

## CHARLES WESLEY IN GEORGIA<sup>1</sup>

S T KIMBROUGH, JR.

Charles Wesley's visit to America (1735/1736) became formative for the rest of his life. It is important to note, however, that he went to the New World reluctantly. His brother John, already an ordained priest and thirty-two years of age, had made the decision to go to the Colony of Georgia as a missionary with Colonel Oglethorpe and John persuaded Charles to take Holy Orders in the Church of England and accompany him to America as a missionary. Charles entered the priesthood with great hesitation and he left England with many reservations. His father had just died and his eldest brother Samuel was too busy as a schoolmaster to take care of their mother. Nevertheless, Charles consented to enter the priesthood and to the appointment as a missionary to the colony of Georgia. His mother had said that she would rejoice, if she had twenty sons who were so employed, though she should never see them more.

John Wesley's *Journal* begins with his departure from Gravesend for North America, while Charles's commences with his arrival in Georgia. While the brothers had encountered a band of Moravians on board the ship with a much deeper sense of confidence in Christ, especially in the face of death, and had hope of discovering the same inner peace, Charles's soul was greatly troubled. Just off Tibey Island, Georgia, while still on board the ship *Simmonds* he wrote:

In vain have I fled from myself to America. I still groan under the intolerable weight of inherent misery! If I have never yet repented of my undertaking, it is because I could have hoped for nothing better in England or paradise. Go where I will, I carry my own hell about me.<sup>2</sup>

Nevertheless, in a few days, after beginning his new ministry in Georgia,

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<sup>1</sup> All references to Charles Wesley's original manuscript of the *Journal* will be cited as MSJ followed by the page number. References to the published edition of the *Journal* by Thomas Jackson (London: Mason, 1849, 2 vols.) will be cited as "Jackson" followed by volume and page number, and that of John Telford (London: Hazell, Watson, & Viney, Ltd., for Culley, [1910]) will be cited as "Telford" followed by the page number.

<sup>2</sup> Frank Baker, *Charles Wesley As Revealed by His Letters* (London: Epworth Press, 1948), 22.

he wrote, "No sooner did I enter upon my ministry, than God gave me, like Saul, another heart."<sup>3</sup> Appointed as a missionary, he was also Secretary of Indian Affairs and Oglethorpe's personal secretary, and was given the care of some fifty English families. He had hoped to be a missionary to the Native Americans, which never materialized.

Life in the colony of Georgia provided the young priest, who was twenty-eight years old at the time, the opportunity to lead in worship and prayers and to perform other pastoral functions such as the administration of the sacraments of the church and pastoral counseling. Nevertheless, almost from the beginning of his four-month stay there was constant strife in the colony, and he was often in the midst of it. There was tension with the Spanish, military which made forays into the Georgia area and there was a less comfortable climate along the Georgia Coastline with its sand flies and sweltering summer heat than that to which Charles was accustomed in England. This was not the common experience of a Westminster schoolboy and an Oxford University student.

Worst of all tensions, precipitated by two vindictive women, Mrs. Hawkins and Mrs. Welch, arose between Wesley and Oglethorpe, the governor of the Georgia colony. Mrs. Hawkins, wife of the local doctor at St. Simon's Island, where Wesley was stationed, was the primary instigator of a scheme to destroy the reputations of both Oglethorpe and Wesley by pitting the two men against each other in the following way. Mrs. Hawkins told Wesley that Oglethorpe had made amorous approaches towards her and tried to sleep with her. She then told Oglethorpe that Wesley had made similar overtures and had tried to sleep with her not only on board the *Simmonds*, but in the colony as well. These rumors spread throughout the very small population very quickly. For a time both men believed the truth of the rumors about the other, only to discover in the end that the entire matter was nothing but empty and false accusations.

This conspiracy against Charles Wesley weighed heavily upon him and when he finally made the decision to return to England, he was greatly relieved. Still from time to time in the future he would reflect on the Georgia experience and think that in a return to the colony he would find true solace.

On September 24, 1735 the Trustees of the Colony of Georgia recorded an "appointment of Charles Wesley, A.M., to be secretary for Indian Affairs of Georgia." Just two days later they authorized "a new town in Georgia to be laid out, to be called Frederica." On September 24 Charles was also ordained priest of the Church of England. On October 10 John Wesley was appointed "missionary at Savannah."<sup>4</sup> And on October 14, 1735 Charles

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<sup>3</sup> MSJ, 1, March 9, 1736.

<sup>4</sup> Extracts from the Minutes of the Trustees of the Colony of Georgia in *Historical Collections of Georgia*, edited by George White (New York: Putney & Russell, 1855), all three quotations are on page 16.

and John embarked at Gravesend on the ship *Simmonds*, a 200-ton vessel commanded by Captain John Cornish, for the New World. On February 5, 1736, the *Simmonds* reached Georgia. On board were John and Charles Wesley, twenty-seven Moravians, Bishop David Nietschmann, the captain, and crew.

Charles spent his first month in Savannah during which time little is known of his activities, except for some comments in John's records. For example, an entry in John's *Journal* from February 19 states:

My brother and I took boat, and, passing by Savannah, went up to pay our first visit in America to the poor heathens. But neither Tomochichi nor Sinauky were at home. Coming back, we waited upon Mr. Causton, the Chief Magistrate of Savannah. From him we went with Mr. Spangenberg to the Moravian brethren. About eleven we returned to the boat, and came to our ship about four in the morning.<sup>5</sup>

Charles, however, apparently did not begin his *Journal* until he arrived on St. Simon's Island in March.

### The Locus of Charles Wesley's Georgia Activity

From the time of Charles Wesley's arrival on St. Simon's Island most of his activity was located in and around Frederica. He was engaged in pastoral, priestly, and civil duties. As Oglethorpe's personal secretary/scribe, his mobility was significantly limited. For example, he did not travel with Oglethorpe on his expedition to encounter the Spanish. Oglethorpe no doubt felt he should be attending to his priestly and civil duties in the governor's absence.

There is a record in the *Journal* of a journey Charles made to Savannah two months after his arrival on St. Simon's Island. He set out for Savannah on May 11 by boat, though the last five miles were on foot. He records that Mr. Ingham, Mr. Delamotte, and his brother were surprised by his unexpected visit. Apparently he and John, however, had agreed that Charles would stay in Savannah and assume John's pastoral duties, while the latter traveled to Frederica.

Wednesday, May 19. According to our agreement, my brother set forward for Frederica, and I took charge of Savannah in his absence. The hardest duty imposed on me was the expounding the lesson morning and evening to one hundred hearers. I was surprised at my own confidence, and acknowledged it not my own. The day was usually divided between visiting my parishioners,<sup>6</sup> considering the lesson, and conversing with Mr. Ingham, Delamotte, and Appee.

There is only one additional paragraph about this stay in Savannah, an

<sup>5</sup> *John Wesley Works Series*, "Journals and Diaries" I (1735-1738), vol. 18, ed. by W. R. Ward and Richard P. Heitzenrater (Nashville: Abingdon, 1988), 149-50; henceforth cited as JWW followed by volume and page number.

<sup>6</sup> MSJ, 38-9.

entry for May 25, concerning the visit to a young girl who was terminally ill, which is noted below. From May 19 to May 25 Charles provided no record of his activities in Savannah. On May 28 Charles included the long account of Oglethorpe's expedition, and he was no doubt back in Frederica at this time, most certainly by May 31, when he discussed Oglethorpe's message to him about going to court.

### **The Georgia Section of the *Journal***

How may one describe the Georgia account in Charles Wesley's *Journal*? What is the nature of the document? First of all, this is his personal record for the period from March 9 to July 26, 1736, when he was in the colony of Georgia. It is necessary to clarify the term "journal", as it applies to this material. It is in actuality a journal of part of his stay in Georgia. Out of a total of 137 days for which he might have recorded his activities, reflections, and reactions, there are existing records of only 56 days. That is slightly more than 40% of the total number of days. For March he recorded 17 days, omitting 5 days (his record begins on March 9). For April he recorded 15 days, omitting 13 days. For May he recorded 12 days, omitting 19 days. For June he recorded only 5 days, omitting 25 days. For July he recorded only 7 days, omitting 19 days (he departed Georgia on July 26). Whether there are other records yet to come to light for any of this period remains to be seen.

Not all of the material in the Georgia section of the *Journal* originated with Charles Wesley. There are two large segments that are long reports from Oglethorpe. The entry for May 9, which also includes May 10, is a lengthy report of Oglethorpe regarding one of his expeditions. It is, however, written in the third person by Charles about the expedition. For May 28th there is yet a lengthier entry, which consists of an actual extract of Oglethorpe's letter regarding the expedition. It is written in the first person with quotations marks, hence, it appears to be Oglethorpe's own account.

There is the authentic Charles Wesley material, of course, both in long-hand and in shorthand. One might surmise from John Telford's one volume of the *Journal* of Charles Wesley that almost all of the shorthand passages have been transcribed and are included within brackets in his edition. That is not the case, however. It would seem that Charles wrote the passages in shorthand to conceal the extremely sensitive content which had to do primarily with intrigue on the part of Mrs. Hawkins, Mrs. Welch, their husbands, and his strained relationship with Mr. Oglethorpe. We shall return to this theme later.

Along with Charles Wesley's responsibilities in Georgia as Secretary for Indian Affairs, he was also Oglethorpe's personal secretary and the local priest of the Church of England at Frederica. There is considerable information in the Georgia section of the *Journal* regarding all of these

duties, but particularly his practice of the priestly office.

### Pastoral and Priestly Duties

On Tuesday, March 9, the day of Charles's arrival in Georgia, he recorded, "I spent the afternoon in conference with my parishioners. (With what trembling ought I to call them mine!) At seven we had evening prayers, in the open air, at which Mr. Oglethorpe was present."

The next morning, March 10, Charles wrote, "Between five and six in the morning read short prayers to a few at the fire, before Mr. Oglethorpe's tent in a hard shower of rain."

These *Journal* entries on Charles Wesley's first two days in the colony indicate his regular practice of saying the daily offices of Morning and Evening Prayer in a long and short form.

On his second day in Georgia, March 10, he was already engaged in pastoral counseling.

Toward noon I found an opportunity of talking at the tent-door with Mrs. [Anne] Welch. I laboured to guard her against the care of the world and to give herself to God in the Christian sacrifice; but to no purpose. God was pleased not to add weight to my words; therefore they could make no impression.

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

This later changed and Mrs. Germain recanted her consent.

There is also a moving account of Wesley's visit to a young girl, who was dying, during his brief stay in Savannah to relieve his brother John.

Tuesday, May 25. I visited girl of fifteen, who lay a-dying of an incurable illness. She had been in that condition for many months, as her parents, some of the best people of the town, informed me. I started at the sight of a breathing corpse. Never was a real corpse half so ghastly. Her groans and screams alone distinguished her from one. They had no intermission; yet was she perfectly sensible, as appeared by her feebly lifting up her eyes when I bad her trust in God, and read the prayers for the *energumens*. We were all in tears. She made signs for me to come again.<sup>8</sup>

On March 11 the *Journal* states, "At ten this morning I began the full service [meaning Morning Prayer], to about a dozen women whom I had got together; intending to continue it, and only to read a few prayers to the men before they went to work. I also expounded the second lesson with some boldness, as I had a few times before." This is Charles Wesley's first record of his preaching in Georgia.

Worship settings were often improvised, as one might expect in a frontier setting. On Sunday, March 14, Wesley wrote, "We had prayers under a

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<sup>7</sup> MSJ, 2.

<sup>8</sup> MSJ, 39.

great tree.” Further, “I preached with boldness, on singleness of intention.”<sup>9</sup> On Sunday, March 28, he mentioned that he “went to the storehouse (our tabernacle at present).”

The call to prayer was also had a different sound from the church bells of England. The *Journal* entry of March 25 states, “At five I heard the second drum beat for prayers.”<sup>10</sup>

There was also regular administration of the sacrament of Holy Communion, though it was not always well attended; and there was psalm singing. “After spending an hour at the camp in singing such Psalms as suited the occasion, I went to bed in the hut, which was thoroughly wet with today’s rain.”<sup>11</sup>

Wesley’s commitment to the sacrament of baptism, both of infants and adults, is evidenced throughout the *Journal*. As noted above, already on one of his first days in Georgia he is engaged in conversation with Mrs. Germain about baptizing her child by immersion. While he was not able to get her to remain faithful to her consent to the child’s baptism in that manner, Wesley mentions another child baptism at which he officiated.

Already the question of form in worship was surfacing for Charles Wesley in the Georgia setting. It is succinctly put in the following exchange between him and Mr. Oglethorpe on March 26.

Mr. Oglethorpe, meeting me in the evening, asked when I had prayers? I said, I waited his pleasure. While the people came slowly, “You see, Sir,[”] said I, [“]they do not lay too great stress on forms.[”] “The reason of that is because others idolize them.” I believe few stay for that reason. “I don’t know that.”<sup>12</sup>

## Secretarial and Civil Duties

In addition to his pastoral and priestly responsibilities we learn from the Georgia account in the *Journal* of Charles Wesley’s secretarial duties for Oglethorpe and of his own civil responsibilities that were related to his appointment as Secretary of Indian Affairs. After his arrival he stated that he was so exhausted from letter writing for Oglethorpe that he would not spend six days more in the same manner for all of Georgia. Nevertheless, he took his responsibilities seriously and often attended court hearings to be properly informed in matters of law.

His *Journal* entry for June 16 summarizes well his secular duties.

This and many foregoing days have been mostly spent in drawing up Bonds, Affidavits, licences and instructions, for the traders; the evenings in writing letters for Mr. Oglethorpe. We seldom parted till midnight. Tonight, at half-hour past

<sup>9</sup> This was probably his brother John’s sermon, which Charles had copied. See Kenneth G. C. Newport, *The Sermons of Charles Wesley* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 306-313.

<sup>10</sup> MSJ, 10.

<sup>11</sup> MSJ, 14.

<sup>12</sup> MSJ, 16.

twelve, he set out in the scoutboat for Frederica. I went to bed at one, and rose again at four;<sup>13</sup> but found no effect this variety of fatigue had upon my body till some time after.

### Devotional Life and Scriptural Orientation

One gains tremendous insight from the Georgia section of the *Journal* into Charles Wesley's own devotional and meditative life. Here he mirrors his own experiences in Scripture, as he reads it privately and in public worship. This foreshadows how, after his conversion in 1738, he later writes hymns and poems based on Scripture.

In this part of the *Journal* there are a total of 27 scriptural citations and references, 8 from the Hebrew Scriptures (Old Testament) and 18 from the Greek Scriptures (New Testament). Charles sometimes quotes them at length, occasionally includes the texts with no references, and sometimes he only gives the reference or a portion of a scriptural passage. Now and then he gives a wrong reference. Often he is, no doubt, quoting from memory and misquotes a text or paraphrases it. For example, in quoting Matthew 10:18, which reads "Ye shall be brought before governors and kings for my sake," he wrote, "Ye shall be brought before rulers," etc. (March 25).<sup>14</sup> His quotation of 2 Timothy 4:1-3, 5, and 16-18 has a number of differences from the AV (March 26).<sup>15</sup>

Many of the texts to which Wesley refers are those read at Morning and Evening Prayer. Frequently the texts to which he refers speak to him particularly in the midst of the conflicts in which he found himself embroiled with Mrs. Hawkins, Mrs. Welch, and Mr. Oglethorpe.

Indicative of the strength he drew privately from Scripture is the following portion of his entry for March 28.

In my walk at noon I was full of heaviness. Complained to God that I had no friend but Him, and even in Him could now find no comfort. Immediately I received power to pray, then opening my Bible read as follows: "Hearken unto me, ye that seek the Lord: look unto the rock whence ye are hewn. . . . Fear ye not the reproach of men, neither be ye afraid of their reviling[s]. . . . Awake, awake . . . flee away."<sup>16</sup> . . . Who art thou, that thou shouldst be afraid of man that shall die; . . . and hast feared continually every day because of the fury of the oppressor?" (Isaiah 51:1,7,9-11,12-13)<sup>17</sup> After reading this no wonder I found myself renewed in confidence.

Here is a series of his affirmations about the strength drawn from Holy

<sup>13</sup> MSJ, 49.

<sup>14</sup> MSJ, 12.

<sup>15</sup> MSJ, 14.

<sup>16</sup> These opening words of verse 9, though one word is not clear in the MSJ, are omitted in Jackson's (1:13) and Telford's (27-28) editions of the *Journal*, and both incorrectly note the sequence of verses from Isaiah 51 as 1,2,12,13. The sequence of verses should be Isaiah 51:1,7,9-11,13.

<sup>17</sup> MSJ, 18.

Scripture (the scriptural references for the passages Wesley quotes in the MSJ follow his affirmations in parenthesis along with the date of the journal entry):

Was revived by those words of our Lord (John 16:1-3,33, March 29).<sup>18</sup>

I find<sup>19</sup> the scripture an inexhaustible fund of comfort (Isaiah 50:2b, 6-9a, March 30).

I found the encouragement I sought for the day, Psalm 52 (52:1-4, April 10).<sup>20</sup>

What words could support more our confidence than that following, out of the Psalms for the day?  
(Psalm 56:1-5, April 11).<sup>21</sup>

What freed me at once from all anxiety was a word of Scripture (John 13:36, May 31).<sup>22</sup>

Here we find also one of Charles Wesley's principles of biblical understanding, namely, that the Scriptures appropriate themselves to us where we are in our needs. On April 10, he wrote,

It were endless to account all that the Scriptures, which have been for so many days adapted to my circumstances, but I cannot pass by the evening's lesson, Heb. 11. I was ashamed of having well nigh sunk under mine, when I beheld the conflicts of those triumphant sufferers, "of whom the world was not worthy" (Hebrews 11:38).<sup>23</sup>

One discrepancy in both Jackson's and Telford's editions of the *Journal* regarding Charles Wesley's quotations from the Book of Psalms must be clarified. On April 10 Wesley speaks of the encouragement he found in the psalm prescribed for the day, namely Psalm 52, from which he quotes verses 1-3. Jackson and Telford both include the AV quotation of these verses, however, in the MS *Journal*, Wesley is clearly quoting from the Psalter of the *Book of Common Prayer*.

Jackson and Telford make the same mistake for the quotation of Psalm 56:1-5 which Wesley includes "out of the Psalms for the day" on April 11.<sup>24</sup> Again Wesley quotes the Psalter of the *Book of Common Prayer*, though not without variants. For "thee" at the end of verse 3, Wesley wrote "the Lord" and he misquotes the end of the psalm as "land of the living" and it should read "light of the living."

Charles Wesley's regular use of the Psalter from the *Book of Common*

<sup>18</sup> MSJ, 19.

<sup>19</sup> MSJ, 20.

<sup>20</sup> MSJ, 23.

<sup>21</sup> MSJ, 23.

<sup>22</sup> MSJ, 48. This is written in shorthand.

<sup>23</sup> MSJ, 23.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.



*Prayer* in the daily offices of Morning and Evening Prayer imbued his speech with its language. Years later when he wrote *Short Hymns on Select Passages of the Holy Scriptures*, a Bible commentary in verse, in the section based on the Psalms he fluctuated between using the psalm texts from the *Book of Common Prayer*, the AV, and his own translations. A large number of the citations, however, are from the *Book of Common Prayer*. This is no doubt due to his familiarity with the text through regularly daily usage.

One final comment should be made regarding the veracity of biblical texts included by Jackson and Telford: the biblical text they print is not always the text exactly as recorded by Charles. This has already been noted regarding the Psalters of the AV and the *Book of Common Prayer*. However, there are other instances. For example, Jackson and Telford include Matthew 10:18-19 for Wesley's record of March 25; however, Wesley only included the first line of verse 18 and quoted it incorrectly, or at least in summarized form.<sup>25</sup>

### Literary Influences

As in the case of Charles Wesley's poetry, one finds in Georgia section of the *Journal* a number of references to literary sources, other than the Bible. He was an avid reader of classical Greek and Latin literature and he apparently memorized large segments of such literature. To the present these citations in the Georgia section of the *Journal* have not been identified.

The first Latin quotation is found in his *Journal* entry for March 28 and reads: *Abiit, erupit, evasit!*<sup>26</sup> "He has gone, he has broken out, he has escaped." This is a citation from Cicero's *In Catilinum Oratio*, (Against Cataline) 2.1. Wesley appears to be quoting from memory, as was often his custom, for he omitted "excessit" and reversed the order of *evasit* and *erupit*. The original text reads: *Abiit, [excessit], erupit, evasit!* "He has gone, [he has departed], he has escaped, he has broken out." He uses the quotation in reference to the departure of Mr. Ingham, who having left will be spared the grief of the situation with Mrs. Hawkins and Mrs. Welch. He has now escaped from it all, which is no doubt Charles's secret desire.

A second Latin quotation is found in Wesley's record of March 31.

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

*Curramus praecipites, et  
Dum jacit in ripa calcemus Caesaris hostem.*<sup>27</sup>

<sup>25</sup> MSJ, 12.

<sup>26</sup> MSJ, 18.

<sup>27</sup> MSJ, 20.

The words come from Juvenal's *Satires* x.85-86 and may be translated thus: "Let us run headlong (swiftly) and while he lies on the bank, let us trample the enemy of Caesar." Clearly Charles Wesley identified with this excerpt from Juvenal's satirizing, self-deprecating prayers, which, as Harold F. Guite points out, "Samuel Johnson englished and modernized . . . as 'The Vanity of Human Wishes.'" <sup>28</sup> Once again Wesley has probably quoted from memory, hence, the errors in his transcription of Juvenal's text. The second line of the quotation should read: *dum jacet in ripa, calcemus Caesaris hostem*. Wesley misspells *jacit* for *jacet*.

A third Latin quotation is found in a comment Wesley makes to Oglethorpe on April 24. As Oglethorpe is about to depart thinking he may fall in battle, Charles recorded:

He [Oglethorpe] gave me a diamond ring: I took it, and said: "If, as I believe,

*Postremum fato, quo te alloquor, hoc est.*

Hear what you will quickly know to be true, as soon as you are entered upon the separate state. This ring I shall never make use of for myself. I have no worldly hopes. I have renounced the world. Life is bitterness to me. I came hither to lay it down. <sup>29</sup>

This is a quotation from Virgil's *Aeneid*, vi.466. Once again Wesley is no doubt quoting from memory, thus explaining the errors in his text. The original reads: *extremum fato quo te alloquor, hoc est*. The English translation is: This is the last (word), which, on account of faith, I speak to you. <sup>30</sup>

On April 24 there is yet a fourth Latin quotation, which Wesley calls out to Oglethorpe in the boat, after he has run through the woods to catch up with the departing vessel. The boat was stopped and when asked by Oglethorpe whether he wanted anything, Wesley replied, "God be with you. Go forth, *Christo duce, et auspice Christo!*" <sup>31</sup> The English translation is: Christ being your leader, and Christ your aid. Elijah Hoole adds this footnote in his transcription of this account: "Bancroft [*History of America*] says that Oglethorpe's motto, given to him by Charles Wesley, was, 'Nothing is to be despaired of with Christ for leader.'—*Christo duce nil desperandum.*" <sup>32</sup>

A fifth Latin quotation appears in the *Journal* record of July 25.

I resigned my secretary's place, in a letter to Mr. Oglethorpe. After prayers he took me aside, and asked me whether all I had said was not summed up in the line he showed me on my letter.

<sup>28</sup> Correspondence, March 31, 1995.

<sup>29</sup> MSJ, 28.

<sup>30</sup> W. W. Fortenbaugh, correspondence, Nov. 29, 1994.

<sup>31</sup> MSJ, 29.

<sup>32</sup> Elijah Hoole, *Oglethorpe and the Wesley's in America*, (London: R. Needham, 1863), p. 16. Henceforth cited as "Hoole" followed by the page number(s).

*Magis apta tuis tua dona relinquo.*<sup>33</sup>

[Sir, to yourself your slighted gifts I leave,<sup>34</sup>  
Less fit for me to take, than you to give.]

In this instance Charles has supplied his own translation in the form of a rhymed couplet. The quotation is from the Latin of Horace's *Epistles*, 1.vii.43. Once again the errors in the text indicate that he is probably quoting from memory. The original reads: *Atride, magis apta tibi tua dona relinquam*, which may be translated as follows:

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

There are other literary citations in the Georgia section of the *Journal*. On March 30 in lamenting his mistreatment as the clergyman of Frederica, Wesley quotes from one of the Greek classics: **•NIZTDs •2X 4@1, •<XFJ4@1.**<sup>35</sup> These three words are from Nestor's speech in Homer's *Iliad* (ix:63f.), when he is trying to diminish tension between Agamemnon and Diomedes; the former wishes to abandon the war and the latter heatedly objects (English translation):

Clanless, lawless, heartless [is he whose heart is  
set on the icy chill of civil war.]

Wesley is describing his own despondency and loneliness with the words "clanless, lawless, heartless."

The quotation from the *Iliad* is followed in the March 30 *Journal* entry with the following two sentences:

Yet are we not hereunto called, **•FJ"J, Å 6•6@B"2, Å.** Even the  
Son of Man had not where to lay his head!<sup>36</sup>

These two Greek words mean "to be restless, to be wretched." The infinitives may suggest that this is not a quotation from Greek classical literature. Wesley may be recalling, however, New Testament usage of the words: **•FJ"J, Å** in 1 Corinthians 4:11; **6•6@B"2, Å** in 2 Timothy 2:9 and James 5:13.

An additional literary citation is recorded by Wesley on July 10. This time, however, he turned to English literature and William Shakespeare.

I was awaked by the news my brother brought us, of Miss Bovey's sudden death. It called up all my sorrow and envy "Ah, poor Ophelia!" was continually in my mind,

<sup>33</sup> MSJ, 50.

<sup>34</sup> MSJ, 51.

<sup>35</sup> MSJ, 19.

<sup>36</sup> MSJ, 19.

“I thought thou shouldest have been my Hamlet’s wife.” Mr. Appee was just set out for Charlestown [on his way to] Holland, intending to return, when he had settled his affairs, and marry her.<sup>37</sup>  
But death had quicker wings than love.<sup>38</sup>

Here Charles quotes Shakespeare’s *Hamlet*, Act V, scene 1. This is once again probably a quotation from memory, as the words “I thought” in the sentence “I thought thou shouldest have been my Hamlet’s wife” should be “I hoped.”

The line “But death had quicker wings than love” is the final literary quotation found in the Georgia section of the *Journal*. This is the last line of “Epigram, from the Greek” by Samuel Wesley, Jr., Charles’s eldest brother. It is found on page 81 of *Poems on Several Occasions* by Samuel Wesley.<sup>39</sup> Charles often went to his brother’s home in Tiverton and copied his poetry and had no doubt read this passage before he went to America and, obviously before his brother published the poem in 1736. He may even have had with him in Georgia copies of some of Samuel’s poems.

### Shorthand Sections of the Georgia Account of the *Journal*

There are five sections of material in the Georgia period of the *Journal* written in shorthand by Charles Wesley. They are included in the journal entries for March 18 (SH1),<sup>40</sup> March 21/22 (SH2),<sup>41</sup> April 16 (SH3),<sup>42</sup> April 24 (SH4),<sup>43</sup> and May 31 (SH5).<sup>44</sup> In each instance the subject matter is very sensitive and, to date, all of the shorthand sections have not been published in entirety. Although the shorthand is omitted by Jackson, he indicates with an asterisk or other symbol where the shorthand sections are located in the MS *Journal*. There are, however, two other sources, which have included decipherments of major portions of the shorthand material. They are Elijah Hoole’s *Oglethorpe and the Wesleys* (1863) and John Telford’s edition of volume 1 of the *Journal* (1910), which includes some shorthand passages deciphered by Nehemiah Curnock. While Telford included large segments of the shorthand material in his edition of volume 1, he did not include all of them, nor did Hoole. For example, both omit SH1, the shorthand entry for March 18. Where Telford and Hoole include the same shorthand sections, their decipherments are not always identical and Hoole generally exercises more liberty. Indeed, at times he paraphrases or summarizes. Nevertheless, there are occasional sentences transcribed by Hoole that are missing in

<sup>37</sup> MSJ, 50.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> London: E. Say, 1736.

<sup>40</sup> MSJ, 5.

<sup>41</sup> MSJ, 6-7.

<sup>42</sup> MSJ, 25-6.

<sup>43</sup> MSJ, 28.

<sup>44</sup> MSJ, 47-8.

Telford. For example, for Monday, March 22, Telford omits the sentence about the struggle between Constable Hird and Mrs. Hawkins: “He laid hold of her husband’s gun, and she as quickly caught up another.”

For April 16 (SH3), Telford omits an entire paragraph that is included by Hoole, however, Hoole’s transcription is a summary and does not include many phrases from the shorthand. For this same date two conversational exchanges between Charles Wesley and Mrs. Welch are also not included in Telford, but do appear in Hoole.

Jackson excludes all of Charles Wesley’s shorthand record in his edition of the Georgia section of the *Journal*. It is not important to speculate about why. Clearly the material is extremely sensitive in terms of subject matter, for it has primarily to do with the strife caused by Mrs. Hawkins and Mrs. Welch, who accuse Charles Wesley of dishonorable conduct with them and Wesley’s conflict with Oglethorpe. What it is important to observe here is that it is impossible to interpret properly much of the *Journal* published by Jackson without the transcriptions of the shorthand.

(1) *Shorthand segment 1* (SH1) appears at March 18 in the Georgia account of the *Journal*. It consists of Mrs. Welch’s indictment of Mr. Oglethorpe as wicked, a stranger to religion, having kept a mistress in England, and having solicited her in England. She also maintains that he had the same designs on Mrs. Hawkins. Here one finds the heart of the kind of intrigue campaign, which was conducted by these two women. Mrs. Hawkins told Oglethorpe that John Wesley was in love with her and that he had kissed her some 1,000 times and that he wept at parting from her on the ship. Mrs. Welch then told Charles Wesley that Oglethorpe was jealous of him and had done all that he could to persuade her that he [Charles Wesley] had the same designs on her. Wesley records at the conclusion of the conversation that Mrs. Welch admitted that she loved Oglethorpe.

Here is the full text of SH1. The first two paragraphs are Wesley’s record of what Mrs. Welch said about Oglethorpe and the final paragraph consists of Wesley’s comments. The words “From her” at the conclusion are a sign that Wesley wanted it clearly understood, even in his own shorthand, that these were her words to him, not his own.

Mr. Oglethorpe is a wicked man and a perfect stranger to righteousness. He kept a mistress in England to my knowledge, and even there solicited me. He forebore while I was sick, pretending he had laid aside all such designs, but resumed them upon my recovery. He would persuade me, righteousness is but a church teaching. Mrs. Hawkins persuaded me he has the same designs, I fear, with better hopes of success. His gratitude led set him against your brother. In regard to this, she has told him, your brother was in love with her, has kissed her a thousand times and wept bitterly in the ship at the thought of parting from her. Mr. Oglethorpe refused a long time to believe it. She is exceedingly jealous of me; fell upon me lately with “Must I have the character of Mr. Oglethorpe’s whore to secure you?” She has also used him with the utmost insolence.

“He is extremely jealous of you; having done all he could to persuade me you had the same design upon me which he has. He contrived your going into the other

boat with answers to hinder your speaking to me.”

She further owned that she love him and was much grieved at the thought of losing his love. Besides she dreaded the consequence of its being changed into hatred as she would then be entirely exposed to the mercy of a woman of absolute power. I encouraged her to trust in God and only then pressed her to seek for satisfaction in the means of grace. From her.<sup>45</sup>

It is important to note that Charles only begins his *Journal* on March 9 and already on March 18 he is caught up in the web of intrigue with Mrs. Welch and Mrs. Hawkins. It is clear from this entry that they are also very instrumental in the strained relationship, which develops between Oglethorpe and Charles Wesley. It is understandable that Wesley did not want this kind of information spread about for common consumption; nevertheless, because of the sensitive nature of the situation he wanted to keep an accurate record of all conversations and related events should he need to refer to the information at some future time. The very fact that the shorthand exists down to the present, indicates that Wesley himself wanted to preserve a record of what transpired.

As previously indicated there is no decipherment of SH1 in Telford or Hoole. Telford includes the following statement at the point of SH1 in the entry for March 18: “The record of her vile accusations is in shorthand and closes with the words, ‘With a brief prayer I instructed her to trust in God and persuaded her to seek for satisfaction only in the means of grace. That ended her.’”<sup>46</sup> The phrase “With a brief prayer” is not in the shorthand.

(2) *Shorthand segment 2* (SH2) is part of the entry for March 21. It includes a note from Dr. Hawkins, who has been confined for firing a gun on Sunday, which was prohibited. He insists that Charles Wesley has been meddling in his affairs and that his patients be cared for. He disputes the authority of confining a surgeon.

In SH2 Wesley explains that he had no role in Hawkins’ confinement, for the gun was fired while he was preaching and then he administered the sacrament of Holy Communion. Thereafter he went into the woods and did not return until dinner time, ca. one half hour after Hawkins’ confinement.

In SH2 Wesley records that Hawkins maintained that Constable Hermsdorf had alarmed Charles, which he said, however, Hermsdorf denied.

In the concluding passage of SH2 Hawkins inquires of Wesley why he did not tell the constable he had no business in confining him. Wesley adds that going home he was informed of what Mrs. Hawkins’ husband was saying about John and himself. The three sentences that follow were not included in Telford’s transcription of this segment of shorthand. “Hawkins, seeing me from the guardroom walking with his maid between the two rows of houses, had said, ‘There goes the parson with his whore. I myself saw

<sup>45</sup> Transcription of Richard P. Heitzenrater; MSJ, 5.

<sup>46</sup> Telford, 12.

her and him were under the bushes.’ Modest Mrs. Hawkins added, ‘upon the ground.’” Is the reference here to Mrs. Hawkins or Mrs. Welch? Could the reading be: “There goes the parson with his whore.” “I saw him myself here in the residence besides,” Mrs Hawkins added, ‘upon the ground.’” It is very clear why such a sensitive matter was preserved by Charles Wesley in shorthand.

SH2 continues with a long shorthand passage for March 22. This is Charles Wesley’s record of what happened that day. While he was attempting to convince Mrs. Welch not to be concerned with the disturbance, Mrs. Hawkins cried out, “Murder,” and walked away. Wesley recorded that he then learned that Mrs. Welch had joined Mrs. Hawkins in making accusations against him. He then describes an incident between Constable Haydon and Mrs. Hawkins. The former forbid her to enter the camp. She apparently was carrying some bottles and Haydon said that he would carry them. When he held up his arms to prevent her entry into the camp, she broke one of the bottles over his head. Haydon then “caught her in his arms” and she continued to hit him and scream, “Murder.” Then Dr. Hawkins came up and hit the constable. Haydon threw Hawkins to the ground and “set his foot upon him, and said if he resisted he would run his bayonet into him.”

Meanwhile Thomas Hird, another constable, constrained Mrs. Hawkins, “who broke the other bottle on his head.” Then Mr. Welch came up to get into the fray and, yet another constable, Davison, warned him to stay out of the camp. “Nevertheless he ran upon him, took the gun out of his hand, and struck him with all his might on his sides and face; till Haydon interposed and parted them. Welch then ran and gave the doctor [Hawkins] a bayonet, which was immediately taken from him. Mrs. Hawkins cried out continually against the parsons, and swore revenge against my brother and me.”

That afternoon Charles Wesley visited Mrs. Welch and wanted to talk with her about the way she had been treating him but thought better of it. When he saw how angry she was. Charles then inquired whether he could do anything for her or her husband, who was now confined. But she railed at him and he left.

One final incident of that day involving Mrs. Hawkins is included in SH2. Mr. Hird followed Mrs. Hawkins to her house and asked her “to return quietly to her husband and trouble the public peace no longer. Upon no greater provocation than this, she snatched up an iron pistol and offered to strike him.” The next sentence is not included in Telford’s transcription of this passage: “He laid hold of her husband’s gun, and she as quickly caught up another. She presented it, but was seized before she could discharge it. The pistol, gun, and other arms were now taken from her, and she put in a guard of two sentinels.”<sup>47</sup> This concludes the second major shorthand segment or SH2.

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<sup>47</sup> MSJ, 7.

When read against the background of the fully deciphered shorthand passage for March 22, the concluding entry in longhand script for that day takes on a radically different meaning.

Faint and weary with the day's fatigue, I found my want of true holiness, and begged God to give me comfort from his word. I then read, the evening lesson, "But thou, O man of God, flee these things; and follow after righteousness, godliness, faith, lay hold on eternal life, wherefore unto thou art called, and hast professed a good profession before many witnesses." (1 Tim. vi. 11, 12.) Before prayers I took a walk with Mr. Ingham, who was surprised I should not think innocence a sufficient protection. I had not indeed acquainted him with what M. W. had told me. At night I was forced to exchange my usual bed, the ground, for a chest, being almost speechless through a violent cold.

Consider how enlightened this concluding longhand passage is by SH2. Jackson, as has been noted, omits SH2 and includes no entry whatsoever for March 22. He concludes March 21 with the longhand passage just quoted, which is clearly an entry for March 22 in the MSJ. It is preceded in Jackson's edition with the sentence: "In the evening hour of retirement I resigned myself to God, in my brother's prayer for conformity to a suffering Saviour."<sup>49</sup> Without SH2 Charles's comment about being "faint and weary with the day's fatigue" is only a general observation. However, read against the background of SH2, one understands why he was so weary and tired and why he found such comfort in the words "flee these things." With SH2 we also have an idea of what it is that he has shared with Mr. Ingham that Mrs. Welch had told him.<sup>50</sup>

(3) *Shorthand Segment 3* (SH3) is found in the Georgia section of the *Journal* in Wesley's entry for April 16. It is a record of a conversation between Oglethorpe, Charles Wesley, and Mrs. Welch, which continues on April 17. Much of this section is included in Telford's edition, but some very significant portions are omitted.

Charles Wesley's relationship to Oglethorpe became strained much to Charles Wesley's puzzlement. In SH3 Wesley writes down the conversation in which the truth surfaces as to the origin of the strife between the two men. The conversation takes place within the confines of Oglethorpe's tent. Charles Wesley has gone to him to request "some little things I wanted."

<sup>48</sup> MSJ, 7-8.

<sup>49</sup> Jackson, 1:5.

<sup>50</sup> On March 22, 1736 John Wesley wrote a letter to Charles in which he made a comment in Greek about either Mrs. Beata Hawkins or Mrs. Anne Welch. **9- (X@4s ĩ" @ŪT BV84 •: "DJV<@. ' DO( D, 4 M8VFF@Ls nĭ : V84FJ" \*b<0. ' DVN, :@4 Bäl : , \*, @ (DWN, 4s BDĪĪ "Ū0<.** "God forbid that she should again miss the mark in like manner. Watch over her, take care of her as much as possible. Write me how I ought to write to her." JWW 25:454, n5. He adds further in Greek: **54\*L<, bT B•F" < òD'! < \*bT s JD, Ā , /Æ4 (L<"ĀB, Is <, fJ, D'4s •FJ, Ā'4s N@s@b, <"4 JĪ< 1, `<. AD@F, bP@Ls ĩ" : ZJ4" Ūä< (4FFGT 6'J• FVD6".** "I am in danger every hour [see I Cor. 15:30]. There are two or three God-fearing refined young women. Pray that I know none of them after the flesh." *Ibid.*, n6.



Oglethorpe takes the opportunity to bear his soul to Wesley in the matter. He explains that his religion does not consist in long prayers “but in forgiving injuries.”

It is the section of SH3 that Telford omits which gets to the heart of the matter. Here Oglethorpe explains:

Many judge of others' barren hearts. At my landing here, one told me you had confined Welch that you might have an opportunity with his wife, but I silenced [him], and told him that was just as he would have done himself. I believed you guilty of the meeting and disturbance, because of your consequent shyness. I forbade you the use of my things without first speaking to me, lest others should use your name to justify the abuse of my goods. You cannot deny the charge of scandalising me, for you wrote your brother an account of it. I thought you would have been an help and a relief to me. I shall still continue my beneficence to Mrs Hawkins, for it is needless trying to ward off scandal. I refused on this account to take a poor woman into my ship and she was almost lost by going on Thomas's.<sup>51</sup>

SH3 is included in Hoole's *Oglethorpe and the Wesleys in America*,<sup>52</sup> but as I have already indicated, it is a summary and not an accurate decipherment of the shorthand.

Unquestionably Oglethorpe believed that Charles Wesley had confined Mr. Welch in order to have “an opportunity with his wife.” Oglethorpe silenced the person who reported this to him and cautioned the individual that “he was judging as he would have done himself.” It was Charles Wesley's shyness, however, which convinced Oglethorpe of his guilt. Oglethorpe maintained that Charles could not deny the charge of scandalizing him, since he had written to his brother about it. Oglethorpe also explains that his relationship with Mrs. Hawkins is “endless trying to ward off scandal.”

Charles Wesley denies absolutely the whole charge and says he has checked any reports he has received and would have shared them with Oglethorpe, if he had continued in his favor. That the source of all the differences was Mrs. Hawkins is apparently the opinion of Oglethorpe and Wesley. The conversation concluded with Oglethorpe promising Wesley that he would be the same to him as he had been before all this happened.

The next part of SH3 concerns conversations with Mrs. Welch. She had sent for John Wesley but he was engaged with Oglethorpe, so Charles Wesley went to her. He found her extremely afraid. She accused Charles Wesley of betraying her. Wesley replied, “Be not imposed upon, your betraying me shall never make me betray you.”<sup>53</sup> She was afraid John Wesley was going to betray her to Oglethorpe.

Telford's edition of SH3 omits a series of extremely important sentences after the sentence—“No, my brother is a Christian; I am so much of one to prefer any sufferings to breach of promise”—and before the following

<sup>51</sup> MSJ, 25. “Thomas's” is a reference to Captain Thomas's ship.

<sup>52</sup> See footnote 32 above.

<sup>53</sup> MSJ, 25.

sentence—“At ten I related this conversation to my brother.” These sentences, however, are deciphered and included by Hoole<sup>54</sup> and they shed further light on the sensitive nature of the entire affair and the complexity of the intrigue.

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

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

**[Mrs. Welch:]** “If you have really said anything, he is the greatest villain upon earth. I hear him now. He is falling upon your brother. He will get it out of him.”

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

**[Mrs. Welch:]** “Pray, send your brother to me immediately.”

**[Wesley:]** “I will.”<sup>55</sup>

In summary, Mrs. Welch told Charles Wesley that Oglethorpe told her in anger that Wesley had told him that she told Wesley of Oglethorpe’s and Mrs. Welch’s affair. Mrs. Welch told Oglethorpe that if Charles Wesley said that, he is “the greatest villain upon earth” and denied it. Mrs. Welch said she told Oglethorpe that Charles Wesley had told her of Oglethorpe’s affair with Mrs. Hawkins. Oglethorpe denied to Mrs. Welch “having any regard for her” [Mrs. Hawkins].

Charles Wesley tried to comfort Mrs. Welch, to whom he said, “Be not troubled.” Mrs. Welch replied that if Charles Wesley “really said anything” then Oglethorpe “is the greatest villain upon earth.” Then she told Charles Wesley she was afraid John Wesley would betray her to Oglethorpe and asked Charles to send John to her immediately.

In the lengthy shorthand section, which is included by both Telford and Hoole, though not identically, Charles Wesley said he received a “surprising account of Mr. Oglethorpe” from John Wesley and said, “Who knows but he [Oglethorpe] may be innocent?”

On April 17 the plot thickened. Charles Wesley called on Mrs. Welch and she reported that the previous night Oglethorpe had accused her of having told Charles and John Wesley that she was in love with Oglethorpe. Mrs. Welch said she told Oglethorpe, “he was all made up of art.”<sup>56</sup>

Charles Wesley then said openly, “Mrs. Welch, you have deeply injured me,” and told her that she had

turned my best friend into an enemy for life. When in the openness of my heart I

<sup>54</sup> MSJ, 27; see Hoole, 20-21.

<sup>55</sup> MSJ, 25.

<sup>56</sup> MSJ, 26.

warned you against that very woman [Mrs. Hawkins], how could you go immediately and betray me to her? Why would you even invent falsehoods to hurt me, and say to her and Mr. Oglethorpe that I raised the report about them? Did I deserve this at your hands? Was this gratitude?

As SH3 continues, Mrs. Welch relents, repents, and explains that she was out of her senses to do such a thing. She acknowledges she knew that Charles Wesley was innocent. "I accused you against my conscience of a base design, and have estranged him [Oglethorpe] from you entirely."<sup>58</sup> Mrs. Welch then explained to Charles that Mrs. Hawkins had been constantly inciting her saying, "We must supplant these parsons, and then we shall have Mr. Oglethorpe to ourselves. Do you accuse Charles Wesley to him, and I will accuse the other."<sup>59</sup> She then confided that Mrs. Hawkins' intention was to expose John Wesley to shame.

Charles Wesley then assured Mrs. Welch: "God forgive you as freely as I do. You owe me a public vindication, but my innocence shall surely meet with the fullest vindication from God."<sup>60</sup>

The following section of SH3, which includes very sensitive information regarding Oglethorpe, is omitted by Telford and included by Hoole.<sup>61</sup>

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

**C.Wesley:** "But does not your concern arise not from any regard to my anger or damage, but from the fear of losing him?"

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

**C.Wesley:** "Do you believe a life after this? Do you believe a future judgment? And that the secrets of all hearts shall then be revealed? As you believe this, tell me, if all you now speak be true."

**Mrs. Welch:** She answered with another solemn oath, "It is."<sup>62</sup>

It is interesting indeed that this passage, which does much to vindicate Charles Wesley has remained unpublished anywhere except in Elijah Hoole's booklet, though not exactly as deciphered above. Why Telford did not include it is a mystery, since Hoole's document was published in 1863.

(4) *Shorthand segment 4* (SH4) appears in the midst of the record of a conversation Oglethorpe conducted with Charles Wesley on April 24, when Oglethorpe thought he was going to his death, as he was departing to en-

<sup>57</sup> MSJ, 26

<sup>58</sup> MSJ, 26

<sup>59</sup> MSJ, 26

<sup>60</sup> MSJ, 27.

<sup>61</sup> Hoole, 23.

<sup>62</sup> Hoole, 23.

counter the Spaniards. It seems as though Oglethorpe is trying to “set the record straight” with Charles. He said, “You have been deceived, as well as I. I protest my innocence as to the crimes I am charged with; and take myself to be now at liberty to tell you what I thought never to have uttered.”<sup>63</sup> This sentence is followed by a brief section in shorthand, which appears in Telford’s edition.

Mrs. Welch had excited in me the first suspicion of you after we were come here. She afterwards told you her own words as if they had been mine. This she confessed both to my brother and me, as likewise that she had falsely accused me to you of making love to her. She was put upon it by Mrs. Hawkins saying, “Let us supplant those parsons and we shall have Mr. Oglethorpe to ourselves.”<sup>64</sup>

This confirms the statement made by Mrs. Welch to Charles Wesley that is mentioned in part of SH3.

(5) *Shorthand segment 5* (SH5) is a lengthy part of the entry for May 31, and is once again the record of a conversation between Charles Wesley and Oglethorpe. Most of it is included in Telford’s edition, but one sizable segment having to do with Mrs. Welch is omitted, though Hoole includes it. SH5 begins with the statement, which is found in Telford: “Your brother read me his diary, which astonished me to the last degree, and fully convinced me of your innocence. For if Mrs. Welch could so blacken me, she could you.”<sup>65</sup> Telford’s account then skips the most sensitive material to the sentence, “I had intended, if she would have stood to her charge, to have sent for you and tried you before all the people, pulled off the mask and punished you with the utmost severity, especially when I heard from your brother of your having defamed me with Mrs. Hawkins.”<sup>66</sup> Here is, however, the material that is left out of Telford’s edition.

“Accordingly, she came crying to me upon my arrival, with complaints that you had confined her husband, and come to bed to her. I asked her whether she would suffer it. She said, out of fear, and to save her husband’s life. From that time I shuddered at the sight of you. ’Twas such a complication of villainy! To make a fool of poor Hermsdorf; to half kill the miserable husband by keeping him three days under a tree; to take this opportunity of ruining his life, and all under the mask of religion! I could not bear you, or suppress my strong antipathy. She told me you was continually soliciting her to walk with you into the woods, and had persecuted her throughout the beach; and had not actually ruined her. I asked whether she would witness this openly against you; she answered, ‘No, by no means’; she would not be brought in evidence against you; (observing, I suppose, that I did not appear forward enough for it). ‘But why then,’ said I, ‘did you tell it me? You must now be silent and keep it to yourself.’ ‘Would,’ said she, ‘would you have me continually priest-ridden?’”<sup>67</sup>

<sup>63</sup> MSJ, 28.

<sup>64</sup> MSJ, 28.

<sup>65</sup> MSJ, 47.

<sup>66</sup> MSJ, 47.

<sup>67</sup> MSJ, 47.

The continuation of SH5 is essentially a mutual confession between Oglethorpe and Wesley, each explaining to the other why he has misjudged the other. Oglethorpe thought Wesley had defamed him with Mrs. Hawkins and that he was trying to divert inquiries into his own guilt by doing so. Furthermore, Oglethorpe believed essentially that through his many visits and conversations with Mrs. Welch that Wesley was indeed courting her and had had his spies pursuing him. He was convinced Wesley had been originally sincere in the decision to come to Georgia, but he was so young and inexperienced, above all especially with women, that he allowed himself to be “encouraged . . . by an artful woman.”<sup>68</sup>

Wesley confessed to Oglethorpe that he had believed what Mrs. Welch had said to him about Oglethorpe and thought his character worse than his own. She had told Wesley that she knew three of Oglethorpe’s mistresses in London. Wesley was convinced Oglethorpe was not a Christian and intended take his life. He was freed from his anxiety about all this only through the words of John 13:36, “Thou canst not follow me now, but thou shalt follow me hereafter.” He appropriated these words to his situation; in other words, he could not follow Christ in Georgia but only afterwards.

Oglethorpe then assured Wesley that he was a Christian and that his faith was the only thing that had prevented him from ending his “miserable life.” He further explained that the turning point in his opinion of Wesley, that he was innocent, came in their conversation in his tent and a dream he had after he departed going south to encounter the Spanish. In the dream Wesley had come to him and convinced Oglethorpe of his innocence. He also began to realize the shrewdness of Mrs. Welch in the whole matter. Furthermore, when he had seen how “sad, so pale, and mortified” Wesley was, he realized also how innocent or penitent, or both, Wesley was and knew he must forgive him, as God had forgiven Oglethorpe. Wesley records that Oglethorpe said, “No, I will not only forgive him, but so forgive him as I would God should forgive me; leave him entirely acquitted and satisfied.”<sup>69</sup> However, his own pride had prevented him from conveying this to John Wesley.

At the conclusion of the next to the last paragraph, and Charles’s final statement in shorthand, we find a clue to the silence that has reigned about this whole affair.

**Oglethorpe:** You, I am satisfied, would be tender of the poor unhappy woman, as I was, leaving her full of comfort though, I am determined never to mention any word of all this to her, and desire you would not.

**C. Wesley:** That I can readily promise, for my intercourse with her is over. I am no longer obliged to look upon her as one of my charge, and shall never speak to her of this matter. Indeed, my caution in conversing with her did not spring from any fear of these consequences, but from an advice of S. Spanenberg’s, ‘never to talk with a woman without a witness, or in the face of the sun.’ I followed these directions;

<sup>68</sup> MSJ, 48.

<sup>69</sup> MSJ, 48.

but did not see the providential reason of it till now.<sup>70</sup>

In a letter of Charles Wesley written from Frederica to John Wesley and dated March 27, Charles refers to the interception of one of his letters to John, which was opened and its contents made public. He stated, "I have not yet complained to Oglethorpe . . . though I trust I shall never either write or speak what I will not justify both to God and man, yet I would not have the secrets of my soul revealed to everyone. For their sakes, therefore, as well as my own I shall write no more, and desire you will not."<sup>71</sup>

In another letter from Charles to John dated May 1, 1736, one receives helpful insight into Charles's mounting frustrations and anxieties during the Georgia sojourn.

The trial at last is over, but has left me as a man in whom is no strength. I am fully satisfied of Mr. Oglethorpe's innocency, and he of mine; nor can I say which has been traduced most. (God forgive the same wicked instruments of all!) He gave me, when going lately [into the gates of death], an infallible demonstration of his affection and of his virtue. I will, God willing, never forget him for it. To be so obliged by one who had all reason to think me his worst enemy is far more painful to me than the ingratitude of those who had all reason to think me their best friend. I am heartily weary of my fellow-creatures. [. . .] My increasing abhorrence of this people cleaves so fast to me that I shall never shake it off. Yet while I am constrained to dwell with Mesech I shall labour to make full proof of my ministry. When a way is made me to escape, escape I shall, for my life, and not look behind. [. . .]<sup>72</sup>

From the shorthand segments of Charles Wesley's record of the Georgia period in his *Journal* one understands clearly the source of his anxiety and frustration during his life and ministry in Georgia. The source of the enmity that developed between him and Oglethorpe is also clarified, as well as how the breach was healed. However, the omission of much of the very sensitive material until now has prevented a full explanation of these matters.

Apparently Charles never received the desired public apology from Mrs. Welch and perhaps it was Oglethorpe's pride once again which prevented him from publicly exonerating Wesley. In any case, while it may be stretching the point to say that Wesley was willing to take a fall for Oglethorpe in all this, it seems that both Oglethorpe and Wesley kept their promise never to mention the affair again.

The presentation here of SH1 for the first time is absolutely essential

<sup>70</sup> MSJ, 48.

<sup>71</sup> JWW 25: "Letters I, 1721-1739," ed. by Frank Baker (Oxford: Clarendon, 1980), 454-455.

<sup>72</sup> JWW 25: "Letters I, 1721-1739," ed. by Frank Baker (Oxford: Clarendon, 1980), 460-461.

to the understanding of the entire matter of intrigue with Mrs. Welch, Mrs. Hawkins, and Mr. Oglethorpe, for it is in SH1 that Wesley records Mrs. Welch's indictment of Oglethorpe, which is one of the primary elements which initiates the misunderstandings.

It appears that we do not have all of the shorthand segments, which Charles Wesley wrote during his Georgia sojourn. The Georgia section of the *Journal* includes an entry for July 1, which reads: "I was at court while the Creek Indians had an audience of Mr. Oglethorpe; which I took down (as several afterwards) in shorthand."<sup>73</sup> We learn of some of Oglethorpe's negotiations with Indians in the long extract from his letter of report to the Trustees of the colony, which Charles included in the record of May 28. To date, however, the other shorthand record mentioned on July 1, 1736 has not been located.

### The Oglethorpe Material

As indicated at the outset, there are two major passages in the Georgia account of the *Journal* that have their origin with Mr. Oglethorpe. The first is found in Charles's record of May 9 and is an account of Oglethorpe's expedition from Saturday, May 1, to Saturday, May 8. The entire account has to do with Oglethorpe trying to ascertain whether the Spanish have taken a Major Richards and a Mr. Horton as prisoners, "who had carried answers to the Spanish governor's letters." The activity ranges from St. George's Point, a British stronghold, southward to Augustine, a Spanish stronghold, and on toward Fort St. Andrews and Amelia Island.

After a tedious search, one of Oglethorpe's men, W. Frazer, located a sole Spaniard in the woods, who had waited four days on the beach for an English vessel. After some maneuvering by the Spanish and English attempting to outwit each other, no word had been received about Richards and Horton by May 8.

We learn from a later part of the Georgia section of the *Journal* entry that Oglethorpe "returned from the frontiers" on May 28. It is on this date that Wesley includes the long extract from Oglethorpe's letter to the Trustees of the colony with a report of his expedition. It is a summary of his encounters with the Spanish, no doubt after May 8, the final date of the previous report of the expedition included by Wesley. The activity centers around St. George's Point but covers sea maneuvering from Cumberland Island southward to Fort Frederica and northward to Jekyll's Island. There are negotiating sessions with the Spanish, namely, with Don Ignatio, the Colonel of the Spanish foot soldiers, Don Pedro de Lamberti, the Commander of the Spanish cavalry, the Spanish Commissioners, and a group of Creek Indians, who had been attacked by Pohoia, Chief of the

<sup>73</sup> MSJ, 50.

Floridas, at the behest and with the support of the Spaniards.

The end of this lengthy saga is that there was no battle between the British and Spanish, negotiations were effective, and the two British gentlemen were released by the Spanish.

The account of Oglethorpe's expedition should be read as one document for the sake of continuity, though the first part is written in the third person by Wesley, and the second part in the first person, as if dictated by Oglethorpe. What is important is that one has a glimpse into the frontier confrontations of the British and Spanish, the maneuverability of their ships along the coast from St. Augustine in Florida north to Fort Frederica, the location of Spanish and British installations, the relationships of the European settlers to the Native Americans, the devious ways in which they misused the Native Americans and pitted them against one another in war, and the nature and function of military and governmental officials on the frontier. No doubt there is little in Wesley's Georgia section of the *Journal* that is not found elsewhere and Oglethorpe's own records contain this kind of information.

The two lengthy sections regarding Oglethorpe's expedition, however, are certainly only very indirectly related to Charles Wesley's activity, except as Oglethorpe's personal secretary, and in actuality break the continuity of the record keeping of his own activities. He does speak, of course, of the fatigue that results from his extended letter writing for Oglethorpe and the lengthy section from the letter with the report of the expedition Wesley may well have written down from Oglethorpe's dictation. He obviously thought the information within it important enough to be retained in his own *Journal*. Given the excitement and fear in the colony about possible attacks from time to time, and, if seen through Wesley's own eyes within the colony itself, perhaps one can understand why the peaceful solution for the return of the Georgia colonists taken prisoner by the Spanish became a part of his own *Journal*.

### **Charles Wesley's Sojourn in Savannah**

The last part of Charles Wesley's stay in Georgia was in Savannah. On May 12, 1736, he records that at 4 o'clock he "set out for Savannah." He went part of the way by boat and four days later, March 16, arrived at Thunderbolt, and walked the last five miles to Savannah. Though his brother John was expecting him at some point, he, Delamotte, and Ingham, whom Charles met upon arrival, were surprised at his early arrival.

Apparently Charles and John had agreed that when the former arrived in Charlestown, John would depart for Frederica to assume Charles's parish responsibilities for a brief period. Charles would then assume John's parish responsibilities in Savannah. Charles not only took over John's responsibilities of leading worship, preaching, and visiting the sick, he



was committed to fulfill responsibilities as Oglethorpe's secretary, since the Georgia Governor also had arrived in Charlestown. Hence, one finds Charles Wesley meeting with traders and the head bailiff, going to court, drawing up bonds, affidavits, licenses, and instructions for the traders, and long hours of letter writing for Governor Oglethorpe ensued which often continued until midnight or after. On June 16, Oglethorpe departed for Frederica, but he returned to Savannah with John Wesley ten days later on June 26.

July 1 finds Charles Wesley in court again with Oglethorpe and at this point in the *Journal* he includes a long account of Oglethorpe's audience with a delegation of Creek Indians. This is the second major Oglethorpe passage mentioned above that Wesley included.

The remainder of the record in Georgia is quite sketchy. On July 7, he relates an account of swimming/bathing in the Savannah River with Delamotte, who was chased by an alligator but escaped without harm. He notes the untimely death of Miss Bovey on July 10, and on July 21, John informed him that he was to sail in a few days. Four days later, on July 25, he resigned as Oglethorpe's secretary and records his conversation with Oglethorpe, in which the governor asks Charles not to inform the Trustees of the Colony of Georgia upon his return to England of the reasons behind his resignation. Oglethorpe was, of course, thinking of protecting himself from incrimination.

The following day, July 26, Charles Wesley left Savannah with his brother John by boat for Charlestown where he arrived on July 31, and had spent a little over two months (May 16 to July 26, 1736, or 72 days).

### **Persons whom Charles Wesley Met in Georgia**

Before turning to Wesley's brief stay in Charlestown it is important to review briefly the repertory of persons whom he met in Georgia.

Whom do we encounter in Charles Wesley's Georgia section of the *Journal*? The discussion thus far has already acquainted us with a number of individuals. They fall into the following categories: (1) fellow passengers on the ship *Simmonds*, (2) military personnel, (3) colonial and governmental officials, (4) individuals whom we know only through Charles Wesley's contacts in Georgia, (5) Native Americans, and (6) individuals of historical importance.

(1) We encounter a number of Wesley's fellow passengers from the ship *Simmonds*.

*Mr. Samuel Davison* became a constable in Frederica where he also ran a tavern. He was also the object of ill treatment by Dr. and Mrs. Hawkins and was the constable responsible for investigating the charge against Dr. Hawkins of firing a gun on Sunday. Davison sought to assist Wesley as he was able.

*Mr. Charles Delamotte*, a friend of the Wesleys, accompanied them to Georgia contrary to the desires of his family. During his stay in America he was an effective schoolmaster. On one occasion during the stressful intrigue and strained relationship between Oglethorpe and Wesley, Charles sent Delamotte to Savannah as an emissary to his brother John. He succeeded in bringing John back to Frederica to assist Charles at the time. When Delamotte later returned to England, he became a Moravian minister.

*Dr. and Mrs. Thomas Hawkins*: he was the surgeon for Oglethorpe's Regiment and for the general population in the area. In connection with his medical practice he operated a pharmacy. Hawkins also became the first bailiff in the colony, though he did not last long in that position, being removed in 1742. The following year he returned to England. His wife, Beatre, was a constant source of trouble. She was a vicious and violent woman who, according to Charles's account, fired guns at random, cursed, gossiped, and broke bottles over constables' heads at will. Dr. and Mrs. Hawkins were the source of constant strife in the colony.

*Captain Johann Christian Adolf von Hermsdorf*<sup>74</sup> was a part of the small group of emigrants (Moravians) from Salzburg, who were fleeing Protestant persecution in Germany. Though most of the Moravians, who remained behind in Europe, were pacifists, the small group, which went to Georgia under Hermsdorf's leadership, played an important role in defending Frederica. He was apparently a figure of commanding demeanor, as one encounters him throughout the Georgia section of the *Journal* in such roles as counselor, builder, commander of armed boats for Oglethorpe, and at one point commander of Fort St. George. When Dr. Hawkins was imprisoned, it was Hermsdorf who allowed him to visit his patients.

*Mark and Grace Hird*: of them John Wesley recorded on November 16, 1735, "Thomas Hird, and Grace his wife, with their children, Mark, age twenty-one, and Phoebe, about sixteen, who had been educated among the Quakers, were, at their often-repeated desire, and after frequent and careful instruction, received into the Church by Baptism, whereby we gained four more serious and constant communicants."<sup>75</sup> The above discussion has already noted that he was involved in a struggle with Mrs. Hawkins.

*Mr. William Horton*, a soldier who later became the Magistrate in Frederica, was also a passenger on the *Simmonds*. He apparently was able to see through Mrs. Hawkins to the true nature of her character. The Georgia section of the *Journal* indicates that after he had left to build a fort, he was apparently taken prisoner in St. Augustine by the Spanish. Charles Wesley's record indicates that he was able later to get a letter to Oglethorpe.

<sup>74</sup> See Martin Schmidt, *John Wesley: A Theological Biography*, 2 vols. in 3 (English translation, London, 1962-73), I:284-5 n.

<sup>75</sup> JWW 18:139.

*Mr. Benjamin Ingham* was a fellow student of the Wesleys at Oxford University and became a part of the Oxford “Methodists” in 1732. He traveled with the Wesleys to America. Ingham was a close companion of Charles in Georgia and was also deeply influenced by the Moravians. He saw them as the best evidence of primitive Christianity in the eighteenth century world. This was a view, which was reinforced by his later visit to Herrnhut. After his return to England, Ingham began evangelistic work in Yorkshire. Though he placed his work in the societies under Moravian supervision, he soon severed the Moravian connection. Ingham married Lady Margaret Hastings, a sister-in-law of the Countess of Huntingdon. In Georgia, Ingham was a close friend of Charles. They took walks, prayed, and read together. They discussed the difficulties of the colony (and personal ones as well), and he was a confidant of Charles. When the conflict between Charles Wesley and Oglethorpe became extremely tense, Charles sent Ingham to Savannah for his brother John.

*Mr. and Mrs. Lawley.* The latter appears to have been ill throughout the voyage of the *Simmonds*, perhaps due to a pregnancy. In any case, she became quite agitated toward John Wesley en route to Georgia. This may be part of the cause for Mr. Lawley accusing Charles of mutiny and sedition. We learn from the Georgia section of the *Journal* that Mrs. Lawley unfortunately suffered a miscarriage during March of 1736, after her arrival in Georgia.

*Mr. and Mrs. John Welch*, also *Simmonds* passengers, settled in Frederica after the voyage. Mr. Welch was a carpenter and a brewer, who made a reputation for himself in Georgia as being lazy, because he did almost nothing to develop his property, even though the couple owned one of the best houses in Frederica. His wife, as the above account has already described in detail, joined in a conspiracy with Mrs. Hawkins to defame Mr. Oglethorpe and the Wesley brothers, John and Charles. She and her husband, like the Hawkins, were also a constant source of agitation in the colony, even to the extent of Mr. Welch’s attack on a local constable.

(2) We encounter also *military personnel* in Charles’s Georgia account. A number of these individuals are found in the excerpt of Oglethorpe’s letter that Wesley includes. *Ensign Delegall* was a British naval officer who according to Oglethorpe intercepted a Spanish ship at Jekyll’s Sound. He was also a fort commander in Georgia.

Oglethorpe’s letter mentions three *Spanish military officers*: Don Ignatio, “Colonel of foot,” who commanded the Spanish ground troops; Don Pedro de Lamberti, Captain of the Spanish cavalry, “Commander of the Spanish horse” or “troop of horse”; and Don Manuel, Secretary to the Governor (of St. Augustine) and Adjutant of the garrison.

*Captain Dempsey*, who was ardently opposed to the introduction of slavery in Georgia, was instrumental in negotiating a treaty with the Spanish in St. Augustine. Though he went as an emissary of Oglethorpe under a

flag of truce to St. Augustine, the Spanish detained him. Nevertheless, as the Georgia account in the *Journal* reveals, Dempsey was honorably released and a peace was successfully negotiated. The final sentence from Oglethorpe's letter quoted by Wesley states: "But God be praised, that by His blessing, the diligence of Dempsey, and the prudence of Don Pedro, all bloodshed was avoided."

*Captain Ferguson* was apparently a naval officer. We know only the following of him from the Georgia section of the *Journal*: on May 1 he arrived on the scoutboat *Caroline* and brought a report about Major Richards and Mr. Horton, whom Ferguson believed had been taken prisoner by the Spanish.

*Mr. Germain*, whose death is described by John Wesley in his *Journal*, was apparently a soldier. We know nothing of his military activity and little else, other than that Charles Wesley had secured his consent to baptize his child by immersion. Germain's wife was much opposed to the baptism, but then consented, though she later retracted her consent.

*Captain Macintosh* was left in command, when Oglethorpe went on his expedition to the Spanish.

*Lieutenant Moore* is another military officer encountered in Oglethorpe's report. Moore was commander of the man-of-war *Hawk* and was also involved in the negotiations with the Spanish.

(3) *Colonial and governmental officials*. Some of these individuals receive little more than a mention in the Georgia part of the *Journal*.

*Mr. Thomas Causton*, who emigrated to Georgia in 1732, was made chief magistrate of Savannah by Oglethorpe. He was also a storekeeper and an uncle of Sophia Hopkey, with whom John Wesley became entangled. Causton was later charged with theft of public goods and embezzlement of funds belonging to the colony. In October of 1738 he was removed from all official responsibilities by the Board of Trustees of the colony.

*Mr. Dison* was the chaplain of the Independent Company, which funded, in large measure, the Georgia colonial enterprise.

*Mr. Haydon*, mentioned in Charles's entry for March 22, was apparently a constable, who, in the course of giving orders to Mrs. Hawkins not to enter the camp, was struck on the head with a bottle by her.

*Mr. Parker* was the second bailiff in Savannah.

*Major Richards* built a fort near St. Augustine and was reported to have been taken prisoner by the Spanish.

Two members of the Board of Trustees of the colony are also found in Charles Wesley's Georgia account: Mr. Thomas Towers and Mr. James Vernon.

(4) There are some persons in the colony of Georgia whom we know only by name or through some singular occurrence from Charles Wesley's Georgia section of the *Journal*: Mrs. Colwell, W. Frazer, Mr. Hutchinson, Mr. Lassel, Mrs. Perkins, Mrs. Robinson, Mr. Tackner, and Mrs. Mouse

with whom Charles dined at Skidoway Island on his way to Savannah.

Mr. Appee is more than a casual acquaintance of Charles. He is a Dutchman, who, though he seemed to be quite serious about religion, turned out to be somewhat of a conartist. Apparently he intended to marry a Miss Bovey whom he met in Georgia, after he had returned to Holland and had gotten some personal and business matters in order. Miss Bovey, a beautiful young woman mentioned by Charles in the Georgia account of the *Journal*, however, died quite suddenly and her death is also mentioned in John's own records.

(5) In the Georgia account of the *Journal* we also meet the names of four Native American tribes: Creek, Floridas, Uchees, and Yamacraw (part of the Creek nation). Mention is also made of Tomo Chachi,<sup>76</sup> chief of the Yamacraw tribe, who was said to be about ninety years old in 1734. The Yamacraws were settled some four miles from Savannah. Oglethorpe took Tomo Chachi and his wife to England in 1734 with the hope that he would become a Christian and a primary link in positive and friendly negotiations with other Native Americans. Pohoia, chief of the Floridas, also appears in the Georgia section of the *Journal*, as does the chief of the Uchee tribe, though not by name.

(6) Finally, there are some historically important persons mentioned in the Georgia section of the *Journal*. *Sir Francis Drake*, the English explorer, is mentioned in connection with the remains of a fort he had built on St. George's Point, which Oglethorpe found and repaired. In the April 24 entry, that includes a lengthy quotation from Oglethorpe, *Sir Robert [Walpole]* and *Gascoin* are mentioned, but they have actually no bearing on the interpretation of the *Journal*, as they are mentioned merely as friends whom Oglethorpe made.

### Charles's Brief Stay in Charlestown

Charles Wesley made his way over land to Charlestown (later a part of the state of South Carolina), to board a ship for England. Charles does not provide much information in his *Journal* about the stay in Charlestown, where he remains only twelve days, from July 31 to August 11. There are accounts in the *Journal* of only three days: July 31 (day of arrival), August 2 and 11 (day of departure). It is the entry of August 2 that is most important. Here he relates his encounter with the horrors of slavery. If he thought that his spirits were at their lowest ebb, he was wrong, for in Charlestown the firsthand confrontation with slavery shattered them completely. The three paragraphs of the *Journal* entry for August 2, in which he records these horrors are rarely cited, but they are graphic and descriptive of ab-

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<sup>76</sup> For his portrait see Urlsperger's *Ausführliche Nachricht von der Salzburgerischen Emigranten* reprinted in Angelika Marsch, *Die Salzburger Emigranten in Bildern* (2nd ed., Weissenhorn, 1979) plate 137.

solutely despicable human behavior. He tells of a master who nailed up one of his negroes by the ears, ordered him to be severely beaten, and then poured scalding water over him so that the poor creature could not stir for some four months afterwards. The description of the mutilation and physical punishment of slaves he labels “horrid cruelties” and the killing of slaves he calls “murder.” When one reads Charles’s account of his encounter with slavery in Charlestown, it is no surprise that he, along with his brother John, opposed it for the rest of his life.

Though quite ill, on August 11, 1736, Charles Wesley boarded the ship for departure to England. There was little wind, however, and after three days of being stuck on a sandbar, on August 17, the ship crossed the sandbar and set out on its voyage.

### **Out to Sea**

Charles’s first encounter with the ship’s Captain Indivine was an ill omen of troublesome times to come. “The first sight I had of him was upon the cabin floor, stark naked, and dead drunk” (*Journal* entry of August 11, 1736). The captain constantly drank himself into a stupor and unconsciousness and gave out irresponsible orders, which, if followed, could have cost the crew members and the passengers their lives. As a captain, Indivine was worthless. Under these circumstances there was constant unrest among the crew.

Adding to the strife of these days at sea was Mr. Appee, who showed himself to be dishonest and a man of low morals, in spite of the fact that Wesley had first trusted him. Of his so-called conversion experience, he sarcastically said to Charles, “Why, it was no new a gratification to me to be thought religious, that I found no difficulty in keeping on the mask; and I had got such a knack of going to prayers and sacrament, that I don’t know but I should have been actually caught at last.”

The conflicts between the captain and the first and second mates, as well as the rest of the crew, heightened. Wesley’s *Journal* attests to this dissension in the record of a conversation between the first mate and the captain. In addition, the crew was fatigued beyond measure from the constant pumping of water to keep the ship afloat, and they could not live on their own their water allowance and at least one crew member, Benjamin Arnold, was forced to drink his own urine.

No doubt the ship was not seaworthy when it left Charlestown, for it began taking on water after only two days at sea. After a little more than a month at sea (August 16 to September 24), the captain reluctantly decided to put in at Boston for repairs. Having endured incredible difficulties and a constant struggle with the captain, the crippled ship finally reached Cape Cod on September 24, and made port at Long Wharf, some eighteen miles from Boston.

## Conclusion

The Georgia and Charlestown sections of Charles Wesley's *Journal* are not a careful daily record of Charles's life during his stay in the colony of Georgia and in Charlestown. They are rather his sporadic initial attempt to maintain a daily diary of his activities. In actuality it is a record of only 56 of a total of 137 days, the length of his Georgia period, and three of the 11 days in Charlestown. One uses the word "record" here quite cautiously, for sometimes there is only a sentence for the day, while at other times he includes lengthy discussions of a week's activities, e.g. Oglethorpe's expedition.

In contrast to John Wesley's *Journal* Charles's language is terse and to the point. It is neither florid nor verbose. Indeed, the shorthand sections one might describe at times as pithy.

The value of the Georgia section of the *Journal* is not in its attention to historical detail as such. Its historical significance lies primarily in the insight it provides into life in the colony of Georgia and into the man Charles Wesley himself at this time in his life. Here is a valuable record of how he began and executed his pastoral and priestly duties as a clergyman of the Church of England on the American frontier. We learn something of the context and content of his pastoral counseling and preaching, as well as how he fulfilled and was frustrated by his religious and civil duties. We discover the scriptural orientation he brought to his daily experience, which is a foreshadowing of his entire ministry and of his vocation as a sacred poet. Once he broke on the scene as a writer of sacred poetry in 1738, the appropriation of the Scriptures to the context of daily life became a hallmark of his poetic genius and hence, his verse.

We encounter in the Georgia section of the *Journal* Charles's devotion to the daily offices of Morning and Evening Prayer and the sacrament of Holy Communion, that become determinative for his lifelong spiritual journey. This devotion evoked the daily study of the Scripture, daily practice of prayer, and daily reading and singing of the Psalms. Even at the risk of formality and routine, Charles never compromised this commitment throughout his ministry.

Likewise the Georgia material in the *Journal* gives us a glimpse of his appropriation of classical learning in his own interpretive process. Along side Holy Scripture the words of Homer's *Illiad*, Juvenal's *Satires*, Horace's *Epistles*, Virgil's *Aeneid*, and Shakespeare's *Hamlet* resonate to interpret his moods, daily contexts, and specific occurrences. The couplet paraphrase in English, if it is indeed from Charles, of the line from Horace's *Epistles*, included in Charles's entry for July 25, is one of the few remaining examples of how Charles learned the intricacies of poetic structure, meter, rhyme, etc., namely, by writing English paraphrases of the

classical Latin and Greek poets.<sup>77</sup>

The shorthand sections of the Georgia period of the *Journal* are absolutely essential to understanding the whole of the Georgia material. Indeed, without them one cannot properly comprehend many of the comments made by Charles in the longhand MSJ. These sections add greatly to our knowledge of how Charles Wesley handled extremely difficult situations involving accusations against him and others that were false and that were potentially vocationally damaging for life. While he became extremely frustrated and depressed by the blatant and vicious accusations of sexual impropriety made against him by Mrs. Welch and Mrs. Hawkins, as well as against Mr. Oglethorpe, there is no evidence that he responded in any way other than in Christian love, as he could best interpret it. Nonetheless, it is clear that he, like Oglethorpe, made false judgments in the light of all the accusations.

The shorthand sections offer one important corrective to those historians of Methodism and the Wesleys, who have tried to sterilize the Georgia experience and say that the Wesley brothers did not return to England extremely frustrated over their “colonial-America” experience. Without question Charles Wesley was a beaten man. He had had enough! He wanted to leave Georgia. As early as April 25 during his Georgia stay, he wrote,

Though I expected every hour that the Spaniards would bring us news of Mr. Oglethorpe’s death, yet I was insensible of fear and careless of the consequence. But my indifference arose from stupidity rather than faith.<sup>78</sup> There was nothing I cared for in life, and therefore the loss of it appeared a trifle.

His final Georgia entry on Monday, July 26, reads:

The words which concluded the lesson, and my stay in Georgia, were,  
Arise, let us go hence. [John 14:31d]

Accordingly at twelve I took my final leave of Savannah. When the boat put off I was surprised that I felt no more joy in leaving such a scene of sorrows.<sup>79</sup>

Another important contribution of the shorthand sections is that they give clarity to the origin of the conflict between Oglethorpe and Wesley and how it was resolved.

It is perhaps important to note, though it is an argument from silence, that Charles’s preoccupation with the conflict with Mrs. Welch, Mrs. Hawkins, and Mr. Oglethorpe so consumed him mentally and emotionally that he may have neglected to record many of his daily concerns and experiences. This may be a major reason for his omission of so many days during the Georgia period.

<sup>77</sup> See *The Unpublished Poetry of Charles Wesley*, edited by S T Kimbrough, Jr. and Oliver A. Beckerlegge (Nashville: Abingdon/Kingswood, 1988), 1:143.

<sup>78</sup> MSJ, 30.

<sup>79</sup> MSJ, 51.



The repertory of persons encountered in the Georgia section of the *Journal* offers no great surprises. It illustrates, however, the broad societal spectrum represented in the colony of Georgia. One might have thought there would have been more about the influences of the Moravians on Charles and while there are hints of this, it is certainly found in diminished proportions compared to the period after his return to England. Key relationships are those to Oglethorpe, his brother John, Ingham, Delamotte, and, of course, Mrs. Welch and Mrs. Hawkins. The array of personages added by the Oglethorpe material does add color to the Georgia section of the *Journal*, but it grows out of Oglethorpe's experience, not that of Charles.

The Georgia material, that is, longhand and shorthand, along with the *Journal* material from Charlestown, [SC], just before Charles's return to England, and the brief stay in Boston provide the foundation for understanding much of the direction of Charles's quest for faith up to May 21, 1738, and his ministry from 1738 onward. Having withstood the trial of Georgia he was indeed prepared for a ministry that would be characterized by constant encounter with hardship and conflict.

Interestingly in reflecting on vocational options before him (including perhaps a return to Georgia) in a letter to John dated October 1-6, 1736. Charles rued, "Georgia alone can give me the solitude I sigh after."<sup>80</sup>

Charles Wesley, however, was crushed by the Georgia and Charlestown experiences. On October 6, 1736 Charles wrote to John from Boston: "9Z\*, < BEJ, L, , E: - PDEJ4' < ä (Trust no one if not a Christian, from October 6, 1736 letter from Boston to John). I have been so befouled, abused, and discredited that I can hardly believe, or expect to be believed by anyone."<sup>81</sup>

### Appendix: A Positive Afterthought

One might ask, did nothing good come out of Charles Wesley's stay in Georgia besides his encounter with the Moravians, an introduction to congregational song, and the formation of a lifelong opposition to slavery? Those were, however, three primary transforming forces in his life! There is a letter from George Whitefield written from Bethesda, Georgia on March 21, 1745, which is an interesting addition to the fruit-bearing seed sown by Charles during his Georgia period. It appeared in a pamphlet entitled *A Brief Account of the Rise, Progress, and Present Situation of the Orphan House in Georgia* (1746) by George Whitefield.

Romans xii. 7, "Provide things honest in the sight of all men."

<sup>80</sup> JWW 25:478.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, 479.

Bethesda, in Georgia, March 21, 1745-6.

Some have thought that the erecting such a building was on the produce of my own brain; but they are mistaken; for it was first proposed to me by my dear friend, the Rev. Mr. Charles Wesley, who, with his excellency General Oglethorpe, had concerted a scheme for carrying on such a design before I had any thoughts of going abroad myself. It was natural to think that as the Government intended this Province for refuge and support of many of our poor countrymen, that numbers of such adventurers must necessarily be taken off, by being exposed to the hardships which unavoidably attend a new settlement. I thought it, therefore, a noble design in the General to erect a house for fatherless children; and believing such a provision for orphans would be an inducement for many to come over, I fell in with the design, when mentioned to me by my friend,<sup>82</sup> and was resolved, in the strength of God, to prosecute it with all my might.

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<sup>82</sup> *Historical Collections of Georgia*, 329; see footnote 4 above.