problem here has been the unhelpful editing of Charles's journal and letters by previous scholars who have rather struggled with Charles's place in the history of the origins of Methodism. Gareth Lloyd has documented this in great detail and I need not pick it up again here.<sup>4</sup> More recently a substantial number of Charles's prose materials have come into print and these have been used

<sup>3</sup> No attempt has been made here to analyse the poetic corpus of Charles as it relates to his time in Ireland, though it is evident that the period was one of considerable productivity, during which he arranged for the publication in Ireland of a number of collections that had previously been published in London. There was, however, one new publication: a volume with the title *Hymns and Sacred Poems*, which was published by Samuel Powell in the latter part of 1747 (See Figure 1 p. 124). This comprised some thirty-seven hymns drawn principally from the substantial collection, *Hymns and Sacred Poems*, 1739. For further information, texts and summary editorial introductions see the relevant entries <<https://divinity.duke.edu/initiatives-centers/cswt/wesley-texts/charles-wesley>>.

<sup>4</sup> See Gareth Lloyd, *Charles Wesley and the Struggle for Methodist Identity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

in this paper.<sup>5</sup>

One aspect of Charles's life that has not been all that well studied, however, relates to his time in Ireland, although some brief accounts do exist.<sup>6</sup> In comparison with his brother John, Charles's time in Ireland was relatively short, but, as we shall see here, the significance of the period Charles spent in Ireland outweighs its duration. He was in Ireland early in the story of Methodism's taking root and he was instrumental in stabilizing the fledgling movement at a time of considerable instability and external threat. What I aim to do in this study, therefore, is provide a fairly extensive outline of Charles's time in Ireland. There is doubtless a lot more that could be said, particularly as the 'journal letters' to which reference is made below become available. However, what I hope will be found below is a fairly extensive and accurate outline of a relatively unknown period in Charles's life sufficient to allow others to fill in the details. I have, of course, taken note of what can be found in published works on Charles that is illustrative of this period, but the focus is very much upon primary materials, quite a few of which are here brought to the surface for the first time. These can be divided into three principal categories.<sup>7</sup>

First, we have Charles's journal, herein referred to as *MSJ*. As we shall explore, Charles was in Ireland twice: the first time, between 9 September 1747<sup>8</sup> and 20 March 1748<sup>9</sup> and the second time, between

<sup>5</sup> Those published as of January 2016 include *The Sermons of the Revd. Charles Wesley: A Critical Edition with an Introduction and Notes* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); S.T. Kimbrough and Kenneth G.C. Newport, *The Journal of Charles Wesley MA*, 2 vols (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2008) [hereafter *MSJ*]; and Kenneth G.C. Newport and Gareth Lloyd, *The Letters of Charles Wesley: A Critical Edition with Introduction and Notes, Volume 1: 1728–1756* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013). Under preparation is Gareth Lloyd and Kenneth G.C. Newport, *The Letters of Charles Wesley: A Critical Edition with Introduction and Notes, Volume 2: 1757–1788* (forthcoming, Oxford University Press).

<sup>6</sup> Such includes Charles Henry Crookshank, *History of Methodism in Ireland*, 3 vols (Belfast: R.S. Allen, 1885–8). The most recent biography of Charles is that by Gary Best, *Charles Wesley: A Biography* (London: Epworth, 2006). The period covered by this paper is commented upon by Best in a few relatively brief paragraphs (see pp. 200–202, 205). What is probably the most familiar of the biographies of Charles, Fredrick C. Gill's *Charles Wesley: The First Methodist* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1964), covers the period in Ireland on pp. 126–9 and 132–3).

<sup>7</sup> All primary sources used in this paper are detailed in Appendix 1.

<sup>8</sup> *MSJ*, vol. 2, p. 506 indicates that Charles boarded for Ireland on 8 September 1747 and arrived the morning of the 9 September.

<sup>9</sup> *MSJ*, vol. 2, p. 526 indicates that Charles boarded for Holyhead on 20 March 1748 and arrived at 'the Head' on 21 March.

13 August<sup>10</sup> and 9 October 1748,<sup>11</sup> a total of 253 days. The journal has material from both of these periods and reasonably detailed accounts at that.

Second, we have a fairly significant number of letters. I have so far traced twenty-two of these, all of which are published in the first volume of *The Letters of Charles Wesley*.<sup>12</sup> What I have not done is to make a really concerted effort to trace any 'in' letters, that is, letters to Charles. A list of these has been compiled by John Lenton and other scholars may find further material here that would be of use in filling in this period of Charles's life and his contribution to the beginnings of Irish Methodism.

The third source I have used is of particular note. I am referring to a set of documents that are held in the John Rylands Library at the University of Manchester, a transcription of a sample, six of which have been appended to this article.<sup>13</sup> The genre of these documents is particularly interesting. They comprise a sub-group of a fairly extensive collection of Charles Wesley MSS often referred to as 'the journal letters'. These 'journal letters' have not to date been published and as such are the most substantial body of Charles Wesley's prose works left relatively inaccessible to the researcher, or at least that will be the case once volume two of *The Letters of Charles Wesley* is in print.<sup>14</sup> The complete collection of the journal letters is currently being edited by Richard P. Heitzenrater, and plans to bring them to print are announced on the inside cover of the *MSJ*. We should note that the importance of these journal letters is not uniform. While there is no space or need to provide a detailed breakdown, what is clear is that some contain relatively little material that is not already in print, most obviously in the *MSJ*. On the other hand there are others where there is new material, sometimes fairly extensive passages.

Seven of these journal letters relate to Charles's time in Ireland. I have

<sup>10</sup> *MSJ*, vol. 2, p. 535 indicates that Charles 'took boat in a very rough sea' on 13 August 1748 and arrived in Dublin Bay at 'nine'. From the entry for 14 August 1748 it appears that the 'nine' referred to on 13 August was nine in the evening.

<sup>11</sup> *MSJ*, vol. 2, p. 553 indicates that Charles boarded the boat on 8 October 1748, but that it did not set sail until 11am on 9 October.

<sup>12</sup> This count does not include the letter written in Holyhead on 10 October 1748, although some of what that letter contains relates to the boarding of the boat on the 9th; neither does it include the 'journal letters', which are discussed immediately below.

<sup>13</sup> MARC refs, DDCW 6/18, 6/22, 6/23, 6/19, 6/20 and 6/21.

<sup>14</sup> As noted further below, DDCW 6/1 was published by Tyson as a standalone in 1986 under the title 'Charles Wesley Evangelist: The Unpublished Newcastle Journal', *Methodist History* 27:1 (1986): 41–61.

listed all of these with some very brief notes in Appendix One below. While seven letters does not sound like a lot, a rough estimation is that together these comprise some 25,000 words. What is more, there are some substantial chunks of shorthand, which in my experience means that there is material here that is of particular interest in that it is likely to be somewhat sensitive. In preparing this paper I have taken the relevant journal letters into account, although there is doubtless a great deal more that could be said.

And so we begin our reconstruction.

### Early Work and 'The Call'

According to Crookshank, the origins of the Methodist work in Ireland can be traced back even as far as the Oxford days, for William Morgan, one of the original four members of the Holy Club, was himself an Irishman. The link is tenuous, however. Morgan died in 1732 and we know of no direct influence that he may have had upon his fellow countrymen or women. Morgan's brother Richard also came under the influence of John Wesley and was an early convert. Richard Morgan did return home and settled in Dublin, but again we know nothing further of his influence. Similarly, though Whitefield was in Ireland briefly in 1738 there is no traceable evidence of any legacy.

The story of Methodism in Ireland really starts in 1745 when Benjamin La Trobe, a Baptist, became the leader of a small group of religiously minded individuals that had formed in Dublin in response to the lay preaching of one whom Crookshank describes as a 'pious soldier'. It was this group that formed the nucleus of those to whom John Cennick ministered in 1746. Cennick had formerly been in the Methodist itinerancy, but by the time of his ministry in Ireland had become a Moravian.<sup>15</sup> They occupied a chapel in Skinner's Alley, a location that will feature later in this article.

In the summer of 1747 Thomas Williams, the first formal Methodist preacher to visit Ireland, arrived in Dublin and had soon secured what was the first Methodist preaching house.<sup>16</sup> It was located in Marlborough Street, a location to which we shall return below, for it became an important focal point of the early work and Charles preached there often. Williams's work

<sup>15</sup> On Cennick, see *Letters of Charles Wesley*, vol. 1, p. 430 and refs. Cennick had become a Moravian in 1745.

<sup>16</sup> On Williams see *Letters of Charles Wesley*, vol. 1, p. 451 and ref.

triggered the first visit of John Wesley, who arrived in Ireland on 9 August 1747. Soon thereafter, John wrote to Charles to request that he similarly make his way to Dublin.

No relevant letters from John to Charles are known to have survived from this period and Charles's own journal is very brief, but on 21 August he records: 'received a second summons from my brother, hastening me to Ireland'.<sup>17</sup> It would appear from the journal that Charles set off within a few days with Dublin in view. He departed the Foundery on 24 August, was in Oxford on 26 August, made his way to Buihth by 28th, in the vicinity of which he spent the next several days. From there he made his way north-west to Anglesey, which he reached by late on 4 September. His journal then records that he 'pushed on to Holyhead by seven in the morning, having been in the saddle twenty-five hours'.<sup>18</sup>

#### FIRST VISIT TO IRELAND (9 September 1747 to 20 March 1748)

##### *First stay in Dublin (9 September 1747 to 8 February 1748)*<sup>19</sup>

Charles embarked for Dublin from Holyhead around 10 in the morning of 8 September 1747. He was accompanied by Charles Perronet, the son of the better-known Vincent Perronet, Vicar of Shoreham in Kent, who appears to have been with Charles since 26 August.<sup>20</sup> The weather prevented sail, however, and it was not until the following day, and in an alternative vessel, that Charles's first visit to Ireland got properly underway.

His first day on Irish soil was an eventful one for it was here, in his own words, that he first heard the news 'that the little flock stands fast in the storm of persecution, which arose as soon as my brother left them. The Popish mob has broke open their room, and destroyed all before them'.<sup>21</sup> His later remarks for the same day are worth quoting at a little length as they give a flavour of what is to come. He writes:

<sup>17</sup> See *MSJ*, vol. 2, p. 503.

<sup>18</sup> See *MSJ*, vol. 2, p. 505.

<sup>19</sup> Principal primary sources: Journal Letters DDCW 6/18–21 and 6/88a (which begins 24 August 1747, but goes on to cover the period up to 29 December 1747).

<sup>20</sup> See Crookshank, *History of Methodism in Ireland*, vol. 1, p. 18; on Charles Perronet see *Letters of Charles Wesley*, vol. 1, p. 442 and refs. In the *MSJ* entry for 26 August, Charles notes that he 'left my old host at Oxford, Mr Evans, and stretched with Charles Perronet to Huntley, seven miles beyond Gloucester'.

<sup>21</sup> *MSJ*, vol. 2, p. 506.

God has called me to suffer affliction with his people. The Popish mob, encouraged and assisted by the Protestant, are so insolent and outrageous, that, whatever street we pass through, it is up in arms. The Mayor would assist us, but cannot. The Grand Jury have had the plainest evidence of the riot laid before them; that a mixed rabble of Papists and Protestants broke open our room, and four locks, and a warehouse, stealing or destroying the goods to a considerable value; beat and wounded several with clubs, etc., tore away the pulpit, benches, window cases, etc., and burnt them openly before the gate, swearing they would murder us all.<sup>22</sup>

As we carry on through his journal account we frequently hear of riotous mobs, comprised of both protestants and papists (Charles's words), bearing down upon the Methodist people with, it seems, unchecked licence. Charles indicates that his own life was in danger several times but that he was shielded and protected not only by the unseen hand, but also through the kindness of a number of individuals<sup>23</sup> and it was not until 30 October that he received the first physical blow.<sup>24</sup>

Charles remained in Dublin until 8 February, when he set out for Tyrrellspass.<sup>25</sup> We will pick up that trail later. Let us pause for a moment, however, to reflect a little further on this first period in Dublin.

Knowing what we do of Charles more widely, it is unsurprising to note from our sources the amount of time that Charles spent preaching. Explicit references to this activity are frequent, and this in the context of the published journal for this period being far from full (of the 152 days over which his first stay in Dublin extended, Charles has journal entries for only 53). For example, on the very first day, 9 September, Charles records that he 'began [his] ministry with "Comfort ye, comfort ye my people etc"', a clear reference to a sermon that he often preached which draws upon the words of Isa. 40:1.<sup>26</sup> The sermon itself is not known to have survived. Two days later, that is on 11 September, he preached both in the morning and in the evening, a pattern repeated on the 12th.<sup>27</sup> On 13 September Charles 'preached Christ crucified' at Oxmantown Green and then, after receiving

<sup>22</sup> *MSJ*, vol. 2, p. 506.

<sup>23</sup> See, for example, *MSJ* entry for 20 September.

<sup>24</sup> See *MSJ* entry for 30 October.

<sup>25</sup> See *MSJ* entry for 8 February.

<sup>26</sup> See *MSJ* entry for 9 September.

<sup>27</sup> See *MSJ* entry for 11 September.



the sacrament at St Patrick's later in the day, returned again to 'the Green' where, he says, he found 'thousands' assembled to hear the word. On this occasion he preached another of his favourite sermons, 'Is it nothing to you, all ye that pass by', which is taken from Lam. 1:12,<sup>28</sup> a sermon which, again, does not appear to have survived. This pattern of regular preaching is repeated over the course of this period generally. Indeed, on 1 November 1747 Charles notes in his diary that 'preaching five times is not more than twice a day, when the order of providence calls us to it'.<sup>29</sup> Further study of the journal letters would only add further to this picture. For example, a detail found in DDCW 6/88a is that on Sunday 18 October (a day missing altogether from the *MSJ*) Charles 'preached the gospel to the poor', while on Monday 2 November Charles 'preached Jesus, Saviour from Sin'. It would be easy enough to list other examples.

His sermons from this period are a fairly typical mix, including those that contain the central evangelical message of the call of Christ to repentance; for example his sermons on Isa. 55:1 ('Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters!'),<sup>30</sup> Matt. 11:28 ('Come unto me, all ye that are weary'),<sup>31</sup> and John 1:12 ('As many as receive him, to them gave he power').<sup>32</sup> The eschatological theme is not far away either, as we can see, for example, in his choice of sermon texts such as 1 Thess. 4:16, which contain what Charles calls those 'awful words', 'The Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and the trump of God'.<sup>33</sup> Similarly on 9 September he preached on 'The kingdom of heaven is at hand: repent ye, and believe the Gospel' (Mark 1:15),<sup>34</sup> and on 29 September he picked up on the words of Rev. 7:14, 'These are they that came out of great tribulation, and washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb'.<sup>35</sup> We can only speculate on the precise content of this last sermon. However, it is not unlikely, given Charles's experiences since landing in Dublin three weeks earlier, that he applied 'the great tribulation' to the present experiences of the faithful, experiences

<sup>28</sup> See *MSJ* entry for 13 September.

<sup>29</sup> See *MSJ* entry for 1 November.

<sup>30</sup> See *MSJ* entry for 20 September.

<sup>31</sup> See *MSJ* entry for 20 September.

<sup>32</sup> See *MSJ* entry for 19 December.

<sup>33</sup> See *MSJ* entry for 4 October.

<sup>34</sup> See *MSJ* entry for 9 September.

<sup>35</sup> See *MSJ* entry for 29 September.

from which they would emerge victorious as true followers of Christ – as did, a month later, Sr. Baker who 'departed [this life] bravely and took leave of her husband and children with calm joy; [and] expressed great satisfaction at having chosen to suffer affliction with the people of God'.<sup>36</sup>

It is clear from the sources that three particular locations in Dublin were central to Charles's preaching. The first was Oxmantown Green. This area, still known by this name in present-day Dublin, is located on the north side of the river Liffey. In Charles's day the area comprised a large open space, which makes Charles's reference to the gathering of a large crowd understandable.<sup>37</sup> Crookshank refers to the Green as a 'place of public resort, especially on the sabbaths, and on holy days'.<sup>38</sup> The second location is Marlborough Street, a street also on the north of the city which lies to the east of what is now O'Connell Street. As noted above, this was the location of the first Methodist preaching house in Ireland. According to Crookshank, the building was originally designed for a Lutheran church and could hold around 400, with considerably more space available in the yard.<sup>39</sup> It was this building that Charles visited on the very first day in Dublin to find it 'shattered' by the mob.<sup>40</sup> Charles preached here 'for the last time' on 31 October.<sup>41</sup>

The third place of note is the preaching house in Dolphin's Barn, a region of Dublin to the south of the city centre. John Wesley later pins this down to 'Cork Street', which can be located easily enough both in present-day Dublin and also on eighteenth-century maps. Charles himself was instrumental in acquiring the property and wrote to his brother John on the matter on 9 October. The MS of this letter is now lost, but Crookshank quotes from it.<sup>42</sup> The building had been a weaver's shop but was converted into a preaching house of some considerable size with accommodation in the rooms above. Charles was particularly pleased in that the property had the potential to provide considerably better lodgings than those he currently occupied, which were small indeed, being only two rooms for, at first, four, and then six, persons. Charles also refers to

<sup>36</sup> See *MSJ* entry for 31 October.

<sup>37</sup> See, for example, entry for 1 November in DDCW 6/21.

<sup>38</sup> Crookshank, *History of Methodism in Ireland*, vol. 1, p. 14.

<sup>39</sup> Crookshank, *History of Methodism in Ireland*, vol. 1, p. 14.

<sup>40</sup> See *MSJ* entry for 9 September.

<sup>41</sup> See *MSJ* entry for 31 October.

<sup>42</sup> *Letters of Charles Wesley*, vol. 1, pp. 136–7; Crookshank, *History of Methodism in Ireland*, vol. 1, p. 21.

the property in Dolphin's Barn in a letter to Ebenezer Blackwell written on 10 October stating that 'we have a very advantageous offer made us of a house and garden' saying that he has written to his brother about the matter and that likewise [Charles]<sup>43</sup> Perronet has written to his friends in an effort to secure the necessary funding. He asks Blackwell for £20 for the same purpose.<sup>44</sup> Blackwell evidently obliged, for in a letter of 2 February 1748 Charles thanks him for 'the bill' which he has just received.<sup>45</sup> It is evident from a reading of the later materials that 'the Barn' became a centre point of activity for the nascent Methodist movement in Dublin.

On Saturday 17 October, Charles says, he spent the day 'at the house we have purchased near Dolphin's Barn, writing and meditating. I could almost have set up my rest here; but must not look for rest on this side eternity'.<sup>46</sup> On 25 October, Charles '[o]pened our new house at Dolphin's Barn, by preaching to a great multitude within and without'.<sup>47</sup> The entry in the *MSJ* is fairly short, but DDCW 6/88a provides some further details. Charles walked to the house in the evening to find that 'Mr Perronet had given notice of my preaching there after evening service'. Charles himself would not have chosen 'to begin in the night and before our windows were secured by shutters', but was now compelled to do so given the crowd that had turned up to hear him. The people received his word 'with all readiness of mind', and Charles determined that 'this is the place that God hath chosen'.

Just how large 'the Barn' was is difficult to determine. In one of the journal letters Charles indicates that on 1 November some 3,000 people were assembled there. It is evident from the source, however, that here 'the Barn' does not refer only to the building, for the entry actually reads: 'I went from Church to the Green and from discoursing there half an hour hastened to Dolphin's Barn. Our garden, which held near 3000, was

<sup>43</sup> *Letters of Charles Wesley*, vol. 1, p. 137, which suggests that this is a reference to Vincent Perronet. Charles Perronet, who was with Charles Wesley at the time, seems more probable.

<sup>44</sup> *Letters of Charles Wesley*, vol. 1, p. 137.

<sup>45</sup> *Letters of Charles Wesley*, vol. 1, p. 149.

<sup>46</sup> See *MSJ* entry for 17 October. As further illustration of the potential value of the journal letters, we may note here that the corresponding entry in DDCW 6/88a adds a few more details relating to administration of the sacrament to a woman 'who had received the grace of our Lord and lost it through pride'. She had evidently fallen sick, for Charles trusts that this sickness will teach her not to blaspheme. Charles then says, perhaps a little more prosaically than the edited version in *MSJ*, 'I could almost have said "soul take thine rest" but I must not find rest in any garden except the garden of paradise'.

<sup>47</sup> See *MSJ* entry for 25 October.

almost full'.<sup>48</sup> Various sources give the details that the size of the weaver's shop floor was 42 x 24 feet.<sup>49</sup>

Excluding the journal materials referred to above, there are fourteen surviving letters from this first period in Dublin (and none from the period following this, prior to his return to Holyhead). All fourteen are published in *Letters* vol. 1, and we can use material from these to expand a little upon the outline that we have been able to piece together in the above. Collectively they tell a similar tale of considerable concern for wellbeing in the context of hostility. For example, Charles writes to Ebenezer Blackwell on 17 September of 'the little persecuted flock' that he has found in Dublin and the danger that they, and he, face.<sup>50</sup> A second letter of the same day is addressed to Sarah Gwynne Jnr.<sup>51</sup> This is an important letter for the simple reason that it is the first extant letter to Sarah, his future wife.<sup>52</sup> The text is fairly typical of Charles: the first two thirds comprise a pastiche of biblical allusion, expressing confidence in Sarah's salvation if she will but say 'Lord, if thou wilt, thou canst make me whole', a clear reference to Matt 8.2. But we also get here, as is so often the case in these materials, a sense of Charles's rather melancholic disposition. After expressing a hope that he will see Sarah sooner than expected, he then wonders if actually it might be better if he died there in Ireland, quoting a line which, he says, is continually in his thoughts: 'take the sad life w[hi]ch I have long disda[in]ed. Whe]ther I carry it a few days longer or now lay down my burden'. It was not all gloom however. In a letter to Mrs (Hannah) Dewal<sup>53</sup> written on 6 October, Charles first catalogues a series of persecutory attacks upon the Methodist people, but then refers to a speech made by the Lord Chief Baron who spoke of the same people very favourably and charged the mayor to protect them from violence, who whereupon prohibited the kicking of a football on the Green *while any were preaching*.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>48</sup> DDCW 6/21; this detail is missing from *MSJ*.

<sup>49</sup> See, for example, William Smith, *A Consecutive History of the Rise, Progress, and Present State of Wesleyan Methodism in Ireland* (Dublin: T.W. Doolittle, 1830), p. 12.

<sup>50</sup> *Letters of Charles Wesley*, vol. 1, pp. 132–3.

<sup>51</sup> *Letters of Charles Wesley*, vol. 1, pp. 133–4.

<sup>52</sup> This point was noted by Frank Baker as early as 1948, and for all the work on Charles's letters that has gone on since, the statement remains true; see Frank Baker, *Charles Wesley as Revealed by His Letters* (London: The Epworth Press, 1948), p. 45.

<sup>53</sup> Hannah Dewal (d. 1762) of Lewisham in Kent. See further *Letters of Charles Wesley*, vol. 1, p. 431.

<sup>54</sup> *Letters of Charles Wesley*, vol. 1, p. 136.

## CHARLES WESLEY'S FIRST VISIT TO IRELAND (1747–48)

Age 39–40 Duration seven months



Figure 2: Map of Charles Wesley's first visit to Ireland.

There are occasional hints in these dozen letters of other work. In December Charles writes to Blackwell, stating that 'we sent forth a preacher last week into the country about 40 miles from Dublin who sends us news that the Word runs very swiftly among them, & there is a promise of a glorious harvest'.<sup>55</sup> This may be a reference to Tyrrellspass, a location to which Charles was shortly to go.

The remainder of the letters are largely pastoral in nature and contain relatively sparse historical detail. They do, however, show Charles at work as a pastor to his circle of friends, reflecting on the death of Mrs Elizabeth Witham in one,<sup>56</sup> encouraging the faith of Sarah Gwynne in another,<sup>57</sup> and seeking to heal some apparent family tensions in a third.<sup>58</sup>

### *Tyrrellspass, Athlone, Tullamore and Back to Dublin (8–16 February 1748)*<sup>59</sup>

On Monday 8 February 1748,<sup>60</sup> Charles took horse for Tyrrellspass, a distance of about 50 miles west from Dublin.<sup>61</sup> The period from 8 to 15 February is covered in the *MSJ*, but the journal letter, DDCW 6/22, is substantially fuller and here we are following the narrative found in that source and the quotations below are taken from it.

Charles left Dublin early in the morning with 'B. Watts' and made his 'way to the Pass' via Kilcock<sup>62</sup> and Kinnegad.<sup>63</sup> Nearing the Pass he heard a young lad whistling 'one of our tunes'. 'He was a constant hearer of the word', says Charles, 'although a Roman, and joined with us in several hymns which he had by heart'. Around seven o'clock, Charles reached the

<sup>55</sup> *Letters of Charles Wesley*, vol. 1, p. 141.

<sup>56</sup> *Letters of Charles Wesley*, vol. 1, pp. 142–6.

<sup>57</sup> *Letters of Charles Wesley*, vol. 1, pp. 139–40.

<sup>58</sup> *Letters of Charles Wesley*, vol. 1, pp. 147–8.

<sup>59</sup> Principal primary source: Journal Letter DDCW 6/22.

<sup>60</sup> The dates given in the Journal Letter are incorrect when compared with the days of the week. See *MSJ*, vol. 2, p. 517 n. 4. They have been silently corrected here.

<sup>61</sup> The actual date is somewhat unclear in the *MSJ* as Charles dates it 'Monday Morning, February 9', which is in error if we presume that the day, Monday, is correct. In the journal letter that covers this period, he has dated it 'Monday February 12', which he has then corrected to 'Monday February 9'.

<sup>62</sup> A town about 20 miles west of Dublin.

<sup>63</sup> A town about 40 miles west of Dublin; Charles spells in 'Kennegad'.

house of Stephen Fouace,<sup>64</sup> where, despite a heavy cold and the counsel of his host, Charles took to preaching in response to the alarm that had been taken by 'the whole town' at the news of his arrival there.

As noted above, while Charles was in Dublin he had heard of the receptivity of the people further afield and the possibility of a 'glorious harvest'. His words in the journal letter (entry for 9 February 1748) give a sense of his optimism:

God has surely begun a great work among them. The people of Tyril's Pass were almost wicked almost to a proverb; swearing, drunkenness, Sabbath breaking, uncleanness<sup>65</sup> etc. reigned throughout the town, from time immemorial. But now the scene is entirely changed. Not an oath is heard, nor a drunkard seen, among them. But they are all (to one or two) turned from darkness to light and from the power of Satan unto God.<sup>66</sup> Near an *hundred* are already joined in a Society and following hard after the pardoning God.

I could not help asking in my heart 'who hath begotten me these?' – ~~but~~ my son Onesimus! – Who in time past was unprofitable but now profitable; who therefore departed for a season, that I we might receive him forever.<sup>67</sup>

Charles was ill overnight, but preached again the next morning before retiring back to bed. That afternoon he left Tyrrellspass on his way to Athlone, some 27 miles west, stopping off overnight at the house of Jonathan Handy<sup>68</sup> at Templemacateer.<sup>69</sup> The next day Charles and six

<sup>64</sup> This was incorrectly transcribed in *MSJ* as 'Mr Force'. In DDCW 6/22 the spelling is 'Fouce'. Crookshank identifies the person as 'Mr Stephen Fouace' (Crookshank, *History of Methodism in Ireland*, vol. 1, p. 25); a 'Mrs Fouace' is probably mentioned (the script is unclear) in a letter that Charles wrote to John dated 29 April 1749. See *Letters of Charles Wesley*, vol. 1, pp. 253–5.

<sup>65</sup> Charles has added this word in above the line.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. Acts 26:18.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. Philemon 1:11, 15.

<sup>68</sup> The reference to Jonathan (rather than the more recognizable name of Samuel) Handy is clear in the *MS*. Crookshank identifies Jonathan and the brother of Samuel (Crookshank, *History of Methodism in Ireland*, vol. 1, p. 24). Samuel was an early supporter of the Methodist cause who offered his house in Collalough as a base from which the early Methodist preachers in the region might work.

<sup>69</sup> Templemacateer is in Co. Westmeath roughly 10 miles from Tyrrellspass.

companions<sup>70</sup> rode mostly abreast (the road was so good he says) all the way to Athlone. The journey was not without considerable danger. A short distance from town they were attacked. Charles was struck with a stone that took his breath away, but it was Healy who took the hardest blow, being knocked off his horse with a stone and struck on the face with a club. Summarizing the detail provided by Charles, it seems that the attack was launched by four 'ruffians' (as he calls them) and was stopped only by the intervention of other locals, one of whom drove a pitchfork into the shoulder of an attacker. One was chased into a bog, captured and handed over to the high constable, who soon after let him go. Both the *MSJ* and the journal letter provide a fairly full account of the fracas, including the detail that the man who had struck J. Healy was the servant of the Revd. John Farrell (c. 1696–1753), priest of St Mary's Church, Athlone.

As ferocious as this attack was it is clear that it was not sanctioned by the authorities: quite the opposite. On arriving in Athlone, Charles learned that a guard had been organised for them but that due to their earlier than expected arrival had not met them on the way. He also states that the people of the town expressed their 'great indignation' at the way that they had been treated. Similarly, a detail that Charles leaves out of *MSJ* but is found in the journal letter is that he was advised to preach in the barracks for the sake of his safety. He did not take up the invitation, however, but instead went to the market house 'in which Mr W[ade] had preached last week for the first time'.<sup>71</sup> He estimates that he had a congregation of 3,000 (lowered to 2,000 in *MSJ*) to whom he expounded the gospel for above an hour.

Charles's stay in Athlone was very brief. He left the next day. Before departing he had his back bathed in brandy. The company was escorted by soldiers and they stopped off at the place where they had been attacked to sing a hymn of 'triumph and praise' for the victory God had wrought. Riding slowly due to John Healy's wounds, they made for Moate, a town

<sup>70</sup> As the subsequent narrative in the journal letter makes clear, the six included Samuel Handy, John Healy, Stephen Fouace; Charles was also almost certainly still in the company of B. Watts and, we may presume, Charles Perronet. The sixth member of the group is a 'Mr. W', who had visited Charles together with J. Haughton the day before and was evidently still with him. This is likely Mr Wade of Aughrim who is mentioned later in the *MSJ* (vol. 2, pp. 551–2). See also Crookshank, *History of Methodism in Ireland*, vol. 1, pp. 34, 43, 50, who gives a little biographical detail.

<sup>71</sup> This detail is omitted from the *MSJ*.



in county Westmeath about 11 miles east of Athlone. John Haughton<sup>72</sup> had preached there the previous week, says Charles. Charles preached in Moate on 'this is the faithful saying and worthy of etc'.<sup>73</sup> Charles refers to around 1,000 being present, mostly attentive, though a few stones flew and a drum beat to cause disturbance. The night was spent at Mr [Jonathan] Handy's back in Templemacateer.

On Thursday 11 February Charles was back in Tyrrellspass, where he seems to have stayed only briefly, setting off the next day for Samuel Handy's, visiting Templemacateer again and then, Saturday 13 February arriving in Tullamore. There is little in the *MSJ* covering this brief stay, but the journal letter provides some sketchy details. Charles preached on Hosea 13.9: 'O Israel, thou has destroyed thyself but in me is thy help'. It is evident that there were already Methodist people in Tullamore since Charles stayed with two of them half a mile or so out of town. The next day he went to 'Philipstown' (present-day Daingean), where he explained the prodigal son to about 2,000. From there he returned to Tyrrellspass, at which point the journal letter ends. However, picking up the *MSJ* we can note that on Tuesday 16 February Charles wrote that he 'came to Dublin, half dead with the rain and the snow'.<sup>74</sup>

#### *Second stay in Dublin (16 February–20 March 1748)*<sup>75</sup>

Charles remained in Dublin from 16 February until 20 March when he left for Holyhead, landing on the 21st. The only source available for this period is the *MSJ*, which has entries 22 of the 34 days. Some of these entries are themselves only very brief, and all we can piece together is a continuation of the familiar narrative of activity. Charles was preaching most days. A Baptist chapel located in Skinner's Alley,<sup>76</sup> which had been

<sup>72</sup> John Haughton (d. 1781) was a close associate of the Wesleys who entered the itinerancy in 1741 and became one of the 'chief local preachers'. He spent a good deal of his time in Ireland before leaving the itinerancy in 1760 and becoming an ordained Anglican priest. See further *Letters of Charles Wesley*, vol. 1, p. 436 and refs.

<sup>73</sup> Cf. 1 Tim. 1.15. Charles will have known these words well. They are among the 'comfortable words' used as part of the invitation to communion in the 1662 *Book of Common Prayer*.

<sup>74</sup> *MSJ*, vol. 2, p. 522.

<sup>75</sup> Principal primary source: *MSJ*.

<sup>76</sup> A street which, in Charles's day, was south of the river running between what was then Lower Coombe and Newmarket [Square]; now situated between present-day Brabazon street and Newmarket Street.

used by John Cennick and the first Moravians in Dublin, had recently come into the hands of the Methodists, who, it seems, had offered the Baptists a higher rent for the property than had the Moravians.<sup>77</sup> Crookshank suggests that Charles preached there too, though reference to it in Charles's sources appears to be lacking.<sup>78</sup> Charles does, however, mention 'Ship Street', where he preached on 14 March. 'Little Ship Street' and 'Great Ship Street' are easily located in present-day Dublin, and can also be found on eighteenth-century maps of the city. However, it is not clear where precisely in Ship Street Charles preached.

Another aspect of Charles's ministry that we may comment on is his visiting prisoners in Newgate prison. This would have been the original Newgate prison in Dublin, located at the western boundary (hence 'gate') of Dublin. A prison had been on this site since at least 1188. The later prison located in Green Street, to the north of the river, was not built until 1773–1781 and hence was not the one known to Charles.

There are several references to this aspect of his ministry in the *MSJ* peppered throughout Charles's time in Dublin. We can pick up just one of those threads here. On Monday 22 February he visited a woman who had been condemned to death by burning for forgery. He visited her again on the Wednesday, Thursday, Friday and Saturday of the same week. On the Monday Charles sent 'a brother' to her and learned that she had received a pardon. Contrary to what we might think, however, Charles was not entirely overjoyed by the news. She had found salvation over the course of the last week and he feared that now the threat of imminent death was lifted 'it might stop the work of God in her'. We hear no more of the case.

On 8 March John Wesley arrived in Ireland and made his way to 'Cork Street', which, he says, 'is vulgarly called Dolphin's Barn lane'.<sup>79</sup> Here he found Charles meeting the society which was such a noisy affair with people shouting and praising God that it was some time before John's voice was heard. On 13 March John records that Charles preached twice, expecting to be sailing that night, but that the wind turned against them

<sup>77</sup> Sean J. Murphy, ed. *Memorial Inscriptions from the Moravian Cemetery, Whitechurch, County Dublin* (Bray, Co. Wicklow, 2012), p. 5. <<http://homepage.eircom.net/~seanjmurphy/epubs/moravian.pdf>>.

<sup>78</sup> See Crookshank, *History of Methodism in Ireland*, vol. 1, p. 29; D.A. Levistone Cooney, 'The Methodist Chapels of Dublin', *Dublin Historical Record* 57(2) (2004): 152–63. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/30101499>>.

<sup>79</sup> W. Reginald Ward and Richard P. Heitzenrater, eds, *The Works of John Wesley: Journals and Diaries. Vol. 20* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1991), p. 213.

and kept Charles in Dublin for another full week. These details are echoed in the *MSJ*. Charles left Dublin on Sunday 20 March, together with John Haughton.

### Summary

We can sum up this first visit of Charles on to Irish soil as being a period during which he continued in Dublin the form and content of what had become his regular pattern back in England and Wales, albeit in rather more hostile context. Even here, however, we should not overstate things. Early Methodist experiences in, for example, Wednesbury, were not dissimilar.<sup>80</sup> The Dublin of the time was clearly riven and this showed up in the religious divide. It would be wrong, however, to see Charles's experience simply as part of any wider Catholic–Protestant tension. Both 'papists' (as Charles calls them) and Protestants could equally well turn against the work of the Methodists and Charles often has them lumped together in his accounts.

There were highlights, however. Charles was largely responsible for the acquisition of the preaching house in Dolphin's Barn, which was to provide the Methodist people with a geographical focus. It is plain, too, from the first-hand accounts that Charles's work was effective, at least to some degree. It is interesting that in one case Charles downgrades his estimate of hearers from 3,000 in the Journal Letter to 2,000 in the *MSJ*, which suggests that he is seeking to get somewhere near to a realistic estimate even if in the end he was still rather optimistic in his counting. One only has to read these materials, however, to be struck by the constant refrain of sinners coming to repentance, tears being shed at the news of Christ's self-sacrifice, individuals being encouraged in their work and the first roots of Methodism being set down, all supported by the beginnings of an organised structure. The taking of the sacrament at St Patrick's is also noticeable both here and in the later materials; nothing surprising about that. The picture is in fact completely in keeping with what we know of Charles more generally. Here, too, this Church-Methodist goes about the business of preaching, teaching, exhorting, comforting and encouraging. And, of course, travelling.

<sup>80</sup> See for example *MSJ*, vol. 2, pp. 375–6; 383–4.

## SECOND VISIT TO IRELAND (13 August 1748 to 8 October 1748)<sup>81</sup>

### *First stay in Dublin (13 August 1748 to 17 August 1748)*

Charles's second visit to Ireland began on 13 August 1748 when he arrived in Dublin Bay following a rough crossing:

**Saturday, August 13 1748.** Took boat in a very rough sea, which washed us thoroughly, while toiling to come up with the vessel. At eleven we set sail. God sent us a wind out of his treasury, the fairest we could have, which by nine brought us smoothly and safely into Dublin Bay.<sup>82</sup>

Over the course of the next four days Charles is found going about his now familiar business in familiar locations. On 14 August he goes to the preaching room at five in morning (such early services being reinstated by John)<sup>83</sup> providing a word of exhortation before attending communion at St Patrick's, together with his brother.

Charles notes in his journal that he lodged with Mr William Lunell. This is the first mention of Lunell in the primary sources that have been used in this reconstruction of Charles's visits to Ireland, but we know from other sources that he was one of the very first Methodist converts in Dublin, probably a convert of the Methodist preacher Thomas Williams, who has been mentioned above.<sup>84</sup> Crookshank provides some details, indicating that Lunell was from a wealthy Huguenot family and that he enjoyed some status in the city, which was of benefit to the early Methodist cause. Baker indicates that Lunell's home was 'half a mile south-west of Trinity College'.<sup>85</sup>

<sup>81</sup> Principal primary sources *MSJ*, vol. 2, p. 535–5 and Journal letter DDCW 6/23.

<sup>82</sup> *MSJ*, vol. 2, p. 535.

<sup>83</sup> Ward and Heitzenrater, eds, *The Works of John Wesley*, Vol. 20, p. 213.

<sup>84</sup> Crookshank, *History of Methodism in Ireland*, vol. 1, p. 14.

<sup>85</sup> Crookshank, *History of Methodism in Ireland*, vol. 1, p. 15. See further Frank Baker, ed. *The Works of John Wesley: Letters*, vol. 26 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), p. 256 n. 14. See also sketch of Lunell's home, 15 Francis Street, Dublin, Figure 6, p. 154.

## CHARLES WESLEY'S SECOND VISIT TO IRELAND (1748)

Age 40 Duration eight weeks



Figure 3: Map of Charles Wesley's second visit to Ireland.

*Cork (17 August 1748 to 27 September 1748)*<sup>86</sup>

After just three full days in Dublin, on 17 August 1748, Charles set out for Cork, a trip which was to last until his return to Dublin on 27 September. His decision to go to Cork is unsurprising. Earlier in the year, while still back in England, he wrote in his journal, 'Received letters from Cork loudly calling me thither. My heart was at once made willing, and I had my commission'.<sup>87</sup> The principal source available for this period is the *MSJ* plus four letters: one each to Blackwell and Lunell and two to Sarah Gwynne. Given the easy access that is available to these sources, only a few key points to help keep the narrative continuous are necessary here.

Charles journeyed to Cork via Tyrrellspass, Ballyboy,<sup>88</sup> Roscrea<sup>89</sup> and Cashel,<sup>90</sup> arriving in Cork on the evening of August 20. The next day he preached to a large congregation on 'the Marsh'. This is a reference to Hammond's Marsh, an area which lay just outside the city walls on the banks of the River Lee. Four years later it became the site of a Methodist chapel.<sup>91</sup> As one reads through the *MSJ* one is struck by the positive tone and the relative lack of opposition reported upon. Indeed, Charles notes that he has clergy as well as lay people among his hearers and, he reports, 'the chief persons of the town favour us'.<sup>92</sup> In Passage, a location about five miles from Cork,<sup>93</sup> he met with a justice who told Charles that word had been sent to a Roman priest that should he forbid the people to hear Charles's words, the priest's 'mass-house' would be shut up and he would be jailed for at least a year.

Charles is clearly enjoying the liberty to preach openly, and throughout this period makes only passing references to what appear to be relatively

<sup>86</sup> Principal primary sources: *MSJ*, vol. 2, pp. 536–553; DDCW 1.17a (*Letters of Charles Wesley* 1.160–161); DDCW 7.48 (*Letters of Charles Wesley*, vol. 1, p. 161–162); DDCW 1.18 (*Letters of Charles Wesley*, vol. 1, p. 162–163); DDCW 7.49 (*Letters of Charles Wesley*, vol. 1, p. 163–165).

<sup>87</sup> *MSJ*, vol. 2, p. 532 (24 July 1748).

<sup>88</sup> Ballyboy, Co. Offaly, about 25 miles from Tyrrellspass.

<sup>89</sup> Roscrea, Co. Tipperary, about 28 miles from Offaly.

<sup>90</sup> Cashel, Co. Tipperary, about 30 miles from Roscrea.

<sup>91</sup> Wesley Chapel, Hammond's Marsh was built in 1752. John Wesley preached in it during his first visit to the city in 1756. (Crookshank, *History of Methodism in Ireland*, vol. 1, p. 109).

<sup>92</sup> *MSJ*, vol. 2, p. 537 (22 August 1748).

<sup>93</sup> This is now 'Passage West' (Crookshank, *History of Methodism in Ireland*, vol. 1, p. 38).

minor scuffles.<sup>94</sup> On 30 August Charles went to Rathcormack, a town about 20 miles from Cork. Here he was offered a church in which to preach, but decided to preach elsewhere, thinking it more likely that ‘papists’ would hear him in the open, whereas they would be less likely to enter a protestant church. The next several days provide a by now familiar account of Charles preaching, usually at the Marsh. Even allowing for some exaggeration, the numbers that are congregating appear substantial – Charles talks of thousands (ten thousand on one occasion).<sup>95</sup> As he had done in Dublin at Newgate (see p. 141), in Cork also he visited the South Gate prison where he spoke on the text ‘What must I do to be saved?’ and made a collection for the prisoners.<sup>96</sup> There are travels to other places round about: to the Protestant walled-town of Bandon, 15 or so miles to the south-west,<sup>97</sup> to Kinsale, about 12 miles to the south,<sup>98</sup> to Midleton, some 15 miles to the east,<sup>99</sup> and to Youghal, another 15 or so miles further on.<sup>100</sup> In Bandon and Kinsale, in particular, he was repeatedly asked to return and his visits helped to consolidate the movement in these towns.

Charles left Cork on 19 September and headed for Dublin accompanied by Robert Swindells.<sup>101</sup> The trip back takes in Cashel, Templemore,<sup>102</sup> Roscrea, Mountmellick,<sup>103</sup> Birr,<sup>104</sup> Aughrim and Athlone. At some point Robert Swindells leaves Charles’s company and, says Charles, ‘I rode on alone, yet not alone’.<sup>105</sup> On 27 September he arrives back in Dublin. There is little more that we can say about this period for sources are scarce and brief. What is striking, however, is the contrast with Dublin with respect to the broad context of Charles work. There is little to

<sup>94</sup> See, for example, 27 August (*MSJ*, vol. 2, p. 539) and September 6 (*MSJ*, vol. 2, p. 546).

<sup>95</sup> See 18 September (*MSJ*, vol. 2, p. 550).

<sup>96</sup> See 10 September (*MSJ*, vol. 2, p. 547), and Figure 6, p. 155.

<sup>97</sup> See 5 September (*MSJ*, vol. 2, p. 544).

<sup>98</sup> See 6 September (*MSJ*, vol. 2, p. 545).

<sup>99</sup> See 15 September (*MSJ*, vol. 2, p. 549).

<sup>100</sup> See 15 September (*MSJ*, vol. 2, p. 549).

<sup>101</sup> Robert Swindells (d. 1782) entered the itinerancy in 1742 and accompanied John, as well as Charles Wesley, during trips to Ireland. See further *Letters of Charles Wesley*, vol. 1, p. 445 and refs.

<sup>102</sup> A town in Co. Tipperary about 20 miles to the North of Cashel.

<sup>103</sup> A town in Co. Laois about 35 miles to the north-east of Templemore and 55 miles south-west of Dublin.

<sup>104</sup> A town in Co. Offaly about 12 miles to the north of Roscrea.

<sup>105</sup> 27 September (*MSJ*, vol. 2, p. 553).

suggest that the level of opposition in Cork or surrounds was on the scale reported by Charles in the context of the first Dublin stay or in Athlone.

*Second stay in Dublin (27 September 1748 to 10 October 1748)*<sup>106</sup>

From 28 September 1748 our story can continue by switching to the journal letter to which reference has been made above. It is the only one of such letters that relates to this second period in Ireland. The source is considerably fuller than the *MSJ* for the period. Frequent mention of this literary relationship between the *MSJ* and the Journal Letters has been made above. One example of how this relates to this particular source will suffice:

<i>MSJ</i>	Journal Letter
<p>Tuesday, September 27. Found much life in applying those words, “Behold, I stand at the door, and knock” [Rev. 3:20].</p> <p>Took horse for Dublin.</p> <p>Young Mr Wade accompanied me three or four miles. His mother died last week in peace. He is swiftly following her, through the last stage of a consumption; has not yet attained,</p> <p>but knows he shall not depart till his eyes have seen His salvation I commended him to the Lord Jesus, and appointed to meet him next in paradise.</p> <p>I rode on alone, yet not alone. My noon hour of prayer refreshed my spirit. My absent friends were never less absent. Came before night to Dublin.</p>	<p>Tuesday, September 27. Found much life among them, while I applied those words, ‘Behold, I stand at the door, and knock’ etc. The first were become last. But I leave them with a comfortable hope that they will become first again’.</p> <p>I would have took horse immediately, but my beast was not forthcoming. Waited some time and then set out on foot with my bags and gown. The horse was strayed (as I supposed) &amp; therefore resolved to walk as much of the 40 miles to Dublin as I could today and the rest tomorrow. Mr Dean of Philip’s Town lately became a brother through faith in Xt [and] would not suffer me to pursue my journey with such an equipage and forc[e]d his horse upon me, going home himself on foot. Young Mr Wade bore me company 3 or 4 miles; his mother died last week in peace. He is swiftly following her through the last stage of a consumption; has not yet received the atonement, but cannot doubt the faithful mercies of his saviour. He knows he shall not depart till his eyes have seen his salvation. I commended him to the Lord Jesus, and appointed to meet him in paradise. I rode on alone, yet not alone. The noon hour of prayer was very refreshing to my soul. My absent friends were never less absent. Soon after 7 I came safe to Dublin.</p>

<sup>106</sup> Principal primary source DDCW 6/23.



This difference noted, there is still relatively little information that can be gleaned relating to these last few days of Charles's sojourn. He has lodgings on 'the Quay', though he spends at least one night at Mr Lunell's. The days are punctuated by thwarted attempts to make the crossing back to Holyhead, and his normal round of preaching, prayer, and individual and group meetings with members of the society. We do not hear of any visits to the prison or, unlike during his time in Cork, time spent with officials, ecclesiastical or civil.

On 28 September Charles is back in 'the garden', which is a reference to Dolphin's Barn. It appears that his intention had been to leave Ireland on 29 September but he was prevented from doing so by the weather. The preaching continues, though on Sunday 2 October, says Charles, 'never with less life', a detail he omits from the *MSJ* where the account is typically upbeat. Charles's note on a 'Mr Balier' may give us a sense of some of the tensions that the Methodist work is promoting on a very individual level. This gentleman, says Charles, was 'resolved to fight his way to heaven, through wife, relations and every friend he has in the world', which is another detail omitted from the *MSJ*.

It is evident that Charles is engaged in a concerted effort to make his way back to Holyhead. As we have seen, he had planned to leave on 29 September, but was prevented from doing so by the weather. On 3 October he notes 'I had appointed yesterday for embarking, but a fair wind prevents me by keeping all paquets on the other side'. On 4 October he remarks again that the 'wind continued fair, which kept me prisoner'.

On 7 October Charles makes reference to 'Mr Lampe' and his wife visiting him. Charles notes that he has not given up hope that Mr Lampe and his wife 'are designed for better things than feeding swine or entertaining the gay world'. This strongly suggests that the reference is to John Frederick Lampe (1702/3–1751), who wrote a number of tunes to accompany Charles's hymns.

Charles finally leaves Dublin on the evening of Saturday 8 October 1748, or, more precisely, the morning of Sunday 9 October since, although Charles had embarked several hours before, the boat was unable to set sail until then. It was a difficult passage, says Charles, during which he was 'called to account for a bit of cake' he had eaten. More serious still was the breaking of the mainsail, which flew overboard taking the master of the boat with it who 'from that moment was neither seen nor heard more'. Charles's recurrent death wish surfaces: why was it not he 'rather than that poor soul so hurried into eternity without a moment's notice'. Such

notwithstanding, Charles reached harbour round ten in the evening and by eleven was at his lodgings. He was not to return to Ireland again.

### Conclusion

What, then, can we say about Charles's two visits to Ireland? I think three summary points, in brief.

First, that compared with John, who visited Ireland some twenty-one times, Charles's time in Ireland was relatively brief. However, infrequency should not be confused with influence, particularly so given that Charles was in Ireland during a particularly formative period. Irish Methodism had barely taken its first breath when he arrived in the context of riot and public upheaval. As we follow him through his journal and letters, we see Charles seeking to calm some troubled waters and, in particular, to find a secure base, which he did at Dolphin's Barn. His accounts of his trips to Athlone and to Cork (among other places) similarly give us a first-hand insight into the progress of this new movement and, together with the materials from John, provide us with a sense of how the early work took root.

Second, that as far as Charles himself is concerned we can now fill in a part of his life that has been dealt with only relatively briefly in the secondary literature. It is clear that there is a good deal of material here that could very usefully be used to reconstruct the facts and figures of Charles's visits. But there is more. At the time of his visits Charles is at the start of his relationship with Sarah Gwynne, whom he will marry not too long afterwards. This is an important and emotional time for him and one during which he must have been thinking through the future with particular focus.

Third, that there is more to be said. In this paper I have accessed quite a lot of the primary sources, pulled together much of what is available in print and throughout sought to illustrate how a full study of the journal letters from this period may well provide further detail. As has been noted, in some places these materials add relatively little to what we can get from the *MSJ*; but in other cases there is promise of a good deal more. That said, the above narrative framework seems secure and able to provide others with at least a starting point, if any wish to have such, for further work. In the wider context of Charles Wesley studies the above has at least added a little to what we know of this man. For historians of Methodism in Ireland, however, the work that has been presented here may be of a more comparative value. In reconstructing these periods of Charles's

life, persons, places and events have been mentioned and, as has been emphasised, the period studied here is a formative one in the context of the birth of Methodism in Ireland. Others may wish to follow some of the leads that have hopefully been given.

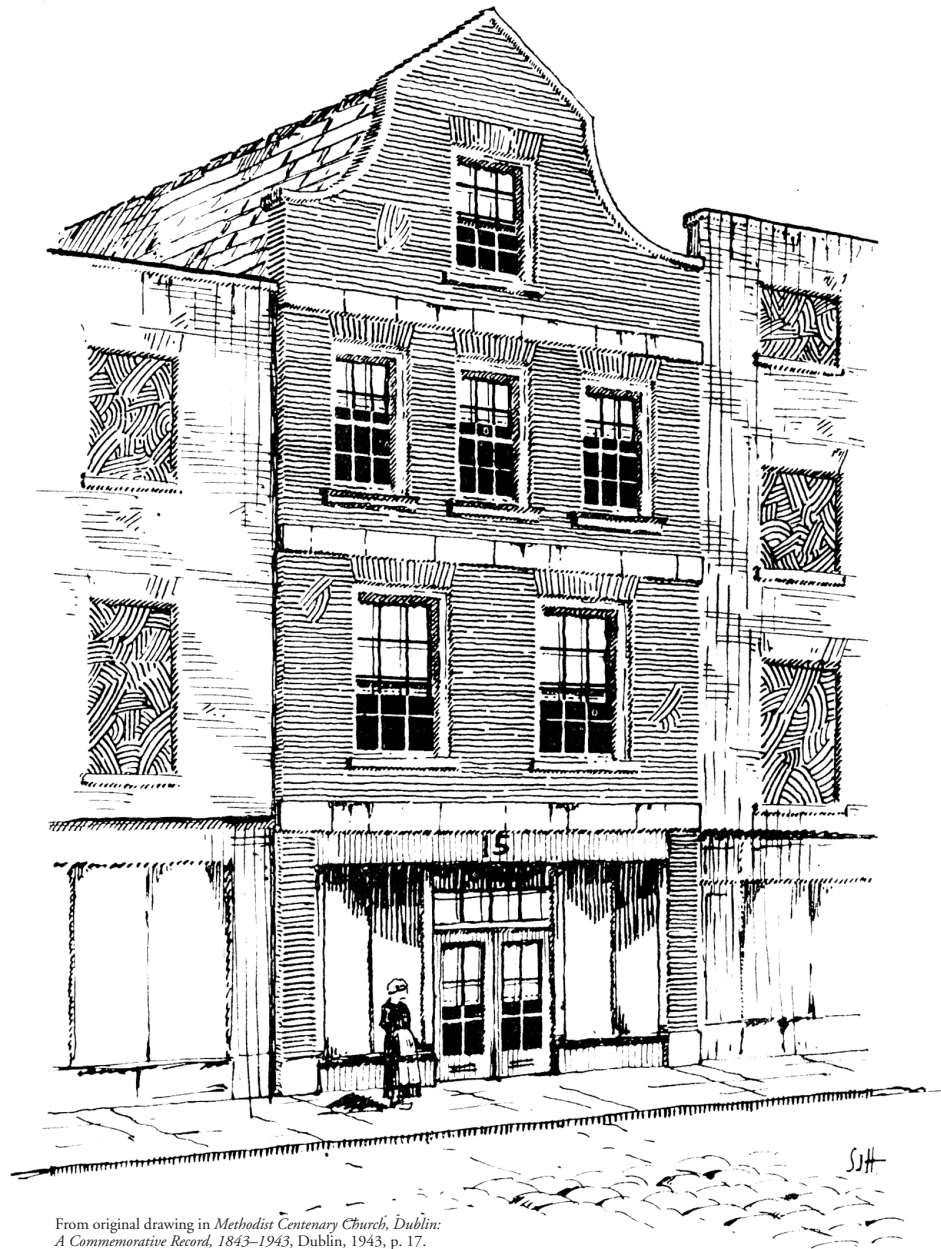
### Appendix One: Primary Sources Located

Source Type	Reference	Date(s)	Year	Place	Notes
Journal	DDCW 10/2	Various	1747/8	N/A	<i>MSJ</i> Covers whole period.
Journal Letter	DDCW 6/88a	Aug. 24– Jan. 2	1747/8	Dublin	Substantial MS probably containing in the region of 10,000 words. Includes some shorthand (the first passage in which predates CW's arrival in Dublin).
Journal Letter	DDCW 6/18	Sept. 21–29	1747	Dublin	MS of c. 1500 words. Transcribed below.
Journal Letter	DDCW 6/19	Sept. 29– Oct. 10	1747	Dublin	MS of c. 2500 words. Postmarked October 13. Addressed to Mrs Lewin at the Foundery. Annotated by John Wesley 'Journal fr Sept 29. To Oct. 10 / ad. Oct. 20 in Dublin'.* Contains some shorthand passages.
Journal Letter	DDCW 6/20	Oct. 20–27	1747	Dublin	MS of c. 1500 words plus an appended letter to John written substantially in shorthand. The letter is in Baker, <i>Letters</i> 26.266–268. Postmarked Oc. 29 and addressed to Mrs Lewin at the Foundery.
Journal Letter	DDCW 6/21	Oct. 28– Nov. 6	1747	Dublin	MS of c. 1200 words. Substantial overlap with <i>MSJ</i> for about 50% of the letter. New material mainly in second part and completely new for Nov 3–6.
Letter	See Letters 1	Sept. 17	1747	Dublin	To Mr Ebenezer Blackwell
Letter	DDCW 5/2	Sept. 17	1747	Dublin	To Sarah Gwynne
Letter	See Letters 1	Oct.	1747	Dublin	To Sally Witham
Letter	DDCW 6/88a	Oct. 6	1747	Dublin	To Mrs Dewal; this is a letter copied out by Charles into this section of the Journal. See <i>Letters</i> 1.135–136.
Letter	See Letters 1	Oct. 9	1747	Dublin	To John Wesley
Letter	See Letters 1	Oct. 10	1747	Dublin	To Ebenezer Blackwell
Letter	See Letters 1	Oct. 29	1747	Dublin	To Ebenezer Blackwell
Letter	DDCW 5/4	Nov.	1747	Dublin	To Sarah Gwynne
Letter	DDCW 5/3	Nov. 17	1747	Dublin	To Sarah Gwynne
Letter	DDCW 5/11	Dec. 15	1747	Dublin	To Ebenezer Blackwell
Letter	DDCW 1/16	Dec. 18	1747	Dublin	To Thomas Witham
Letter	DDCW 1/16a	Dec. 22	1747	Dublin	To Thomas Hardwick
Letter	DDCW 1/84	Dec. 24	1747	Dublin	To Sarah Gwynne
Journal Letter	DDCW 6/22	Feb. [7]–15	1748	Dublin	MS of c. 3000 words. Substantial new material for the period covered by <i>MSJ</i> . Transcribed below.
Letter	See <i>Letters</i> 1.149	Feb. 2	1748	Dublin	To Ebenezer Blackwell
Letter	See <i>Letters</i> 1.159	Aug. ?	1748	[Ireland]	To William Holland
Letter	DDCW 5/5	Aug. 13	1748	Holyhead	To Sarah Gwynne
Letter	DDCW 1/17a	Aug. 21	1748	Cork	To William Lunnell
Letter	DDCW 7/48	Sept.	1748	Ireland	To Sarah Gwynne
Letter	DDCW 1/18	Sept. 6	1748	Kinsale	To Ebenezer Blackwell
Letter	DDCW 7/49	Sept. 17	1748	C[ork]	To Sarah Gwynne
Journal Letter	DDCW 6/23	Sept. 26 ff	1748	Unclear	MS of c. 1500 words. Transcribed below.

\* See Baker, *The Works of John Wesley: Letters*, vol. 26, p. 266.







From original drawing in *Methodist Centenary Church, Dublin: A Commemorative Record, 1843–1943*, Dublin, 1943, p. 17.

Figure 6: William Lunell's house, 15 Francis Street.

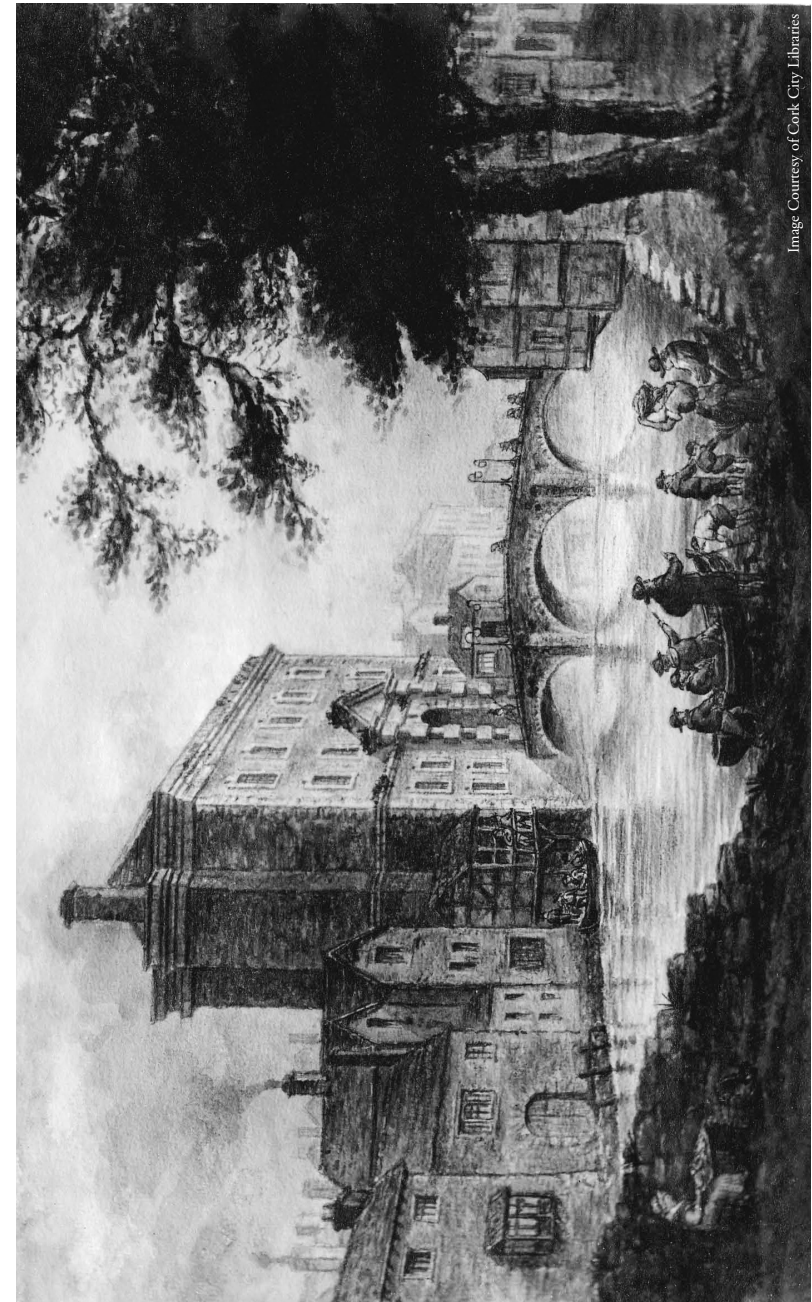


Image Courtesy of Cork City Libraries

Figure 7: South Gate Bridge and Prison, Cork.



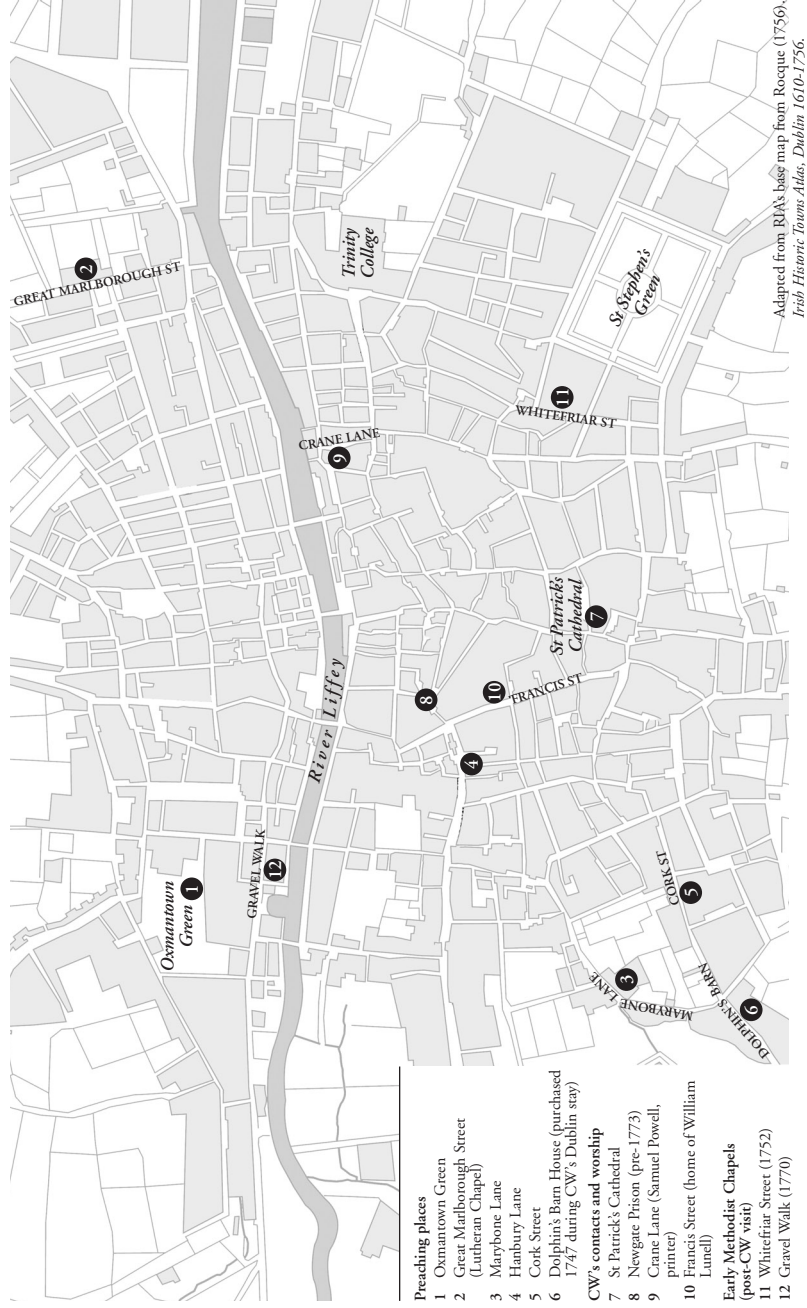


Figure 8: Charles Wesley's Dublin with preaching places and centres of contact.

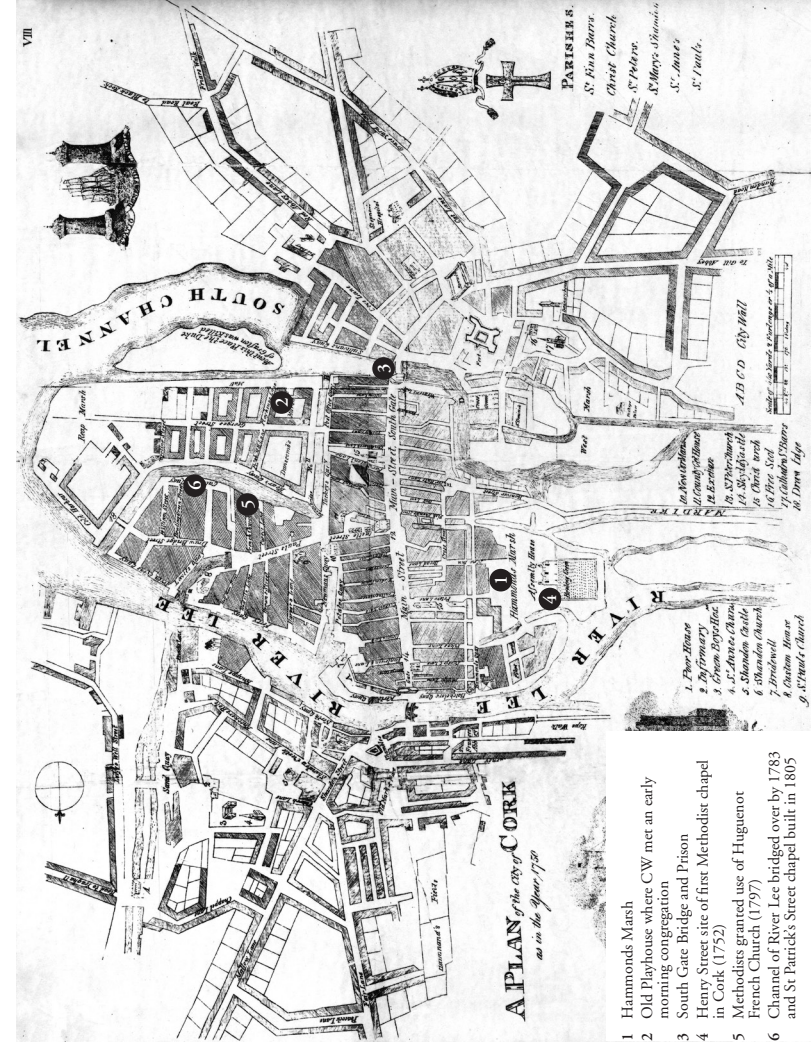


Figure 9: Charles Wesley's Cork.

Image Courtesy of Cork City Libraries

## Appendix Two: Text of Sample Charles Wesley Journal Letters

The transcription of the journal letters from Charles Wesley printed below have been made directly from the MSS held at the John Rylands University Library of Manchester (Ref. MARC DDCW 6/18, 6/22 and 6/23). They are reproduced with permission. The journal letters published here are examples from a collection of such letters held in the Rylands. As can be noted easily enough by making the comparison, the text of these journal letters differs fairly significantly with the corresponding passages in Charles's manuscript journal and this is a feature of the other journal letters also. While these transcriptions illustrate the text-critical point relative to these particular items, they are also designed to draw attention to the phenomenon as it pertains to all such journal letters, some of which are considerably more detailed than their corresponding sections in the *MSJ*.<sup>107</sup> What appears to have happened is that Charles himself used the material now found in DDCW 6 (and many other such items that appear now to have been lost) in the compilation of his 'Journal Extract', as he himself titles DDCW 10/2. The principles of transcription adopted are those used also for *The Letters of Charles Wesley* vol. 1, with the exception that standard contractions have here been silently expanded.

Addressee: Mrs [Elizabeth] Cart<sup>108</sup>

Source: MARC: DDCW 6/18

Document: Autograph Manuscript

Date: October 3, 1747<sup>109</sup>

Place from: Dublin

Additional: Endorsed by John Wesley Sept 21 Journal to Sept 29. Ireland.

**Monday, September 22<sup>1</sup>**. Began visiting the classes. Many have received the sense of God's pardoning love. One under the word last week. But

<sup>107</sup>Almost all the journal letters do in fact overlap. One exception is DDCW 6/1 which contains information relating to Charles activities from 23 September to 2 October 1742. This material is entirely absent from DDCW 10/2. Tyson's publication, 'Charles Wesley, Evangelist: the Unpublished Newcastle Journal', is a transcription of that MS. The contents of DDCW 6/2 (10 March 1743) are also absent from the extract, though, curiously enough, Charles has left a blank page where they ought perhaps to have been inserted. See further Newport, *Sermons of Charles Wesley*, p. 9.

<sup>108</sup>Elizabeth Cart, whom Charles 'baptised in the river at Cowley' on 5 May 1748 (*MSJ*, vol. 2, p. 529).

<sup>109</sup>Charles has clearly signed 'Dublin Oct. 3'; the postmark is dated '9 Oc'.

all are in earnest, justified & or unjustified, and seem made without fear. I have not met with such soldiers before, so young, and yet so valiant.

Called in the afternoon on a gentlewoman of Mr C[ennick]'s society.<sup>110</sup> There were 4 or 5 more of the sisters who have known, as far as I can discern, the grace of the Lord Jesus. Mr C[ennick] has forbid them to hear or even converse with any of us – after all the outcries of the still brethren against us in London for warning our children how they hearkened to *their* errors. At the room I was directed to Zech 13.9 'I will bring the third part through the fire and will refine them as silver etc.' Many strangers were present and it was a time of visitation such as I have not known before in Dublin.

**Tuesday, September 22.** Spent the evening at our printer's<sup>111</sup> and met a lady who was deeply affected with our prayers and hymns on [the] occasion of the news [that has] just come hither that Bergen op Zoom<sup>112</sup> is taken. We had great faith that the Lord will in the day of visitation will spare them who fear him now and speak often one to another.

**Wednesday, September 23.** Heard that on the Sunday last after I was gone the Popish mob fell upon the women as they were going home but were beaten by the soldiers and driven off.<sup>113</sup> They vow revenge and threatened to come with all their force next Sunday. I now clearly saw the providence of God in not<sup>114</sup> suffering the soldiers, though so generally well disposed, to attend the preaching for nothing else could prevent their killing some of the rioters. Nay, 'Tis with the utmost difficulty that our own people are restrained. Some have said since the jury will not, they will do themselves justice and have carried arms to defend themselves. The society, I hope, are all at least persuaded to turn the other cheek<sup>115</sup> but there are many of our well wishers who cannot be kept from resisting evil so that what to do with

<sup>110</sup>See above n. 15.

<sup>111</sup>Samuel Powell of Crane Lane, off Dame Street. He was for many years the Wesleys' Dublin printer and it was claimed that his productions excelled 'all his Dublin contemporaries in beauty and accuracy'. (*WHS Proceedings*, vol. vi, p. 90). In 1747 alone he printed six Wesleyan hymn books.

<sup>112</sup>A city in the South of the Netherlands. The reference here will be to the taking of the city by the French army during the war of the Austrian Succession.

<sup>113</sup>In context it appears that the intended antecedent here is the soldiers rather than the rioters.

<sup>114</sup>Charles has written the word 'not' above the line which, as the rest of sentence makes clear, is required though sounds a little awkward.

<sup>115</sup>Cf. Matt. 5:39; Luke 6:29.

them, I see not.

In our passage to the room (a mile distance from our lodgings) the mob gathered and insulted us but we took shelter in the house of a pious Baptist, Mrs H, who was much scandalised at such treatment of a minister of the established church and said if a Popish priest were so persecuted he would soon be screened by the magistrates. I believe so too. Error of every kind will meet with favour but the world never did nor ever will tolerate true Christianity.

#### Thursday, September 24

Called upon Mrs F, our landlady, a messenger of Satan now to buffet us. Our enemies' threatenings have so terrified her that she seems resolved to get us out of her room by one means or another. Our only thought is God will provide but how or where is quite hidden from us.

We give ourselves unto prayers with the Society who generally strengthen my hands by their steadfastness and obedience of faith.

The people in our return gaped upon us with their mouths as so many ramping and roaring lions. What is it restrains them from tearing us to pieces? They want neither will nor power. The jury have taken off the reins from the many headed beast and our Protestant brethren have sold us into their hands. I can resolve our deliverance into nothing but the miraculous power of God. No man lays hands on us because our hour is not yet come. Therefore are we safe among multitudes who would then they did God service, nay, and even merited Heaven by killing us.

#### Friday, September 25

Passed the evening very agreeably at a Baptist's, a woman of piety and understanding although a great admirer of my father's *Life of Christ*.<sup>116</sup> She doubly honoured me for his sake and would needs lend me the book. I have given it a reading and subscribed to the author's own judgement of it that the verses were are (some of them) tolerable, the notes good but the cuts best of all.

<sup>116</sup>A reference to Samuel Wesley senior's poetical composition *The Life of our Blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ: An Heroic Poem* (1693).

#### Sunday, September 27

My text at the Green this morning was 'behold the lamb of God who taketh away the sins of the world'.<sup>117</sup> Never have I seen a quieter congregation at the Foundery. The word seemed to sink into all their hearts. Several of the poor soldiers were within hearing though out of sight behind doors and walls for fear of their officers. I could not help asking where is the fury of the oppressors! It is the Lord's doing, who maketh even our enemies to be at peace with us<sup>118</sup> but the great execution was to be this afternoon. I began at two, an hour before the mob expected us. Very many wild, wicked people were present but all with the bridle in their mouths.<sup>119</sup> The Papists stood like lambs. I spoke largely of late in the praise of Kempis and quoted some of his sayings which has won their hearts, it seems, for the present. At least God used this small circumstance to mollify them. Nay, several of them I am credibly informed are confident that I am a good Catholic. I called on a great large audience 'wash ye, make you clean, put away the filth of your doings from before my eyes, saith the Lord, etc.'<sup>120</sup> Not a one offered to interrupt by deed or word but all gave heed to the words which were spoken. After I had exhorted them for above an hour to repentance and faith they all departed in peace.

#### Monday, September 28

Our landlady yesterday nailed up our room in Marlborough Street but we had it broke open for preaching this morning. We are now come to close quarters with the enemy who threatens hard to drive us [unreadable erasure] out of *his* kingdom.

I had an hour's conference today with two serious, sensible Quakers who hold the head and perfectly agree with us as to the one foundation.

#### Tuesday, September 29

My Through much swift walking I have brought back my old lameness. My namesake<sup>121</sup> is not much slower than me. Our other labourers have little to do till the door is open wider.<sup>122</sup> Therefore I thought of writing

<sup>117</sup>Cf. John 1:29, 35.

<sup>118</sup>Cf. Prov. 16:7.

<sup>119</sup>Cf. Psa. 32:9.

<sup>120</sup>Cf. Isa. 1:16.

<sup>121</sup>Presumably Charles Perronet, who was with Charles at this point.

<sup>122</sup>A possible allusion to 1 Cor. 16:9.



for our horses to meet us a fortnight hence at Holyhead. In the midst of these thoughts we heard of an house to be let. Whether it is one of God's providings will sooner appear, however I have deferred our departure to October 26 finding no choice of my own one way or the other. If the Lord has any work for us here, or elsewhere, His will be done where and as he pleases.

My Dear Friend,

All which has happened to you in your sickness I did fully expect and glorify God on your behalf.

Pray on for your friend in distress of various kinds. 'Tis well your heart is disengaged from one who is not worthy of your particular friendship. But I must suffer pain on every remembrance of that unhappy soul. While mine is in the body.

My love to S[ister] Lewin, B[rothers] Perronet,<sup>123</sup> Maddern, Maxfield,<sup>124</sup> Reeves,<sup>125</sup> Reddel, Moss<sup>126</sup> whom I think of answering shortly.

Farewell in the Lord Jesus.

Dublin October 3

<sup>123</sup> Charles Perronet is with Wesley; the other Perronets are Edward (1726–1792) and Vincent (1693–1785). See further *Letters of Charles Wesley*, vol. 1, p. 442 and refs.

<sup>124</sup> Thomas Maxfield (d. 1784); see further *Letters of Charles Wesley*, vol. 1, p. 440 and refs.

<sup>125</sup> Jonathan Reeves (fl.1750); an early Methodist itinerant who travelled mainly in Cornwall and Ireland. He attended the Conferences of 1746 to 1748 and served as a trustee of Bristol's Orphan House. Reeves was later ordained into the Anglican ministry.

<sup>126</sup> Richard Moss (fl.1740–50); converted by John Wesley in 1740 and entered the itinerancy after accompanying Wesley on a preaching tour to Newcastle in 1744. He also taught for a time at Kingswood School at the end of the 1740s. Moss was later ordained into the Anglican ministry and worked as a missionary in the West Indies.

Remember me to F[riends], Blackwells,<sup>127</sup> Dewal,<sup>128</sup> Rich,<sup>129</sup> Davy, Withams,<sup>130</sup> Butts,<sup>131</sup> Clark,<sup>132</sup> Pitney<sup>133</sup>

Addressee: John Wesley

Source: MARC: DDCW 6/22

Document: Autograph Manuscript

Date: March 8–15 [1748]

Place from: Dublin

Additional: Annotated by John Wesley 'Ireland'

### Journal

**Sunday February 11 8.** Met the Society at 6 and continued with them in prayer and thanksgiving till 8. Then enforced to a crowded audience [ ... ]<sup>134</sup> our Lord's dying command "do this in remembrance of me".<sup>135</sup> We had more than ever at the sacrament in S[t] Patrick's.<sup>136</sup> Thence I hastened to administer it to a poor dying sinner, slowly awakening out of his natural state. At Marlbor[ough] Street I explained wrestling Jacob<sup>137</sup> and again at Dolphin's Barn, where many wept and made supplication with the angel. More especially at my exhortation and afterwards. 'Twas with great reluctance we parted, only for a few days.

<sup>127</sup> Ebenezer Blackwell (1711–1782) and his wife Elizabeth; see further *Letters of Charles Wesley*, vol. 1, p. 428 and ref.

<sup>128</sup> Hannah Dewal (d. 1762); see *Letters of Charles Wesley*, vol. 1, p. 431.

<sup>129</sup> Probably Mrs [Priscilla] Rich and Mr John Rich. See *Letters of Charles Wesley*, vol. 1, p. 443.

<sup>130</sup> Thomas Witham Snr died 23 December 1743 so the reference will not be to him. His wife, Elizabeth Witham, died December 1747, so may be included here. Brother and sister Thomas Witham Jnr and Sarah Witham may also be intended recipients. Charles wrote to Thomas and Sally (Sarah) from Dublin 18 December 1747. See further *Letters of Charles Wesley*, vol. 1, pp.142–6, esp. 146 n. 1.

<sup>131</sup> Thomas Butts (fl. 1742–60); see further *Letters of Charles Wesley*, vol. 1, p. 429 and ref.

<sup>132</sup> Adylena Clark (1727–1807) and her husband George Clark (1711–97). See further *Letters of Charles Wesley*, vol. 1, p. 430 and ref.

<sup>133</sup> A Sister Pitney is mentioned in a letter written by Charles to Elizabeth Witham on 16 January 1746. See further *Letters of Charles Wesley*, vol. 1, p. 123.

<sup>134</sup> Unreadable erasure.

<sup>135</sup> Luke 22.19.

<sup>136</sup> Saint Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin.

<sup>137</sup> Gen. 32:22–32.



**Monday February 12 9.** Between 4 and 5 our lodgings were filled with the Society and others, whom I comforted (yet not I, but the Lord comforted both them and me). By that precious promise of preserved grace Isaiah 43.2 “when thou passeth thro[ugh] the waters I will be with thee and thro[ugh] the rivers, they shall not overflow thee; when thou walkest thro[ugh] the fire thou shalt not be burnt, neither should the flame kindle upon thee”.

Took horse soon after 6 with B[rother] Watts for Tyrell’s Pass. Waited at Kilcock 14 miles from Dublin, and again at Kennegad, 10 miles short of the Pass. Within 2 a or 3 mile[s] of the place we overtook a lad, who we quickly found out by his *whistling* one of our tunes. He was a constant hearer of the Word, although a Roman [Catholic], and joined with us in several hymns which he had by heart. Near 7 we got, half choked with fog, to Mr Fouace’s. My cold was not a little increased by the journey, which I should not have undertaken on any other occasion. I had not been in the house half an hour when the whole town had taken the alarm and crowded in after me. The family dissuaded me from preaching after so fatiguing a journey, but I could not forbear, trusting in him whose strength is made perfect in weakness.<sup>138</sup>

I opened the book to “a certain man had two sons” etc.<sup>139</sup> and the Lord opened all our hearts. These are the publicans that enter the Kingdom before the Pharisees.<sup>140</sup> Never have I spoke to more hungry souls. They devoured every word. Some of them (in a way peculiar to themselves) whistled for joy. Such a feast I have not had since I left England. It refreshed even my body, more than meat and drink. I continued speaking till 9 and found we were then as well acquainted as if we had known one another all our lifetime.

God has surely begun a great work among them. The people of Tyrell’s Pass were almost wicked almost to a proverb. Swearing, drunkenness, Sabbath-breaking, uncleanness etc. reigned throughout the town from time immemorial. But now the scene is entirely changed. Not an oath is heard, nor a drunkard seen among them; but they are all (to one or two) turned from darkness to light and from the power of Satan unto God.<sup>141</sup> Near an hundred are already joined in a Society and following hard after the pardoning God.

<sup>138</sup> Cf. 2 Cor. 12:9.

<sup>139</sup> Cf. Matt. 21:28.

<sup>140</sup> Cf. Matt. 21:30.

<sup>141</sup> Cf. Acts 26:18.

I could not help asking in my heart who hath begotten me these? – but my son Onesimus! – who in time past was unprofitable, but now profitable; who therefore departed for a season that I we might receive him forever.<sup>142</sup>

I do not *feel* my body in while preaching the gospel *by which I live*; but we had a sore night of it, both my companion and I being in great pain and an high fever. At 7 when the people came I could not lift up my head or reach the next room without help. Yet was I held up, as it were, for 3 quarters of an hour to invite the labouring burdened<sup>143</sup> sinners to Christ. I then went to bed and rose at noon, much refreshed and strengthened. Mr W[ade] and J[ohn] Haughton came in the afternoon, the latter on his way to Dublin. We took horse at 4 to Mr Jona[than] Handy’s; reached his house at Temple Mackateer, 7 m[iles] from the Pass, by 6, and pointed several of his neighbours, which he had got together, to the Lamb of God who beareth away the sin of the world. – My continual coughing did not hinder my getting a little a sleep in the night.

**Wednesday February 14 11.** At 8.00 took horse for Athlone. We were 7 in company, and rode mostly<sup>144</sup> abreast (the road was so good) all the way. ~~Within [ ... ]<sup>145</sup> miles of the town~~ Some footmen overtook us, running in great haste, as we supposed, that they might be time enough for the preaching. One horseman passed us at full speed. We suspected nothing and rode on singing to within half a mile of the town. Mr Sam[uel] Handy and J. Healy happened to be foremost, 2 or 3 yards out of the line<sup>146</sup> though Mr W[ade] and I had led the company till then. We were mounting a little hill, when 3 or 4 men appeared at the top and stopped us, taking up stones, and bidding us go back. We thought them in jest till the stones flew. John Healy was too far advanced to retreat, so he rode up to one of the ambush who knocked him off from his horse with a stone. He fell backward, as dead, and lay without sense or motion. Mr Handy, setting spurs to his horse,<sup>147</sup> charged through the enemy and turned upon them again. A large

<sup>142</sup> Cf. Philemon 1:10–15.

<sup>143</sup> Charles spells ‘burthened’.

<sup>144</sup> Charles has inserted this word above the line in the MS.

<sup>145</sup> Unreadable erasure.

<sup>146</sup> Charles has written the words ‘2 or 3 yards out of the line’ above the line.

<sup>147</sup> Charles has written the words ‘setting spurs to his horse’ above the line.

stone cast at him he caught in his hand[.] ~~and with his whip knocked the man down that threw it.~~ There were only four ruffians on the place as yet, but we saw several gathering to us from all sides. ~~By this time [ ... ]~~<sup>148</sup> ~~Of~~<sup>149</sup> Mr Fouace, Mr W[ade] and I were at ~~up to~~ the spot where J. Healy lay. I stood still and observed the man who [had] knocked him down striking him with a club on the his face with the utmost violence. I cried to him to stop and thereby drew him on myself, which was the saving of poor John's life. They, for that time,<sup>150</sup> had gathered great heaps of stone against our coming, any one of them sufficient to beat out a man's brains. How we escaped them God only knows and our guardian angels. I stayed and Mr W[ade] by me within 4 yards of them before we retreated. All his care was for me. I had no apprehension of their hurting me, even when one struck me on the back with a large stone, which took away my breath for some time. Mr Fouace got a blow on his head with a stick. Mr W. one on the knee with a stone. Mr Wade and Mr Jon[athan Handy] escaped untouched. We were driven off by the showers of stones as often as we attempted to return. This seemed a prohibition to my preaching and our company were for riding home; but I asked them whether a few ~~ruffians ought to deter us from our duty~~ of the devil's servants ought to stop the course of the gospel, and whether we *could* leave our half murdered brother in their hands. ~~It was~~ This ~~that~~ turned the scale[.] –

We rode back again to the field of battle, which our enemies had now quitted, the Protestants beginning to rise upon them. It seems the Papists had laid the scheme for murdering us. The man who wounded J. Healy so desperately was the priest's servant, and rode his master's horse. He and another were just going to finish the work with their knives, when a country fellow came to his rescue and ran one of the ruffians into the back with his pitchfork. It struck against the bone and stopped or the poor wretch had been probably ~~sent to his own place~~ hurried into eternity. The man made a second push at him, which Mr Handy broke and saved his enemy much more. He then ~~pursued~~ rode after the priest's servant and Mr W. joined in the pursuit. Crying out "stop the murderer!" In the midst of a bog, they seized him and 'twas well for him Mr W[ade] was by or Mr H[andy] ~~the~~ (a leopard not yet laid down with the kid) would have

<sup>148</sup> Unreadable erasure.

<sup>149</sup> This word is clear in the MS – it presumably follows on from the struck out words that precede it, but is now redundant.

<sup>150</sup> Charles has written the words 'for that time' above the line.

torn him to pieces. They carried him prisoner to Athlone and ~~deliv[er]ed~~ charged the high constable with him, who soon after let him go; but Father Farrell<sup>151</sup> I presume<sup>152</sup> will answer for his forthcoming.

We found J. Healy in his blood at a little hut and carried him to Athlone. He recovered his senses at hearing my voice whither the poor woman and her husband<sup>153</sup> had carried him. The Papists followed and would have cut him up after their manner, but the woman hindered with their own peril and pain till help came. We set him on a horse and led him to a public house in Athlone. He recovered his senses on hearing my voice in the hut and after he was blooded and his wounds dressed seemed better although in great pain. The surgeon would take nothing for his trouble. The people of the town expressed great indignation at our treatment[.] ~~espec[ially?]~~ The soldiers flocked about us and declaring they were just coming out by their officers' order to guard us into the town. But we came before our time, which prevented our enemies likewise, or we should have found an army of Romans ready to receive us, and how we *could* then have escaped being murdered who can tell. The country, it seems, knew beforehand of the design for the good Catholics made no secret of it.

We were advised to cross the water and preach in the barracks for our greater security, ~~upon~~ at the Collector's desire I walked down to the market house ~~under~~ in which Mr W[ade] had preached last week for the first time. It was filled from end to end by a third of the congregation. I cast my eye on a ruined house just opposite and got up into a window which commanded ~~all~~ the ~~audience~~ market place. The space betwixt the market house and me was crowded with the people. The gentlemen with the Collector and minister sat in the room above it. There could not be so few as 3,000 hearers. I stood and cried "Ho, ho! Everyone that thirsteth come ye to the waters!"<sup>154</sup> Neither my cold or pain in the shoulder hindered my lifting up my voice like a trumpet. The Lord I found had set before me an open door<sup>155</sup> and I strongly invited poor desperate sinners to him. They gave diligent heed to the words which were spoken. Not one person behaved amiss. I urged and exhorted them for above an hour to repent and believe the gospel. My slightly mentioning the attempt to murder us

<sup>151</sup> Rev. John Farrell (c. 1696–1753) was priest of St Mary's Church, Athlone from 1723–1753.

<sup>152</sup> Charles has written the words 'I presume' above the line.

<sup>153</sup> Charles has written the words 'and her husband' above the line.

<sup>154</sup> Cf. Isa. 55:1.

<sup>155</sup> A possible allusion to Acts 14:27.

excited a general pity and abhorrence. The congregation waited upon us to our Inn and many of them out of town with our trusty soldiers. Before we departed, the officer and minister came to see us and enquired after our wounded man. The former got us to have informations and promised to get us justice. The latter behaved like a servant of Christ acknowledged the doctrine of our Church, and accepted some of our books and fairly bade us God speed.

I got my back bathed with brandy and after 2 took horse escorted by our troop of soldiers and others. Some of our company expected a fresh assault but I ~~could not~~ believed the hour of darkness was past and Satan's commission ended. He was only supposed to try our faith and hinder, if possible, the preaching of the gospel.

We marched very slow for the sake of Jo[h]n H[ealy] till we came to the field of battle It was stained with blood abundantly. We halted there and sang a song of triumph and praise to God who giveth us victory through our Lord Jesus Christ. Here we sent back our guard and went on our way, rejoicing. None molested us till we reached Moate, 6 or 7 miles from A[thlone]. Brother Haughton had preached there last week and a little disturbance was made by beating a drum. I proclaimed in the street to about a thousand tolerably quiet hearers "this is the faithful saying and worthy of etc".<sup>156</sup> These were *less* noble than those of Athlone yet most listened. A few stones were cast and the drum beat, I suppose to entertain the ladies (Mr H's family who walked by us several times with great seeming contempt of Christ's gospel). They encouraged the drummer to interrupt us all they could, but he did not care to make his appearance. In spite of the genteel Devil some received benefit by the word as their tears testified – we rode through the aliens to Mr Handy's and came safe thither by with the night. The voice of joy and thanksgiving was heard in their dwelling place, and we magnified the Lord of our God, even the God of whom cometh salvation,<sup>157</sup> the God by whom we escapeth death.<sup>158</sup>

Between 40 to 50 of the poor neighbours came to hear the word, several of them convinced, and others swiftly awakening out of their sins. I doubt not but these shall be the seed of a flourishing Church. One of my hearers (mother to our host) is after a moral life of above 80 years ~~old~~ is now convinced of unbelief and quietly waiting for the salvation of God.

<sup>156</sup> Cf. 1 Tim. 1:15.

<sup>157</sup> Cf. Psa. 62:1.

<sup>158</sup> Cf. Psa. 68:20.

**Thursday February 15 12.** Our patient is in a fair way ~~havi[ng]~~ feeling no inward bruises as we apprehended. I rose after yesterday's labour much better than I expected. Preached and prayed by a sick woman in the family who lies on the brink of the pool.<sup>159</sup> Road to Tyrell's Pass and was reckoned as alive from the dead. Our barn at night was crowded with high and low, rich and poor, whose curiosity brought them from all quarters.

I showed them their condition and their cure in the wounded traveller and Good Samaritan.<sup>160</sup> They attended patiently for two hours, most were deeply affected. Councillor Lo. – followed us to our lodgings and had much friendly discourse with us. I passed another comfortable hour with the Society who, I verily believe, will stand when tribulation arises because of the Word.<sup>161</sup>

**Friday February 12.** Preached at 7 and spake severally to the little increasing flock. Spent the morning in conference with the strangers. One of them, a serious understanding Roman, seemed satisfied with my answers to his objections; and not far from the kingdom of heaven.<sup>162</sup> Another, who has been a grievous sinner, but a man of good sense and reading, went away in like manner, convinced and longing to be converted. The Councillor (we heard today) had sat up all night searching the Scriptures, if these things be so.

At noon took horse for Sam[uel] Handy's but rode past him first to Temple Macketeer<sup>163</sup> and prayed with our sick woman, rejoicing over her in hope. Called in at our neighbour Booth's and prayed there. His wife expects her pardon every moment. By 5 we came to Cullenlough, where we met with more friends from the Pass and magnified the Lord together till the people came. Our chapel was crowded with them that came from far. I invoked them with great strong importunity to the great supper<sup>164</sup> and all seemed willing to accept of the invitation. Two hours passed away unperceived before I could give over. Another we employed in singing and at 11 parted in peace.

<sup>159</sup> Cf. John 5:1ff.

<sup>160</sup> Cf. Luke 10:30ff.

<sup>161</sup> Cf. Mark 4:17 and parallel.

<sup>162</sup> Cf. Mark 12:34.

<sup>163</sup> Charles's spelling; modernised above to Templemacateer.

<sup>164</sup> Cf. Luke 14:16.

**Saturday February 13.** Preached again to a few listening souls. One, a poor publican, drowned in tears, who constantly attends the word of grace, on which all his hopes depend. Took horse before one with my good friend Mr Jon[athan] Handy; met Mr W[ade] on the road and came together to Tullamore. Here my spirit was much refreshed with 5 of our Dragoons from Dublin. We spent an hour in prayer and singing. Then I called to many attentive sinners “O, Israel, thou hast destroyed thyself but in me is thy help”.<sup>165</sup> They received both the legal and Gospel saying as the truth of God. Several strangers and more of our beloved soldiers came into the house afterwards and talked with us of the things of the Kingdom. We then walked to our Brother Host and Brother Allen’s, half a mile out of town and before 7 our house was filled with the people before whom I explained and enforced with great enlargement “The poor have the Gospel preached [to] them”.<sup>166</sup> It was a time of refreshment, like one of the former gospel days. Surely our Lord hath much people in this place.<sup>167</sup>

**Sunday February 14.** Walked to Tullamore and enforced on a great multitude Isa. 1.16 ‘Wash ye, make you clean, put away’ etc. It was piercing cold yet the poor people stood close in an open yard and drank in the word of grace and reconciliation.

We rode to Philips-town<sup>168</sup> 5 miles off, where at 2 I explained the Prodigal Son<sup>169</sup> to near 2000 as listening souls as I have ever seen in Ireland. For an hour and a half I invited and pressed them to return to their Father and they showed all the signs (which could then be shown) of sincere repentance. What most delighted me was the behaviour of near 40 tall Dragoons, with whom I spent sometime in singing and confessing, both before and after the preaching. They are already turned from the power of Satan unto God that they may receive forgiveness of sins.<sup>170</sup> We [ ... ]<sup>171</sup> a sudden intimacy and were much comforted together. The whole people appeared a people ready and prepared for the Lord. From the beginning they have received the word with all readiness and cried out after the first

<sup>165</sup> Cf. Hos. 13:9.

<sup>166</sup> Cf. Luke 7:22.

<sup>167</sup> A probable allusion to Acts 18:10.

<sup>168</sup> Phillipstown (Daingean), Co. Offaly, is about 50 miles west of Dublin.

<sup>169</sup> Cf. Luke 15:11ff.

<sup>170</sup> Cf. Acts 26:18.

<sup>171</sup> Unreadable erasure.

sermon – This day is salvation come to Philips-town.<sup>172</sup>

Rode forward 5 long Irish miles to Tyrell’s Pass and cried to a crowded audience “Is it nothing to you all ye that pass by? Behold and see if ever sorrow was like unto my sorrow etc.”<sup>173</sup> For above an hour my voice and strength lasted and Jesus Christ was evidently set forth before many eyes as crucified.<sup>174</sup> Several strangers and gentlefolk were convinced and affected. Give God the glory, whose only spirit convinces of sin, of righteousness and of judgement.<sup>175</sup> Gave a word of exhortation to the Society before my strength was quite exhausted.

**February 15.** Explained Isa 35 and gave the morning to conference with the simple-hearted people.

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#### Journal Letter (26th September to 10th October, 1748)

Addressee: Unknown

Source: MARC: DDCW 6/23

Document: Autograph Manuscript

Date: 1748

Place From: [Bristol?]<sup>176</sup>

Additional: Minor annotations in a later hand.

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<sup>172</sup> A possible allusion to Luke 19:9.

<sup>173</sup> Lamentations 1:12.

<sup>174</sup> Cf. Galatians 3:1.

<sup>175</sup> Cf. John 16:8.

<sup>176</sup> Although the bulk of this document relates to Charles’ time in Ireland it is clear that it was not in fact written from there, at least not in its entirety. The possibly complex chronology of its compilation cannot be reconstructed with any confidence, but the fact that in the entry relating to 9 October he refers to a letter that he wrote on 10 October confirms that one is not dealing here with a source that was simply written on a day-by-day basis. As can be seen, the MS takes us to ‘Wedn[esday] Oct[ober] 27’ (in fact this will have been October 26), at which point Charles was in Bristol.



## Journal 1748

**Monday Sept. 26.** Came to Tyril's Pass by 3. Here the LORD is reviving his work. Mrs Low[?] received her pardon under R[obert] Swindells<sup>177</sup> last night & another this morning. I expounded the Pool of Bethesda,<sup>178</sup> & found great difference betwixt the hearers now & 6 weeks ago. It is an extraordinary miracle of grace that they are not all scattered or fallen away<sup>179</sup> through the fatal blunder of one of our preachers, who to cure their slackness told him [*sic*] 'they were no more a society – '. He broke them up. Accordingly they have forbore assembling themselves for many weeks. I do not wonder now at their coldness, for how can one be warm alone [?] But I bless God that the wolf has not stole & killed & destroyed them all.<sup>180181</sup>

**Tuesday, September 27.** Found much life among them, while I applied those words, 'Behold, I stand at the door, and knock' etc.<sup>182</sup> The first were become last.<sup>183</sup> But I leave them with a comfortable hope that they will become first again'.

I would have took horse immediately, but my beast was not forthcoming. Waited some time and then set out on foot with my bags and gown. The horse was strayed (as I supposed) & therefore resolved to walk as much of the 40 miles to Dublin as I could today and the rest tomorrow. Mr Dean of Philip's Town<sup>184</sup> lately became a brother through faith in Xt [and] would not suffer me to pursue my journey with such an equipage and forc[e]d his horse upon me, going home himself on foot. Young Mr

<sup>177</sup> Robert Swindells (d. 1782) entered the itinerancy around 1742 and accompanied John Wesley on his visit to Ireland. See further *Letters of Charles Wesley*, vol. 1, p. 445.

<sup>178</sup> Cf. John 5:2.

<sup>179</sup> Cf. Mark 14:27 (Zech. 13:7).

<sup>180</sup> A possible allusion to John 10:12.

<sup>181</sup> Cf. *MSJ*, vol. 2, p. 552 for the same day which reads: 'Took leave in those solemn words, which reached their hearts: "And now, brethren, I commend you to God," etc. At three came safe to our dear friends at Tyril's Pass. It should not be forgot, that the condemned soldier told me at parting, that the Lord had absolved him'.

<sup>182</sup> Cf. Rev. 3:20.

<sup>183</sup> Cf. Mark 10:31 and parallels.

<sup>184</sup> This is likely present-day Daingean, about 70 miles west of Dublin.

Wade<sup>185</sup> bore me company 3 or 4 miles; his mother died last week in peace. He is swiftly following her through the last stage of a consumption; has not yet received the atonement, but cannot doubt the faithful mercies of his saviour. He *knows* he shall not depart till his eyes have seen his salvation.<sup>186</sup> I commended him to the Lord Jesus, and appointed to meet him in paradise. I rode on alone, yet not alone. The noon hour of prayer was very refreshing to my soul. My absent friends were never less absent. Soon after 7 I came safe to Dublin.

**Wednesday, September 28.** Breakfasted at Mrs Folliard's, whom I left mourning, and found rejoicing in Christ her Saviour. She has lately found his pardoning love in hearing Jos[eph] Cownely,<sup>187</sup> as have several others, God having greatly owned & blest both his publick and private labours. The Society is in a very flourishing way and grows daily both in grace & number. From 12 to one I spent as usual in our garden with my Christian friends, who never fail to meet me in my retirem[en]t at the throne of grace. Unfolded the threefold promise of the Gospel contained in Is[ai]ah 35, that is pardon, holiness and heaven; & the Lord was in the midst & comforted our hearts together.

**Th[ursday] Sep[ember] 29.** Finished Isai 35 with a blessing which attended the word in the evening also & at the society. It was a most tempestuous night. I was to have been on the sea as at this time, but blessed be God, who has ordered it otherwise.

**Fri[day], Sep[tember] 30.** At night our Lord pierced many hearts by that cry of his from the cross 'Is it nothing to you, all ye that pass by' etc.<sup>188</sup> The power continued or rather increased in the society. Two received

<sup>185</sup> See Crookshank who, in commenting upon the visit of John Wesley to Ireland in 1748, notes that at Aughrim, '[a]mongst others there was a Mr Wade, who resided at Fairfield in the vicinity, a gentleman of property. He and Mrs Wade having embraced the Gospel, and become members of the Society, opened their house to the preachers' (Crookshank, *History of Methodism in Ireland*, vol. 1, p. 34, and pp. 43, 50).

<sup>186</sup> Cf. Luke 2:29–30.

<sup>187</sup> Joseph Cownley (1723–92) entered the itinerancy in about 1745 and travelled extensively both in northern England and Ireland. See further *Letters of Charles Wesley*, vol. 1, p. 430.

<sup>188</sup> Cf. Lam. 1:12.

the atonement, many a deeper sense of his love. None I trust were sent empty away.<sup>189</sup>

**Saturday, October 1.** I have not had a more solemn hour than that I passed this evening with the bands. It was my first time of meeting them. The spirit of grace and supplication was poured out and we rejoiced unto God with reverence.

**Sunday, October 2.** After sacrament preached in our garden, but never with less life. In the evening discoursed from Isai[ah] 53 etc. God gave me utterance. One in that hour received faith and forgiveness as soon as the society were met the flame was kindled. One & another & another testified the grace of the Lord Jesus which they then first experienced. A poor revolter, who, like Demas,<sup>190</sup> had forsaken us, stealing in this evening, found mercy unexpected. His servant at the same time felt her sins forgiven, and gave God the glory. So did two or three more. Eight or nine confessed their faith openly. Many more, I believe all present, received a manifestation of the spirit & rejoiced either in hope or in possession of their Saviour. Slept at Mr Lunell's<sup>191</sup> where I rejoiced to meet Mr Balier resolved to fight his way to heaven, through wife, relations & every friend he has in the world.

**Monday October 3.** I had appointed yesterday for embarking, but the *fair wind* prevents me by keeping all the paquets<sup>192</sup> on the other side. Hereby God gave me opportunity to talk with and, I hope, confirm, several and to preach the gospel again this evening. My text was Isai(ah) 5.2 'Awake, awake, put on thy strength O Zion' etc. The word was with unusual power. Many felt the weight of it. I was too easily discouraged from meeting the society afterwards by the slowness and coarseness<sup>193</sup> of some of them. Went

<sup>189</sup> Cf. Luke 1:53.

<sup>190</sup> Cf. 2 Tim. 4:10.

<sup>191</sup> Charles actually spells this 'Lunel'; William Lunell (1699–1774) was among the first of the Methodist converts in Dublin. His letter to John Wesley of 27 June 1748 (Baker, *The Works of John Wesley: Letters*, vol. 26, pp. 319–20) provides some insights relating to the progress of Methodism in Dublin by that date. See further Crookshank, *History of Methodism in Ireland*, vol. 1, p. 15.

<sup>192</sup> i.e. Packet boats.

<sup>193</sup> This word is not entirely clear in the MS.

to my lodgings on the Quay<sup>194</sup> and in the night my old companion the toothache paid me a visit.

**Thursday, October 4.** The wind continued fair which kept me prisoner, or my toothache would not have detained me, though it was very troublesome all night.

**Wednesday Afternoon October 6.** [*sic*]<sup>195</sup> Ventured out to Mrs Clements, a violent persecutor when I was last in Dublin, but now a believer persecuted herself for the sake of the gospel.<sup>196</sup> Preached and met the society this & the following evening & was not a little comforted among them.

**Friday, October 7.** Met an old Quaker, at Mr Lunell's, a Dutchman who seemed to have great experience in the things of God. At two Mr Lampe<sup>197</sup> and his wife called, and were overjoyed to see me. I cannot yet give up my hope, that they are designed for better things than feeding swine or entertaining the gay world. A paquet boat, we hear, got as far as Wicklow 30 miles off and unable to come nearer is sailed back to the Head.<sup>198</sup> I took my leave of the flock & left a blessing behind me, as I believe, giving God in [*sic*] the glory.

**Saturday, October 8.** The wind turned so as to bring a boat in and then sunk away into a dead calm. However, we attempted at night to get out to sea: the particulars I sent in the following letter to Mr Lunell.

Holyhead, October 10th.<sup>199</sup>

My very dear Brother

I did not tell you at leaving you, but I never had a stronger apprehension

<sup>194</sup> Spelt 'key' by Charles.

<sup>195</sup> Although clearly out of place, this entry is very clear in the MS.

<sup>196</sup> Cf. Mark 8:35; Matt. 5:10.

<sup>197</sup> In the MS Charles has simply 'Mr L'; however in the *MSJ* he has given the identity as 'Mr Lampe'. See comment in the body of this article above and also *Letters of Charles Wesley*, vol. 1, p. 439 and refs.

<sup>198</sup> Wicklow is about 30 miles south of Dublin (hence the reference to '30 miles off'). 'The Head' will be Holyhead.

<sup>199</sup> The letter is published in *Letters of Charles Wesley*, vol. 1, pp. 166–7, which has been transcribed from the *MSJ*. The transcription printed here is from the journal letter, which does differ in several regards.

of evil near. These sort of bodings or presages I rarely speak of until after their confirmation. On Saturday evening, half-hour past eight, I entered the small boat. We were two hours making our way through the calm and the fog to the vessel at the Piles. There was not then water to cross the bar; so we took our rest till eleven on Sunday, morning. Then God sent us a fair wind out of his treasures<sup>200</sup> and we sailed smoothly before it five knots an hour. All things promised a speedy, prosperous voyage; yet still I found the *usual* burden upon my heart, usual I mean in time of extreme danger approaching.

Toward evening the wind freshened upon us, & we had full enough of it. I was called to account for a bit of cake I eat in the morning, & thrown into violent exercise. The emptiness of my stomach made it so much the worse. All my sickness in my voyage to America etc. were nothing like this. I expected it would throw me into convulsions. Up or down, cabin or deck, made no difference. Yet in the midst of it I perceived a distinct and heavier concern for I knew not what. 'Twas now pitch-dark, so that we could not see the Head and no small tempest lay upon us. The Captain had ordered in all the sails. I kept mostly upon deck till half-hour past eight; when upon my inquiry he told me, he expected to be in the harbour by nine. I answered, we would compound for ten. While we were talking, the mainsail (as I take it) got loose, and flew overboard as if it would drag us all after it; the small boat at the same time, for want of fastening, fell out of its place. The Master called, 'All hands upon deck', & thrust me down into the cabin. Within a minute I heard a cry above, 'We have lost the mast!' A passenger ran up, & brought us worse news, that it was not the mast, but the poor Master himself, whom I had scarce left, when the boat, as they supposed, struck him overboard. From that moment he was neither seen nor heard more. My soul was bowed before the Lord. I knelt down, and commended his departing spirit to his mercy in Christ Jesus. I adored his distinguishing goodness. 'The one shall be taken, and the other left'.<sup>201</sup> Why was not I rather than that poor soul so hurried into eternity without a moment's notice? It brought unto my mind those lines of Young which I had read this morning

<sup>200</sup>This word is not entirely clear in the MS.

<sup>201</sup>Cf. Matt. 24:40; Luke 17:34.

No warning given! unceremonious fate!  
A sudden rush from life's meridian joys,  
A plunge opaque beyond conjecture!<sup>202</sup>

The sailors were so hurried & confounded they know [*sic*] not what they did. I thought it well for us that Jesus was at the helm. The decks were strewed with sails, boat, etc; the wind shifting about; the compass they could not get at; no, nor the helm for some time. We were just on the shore, and the vessel drove where or how they knew not. One of our cabin passengers ran to the helm, gave orders as Captain and was very helpful in righting the ship. But I ascribe it to our invisible Pilot that we got safe to the harbour soon after ten. The storm was so high, we doubted whether any boat would venture to fetch us. At last one answered & came. I thought it safer to lie in the vessel, but one in the boat calling, "Mr W[esley], you must come," I followed, and by 11 found out my old lodgings at Rob[ert] Griffith's. **Monday, Morn.** Blessed God that I did not stay in the vessel last night. A more tempestuous sea I do not remember. 'Twas just such another as that in Dublin a little before I embarked. I am brought hither in the very crisis by the power of faith. It blows a hurricane while I write this. Commend me to the continual prayer of the brethren.

Thanksgiving for our deliverance from the ship wreck.<sup>203</sup>

All praise to the Lord  
Who rules with a word  
The untractable sea  
And limits its rage by his steadfast decree  
Whose providence binds  
Or releases the winds  
And compels them again  
At his beck to put on the invisible chain.

<sup>202</sup>Edward Young, *Night Thoughts*, 'The Complaint, Night II, On Time, Death, and Friendship.'

No warning given! Unceremonious fate!  
A sudden rush from life's meridian joys!  
A wrench from all we love, from all we are!  
A restless bed of pain! A plunge opaque  
Beyond conjecture, feeble Nature's dread!

<sup>203</sup>*Hymns and Sacred Poems* (1749), Hymn 172, 2:235–236.



Even now he hath heard  
 Our cry & appeared  
 On the face of the deep  
 And commanded the tempest its distance to keep  
 His piloting hand  
 Has brought us to land  
 And no longer distressed  
 We are joyful again in the haven to rest

Oh that all men would raise  
 Their tribute of praise  
 His goodness declare  
 And thankfully sing of his fatherly care  
 While rapture approve  
 His dealings of love  
 And the wonders proclaim  
 Performed by the virtue of Jesus' name

Through Jesus alone  
 He delivers his own  
 And a token doth send  
 That his love shall direct us and save to the end  
 With joy we embrace  
 This pledge of his grace  
 In a moment out-fly  
 These storms of affliction & land in the sky

At half-hour past nine took horse etc. see the other paper.<sup>204</sup>

<sup>204</sup>There follows in the MS an additional passage which is quite clearly not part of what precedes it.

Addressee: To Mrs [Sweet] Lewin<sup>205</sup>  
 Source: DDCW 6/19  
 Document: Autograph Manuscript  
 Date: September 29–October 13<sup>206</sup> [1747]  
 Place from: Dublin  
 Additional: Annotated in the hand of John Wesley 'Journal for Sept 29 to Oct. 10 r[eceive]d' Oct. 20[;]in Dublin'. Postmarked Oc[tober] 13 and 19 Oc[tober].

1747<sup>207</sup>

### Journal

**Tuesday, September 29.** In the evening preached the kingdom of heaven is at hand repent and believe in the Gospel.<sup>208</sup> I intended to speak mostly of the kingdom of grace but was led unaware to describe the glorious appearing of our Lord and the word was as an hammer breaking the rocks in pieces.<sup>209</sup> The cries of the wounded almost drowned my voice. One, as I heard afterwards, received a cure. Called at Mr Powel's<sup>210</sup> and found Mr Edwards there, landlord to Mr C[ennick]'s society.<sup>211</sup> His sister had said before that he was much dissatisfied with his tenants having underlet their room and would be glad to be fairly rid of them. My answer I remember was I would not for all the world take any man's house over his head. Mr Edwards declared tonight that he would raise their rent and asked if we would be willing to take their room in case they refused it. 'If they had the offer of it first' I said 'and did not accept of it, we should then be glad of the next refusal'. But I found not the least temptation to covet my neighbour's good or to do to others as I would not that they should do to me.<sup>212</sup>

<sup>205</sup>On Mrs Lewin see Baker, *Letters of Charles Wesley*, vol. 26, p. 266 n. 3.

<sup>206</sup>The period covered by the journal materials ends October 10. The appended letter to his brother John, however, is dated October 13.

<sup>207</sup>This annotation is not in the hand of either John or Charles Wesley.

<sup>208</sup>Cf. Mark 1:15.

<sup>209</sup>Cf. Jer. 23:29.

<sup>210</sup>This is likely Samuel Powell, the publisher of *Hymns and Sacred Poems* (1747). See further above and <http://www.dublinmusictrade.ie/node/376>. (Charles spells 'Powel' as above).

<sup>211</sup>On John Cennick, see above n. 15.

<sup>212</sup>Cf. Exod. 20:15; Deut. 5:21 and Luke 6:31.

**Wednesday, September 30.** Breakfasted with one of Mr C[ennick]'s society who at my request invited *him*. He brought with him Mr Latrobe, his assistant, and 3 or 4 others and *his wife*. I congratulated him on his alteration of judgement so much for the better, felt much love in my heart towards him and covered his late treatment of me and my brother.

After preaching at night I was very hungry and found nothing at home to eat. I know how to abound; 'tis time I should know how to be in want.

**Friday, October 2.** Passed two hours with Mrs P., and another Baptist gentlewoman in close experimental discourse; almost they were persuaded to give up their faith of adherence (so called) for the faith of the Gospel, which works by love, and necessarily includes peace, joy, power, the witness of God's Spirit.<sup>213</sup>

**Sunday, October 4.** The rain prevented my preaching in the morning (time was when it could not have prevented me). After sacrament it cleared up and I found a few people waiting for me at the Green who quickly increased to a great multitude. I invited them to Christ by that most comfortable promise 'him that cometh unto me, I will in no wise cast out'.<sup>214</sup> All were quiet and seemingly affected. Many received the word gladly and receivingly. From St Luke's I hastened to Marybone Lane and alarmed an attentive multitude with those awful words 'The Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God'.<sup>215</sup> Many trembled and some rejoiced in hope of the glory of God.<sup>216</sup> Both his threatenings and promises found a way into their hearts. I find no such blessing in Dublin as at this place. One at first lifted up his voice in curses (a Papist, behind the wall) whom I heard say in the end 'The Lord bless you Sir!'

**Monday, October 5.** Mr C[ennick] called at my request and I expostulated on the behaviour of his society who have much reviled me for 'taking their house over their heads'. He assured me he was entirely satisfied that neither I nor my brother could do an unjust or unkind thing to him when I promised him before left the place to tell him simply all I knew of the

<sup>213</sup> A possible allusion to Rom. 15:13.

<sup>214</sup> Cf. John 6:37.

<sup>215</sup> 1 Thess. 4:16.

<sup>216</sup> Cf. Rom. 5:2.

matter of his house. At 4 took the field again and declared to many quiet hearers on the Green 'ye have sold yourselves for nought and ye shall be redeemed without money'.<sup>217</sup> I thought the present opportunity was not to be slipped, now that the Lord has appeared in our behalf and stilled in good measure the raging of the sea and the noise of his waves and the madness of the people.<sup>218</sup> Our enemies concluded when the jury refused us justice that we should be immediately scattered and come to nought. But God frustrateth the tokens of the liars and maketh diviners mad.<sup>219</sup> He takes the wise in their own craftiness<sup>220</sup> and makes all these things work together for good<sup>221</sup> and the furtherance of the Gospel. The rich indeed fled and escaped for their lives but the poor despised followers of Jesus were driven closer together by the storm and stood as the rock in the midst of the waves. Not one or [*sic*] turned back. A few, who at first were for standing in their own defence against the bloodthirsty papists were soon brought off their design of resisting evil and committed themselves to him that judgeth righteously.<sup>222</sup>

We continued instant in prayer that God might touch the hearts of the magistrates and turn them towards us. The coming of the Lord Lieutenant on the very day when I first preached out gave some check to the rioters though they were very sure 'he would put us all down'. But if any have applied to him for this purpose I may be bold to say he did not give them such an answer as they desired. This we find by the effects for we can now walk the street without such manifest danger to our lives. It was likewise of some service to us the late mayor's sending so many of the vulgar rioters to prison and the delay of the jury damped the principal rioters or great vulgar; so that for want of their encouragement the mob grew heartless in the cause.

But the chief means God has used for restraining them was the Lord Chief Baron's speech last week to the new mayor wherein he spake favourably of the Methodists as innocent loyal people and severely of our persecutors charging the mayor to protect us from their violence, who thereupon issued out an order against riots prohibiting in particular their

<sup>217</sup> Cf. Isa. 52:3.

<sup>218</sup> Cf. Psa. 65:7: 'Which stilleth the noise of the seas, the noise of their waves, and the tumult of the people'.

<sup>219</sup> Cf. Isa. 44:25.

<sup>220</sup> Cf. Job 5:13 (1 Cor. 3:19).

<sup>221</sup> Cf. Rom. 8:28.

<sup>222</sup> Cf. 1 Peter 2:23.

kicking football in the Green on Sunday while *any were preaching* there. A church minister likewise helped by preaching a severe sermon last Sunday against the persecutors so that they say I hired him for the purpose. But surely God raised him up for the purpose and to him be the glory. The help that is done upon earth he doth it himself. Because thou hast been our helper, therefore under the shadow of thy wings will we rejoice.<sup>223</sup>

He hides us in the hollow of his hand today and let him look to the morrow when it is best that persecution should return, it will return and not one moment sooner.

**Tuesday, October 6.** Preached again on the Green at three and walked away, the whole length of the city to Marlbro[ugh] street. Great was the cry after Jesus the Son of David while I expounded Blind Bartimaeus.<sup>224</sup>

**Wednesday, October 7.** In my way from the Green to the room called on Mrs Dunn of Mr C[ennick]'s society and found her in much trouble through the violent treatment of her merely for her love to us. Of all the Christians I have known, I have never met with any so straitened and bigoted as the Germans and their followers so impotent of mind and so impatient of contradiction.

**Thursday, October 8.** Observed several soldiers in my congregation this afternoon who ventured to hear notwithstanding the prohibition. Now and then an officer comes by and stops to see if any of their men are there and then they skulk down, kneeling or sitting on the ground, behind the women. Near 20 were present today and received the word with the utmost eagerness.

In Marlbr[ough] Street a brother met me with Mr Crampton, one of the famous jury, who had openly declared if the mob threw all the [pre]achers into the river, he would not find the bill. This gentleman is now come to help us to a preaching house; or a place to build one. The person who found it out for us is Mr M. one of the worst persecutors we had in Dublin but is now exceedingly set upon getting us a place in his neighbourhood. There is not in all the city a more convenient spot being in the centre and inaccessible by a mob on all sides and called The Foundery. Mr Crampton, when asked if he would let it to us, answered 'yes; or to

<sup>223</sup> Cf. Psa. 63:7.

<sup>224</sup> Cf. Mark 10:46.

Pope himself if he will pay me well for it'. It looks thus far as if the hand of God was in it; but time will fully show us his will concerning us.

Exhorted the society to walk as becometh the Gospel and in particular not to render evil for evil or railing for railing.<sup>225</sup> To the reproaches cast upon me by the other society I advised 'answer them not a word but leave the matter to God entirely'.

**Friday, October 9.** ~~????~~.<sup>226</sup> Some days since there was not a man in Dublin who would let us a room but now we have the offer several houses. I saw this morning a new stone house and garden to be sold for a third of its worth, near Marybone lane, where our greatest harvest is. Called on Mr C[ennick], who will not let the ground unless we take the adjoining house for the same term of years. If this be the place which God has designed [for] us, all obstacles will be removed.

He is daily adding to our number<sup>227</sup> and will he not enlarge our coast?<sup>228 229</sup> This evening I admitted two more into the Society; one of them a Papist, whom we caught in the Green.

**Saturday, October 10.** Gave earnest<sup>230</sup> for the brother's house and dedicated it by ~~???~~<sup>231</sup> prayer unto God. Preached once more at the Green to many serious people. It has been remarkably fair weather all this week and we have not had the least interruption by prot[estan]t or papist. All praise, all glory be to Jesus the strength of Israel.

<sup>225</sup> Cf. 1 Peter 3:9.

<sup>226</sup> At this point in the MS there is a line of struck-through text that is now unreadable.

<sup>227</sup> Cf. Acts 2:47.

<sup>228</sup> Cf. 1 Chron. 4:10.

<sup>229</sup> It is worth noting that, as is often the case with these documents, the distinction between an exclamation mark and a question mark can be difficult to draw. The matter does have some importance as it may, as here, suggest either confidence or a rhetorical question.

<sup>230</sup> Charles is using the word in the sense of 'down-payment'.

<sup>231</sup> This struck-out word cannot be read.



<sup>232</sup>Dolphin's Barn, Oct. 13 [1747]

Dolphin's Barn Oct. 13

{Dear brother}<sup>233</sup>

This is a dangerous place – so quiet and retired I could hide myself here of my time. *Hic gelidi fontes*, etc.<sup>234</sup> 'Tis 1000 pities to spoil this pretty house and garden. You shall {have it for your own if Miss Clark does not choose it; but you must send me money to pay for it, if it be not sent already. The bill I have received, and spent before it came, upon} myself and companion. His money,<sup>235</sup> and three guineas of Trembath's,<sup>236</sup> and book-money borrowed, and 5 guineas, and 4 given me for printing, are to be paid out of it; besides money for keeping our horses two months, and two persons' travelling expenses to Bristol with the horses. All which I must furnish out of my £20, so that I don't expect so many shillings surplus. J. Trembath (and Chas. Perronet most probably) will leave us Oct. 26. At least the former, who you observe is to make a diversion in Wiltshire. J. Cennick keeps the house another year. Draw me him off, and his flock comes to us on course, to repair our loss at Kingswood {My last shows you my rightness. The 2nd rule<sup>237</sup> I have strictly observed. No thanks to me but [to] him. He leads me not into temptation}. I promised Mrs Fisher to quit the house before the time; yet, notwithstanding her importunity I cannot relinquish it till we get another. Mr Crampton demands £8 for the ground, which is too much by £4.<sup>238</sup> Here we stick at present; and I greatly doubt whether anything can be done unless you come yourself. Time you would have for writing sermons, much more than in London, and all things

<sup>232</sup>For the transcription of this letter to John, I have utilised the work of Baker, *The Works of John Wesley: Letters*, vol. 26, p. 266.

<sup>233</sup>Here and elsewhere in this article the words between {} are in shorthand in the MS.

<sup>234</sup>'Here are cool springs', etc. Virgil, *Eclogues*, x. 42. I owe this reference to Baker's annotation.

<sup>235</sup>At this point in the MS there appear two struck-out and now unreadable words.

<sup>236</sup>John Trembath accompanied John Wesley to Ireland. Crookshank, *History of Methodism in Ireland*, vol. 1 makes several references to him that are relevant to this article. See also Heitzerater and Ward. *The Works of John Wesley: Journals and Diaries*, vol. 20, p. 96 n. 68, which provides a helpful sketch.

<sup>237</sup>The shorthand is not absolutely clear here but '2nd' looks very likely. If so, Charles probably has in mind not the second commandment from the Decalogue but the second of the two summary commandments that are found in Mark 12:31, words with which he would have been very familiar as the summary is read early on in the BCP Eucharist (other than in Advent and Lent when all ten commandments are read).

<sup>238</sup>This sentence, the one before it and the shorthand section that appears after the words '... repair our loss at Kingswood' are omitted by Baker. The omission appears as [...] in his transcription.

promise a great harvest. I will write just now to Jones of Anglesey not to meet us with our horses till Monday fortnight, that I may first hear from you whether you will meet me at Garth on Wed., Oct 28 Nov. 4. I could ride straight thence to London, or round by Bristol, as you choose. Bring J. Healy with you, if you have not sent him already. {The Lord be your guide and counsellor. I do not care to tell you, lest it should not last, but I have had more love of late than for a long time past}.<sup>239</sup>

{Farewell}

Addressee: To Mrs [Sweet] Lewin<sup>240</sup>

Source: DDCW 6/20

Document: Autograph Manuscript

Date: October 20–October 27<sup>241</sup> [1747]

Place from: Dublin

Additional: Annotated in the hand of John Wesley 'Journal from Oct. 20 1747 Ireland'. Postmarked DUBLIN Oc[tober] 29 and 4 No[vember].

[1747]<sup>242</sup>

**Tuesday, October 20.** Waited, at her desire, on an aged gentlewoman, who accosted me with 'Sir, I sent for you to ask you a few questions that if I find you wronged, I may be yr an advocate if otherwise an adversary'. Her first interrogatory was whether I gave the sacrament to our people privately and extorted a shilling from each every time of communicating. I easily and fully satisfied her. She has read our books, she told me, and could not help believing[,] that our design was to revive primitive Christianity; and therefore whosoever is on God's side, is must be on ours. Our taking so much pains, she added, confirmed her in her opinion of us, and the extravagant improbable stories our adversaries tell of us determined her

<sup>239</sup>Baker has omitted this final shorthand section, which appears as [...] in his transcription.

<sup>240</sup>On Mrs Lewin, see above n. 205.

<sup>241</sup>The period covered by the journal materials falls between these dates. The appended letter to his brother John, however, is dated October 29.

<sup>242</sup>This annotation is not in the hand of either John or Charles Wesley.

to inquire of me and hear with her own ears. She desired me to ~~???~~<sup>243</sup> go to prayer with the family, and to see her again, as she was confined by lameness, as often as I could.

**Wednesday, October 21.** I had promised Mrs F., our landlady, (to make her easy), that the first time the mob came to make a riot I would go out to them; and thenceforth preach no more in her room. But the bridle has been in their mouth, that from ~~the beginning~~ of my entrance in to this day, not one rioter has appeared within the walls at the time of preaching. Yet as her importunity increased and she pleads a sort of promise of mine, and offers to excuse our making good the damage, if we will quit the room directly; at last I have agreed with the advice of the Church to give it up. Accordingly, this evening I preached on the good Samaritan with divine assistance and next morning, for the last time on the Lord's appearing. Our hearts were greatly comforted together.

Breakfasted with a serious Baptist, who would fain make converts of Charles Perronet<sup>244</sup> and me. I heard her arguments and accepted her books without the least inclination to contradict her. Suffice for the time past that we laid the whole stress on externals. Let us settle them (still say I)<sup>245</sup> but *first* become new creatures.

Met the society once more in Marlborough street and a greater blessing in the midst of them than ever. Our landlady was present and brought to her tears by my warnings against covetousness. Our friendly lawyer also, and his wife, the first affected like the poor publican.<sup>246</sup> They passed the rest of the evening with us and our singers, and went away not a little pleased with their entertainment.

**Friday, October 23.** Met the few scattered sheep at our S[ister] Crump's just opposite to our old room and had sweet fellowship with them in prayer and word. She agrees to let us the upper floor to preach in [so] that the poor people may be kept together.

Soon after I got home she sent me word that she durst not let me the room because her father threatened to cast her off upon hearing of it and the landlord to turn her out of the house. I cannot but observe how

<sup>243</sup> At this point in the MS there is an unreadable struck-out word.

<sup>244</sup> On Charles Perronet, see above n. 123.

<sup>245</sup> The words in parenthesis have been inserted by Charles above the line.

<sup>246</sup> Cf. Luke 18:10.

hard Satan fights for his kingdom. We are forced to dispute every inch of ground with him. At present he seems to have got an advantage and driven us off that part of his ground which is occupied by the rich.

Opened our house at the other end of the town with solemn prayer. These are more noble than the gentry being mostly poor and vulgar. Near 200 joined in earnest supplication for our church and the success of the gospel to be preached in this place. Visited a sick man who has been convinced, without hearing the word, by reading my brother's sermons, and justified, as far as I can find, by the immediate voice of Christ.

**Saturday, October 24.** J. Trembath<sup>247</sup> preached this morning at S[ister] Cramp's, which so alarmed our old landlady, that she flew from her own proposals and refused to release us of our bargain. If we preached in the neighbourhood, she said, it was as bad or worse as preaching in the room. Therefore she would compel us to keep it, which I am now resolved to do, being clear in my own conscience and before God and man. Accordingly one<sup>248</sup> preached there [in] the evening and [on]

**Sunday, October 25.** between 6 and 7 in the morning to a larger company than had been seen there for a long time. I spake meantime to the Society assembled at my lodgings, then to a great congregation at the Green from John: 'And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me!'<sup>249</sup> The word took place and many followed the drawings.

Passed three hours under my usual burden among the dry bones of the house of Israel.<sup>250</sup> At S. Patrick,<sup>251</sup> I mean, in public prayer and the sacrament. Of what How different the spirit here from that in our chapel at London! I seldom enter the place; but the Zealots are ready to drag me out, like that old profaner of the temple Paul.<sup>252</sup> Such murmuring, disputing,

<sup>247</sup> On [John] Trembath, see above n. 236.

<sup>248</sup> This sentence is a little jumbled in the MS and the transcription here not entirely certain. The use of 'one', which is not entirely clear in the MS, is unusual for Charles. What appears to have happened is that Charles first wrote 'on' (as has been supplied here at the end of this line of MS text), to which he then added an 'e'. 'Preached there evening' looks reasonably certain, though to make sense of it the 'in' has had to be supplied.

<sup>249</sup> Cf. John 12:32.

<sup>250</sup> A possible allusion to Ezek 37:4.

<sup>251</sup> Church of Ireland Cathedral, Dublin.

<sup>252</sup> Cf. Acts 24:6.

railing and [loud]<sup>253</sup> abuse the very sight of me occasions, that I can compare the house of God to nothing but a den of thieves and murders.<sup>254</sup>

The Dean,<sup>255</sup> indeed, I must accept and give honour to whom honour is due. He has always behaved toward us with great courtesy and love, looks pleased to see us make the bulk of the communicants; appointed us a seat for ourselves (but the underling officer's son thrust us out) and constantly administers the sacrament to me first as the order of our church requires.

Stood our ground in the Green for half an hour in the rain. Gave the sacrament to a poor dying youth, who seems not far from the blood of sprinkling.<sup>256</sup> Went to church at S. Catherine<sup>257</sup> and walked thence at half past 5 in the dark and dirt to Dolphin's Barn. Mr Perronet had by mistake given notice my preaching there *after* evening service. I should never have chosen to *begin* in the night and before our windows were secured by shutters, but was now compelled to it a sorely against my will. The house, I found, would not hold a 4th of the congregation and therefore stood in the garden under the house-wall. Between one and two thousand<sup>258</sup> stood in the open air and drank in the strange glad tidings. My text was 'comfort ye, comfort ye my people, saith your God'.<sup>259</sup> He was sensibly present as the God of all consolation.<sup>260</sup> The neighbours, and those who had never heard the word before, received it with all readiness of mind. I found this is a place which God hath chosen and prayed in faith that here the gathering of the people might be!<sup>261</sup>

J. Trembath was preaching at the same time to a yard full of serious hearers in Mary-bone lane. We met soon after 7 at our lodgings. I expected the Society only, but hundreds were now crammed together in all the room and stairs to hear the word. I preached was quite exhausted with preaching 4 times today already, and walking several miles, but the Lord

<sup>253</sup>The word in the MS actually appears to be 'load' rather than 'loud'. However, the remainder of the sentence seems to require an adjective here rather than a verb.

<sup>254</sup>An allusion to Mark 11:17 and parallels.

<sup>255</sup>A reference to Francis Corbett, installed 31st January, 1747. See further William Monk Mason, *The History and Antiquities of the Collegiate and Cathedral Church of St. Patrick* (Dublin: 1820), p. 446.

<sup>256</sup>Cf. Heb. 12:24.

<sup>257</sup>This is likely a reference to St Catherine's Church, Thomas Street, Dublin (Church of Ireland).

<sup>258</sup>Charles actually wrote this as 'between one and 2000', but his meaning is plain.

<sup>259</sup>Cf. Isa. 40:1.

<sup>260</sup>A possible allusion to Rom. 15:5.

<sup>261</sup>A possible allusion to Gen. 49:10.

gave me fresh strength to expound his meeting with Zacchaeus.<sup>262</sup> I feared one of our lodgers, a papist, would be offended, but he was wonderfully pleased and many others comforted together with me. Our brother Verney especially who could truly say 'this day is salvation come to this house!'<sup>263</sup>

It was near 9 before the company went and then I found myself as fresh and strong as in the morning.

**Monday, October 26.** Began *meeting* visiting the classes, took in several new members and put out others who had been too hastily admitted by our helpers. It strengthened my hands to find some who have received forgiveness in hearing me, as well as the other preachers. One man especially, who on my declaring in the Society I know our brethren in London are now praying for us and the Spirit is come from them to us, – in that instant he found the peace of God and rejoiced with the unspeakable joy of faith and love.<sup>264</sup>

Preached again in the evening at our house, which was fuller than ever I saw it before. How wisely does God bring good out of evil! Through the courteousness of our landlady we have got our room again and hope to stay in it till we have shaken Satan's kingdom.

**Tuesday, October 27.** Met, in visiting the classes, with one who received forgiveness, as he now informs me, while I was giving the society an account of the 7 malefactors I attended to Tyburn, who all died in Christ and full assurance of faith that they should be with him that day in Paradise.<sup>265</sup>

**Wednesday, October 28.** Dined at Mr C[ennick]'s, who comes forward, with his wife, if not in, yet *toward* the narrow way.<sup>266</sup> At night he called upon us, to look over our writings, and secure us against all fraud in the purchase of the house. This also hath God wrought and given us the heart of this man, both for his own good and ours.

<sup>262</sup>Cf. Luke 19:2.

<sup>263</sup>Luke 19:2.

<sup>264</sup>A possible allusion to 1 Peter 1:8.

<sup>265</sup>Cf. Luke 23:43.

<sup>266</sup>A probable allusion to Matt. 7:14.

<sup>267</sup>{Dear brother

Still I fear some after-stroke from [Samuel] Larwood,<sup>268</sup> and should be easier if you could assure me all is safe. Commend to me<sup>269</sup> Butt's contrivance as much as you please, only trust him not; for he has fully<sup>270</sup> abused your confidence.}

Whether Charles Perronet leave me or not on Saturday is still undetermined. Charles Skelton carried our horses to Bristol, and returns by ship. {J. Trembath must stay with me. It is as much as his soul is worth to be left to himself till he is humbled so far as to see his danger.}

Haughton I don't expect to see before our brethren go hence.<sup>271</sup> 'Twas inexcusable, his delay, when you wrote me word from Dublin that you had *then* sent him orders to set out.

Had you the thought to send me by J. Healy as much of your volume as is printed I would see it, if possible, before it be published. Your answer to the bishop should not be lost. Let the 3 passages be corrected with a pen, and then sell it privately. You must let B. Thornton copy your new Oxford sermon in shorthand, and send it me for my approbation.

We propose building a kind of booth in our garden to screen the hearers this winter. J. H[ealy]'s judgment determines us to Crampton's or Carr's ground – unless the still brethren<sup>272</sup> should throw up their room in Dudgeon: then we succeed.

I set up my rest here for the winter. Toward February, I presume, you will relieve me yourself. {Mr. Williams is running into debt again; but take no notice of it to him. If my warning will stop him, well; if not, that will only happen which I expect, and we must part again. It cannot yet enter

<sup>267</sup>At this point in the MS Charles has drawn a line underneath to which he has appended the following letter. For the transcription of the letter, much of which is in shorthand, I have utilised the work of Baker, *The Works of John Wesley: Letters*, vol. 26, p. 266–268.

<sup>268</sup>Samuel Larwood (d. 1756) was active in the Irish itinerancy from 1748 and was therefore one of the earliest itinerants to work in Ireland. He attended the first Irish Conference in 1752, at which it was decided that he should return to his native England. He was again appointed to Ireland the following year, but left the Connexion soon after and became an independent minister in Southwark, London. See Crookshank, *History of Methodism in Ireland*, vol. 1, pp. 25, 35–36 *et passim*, and Robert Gallagher, *Pioneer Preachers of Irish Methodism* (1965), p. 3.

<sup>269</sup>Baker has 'me to'. The shorthand is, however, pretty clearly 'to me'.

<sup>270</sup>Baker has 'fouly (?)' at this point; 'fully' seems a very plausible alternative reading (the shorthand actually appears to read 'fili/y').

<sup>271</sup>The words 'go hence' are written above the line as a correction for a now struck-out indecipherable word.

<sup>272</sup>A reference to the Moravians.

into my heart to conceive that God will ever join him and me in one work.

Your reasonings about tea do not appear conclusive. 'It is right and good for you and the people to leave it off, therefore for me.' I never thought of tying up myself for life, neither shall I ever make any promise of drinking it no more. I am not fond of disputations, and therefore never opposed your arguments against it, though some of them appeared frivolous to me, such as the unwholesomeness, an idea invented} *ex post facto*. {Indeed I have often heard you, though you now forget it, plead that argument on the other side the case. But my two reasons for leaving it<sup>273</sup> were: (1). example, that the poor people might leave off what they could not afford; (2), your desire. As to myself I must still insist upon my privilege either to use it or let it alone. Neither will I give up the liberty of ever having a friend to visit me, which I must do with tea, my only entertainment for him.

As to my drinking it in Dublin, I have David's reason, and were it sacred as the shewbread I should not scruple it when I can get nothing.<sup>274</sup> I find I must take care how I engage myself for the time to come, seeing} *vestigial nulla retrorsum*,<sup>275</sup> {and you make that a<sup>276</sup> point of some importance which you yourself lately told me was not the most excellent way. However, my example need not clash with yours. We are on different sides of the water, and may so continue. I am very well content to give up old England, and see it no more for ever; but if we should meet there again my present mind is to abstain from tea there, merely to oblige.

The above journal send to Mr. Blackwell<sup>277</sup> and Mr. Perronet. Peace be with you. Farewell.

<sup>273</sup>The shorthand for 'for leaving it' has been written above the line.

<sup>274</sup>Cf. Mark 2:26 and parallels.

<sup>275</sup>Baker annotates this with 'There is no retracing one's steps' (Horace, *Epistles*, I. i. 74–5).

<sup>276</sup>Baker has a very minor error here in missing 'a'.

<sup>277</sup>Ebenezer Blackwell (1711–82), a wealthy banker of Change Alley in London, and a distant relative of George Whitefield. He assisted Whitefield in handling the money collected for the colliers' school at Kingswood. Blackwell became a close friend and confidant of the Wesleys. He often helped the Methodists financially, and was one of the original trustees of City Road Chapel. See also above.



Dublin, Oct.} 29

Addressee: [No addressee recorded]

Source: DDCW 6/21

Document: Autograph Manuscript

Date: October 28–November 6 [1747]

Place from: Dublin

Additional: None

**Wednesday October 28.** Prayed by our S[ister] Baker whom I had late checked for her too-great contempt of death as it seemed to me. A trying time is come, while she keeps her confidence.

**Friday October 30.** Kept the intercession at Dolphin's Barn and preached to many attentive souls from Ezek. 9 In our return we were stoned for the length of the street or two. Charles Perronet<sup>278</sup> interposed his back to screen me. Here I received the first blow since I came to Dublin. Mr Coates met us once more while the holiday folk were pursuing us and encouraged us to go on without regarding them. Near our lodgings they took their leave of us without hurting either.

**Saturday October 31.** Dined at Mr Gibson's and heard the best news of any since our coming hither, namely that our Sister Baker was just departed in full triumph. To one who asked her this morning how she did she answered 'bravely, bravely; never better!' The pains of death had then got hold on her but she smiled on the welcome messenger; taking leave of her husband and children with calm joy; ~~and soon after fell asleep~~ expressed great satisfaction at having chosen to suffer affliction with the people of God; confirmed those about her in the same happy choice and soon after fell asleep and woke in Paradise.

I called at the house as well to exhort the mourners and see the late temple of the Holy Ghost.<sup>279</sup> The happy soul had left a smile on the clay to tell where she was gone. We were all much comforted in prayer and thanksgiving.

<sup>278</sup> On Charles Perronet, see above n. 123.

<sup>279</sup> A possible allusion to 1 Cor. 6:19.

Preached for the last time in Mary Bone Lane from Rev 7: 'these are they that come out of great tribulation, etc.' It was a time of solemn rejoicing in hope of that day when all tears shed wiped away from our eyes.<sup>280</sup>

**Sunday November 1.** Met the Society for the first time in Marlbr[ough] Street. Most of them were present and the Lord in the midst. I left our brethren to preach and walk to the Green where I found a large and quiet audience. As at St Patrick's, Mr K[ing]<sup>281</sup> entertained us with a discourse so full of low pitiful lies and nonsense as I never heard from any, except the ingenious Mr Hoblin.

I went from Church to the Green and from discoursing there half an hour hastened to Dolphin's Barn; our garden, which holds near 3,000, was almost full. I called to many who had ears to hear: 'the time is fulfilled, the Kingdom of God is at hand, repent ye and believe the gospel'.<sup>282</sup> They heard with surprising attention, not one disturbed us by deed or word, neither in departing through the city. It was half hour past 5 when I came to my lodgings and found them crowded with strangers, near 500 in computation, to whom I enforced Our Lord's most graciously saying: 'Behold, I stand at the door and knock; if any man here might find and open the door I will come into him and sup with him and he with me.'<sup>283</sup> Many heard and opened, I am persuaded, in that hour. We continued in the word and prayer and rejoiced till near 8.00. As my day, so is my strength. Preaching five times is no more than twice a day when the order of providence calls us to it. My strength do I ascribe unto thee<sup>284</sup> and all my success and all my blessings!

**Monday November 2.** Preached: 'Jesus, saviour from sin' at 5.00 in my lodgings and he gave us a plain token that this is his will still concerning us. We intend to continue the preaching here morn[ing] and even[ing] till our new house is lifted up. I admitted 5 or 6 into the Society and among them the soldier who was put under arrest last Sunday for the high crime

<sup>280</sup> Cf. Rev. 21:4.

<sup>281</sup> This most likely to be Rev. James King (d. 1759), Prebendary of Tipper at St Patrick's, 1739–1759.

<sup>282</sup> Cf. Mark 1:15.

<sup>283</sup> Cf. Rev. 3:20.

<sup>284</sup> A possible allusion to Psa. 68:34.

and misdemeanour of hearing a sermon at the Green. The officer, after much threatening, let him go but he continues refractory still and resolved to work out his salvation.

**Tuesday November 3.** Called in the evening on Mr Powel<sup>285</sup> where I found Mr Edwards, landlord to Mr C[ennick].<sup>286</sup> He told me the German Society had refused his proposal which if I liked to, I might now have his house. I soon asked that some of our society should talk with him about it; but the next day, and on second thoughts, and to cut off occasion from them [that?]<sup>287</sup> seek it, I sent Mr Edwards word that I would have nothing to do with it till the time was up and his old tenants had finally refused it. Not that I am so vain as to think they will not abuse slander us (if we succeed them five years hence) and cry we have taken their house and over their heads. All my concern is to do as I would be done by, to keep a conscience void of offence and to avoid all appearance of evil.<sup>288</sup>

**Thursday November 5.** Exhorted the society to walk as becometh the Gospel and rejoiced in their steady and orderly walking thus far. This day we set apart for seeking God in prayer and fasting being utterly at a loss what to do? Whom to send to England of our preachers and whom to keep here. The reasons on both sides appeared so equal, that we have no way to determine but by lot. Accordingly, on

**Friday November 6.** Our family met at 5 as usual (after spending an hour each in private) and we prayed and cast lots. The lot fell on J[ohn] Trembath,<sup>289</sup> who entirely acquiesced with us all in the will of providence. Near a fortnight the [unreadable word] wind has detained our brother Skelton<sup>290</sup> that he might stay and take company with him. The people have come before their time, every morning some before 5 so that we shall be [unreadable word] forced to our old house of preaching. I began at half hour past 5 this morning and our hearts were melted down by the sight of Christ crucified.

<sup>285</sup> On [Samuel] Powell, see above n. 111.

<sup>286</sup> On [John] Cennick, see above n. 15.

<sup>287</sup> Missing word due to a damaged manuscript.

<sup>288</sup> Cf. Luke 6:31 and 1 Thess. 5:22.

<sup>289</sup> On Trembath, see above n. 236.

<sup>290</sup> A probable reference to Charles Skelton, an early convert. See further Crookshank, *History of Methodism in Ireland*, vol. 1, p. 35, et passim.