

WESLEYAN BELIEFS

Formal and Popular Expressions
of the Core Beliefs
of Wesleyan Communities

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CHAPTER 2

JOHN WESLEY'S CLAIMS ABOUT DISTINCTIVELY METHODIST BELIEFS

INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter began to describe the core beliefs of Wesleyan communities in the works of John Wesley by asking about his understanding of common Christian faith, examining in particular his understanding of common "essential" or "fundamental" Christian beliefs affirmed in the Methodist movement. I turn in this chapter to consider John Wesley's claims about distinctive beliefs of the Methodist movement. As noted above, we have to distinguish, in the context of the eighteenth century, between the Wesleyan movement, the movement led by John and Charles Wesley,¹ and the broader Evangelical or "Methodist" movement that denoted the Evangelical revival including Calvinistic preachers and leaders as well as the Wesleys.² The distinctive teachings of the Methodist or Evangelical movement in the eighteenth century focused around the Christian's pilgrimage from sin to salvation, the pilgrimage described in the Reformed tradition as the *ordo salutis*, the "order of salvation," and which John Wesley preferred to call "the way of salvation" or "the way to heaven."³ But as we shall see in this chapter, there were some other critical nuances to distinctly Methodist and Wesleyan teachings that will also be considered here, namely, a distinctive emphasis on religious experience ("perceptible inspiration") as a grounds for claims about the religious life, and the teaching of entire sanctification as a very distinctive mark of the Wesleyan branch of the Evangelical movement.

Scholarly literature on the theology of John Wesley has often pointed to the "way of salvation" as a distinctive mark of John Wesley's theology. In the previous chapter I attempted to discern doctrines that John Wesley understood to be "essential" or "fundamental" to Christian faith and life. That chapter examined Colin Williams's list of John Wesley's essential doctrines and contrasted Williams's list with that of Lawrence Meredith's 1962 Harvard dissertation "Essential Doctrine in the Theology of John Wesley with Special Attention to the Methodist Standards of Doctrine."⁴ Meredith's dissertation focused on three essential doctrines in John Wesley's thought, namely:

repentance
faith
holiness

This list is based on a passage in John Wesley's "Principles of a Methodist Farther Explained," in which Wesley asserted that "Our main doctrines, which include all the rest, are three,—that of repentance, of faith, and of holiness."⁵ It is clear that Meredith had conceived of the project of "essential doctrine" in a different way than Williams, whose work he had indeed seen before the completion of his own thesis.⁶ Rather than identifying passages in which Wesley had denoted a doctrine to be "essential" or fundamental," Meredith tried to find a logical consistency or coherence to Wesley's claims about characteristically Methodist teachings. Despite the focus on "essential doctrine" in his dissertation, then, what he sought was rather different from Colin Williams's quest for the ecumenically significant core or fundamental doctrines in John Wesley's work. Using my own terminology, what Meredith did was to restrict the ecclesial scope of the claims he examined to distinctive claims emphasized by the Methodist movement.

Just as Colin Williams's list of essential Christian doctrines was helpful in beginning our consideration in the previous chapter, so Meredith's work will be particularly important in this chapter where we consider distinctly Methodist doctrinal emphases. Here we are asking how John Wesley conceived of the distinctive marks of the Methodist movement under his leadership. Again, we have to exercise caution, for as we have seen in the previous chapter, there were occasions when John Wesley used the terms

"Protestant" and "Methodist" as part of a meiosis, revealing subsequently that by these terms he denoted what was simply or commonly Christian. But as we shall see here, there are other occasions when he more straightforwardly identified what is distinctly Methodist in texts where he did not use the term as part of a rhetorical device.

Although Colin Williams identified other doctrinal emphases consistent with his ecumenical concerns, he followed the general pattern of the "way of salvation" in describing John Wesley's theology,⁷ and most Wesleyan scholars have shaped their considerations of John Wesley's theology within the general framework of the "way of salvation." A version of it structured Albert C. Outler's lectures and his subsequently published book *Theology in the Wesleyan Spirit* (1975), which has an introductory chapter followed by three chapters (originally lectures) on original sin, justification, and sanctification.⁸ Randy Maddox's *Responsible Grace* (1994) has an extended discussion of salvation in "The Way of Salvation: Grace Upon Grace."⁹ Theodore Runyon's *The New Creation: John Wesley's Theology Today* takes up teachings on the way of salvation in two sequential chapters.¹⁰ Kenneth J. Collins has written at length on the subject in *The Scripture Way of Salvation: The Heart of John Wesley's Theology* (1997), which focuses, as the title suggests, on the "way of salvation," and he has returned to this subject as a central theme in his larger *The Theology of John Wesley: Holy Love and the Shape of Grace* (2007).¹¹

Methodist scholars in the early twentieth century, however, did not focus on the way of salvation as a distinctly Wesleyan trait. Such scholars as Umphrey Lee and Herbert Brook Workman emphasized religious experience as the most distinctive aspect of Wesleyan life.¹² Teachings about the need for personal religious experience, the way of salvation, and entire sanctification would all become consistent marks of Wesleyan communities. Together with the common Christian teachings considered in the previous chapter, these more distinctive teachings form a nucleus of distinctive beliefs of Wesleyan communities as these beliefs were handed on from the Wesleys to later Wesleyan and Methodist communities.

*BACKGROUND: THE REFORMED TRADITION,
THE TESTIMONIUM INTERNUM, AND THE ORDO SALUTIS*

The previous chapter has shown at a number of points that John Wesley's understanding of common Christian doctrines was shaped by his Anglican creedal, doctrinal, and liturgical heritage, and it has shown that the Anglicanism of his day was strongly influenced by the Reformed tradition, most notably in its sacramental theology. When we begin to consider the more distinctive teachings and practices of the Methodist movement, especially teachings about the central importance of religious experience and about the "way of salvation," we need to consider again the formative role of the Reformed tradition on John Wesley's thought and practice. Although John Wesley defined his theology over against that of the Reformed tradition at very crucial and specific points (for example, the doctrine of limited atonement), in other respects his thought and specific practices can be understood as elements inherited from the Reformed tradition. Chapter 1 has pointed out that Georgian Anglicanism was strongly Reformed in character and it was not until the Oxford or Tractarian movement of the nineteenth century that the ties between Anglicanism and the Reformed tradition began to weaken. Robert C. Monk cites Horton Davies's claim that Methodism's "evangelical passion and experimental religion were a revival of Puritan religion."¹³ But although the importance of the Reformed tradition for Wesleyan theology has been widely acknowledged by scholars and has been explored in depth by Monk himself,¹⁴ it has not figured prominently in recent interpretations of John Wesley's theology where there has been a strong interest in demonstrating Wesley's Anglican roots, often presuming that "Anglican" had to denote a high church Anglican culture such as that of Caroline Anglicanism or even of post-Tractarian Anglicanism. Similarly, contemporary studies of John Wesley have also emphasized his ties to Catholic writers and even his connections to ancient Eastern Christian writers. In what follows, then, I am not so concerned to show the relative strength of Reformed "influences" on John Wesley as I am concerned to show that many of the Wesleys' most distinctive teachings and practices are best understood against a background of Reformed teachings and practices.

JOHN WESLEY'S CLAIMS ABOUT DISTINCTIVELY METHODIST BELIEFS

In the first place, it was the Reformed tradition from Calvin on that had emphasized the "inward witness" (or "inward testimony") of the Holy Spirit (*testimonium internum Spiritus Sancti*), and this idea of the inward witness as a ground of the religious life would come to hold great prominence in the thought of John Wesley and the other leaders of the Evangelical movement. In Calvin's *Institutes*, the inward witness of the Spirit was spoken of primarily as the way in which the Spirit confirms the truth of the sacred Scriptures, so for Calvin it was the direct work of the Spirit and not the mechanism of the church and its traditions that confirmed the truths of the Scriptures.¹⁵ But Calvin went on to associate the inward witness of the Spirit with the ways in which the work of Christ was applied to believers in the out-working of election¹⁶ and it was in this sense that subsequent Reformed theologians were to elaborate the *ordo salutis* in a believer's experience of divine grace. This Reformed emphasis was certainly known in the Wesley family: John Wesley reported to the anonymous correspondent he called "John Smith" that he had heard his father say in the last eight months of the elder Wesley's life, "The inward witness, son, the inward witness, that is the proof, the strongest proof, of Christianity," harking back to the Reformed faith in which Samuel Wesley had been formed.¹⁷

In the second place, the Puritan movement of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries developed the motif of spiritual pilgrimage as an order of salvation (*ordo salutis*), describing in identifiable stages the soul's progress from sin to salvation. Developed at first by such theologians as William Perkins (1558-1602) and William Ames (1576-1633) as an understanding of the out-working of predestination, Puritans consistently outlined the stages of the Christian life following Romans 8:30 and a tradition of Calvinistic exegesis in four or five discernible "degrees" or stages. For William Perkins, these stages were as follows:

effectual calling
justification
sanctification
glorification¹⁸

To these four stages, William Ames added a fifth, "adoption," between justification and sanctification,¹⁹ thus

effectual calling
justification
adoption
sanctification
glorification

The Westminster Confession of Faith (1648) had listed the following stages as chapters 10–13 of the Confession:

effectual calling
justification
adoption
sanctification²⁰

Thus the Westminster Confession followed Ames's order, although it did not deal with glorification in sequence with the other elements of the *ordo salutis*.

Puritan teachers described "effectual calling" (also called "conversion" by Ames), as that event in which men and women are brought to repentance and faith by means of the proclamation of the Law and the Gospel.²¹ Both Perkins and Ames defined "justification" in characteristically Reformed language as the imputation of Christ's righteousness to the believer, and the believer's being "accounted" righteous before God on the basis of faith alone through the work of Christ.²² They understood "sanctification" to denote the Christian's continuing death to sin ("mortification") and growth in life to Christ ("vivification").²³ Perkins and Ames defined "glorification" as the completion of the Christian's likeness to Christ that begins at death and is consummated at the time of the Final Judgment.²⁴

Puritan teachers stressed the possibility that human beings can know of their election to eternal life, although they differed in their placement of this belief within their schemes. In his discussion of effectual calling, William Perkins distinguished several "degrees" of Christian faith. "The highest degree of faith," he wrote, "is plerophoria, a full assurance, which is not onely certaine and true, but also a full perswasion of the heart."²⁵ In the concluding chapter of *A Golden Chaine*, Perkins again returned to the question of the knowledge of election, and maintained that believers may know of their election both by "the Testimonie of Gods Spirit" and by the

works of sanctification which give evidence of a believer's election.²⁶ Where Perkins had but briefly discussed "adoption" as one of the privileges bestowed by God on believers,²⁷ Ames developed the topic into a fifth section in his account of the order of salvation interposed between justification and sanctification.²⁸ Here Ames claimed that one of the principal benefits of adoption is "the witness of the Spirit which is given to believers" or the "assurance of salvation."²⁹ As with Perkins, this meant assurance that one was among the elect. As we shall see, these concepts and many of these very terms would be utilized by John Wesley and would be bequeathed by him to Wesleyan communities, although in the thought of John Wesley they would be severed from the groundwork of Reformed thought on predestination.

The exposition of the order of salvation comprehending effectual calling, justification, sanctification, and glorification that Perkins and Ames analyzed was popularized by Puritan preachers and spiritual writers who produced biographies of saintly Christians whose own lives illustrated the way of salvation. It was also popularized in the widespread practice of keeping diaries or journals recounting one's own spiritual experience. What these Puritan diaries accomplished was to make concrete the idealized order of salvation that Perkins, Ames, and others had described. They also served to illustrate the range of religious affections experienced by women and men as they traversed the order of salvation. Perhaps the crowning literary expressions of the Puritan understanding of the way of salvation were John Bunyan's autobiography, *Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners* (1666), and then his well-known allegorical account of *The Pilgrim's Progress from This World to the Next* (1678 with a second part published in 1684).

An understanding of the *ordo salutis* laid out in this Puritan pattern can be seen in the organizational scheme of a later but very influential collection of eighteenth-century English Evangelical hymnody that set a precedent for later Methodist hymnals. This was one of the best-known of English-language hymn collections, John Newton's and William Cowper's *Olney Hymns* (1779), the collection in which the text of the hymn "Amazing Grace" first appeared. It was published the year before John Wesley issued his *Collection of Hymns for the Use of the People Called Methodists* (1780). Book III of the *Olney Hymns* is entitled, "On the Progress and

Changes of the Spiritual Life." The headings in this section follow the traditional Calvinist understanding of the way of salvation, although elaborated at points. These headings are as follows:

- I. Solemn Addresses to Sinners
- II. Seeking, Pleading, Hoping
- III. Conflict
- IV. Comfort
- V. Dedication and Surrender
- VI. Cautions
- VII. Praise
- VIII. Short Hymns

With exception of the last section of "Short Hymns," we can see the Puritan *ordo salutis* comprising effectual calling, justification, sanctification, and glorification in these divisions and in the hymns within them. The first three divisions ("Solemn Addresses to Sinners," "Seeking, Pleading, Hoping," and "Conflict") deal with the state of sinners before conversion to Christ. The next two divisions deal with conversion itself, namely, "Comfort" and "Dedication and Surrender." The "Cautions" are directed toward believers and so comprise at least a part of the believer's sanctification, and "Praise" is the manner in which the believer on earth appropriates the glories of heaven to come, or, in other words, anticipates glorification.

Each of these Puritan beliefs would be transformed by the Wesleys and within the Wesleyan movement. The Reformed emphasis on the inward witness of the Spirit met the Moravians' own distinct religious experiences, especially the experience of the "assurance of pardon" that would be a critical element in the experiences of both John and Charles Wesley in 1738. As John Wesley explicated his understanding of religious experience, he would utilize language derived from contemporary philosophy, including the Cambridge Platonists and John Locke in addition to the ways in which Reformed thought had described the "inward witness." The Reformed understanding of the "order of salvation" was detached in the Wesleys' thought and experience from its Reformed moorings in the doctrine of election and was further modified by the Wesleys' insistence that entire sanctification is possible in this life.

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*JOHN WESLEY'S CLAIMS ABOUT THE DISTINCTIVE BELIEFS
OF THE METHODIST (EVANGELICAL) MOVEMENT*

With this Reformed background in mind, we now turn to consider John Wesley's claims about distinctive Methodist beliefs, beliefs that defined the self-understanding of the Evangelical movement and as a subset of that, of the Wesleyan movement. That is to say, the doctrines with which we are concerned here were expressed within a more restricted ecclesial scope that refers to the "Methodist" (in the sense of "Evangelical") movement or even more specifically to the Wesleyan movement under John Wesley's leadership. Lawrence Meredith's 1962 doctoral dissertation understood "essential doctrine" in this way. It focused on the Wesleyan standards of doctrine and identified the triad of doctrines about repentance, faith, and holiness as the key "essential" doctrines emphasized by the Methodist movement. I would note, however, that although Wesley did make claims about characteristically Methodist teachings (see the qualification in the next paragraph), he did not always use the terms "essential" or "fundamental" to describe doctrines consistently emphasized by the Methodist movement. As we have seen in the citations given in the previous two sections of this chapter, Wesley utilized these terms to describe commonly held Christian doctrines, that is, doctrines that were "essential" or "fundamental" to the Christian faith *per se*. The more characteristically Methodist teachings he called the "grand scriptural doctrines" or simply "our doctrines," though it is important to note that he believed most of these "Methodist" teachings to be characteristic of the Evangelical movement in its Calvinistic as well as Wesleyan or "Arminian" expressions.³⁰

There is, however, a further qualification we must make at this point, and that is that John Wesley understood the characteristic claims of the Evangelical movement (for example, claims about the nature of repentance, faith, and holiness) to be closely linked to common Christian teachings. John Wesley sometimes appeared to claim that in fact there were *no* distinctly Methodist claims, as in the introductory paragraph of "The Character of a Methodist," where he wrote, "The distinguishing marks of a Methodist are not his opinions of any sort." The conclusion of the tract asserted that Methodist teachings were reducible to "the common, fundamental

principles of Christianity."³¹ In the former case, however, it was "opinions" with which Wesley was concerned, not with essential doctrines, and in the latter case, the device employed was meiosis in which Wesley made apparently restrictive claims (about "the Character of a Methodist") that were revealed at the end to be much more comprehensive claims about the nature of Christian faith. This was not merely rhetoric on Wesley's part: he genuinely believed that what the Methodist movement taught was in fact at the heart of Christian belief. Nevertheless, despite these claims that Methodism was reducible to common Christian principles, John Wesley did on numerous other occasions attempt to clarify what he understood to be the most consistent emphases or teachings of the Methodist movement, and these are the claims examined in this section.

"Perceptible Inspiration" as "The Main Doctrine of the Methodists"

Before considering Wesley's more familiar teachings about the "way of salvation," I want to point out that John Wesley often claimed that religious experience and the knowledge of God that comes via religious experience was a key emphasis of the Methodist movement. He employed a variety of terms to describe this characteristic emphasis. "Perceptible inspiration," he wrote to the anonymous correspondent he called "John Smith" in 1745, is "the main doctrine of the Methodists."³² Similarly, his "Earnest Appeal to Men of Reason and Religion" (1743) begins with his explanation of "faith" in the broadest or most general sense as involving spiritual perception, following Hebrews 11:1.³³ Contemporary interpreters have shown that Jonathan Edwards and John Wesley both developed epistemologies utilizing Lockean categories but differing from Locke by claiming religious experience as a valid source of knowledge (a source of "simple ideas," in Locke's language).³⁴ This concern for religious experience cannot be seen as a point in the "way of salvation"; rather, like the Calvinistic notion of the inward witness of the Spirit, it must be seen as a consistent presupposition for the way in which the Methodist movement understood the Christian life and the stages involved in it. Thus repentance was understood as involving the

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spiritual perception of one's need for grace, Christian faith³⁵ was understood as involving the spiritual perception that Christ died "for me," and regeneration and sanctification following it were understood as involving the spiritual perception (as well as the outward marks or signs) that one is a new being in Christ.

As we will see in what follows, John Wesley consistently identified teachings about "the way of salvation" as being distinctive marks of the Methodist movement. His understanding of "perceptible inspiration" was a critical epistemological presupposition of teachings on the way of salvation, especially as he emphasized not only the objective facts of divine grace applied to human beings in the way of salvation but also the human apprehension or experience of divine grace at specific points in the way of salvation. Thus the repentance of sinners prior to justification was an experiential aspect of preventing or prevenient grace, and it could be understood as a species of "perceptible inspiration" whose object is the sinner's awareness of his or her own sin and need for grace. Similarly, Wesley spoke of the "assurance of pardon" as a correlate of justification (sometimes he spoke of it as a *necessary* correlate of justification), and assurance could be understood as a species of perceptible grace whose object was the believer's awareness of divine forgiveness. We now turn to the varied ways in which John Wesley explicated the "way of salvation" as distinctive of the Methodist movement.

Threefold Explication of the "Way of Salvation"

The "way of salvation" was John Wesley's counterpart to the Reformed understanding of the *ordo salutis*, and it was the topic on which John Wesley was to make his most distinctive contribution to Christian theology. Kenneth J. Collins has appropriately called this concept "the heart of John Wesley's theology,"³⁶ and it was to become enshrined in later Wesleyan tradition as it was taught in hymnals and catechisms and as it became a pattern by which Methodist people told their own stories of growth in grace and faith.

John Wesley's understanding of the "way of salvation" developed during the earliest decades of the revival movement as he developed a more and more consistent vocabulary and set of constructs

by which he explained this set of teachings. The evolution of his technical vocabulary can be seen by comparing two of his best-known sermons, his 1738 sermon "Salvation by Faith" (traditionally the first sermon in collections of Wesley's sermons) and his 1765 sermon "The Scripture Way of Salvation," composed and delivered twenty-seven years later. Both of these sermons were on the epistle text Ephesians 2:8, "By grace are ye saved through faith" (AV), and they have similar structures. It is possible, then, to see the 1765 sermon as a much more mature version of the sermon from 1738. The 1738 sermon has the following three main points:

- I. What faith it is through which we are saved.
- II. What is the salvation which is through faith.
- III. How may we answer some objections.³⁷

The 1765 sermon has these main points:

- I. What is salvation?
- II. What is that faith whereby we are saved? And
- III. How are we saved by it.³⁸

Both sermons have main points in which John Wesley defines Christian faith and the salvation that comes by faith, although, as can be seen from the juxtaposition of these outlines, the positions of these two sections were reversed between the two sermons. Within the sermon sections defining "salvation," in particular, we can see indications of the development of John Wesley's thought between these two sermons. In the 1738 sermon "Salvation by Faith," Wesley first made the point that salvation is a present reality, not only the eternal destination of the believer. He made the same point in beginning the section on salvation in the 1765 sermon.³⁹ After this, the 1738 sermon went on to explain that salvation denotes salvation from sin (II:2), and then in three separate paragraphs it explained that this involves salvation from the guilt of past sin (II:3), from the fear that results from sin (II:4), and from the power of sin (II:5-6). In discussing freedom from the guilt of sin (II:3) he used the term "justified," and it would be tempting in the light of his later uses of theological terminology to see these three paragraphs as explicating what Wesley would call justification (II:3), assurance of pardon (freedom from fear, II:4), and sanctifica-

tion (freedom from sin, II:5-6). The 1765 sermon, on the other hand, begins with a description of the "new birth" (I:1-2), which is the "first step" to "salvation" (I:3). The phrase "new birth" is used in the 1738 sermon as well, but only in the context of the "new birth" being the "first step" to "salvation" (I:3). The 1765 sermon, on the other hand, begins with a description of the "new birth" (I:1-2), which is the "first step" to "salvation" (I:3). The phrase "new birth" is used in the 1738 sermon as well, but only in the context of the "new birth" being the "first step" to "salvation" (I:3). The 1765 sermon, on the other hand, begins with a description of the "new birth" (I:1-2), which is the "first step" to "salvation" (I:3). The phrase "new birth" is used in the 1738 sermon as well, but only in the context of the "new birth" being the "first step" to "salvation" (I:3).

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tion (freedom from the power of sin, III:5-6). However, in a summary paragraph following these (II:7), John Wesley explained that *all* of what he had described to that point could be summed up in the single term "justification" and its concomitant, the new birth in Christ. At the very end of this summary paragraph, Wesley stated that one who is thus justified and born again will progress "until at length he comes unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ" (Ephesians 4:13 AV).⁴⁰ Wesley's language in the 1738 sermon, then, centered on justification, even though he suggested a connection with sanctification in speaking of the new birth, freedom from the power of sin, and the need to go on to perfection. The emphasis on justification in this sermon was consistent with Wesley's encomium on Martin Luther, "that glorious champion of the Lord of Hosts," in the conclusion of the sermon.⁴¹ As Wesley came to focus more on sanctification, his estimation of Luther seems to have waned and he dropped this phrase from the sermon's 1746 printing.⁴²

In the 1765 sermon, by contrast, the section on the meaning of salvation had a much more clearly delineated structure that utilized the terminology he had come to employ consistently in describing the "way of salvation." In fact, the term "way of salvation" as it is used consistently in Wesleyan studies comes from the title of this sermon, "The Scripture Way of Salvation." In this sermon, the section on salvation (which is section I) began with "preventing grace," which Wesley included as a component of salvation "in its utmost extent" (I:2). Preventing grace (later Wesleyan studies would utilize the expression "prevenient grace") denoted all the work of God in a person prior to justification and the new birth. Wesley then indicated that in a more restricted sense (the sense "which the Apostle is directly speaking of"), salvation had two parts: justification and sanctification. Justification denoted "pardon" or "the forgiveness of all our sins" (I:3). Sanctification began at the same moment as justification in the new birth and it was a "real" change in a person as contrasted with the "relative" change that occurred in justification (I:4). After an aside on the danger of imagining that sin had been completely done away with after justification (I:5-7), Wesley described the gradual work of sanctification (I:8) and the believer's hope for entire sanctification, "a full salvation from all our sins" (I:9).⁴³ The comparison of

these two sermons, then, shows that in the twenty-seven years between 1738 and 1765 John Wesley had developed a more fully orbbed vocabulary for describing the process of salvation, progressing in three recognizable stages from (1) "preventing" grace to (2) justification through (3) sanctification, culminating in entire sanctification.

But John Wesley would explain these stages of the way of salvation in different ways. This can be seen, to give another example, in John Wesley's claims about the characteristic teachings of the Methodist movement, given relatively early in the revival in his "Principles of a Methodist Farther Explained" (1746). The passage is as follows:

Our main doctrines, which include all the rest, are three,—that of repentance, of faith, and of holiness. The first of these we account, as it were, the porch of religion; the next, the door; the third, religion itself.⁴⁴

This triadic formulation served as the outline of Lawrence Meredith's discussion of characteristically Methodist teachings in his 1962 Harvard dissertation. The treatise in which this expression appeared had been written in response to a challenge from Anglican clergyman Thomas Church, who saw Wesley's movement as schismatic and had demanded Wesley's resignation from the priesthood.⁴⁵

We may compare this reference to three primary doctrines (repentance, faith, and holiness) with later expressions where Wesley referred to a somewhat different set of doctrines. For example, in a letter to George Downing in 1761, John Wesley referred to three "grand scriptural doctrines" uniting the Evangelical clergy as the doctrines of original sin, justification, and the new birth.⁴⁶ Would we be justified in correlating the preaching of "original sin" (in the 1761 reference) with the preaching of "repentance" (in the 1746 reference)? John Wesley understood that a practical implication of the doctrine of original sin was the need for the repentance of sinners, that is, the acknowledgment that, because of the continuing effects of original sin, we as humans cannot save ourselves and we stand in need of divine grace. Another instance of this pattern, describing the way of salvation with respect to the divine

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grace that makes each of these stages possible, can be seen in John Wesley's claim in the sermon "The Means of Grace" that the means of grace are "the ordinary channels whereby [God] might convey to men, preventing, justifying, or sanctifying grace."⁴⁷ There is sufficient evidence to suggest a typical threefold pattern in his thought that can be laid out as follows.

1746 "Principles of a Methodist Farther Explained"	1749 sermon "The Means of Grace"	1761 Letter to George Downing	1765 sermon "The Scripture Way of Salvation"
Repentance	Preventing grace	Original sin	Preventing grace
Faith	Justifying grace	Justification	Justification
Holiness	Sanctifying grace	Regeneration	Sanctification

I do not mean to suggest that the items in each row are precise equivalents. The doctrine of original sin is the ground of preaching repentance to those who are not yet justified; prevenient grace includes repentance and awakening, regeneration is the beginning of sanctification. I am suggesting that in these four loci we can discern in Wesley's thought a typical threefold pattern that involves the work of grace prior to justification, the work of grace in justification itself, and the subsequent work of grace in sanctification beginning with regeneration or new birth.

Other Explications of the "Way of Salvation"

In the period between the middle of the 1740s and the middle of the 1760s, then, the threefold pattern of the "way of salvation" examined above appeared in Wesley's published works with some regularity. But there were different patterns that appeared simultaneously with these. John Wesley's sermon "The Way to the

Kingdom" was written around 1746 and its description of the progress of the religious life involved only two elements: repentance and faith.⁴⁸ Wesley's sermon "The Spirit of Bondage and of Adoption" was written in the 1740s,⁴⁹ and involves a different threefold pattern than that seen above. The structure of this sermon describes the following three "states" of the spiritual life:

the state of a "natural man," or the natural state
 the state of a person "under the law," or the legal state
 the state of a person under grace, or the evangelical state⁵⁰

In this scheme the first two states describe a person prior to justification, and the third state is the state of a justified person. Structuring the sermon in this way heightened the importance of "awakening," the moment when a person recognizes her or his fearful state in relation to God and thus passes from the "natural" to the "legal" state.

John Wesley's 1785 sermon "On Working Out Our Own Salvation" had yet a different pattern in a single paragraph, an expansion of the threefold pattern observed above with a fourth element added:

preventing grace
 convincing grace
 justification
 sanctification⁵¹

The element that is added here is that of "convincing grace," between preventing grace and justification. Wesley stated that convincing grace is "usually in Scripture termed repentance; which brings a larger measure of self-knowledge, and a farther deliverance from the heart of stone."⁵² Thus the distinction here between preventing grace and convincing grace seems parallel to Wesley's much earlier distinction of the "natural" state and the "legal" state in the sermon "The Spirit of Bondage and of Adoption," allowing Wesley to elaborate on the critical role of repentance in the progress of the soul toward justification, although elsewhere even this would have been included within the scope of prevenient grace.

John Wesley's most frequently used preaching text in the first year (1739) of the Evangelical revival was 1 Corinthians 1:30, "But

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JOHN WESLEY'S CLAIMS ABOUT DISTINCTIVELY METHODIST BELIEFS

of him are ye in Christ Jesus, who of God is made unto us wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption" (AV).⁵³ Although we do not have a published sermon from John Wesley on this specific text, he did cite it in the context of other sermons, and Wesley's comment on this text in his *Explanatory Notes upon the New Testament* takes "righteousness" to denote justification (Wesley knew that the words were the same in Greek), he took sanctification to denote "a principle of universal holiness," and he took "redemption" to denote "complete deliverance from all evil, and eternal bliss, both of body and of soul."⁵⁴ Although Wesley's comment on "wisdom" in this locus does not make it clear that it denoted the repentance of sinners (since "the fear of the LORD is the beginning of knowledge" or wisdom, Proverbs 1:7), it does appear that this frequently used preaching text gave Wesley another occasion to describe the "way of salvation." There is, moreover, a parallel with George Whitefield, who did publish a sermon on this text that explicated the "order of salvation" as repentance or effectual calling ("wisdom"), justification ("righteousness"), sanctification, and glorification ("redemption").⁵⁵

John Wesley's organization of the influential 1780 *Collection of Hymns for the Use of the People Called Methodists* reflects yet another and even more complex understanding of the "way of salvation." We should note his comment on the organization of the 1780 *Collection*:

[The *Collection*] is large enough to contain all the important truths of our most holy religion, whether speculative or practical; yea, to illustrate them all, and to prove them both by Scripture and reason. And this is done in a regular order. The hymns are not carelessly jumbled together, but carefully ranged under proper heads, according to the experience of real Christians. So that this book is in effect a little body of experimental and practical divinity.⁵⁶

The main headings in the book are as follows:

- Introductory Hymns (part I)
- "Convincing" Hymns (part II)
- Hymns for Mourners and Backsliders (part III)
- Hymns for Believers (part IV)
- Hymns "For the Society" (part V)

A perusal of the subheadings reveals that parts II, III, and IV comprise the essence of the "way of salvation," what Wesley apparently meant in referring to "the experience of real Christians." Moreover, parts II and III contain hymns addressed to "mourners" or "sinners," that is, persons who had not yet experienced justifying faith, or who had experienced justifying faith and had fallen away from it ("backsliders").⁵⁷ Part IV contains hymns specifically designated for "believers," that is, those who had experienced justification. Within this category are hymns for believers rejoicing, fighting, praying, watching, working, suffering, seeking full redemption (that is, seeking entire sanctification), "saved" (which here denotes those who have experienced entire sanctification), and "interceding for the world."⁵⁸

We should not miss the parallels between this structure and that of the section of Cowper's and Newton's *Olney Hymns* described above, which had been published in 1779, the year prior to the *Collection of Hymns for the Use of the People Called Methodists*. The parallel is not at all precise or exact, but it may be that the idea of arranging a hymnal "under proper heads, according to the experience of real Christians" was inspired by Wesley's exposure to the *Olney Hymns*. Whatever the source, the 1780 *Collection* set a precedent followed by almost all subsequent Methodist hymnals in which a significant portion of hymns would be arranged according to the pattern of the "way of salvation" or more typically "the Christian life" (see chapter 5 below).

The sections within the 1780 *Collection* on believers "fighting" and "suffering" raise an issue within the Wesleyan explication of the "way of salvation." Wesley's shorter schemes of the way of salvation do not list this as a separate category, but Wesley and subsequent Methodists spoke frequently of the trials or problems faced by Christians in the process of sanctification. Wesley himself offered "Heaviness through Manifold Temptations," "Wandering Thoughts," and what he called "The Wilderness State," the state of a person who has abandoned their faith and thus forfeited their justification. This did in fact come to characterize later Methodist views of the religious life, and would appear in the testimonies of Methodist people and in the schemata of hymnals that were arranged according to the way of salvation (see chapter 5 below).

John Wesley's sense that this understanding of the "way of sal-

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vation" lay at the heart of the Methodist contribution can be seen in a sermon late in his career, "On God's Vineyard" (1785), in which he offered an extensive comment on the distinctive knowledge that Methodists had of the relationship between justification and sanctification:

5. It has been frequently observed, that very few were clear in their judgment both with regard to justification and sanctification. Many who have spoken and written admirably well concerning justification, had no clear conception, nay, were totally ignorant, of the doctrine of sanctification. Who has wrote more ably than Martin Luther on justification by faith alone? And who was more ignorant of the doctrine of sanctification, or more confused in his conceptions of it? In order to be thoroughly convinced of this, of his total ignorance with regard to sanctification, there needs no more than to read over, without prejudice, his celebrated comment on the Epistle to the Galatians. On the other hand, how many writers of the Romish Church (as Francis Sales and Juan de Castaniza, in particular) have wrote strongly and scripturally on sanctification, who, nevertheless, were entirely unacquainted with the nature of justification! Insomuch that the whole body of their Divines at the Council of Trent, in their *Catechismus ad Parochos*, (Catechism which every parish Priest is to teach his people) totally confound sanctification and justification together. But it has pleased God to give the Methodists a full and clear knowledge of each, and the wide difference between them.

6. They know, indeed, that at the same time a man is justified, sanctification properly begins. For when he is justified, he is "born again," "born from above," "born of the Spirit;" which, although it is not (as some suppose) the whole process of sanctification, is doubtless the gate of it. Of this, likewise, God has given them a full view.

8. It is, then, a great blessing given to this people, that as they do not think or speak of justification so as to supersede sanctification, so neither do they think or speak of sanctification so as to supersede justification. They take care to keep each in its own place, laying equal stress on one and the other. They know God has joined these together, and it is not for man to put them asunder: Therefore they maintain, with equal zeal and diligence, the

doctrine of free, full, present justification, on the one hand, and of entire sanctification both of heart and life, on the other; being as tenacious of inward holiness as any Mystic, and of outward, as any Pharisee.⁵⁹

This passage does not follow the threefold pattern described above, since it did not deal with the state of persons prior to justification (that is, preventing grace, which would bring about awakening and repentance). It focuses on what John Wesley had described as "salvation" in the proper sense of the term twenty years earlier, that is, justification and sanctification. Wesley's claim here was that the careful and balanced relationship between the two was a distinctive mark of the Methodist movement. Toward the end of the passage cited above, in paragraph eight, Wesley moved from speaking of "sanctification" or "the whole process of sanctification" to speaking of "entire sanctification" as a distinctive mark of the Methodist movement when balanced with the teaching of "free, full, present justification." This brings us to another point about John Wesley's claims about distinctively Methodist teachings.

JOHN WESLEY'S CLAIMS ABOUT THE CHARACTERISTIC EMPHASIS OF THE WESLEYAN REVIVAL

Within the scope of John Wesley's teaching on the "way of salvation," one element stands out as being distinctive of the Wesleyan branch of the Evangelical revival, and that is his teaching on Christian holiness, and specifically his teaching about the possibility of entire sanctification prior to death. The Minutes of the early Wesleyan conferences asserted this belief as central to the Wesleyan movement. Questions three and four of the collection of Minutes historically described as the "Large Minutes" state the distinctive mission and history of the Wesleyan movement as follows:

Q. 3. What may we reasonably believe to be God's design in raising up the Preachers called Methodists?

A. Not to form any new sect; but to reform the nation, particularly the Church; and to spread scriptural holiness over the land.

Q. 4. What was

A. In 1729, two young men were saved without the usual process of holiness was then against their will otherwise hindered Antinomianism.

The responses to the question stood to be the distinctive "two young men,"

The teaching of holiness was hardly original: see the Puritan *ordo salutis* as George Whitehead's need for holiness in the Reformation, the of Christian spirit there was a critical cation that distinguished approaches to holiness of entire sanctification clear about the fact that distinguished the "Vineyard" (1785), of entire sanctification was a distinctive practice. The Methodist

maintain, with present justification both of heart and holiness as any

Similarly, John Wesley claimed that the teaching mission of the church was light with regard

Q. 4. What was the rise of Methodism, so called?

A. In 1729, two young men, reading the Bible, saw they could not be saved without holiness, followed after it and incited others so to do. In 1737 they saw holiness comes by faith. They saw likewise, that men are justified before they are sanctified; but still holiness was their point. God then thrust them out, utterly against their will, to raise a holy people. When Satan could not otherwise hinder this, he threw Calvinism in the way; and then Antinomianism, which strikes directly at the root of all holiness.⁶⁰

The responses to both questions show that holiness was understood to be the distinct mission of the movement associated with "two young men," that is, John and Charles Wesley.

The teaching of holiness as the end of humankind was in itself hardly original: sanctification had been a consistent element in the Puritan *ordo salutis* and in the preaching of such Evangelical leaders as George Whitefield. In a broad sense, the teaching about the need for holiness had been part of the inheritance of the Reformation, the Catholic tradition before it, and the long reaches of Christian spirituality and theology in the East and the West. But there was a critical nuance in the Wesleys' teaching about sanctification that distinguished their teaching from other Protestant approaches to holiness and this lay in their claims about the possibility of entire sanctification in this life. John Wesley could be very clear about the fact that it was the teaching about entire sanctification that distinguished his movement. In his sermon "On God's Vineyard" (1785), John Wesley maintained again that the teaching of entire sanctification, balanced with the teaching of justification, was a distinctive mark of the Methodist movement under his guidance. The Methodists, he stated,

maintain, with equal zeal and diligence, the doctrine of free, full, present justification, on the one hand, and of entire sanctification both of heart and life, on the other; being as tenacious of inward holiness as any Mystic, and of outward, as any Pharisee.⁶¹

Similarly, John Wesley reiterated six months before his death the claim that the teaching of entire sanctification was the distinctive mission of the Methodists: "I am glad brother D—has more light with regard to full sanctification. This doctrine is the grand

depositum which God has lodged with the people called Methodists; and for the sake of propagating this chiefly he appeared to have raised us up."⁶²

The emphasis on entire sanctification was a distinctive emphasis of the Wesleyan branch of the Evangelical revival and it was rejected by the Calvinistic preachers of the revival. In chapter 7 it will be considered as one of the distinctive core teachings of Wesleyan communities.

CONCLUSION

Considering the range of distinctively Methodist teachings described in this chapter, I am struck by the fact that almost all of these developed in the crucial period, just slightly more than a decade, between 1738 and 1749. As we have seen, John Wesley's vocabulary for describing the way of salvation settled into regular patterns in this period, and his 1748 "Plain Account of the People Called Methodists" described a very wide range of distinctive activities and practices that had emerged in the previous decade. The distinctive nucleus of Wesleyan beliefs was formed in this brief span of time.

This chapter has shown that John Wesley claimed several distinctive teachings for the Methodist movement. He claimed that "perceptible inspiration" was "the main doctrine of the Methodists." Consistent with this, he frequently defined "faith" in the broadest sense as an evidence of "things not seen," an internal evidence of spiritual realities, and this notion of an empirical evidence of religious states underlay his teaching on the various experiences that Christians may have in the course of their religious lives. John Wesley taught, in general harmony with the broader Evangelical movement of his day, that the Christian life could be understood as a "way of salvation" or "way to heaven" that involved the work of divine grace prior to justification that led sinners to awakening and repentance, the work of divine grace in justification that comes by heartfelt trust in Christ and was normally accompanied, as Wesley understood it, by an inward assurance of pardon, and then the work of divine grace in the sanctification of persons leading to their final salvation. He also maintained as a

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JOHN WESLEY'S CLAIMS ABOUT DISTINCTIVELY METHODIST BELIEFS

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distinct teaching of his own branch of the revival movement that it is possible for a person to experience entire sanctification, involving complete love for God, in this life.

In these cases, then, we have identified some core teachings of the Wesleyan movement that are much more distinctive than the common, ecumenically affirmed teachings described in chapter 1. In the next chapter, we turn to consider how common Christian teachings and distinctively Wesleyan teachings were expressed in the legacy of Christian verse that Charles Wesley handed on to Wesleyan communities.

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NOTES TO PAGES 55–64

garment—the garment of Thy Passion—virtue will proceed out of Thee” (II:9; in Rattenbury, ed., *Eucharistic Hymns*, 179).

137. John Calvin, *Institutes*, IV.17.10–12, in John T. McNeill, ed., *Calvin: Institutes of the Christian Religion*, 2 vols. Library of Christian Classics series (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1960), 2:1370–73. McNeill used the term “virtualism” to describe Calvin’s sacramental views in this edition of Calvin’s *Institutes* (2:1370, n. 27).

138. Eric Richard Griffin, “Daniel Brevint and the Eucharistic Calvinism of the Caroline Church of England, 1603–1674” (ThD thesis, University of Toronto, 2000), 252.

139. On John Wesley’s understanding of eucharistic presence of Christ and its Reformed moorings, cf. Borgen, 58–69.

140. William Nicholson, *A Plain, but Full Exposition of the Catechism of the Church of England* (Oxford: John Henry Parker, 1842), 179.

141. Borgen, 58–69.

142. On the consistency of eighteenth-century Anglicanism in defining itself as a Reformed church, cf. William Gibson, *The Church of England 1688–1832: Unity and Accord* (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), 182–210.

143. Methodist Articles of Religion 1–2 (in Pelikan and Hotchkiss, 3:202; in Leith, ed., *Creeds of the Churches*, 354).

144. On the issue of consistency through his career, we note that these three doctrines (the Trinity, the divinity of Christ, and the atonement) were all affirmed in his 1749 “Letter to a Roman Catholic” (see the text above), in the 1784 revision of the Articles of Religion, and at a number of intervening points along the way: 1775 for his sermon “The Trinity,” 1742 for his tract “The Character of a Methodist” affirming the divinity of Christ, and 1778 for his letter to Mary Bishop affirming the doctrine of atonement as a necessary Christian doctrine.

145. Matthew Simpson, *A Hundred Years of Methodism* (New York: Nelson and Phillips; Cincinnati: Hitchcock and Walden, 1876), 352.

146. Abel Stevens, *A Compendious History of American Methodism* (New York: Phillips and Hunt; Cincinnati: Walden and Stowe, 1867, although a preface printed in the book carries the date 1868), 584.

147. James M. Buckley, *A History of the Methodists in the United States* (New York: Christian Literature Co., 1896), 90–91.

148. Hughes, “‘Robert Elsmere’ and Mr. Gladstone’s Criticism of the Book,” in *Social Christianity: Sermons Delivered in St. James Hall, London* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1890), 99–100.

2. JOHN WESLEY’S CLAIMS ABOUT DISTINCTIVELY METHODIST BELIEFS

1. Noting, as in the previous chapter, that we can speak of distinct Wesleyan movements led by John and Charles Wesley after 1755–56.

2. For example, the denomination that has the name “Presbyterian Church of Wales” (*Eglwys Bresbyteraidd Cymru*) also uses the more historic name “Calvinistic Methodist Church of Wales” (*Eglwys Fethodistaidd Galfinaidd*). Cf. Lenton, 21–26.

3. The term “way of salvation” appears in the title of John Wesley’s sermon “The Scripture Way of Salvation” (in Outler, ed., *Sermons*, 2:153–69, and see Outler’s note on the title, 2:154). The expression “way to heaven” is used in the preface to the *Sermons on Several Occasions*, ¶¶ 5, 6; in Outler, ed., *Sermons*, 1:105, 106. Cf. also Collins, *The Scripture Way of Salvation*, 13, on the expression “scripture way of salvation.” On the use of the *ordo salutis* in the Reformed tradition, see the next section on the background of John Wesley’s views.

4. Cited above.

5. “The Principles of a Methodist Farther Explained” (1746), ¶ VI:4–6 (in Davies, ed., *The Methodist Societies*, 195; in Jackson, ed., *Works*, 8:472–75; and in Telford, ed., *Letters*, 2:267–70).

6. A telephone conversation with Lawrence Meredith, 3 October 2002.

7. Williams's book has "The Order of Salvation: Prevenient Grace" (chapter 3), "The Order of Salvation: Repentance and Justification" (chapter 5), "The Order of Salvation: The Work of the Holy Spirit in New Birth and Assurance" (chapter 7), "The Order of Salvation: Repentance in Believers" (chapter 8), "The Order of Salvation: Christian Perfection" (chapter 10), and "The Order of Salvation: Eschatology" (chapter 11).

8. Albert C. Outler, *Theology in the Wesleyan Spirit* (Nashville: Tidings, 1975), chapter 2 (23-43), chapter 3 (45-64), and chapter 4 (65-88).

9. Maddox, *Responsible Grace*, chapter 7, 157-91.

10. Runyon, *New Creation*, chapters 2, "Grace in the New Creation," and 3, "Transforming Grace," 26-101.

11. Especially in chapters 5-6 and 8 of *The Theology of John Wesley* (155-235, 279-312).

12. Herbert Brook Workman, *The Place of Methodism in the Catholic Church*, rev. and enl. ed. (London: Epworth Press, 1921; 1st edition was 1909), 16 and *passim*. Umphrey Lee, *John Wesley and Modern Religion* (Nashville: Cokesbury Press, 1936).

13. Horton Davies, *The English Free Churches* (London: Oxford University Press, 1952), 141; cited in Robert C. Monk, *John Wesley: His Puritan Heritage: A Study of the Christian Life*, 2nd rev. ed. (Lanham, Md.; and London: Scarecrow Press, 1999), 51.

14. Monk, *John Wesley*.

15. Calvin, *Institutes*, 1.7.5 (in McNeill and Battles, eds., 1:80-81).

16. Calvin, *Institutes*, 3.1.1 (in McNeill and Battles, eds., 1:537-38).

17. In a letter to "John Smith" dated 22 March 1748, ¶ 6; in Baker, ed., *Letters*, 2:289. These words are sometimes represented as Samuel Wesley's last words, but the letter goes on to state other things that Samuel Wesley said near the time of his death, and the letter does not make it clear that this quotation was from the day of Samuel Wesley's death.

18. The four "degrees" are specifically outlined in William Perkins, *A Golden Chaine, or The Description of Theologie, Containing the Order of the Causes of Salvation and Damnation, according to God's Word*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: John Legate, 1597), on pp. 138, 145, 149 (misabeled as "145"), and 168; cf. William Haller, *The Rise of Puritanism, Or, The Way to the New Jerusalem as Set Forth in Pulpit and Press from Thomas Cartwright to John Lilburne and John Milton, 1570-1643* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938), 86-92.

19. The five stages are given in William Ames, *The Marrow of Theology*, trans. John Dykstra Eusden (Cleveland: United Church Press, 1968; reprint ed. Durham, N.C.: Labyrinth Press, 1983), 157-74.

20. Westminster Confession of Faith, chapters 10-13 (in Pelikan and Hotchkiss, *Creeds and Confessions of Faith in the Christian Tradition*, 2:619-23).

21. Perkins, 138-45; Ames, 157-60.

22. Perkins, 145; Ames, 162.

23. Perkins, 149-67; Ames, 167-71.

24. Perkins, 168ff.; Ames, 171-74.

25. Perkins, 144; italics as in text.

26. *Ibid.*, 210. On the intent of Perkins's *Golden Chaine* in dealing with the question of knowledge of election, cf. Richard A. Muller, "Perkins' *A Golden Chaine*: Predestinarian System or Schematized *Ordo Salutis*?" (*Sixteenth Century Journal* 9, no. 1 [1978]): 69-81. The theme was obviously central to Perkins: another of his works bears the title "A Treatise Tending unto a Declaration, Whether a Man be in the Estate of Damnation, or in the Estate of Grace" (London: John Porter, 1597).

27. Perkins, *Golden Chaine*, 148.

28. Ames, 164-67.

29. *Ibid.*, 167.

30. John Wesley, letter to George Downing, 6 April 1761 (in Telford, ed., *Letters*, 4:161); cf. Heitzenrater, *Wesley and the People Called Methodists*, 156, 204, 215.

31. John Wesley, "The Character of a Methodist," ¶ 1 (in Jackson, ed., *Works*, 8:340) and ¶ 17 (in Jackson, ed., *Works*, 8:346).

32. Letter to "John Smith" [anonymous] 30 December 1745, ¶ 13 (in Baker, ed., *Letters*, 26:181-82; and in Jackson, ed., *Works*, 12:70; cf. a letter to Smith dated 22 March 1748, ¶ 7, in Baker, ed., *Letters*, 26:289, and in Jackson, ed., *Works*, 12:100).

33. John Wesley, introduction to the *Earnest Appeal to Men of Reason and Religion*, ¶ 12 (in

- Cragg, ed., *Appeals*, 11:49; in Outler, ed., *John Wesley*, 3-4; and in Telford, ed., *Letters*, 2:64, 135). The same definition of faith as involving religious experience is given in the sermon "The Scripture Way of Salvation," ¶ II:1 (in Outler, ed., *Sermons*, 2:160-61).
34. Frederick Dreyer, "Faith and Experience in the Thought of John Wesley" (*American Historical Review* 88 [1983]: 12-30); Gregory S. Clapper, *John Wesley on Religious Affections: His Views on Experience and Emotion and Their Role in the Christian Life and Theology* (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1989), 55-58; Richard E. Brantley, *Locke, Wesley, and the Method of English Romanticism* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1984), 27-47, 96-102; Rex Dale Matthews, "'Religion and Reason Joined': A Study in the Theology of John Wesley" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1986), esp. chapter 4, 247-312; Henry Rack, *Reasonable Enthusiast*, 384-87, and I note Rack's word of caution in comparing Wesley and Locke, 386-87.
35. "Christian faith," in this case, is a distinct subspecies of "faith" in general or "in its broadest extent" (Wesley's terms), where it implies any spiritual sensation; Christian faith specifically involves trust in Christ; cf. Wesley's sermon "The Scripture Way of Salvation," II:2, in Outler, ed., *Sermons*, 2:161.
36. Collins, the subtitle of his work on *The Scripture Way of Salvation: The Heart of John Wesley's Theology*, and see his comment on this subtitle, 13.
37. John Wesley, "Salvation by Faith" (1738), the outline given at the end of the introduction (Outler, ed., *Sermons*, 1:118).
38. John Wesley, "The Scripture Way of Salvation" (1765), the outline given at the end of the introduction (Outler, ed., *Sermons*, 2:156).
39. "Salvation by Faith" (1738), II:1 (in Outler, ed., *Sermons*, 1:121); "The Scripture Way of Salvation," I:1 (in Outler, ed., *Sermons*, 2:156).
40. "Salvation by Faith" (1738), II:2-7 (in Outler, ed., *Sermons*, 1:121-25).
41. "Salvation by Faith" (1738), III:9 (in Outler, ed., *Sermons*, 1:129).
42. Cf. Outler's note on this: Outler, ed., *Sermons*, 1:129, n. 119.
43. "The Scripture Way of Salvation," I:2-9 (in Outler, ed., *Sermons*, 2:156-60).
44. "The Principles of a Methodist Farther Explained" (1746), ¶ VI:4-6 (in Davies, ed., *Societies*, 195; in Jackson, ed., *Works*, 8:472-75, and in Telford, ed., *Letters*, 2:267-70).
45. Cf. Heitzenrater, *Wesley and the People Called Methodists*, 156.
46. John Wesley, letter to George Downing, 6 April 1761 (in Telford, ed., *Letters*, 4:146); cf. Heitzenrater, *Wesley and the People Called Methodists*, 156, 204, 215.
47. John Wesley, "The Means of Grace" (from ca. 1739-41), I:1 and II:1; in Outler, ed., *Sermons*, 1:378, 381.
48. John Wesley, "The Way to the Kingdom," II:1-7 (on the repentance of sinners), and II:8-12; in Outler, ed., *Sermons*, 1:225-29.
49. Timothy Smith dated this sermon to 1739; Albert C. Outler tentatively suggested the date of 1746; cf. the index to his edition of the *Sermons*, 1:720.
50. John Wesley, "The Spirit of Bondage and of Adoption," I (on the natural state), II (on the legal state), and III (on the evangelical state); in Outler, ed., *Sermons*, 1:251-55, 255-60, 260-63.
51. John Wesley, "On Working Out Our Own Salvation," II:1, in Outler, ed., *Sermons*, 3:203-4.
52. *Ibid.*
53. Albert C. Outler, *Theology in the Wesleyan Spirit*, 13.
54. John Wesley, note on 1 Corinthians 1:30 in *Explanatory Notes upon the New Testament* (Naperville, Ill.: Alec R. Allenson; and London: Epworth Press, 1950), 589.
55. George Whitefield, "Christ the Believer's Wisdom, Righteousness, Sanctification, and Redemption," in *Select Sermons of George Whitefield* (London: Banner of Truth Trust, 1959), 61-71.
56. John Wesley, introduction to the *Collection of Hymns for the Use of the People Called Methodists*, ¶ 4 (in Franz Hildebrandt and Oliver Beckerlegge, eds., *A Collection of Hymns for the Use of the People Called Methodists*, Bicentennial Edition of the Works of John Wesley, 7 [Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1983; hereafter cited as "Hildebrandt and Beckerlegge, eds., *Collection*"], 73-74).
57. *Ibid.*, section II comprises hymns 88-95 (in Hildebrandt and Beckerlegge, eds., *Collection*, 188-200); section III comprises hymns 96-181 (in Hildebrandt and Beckerlegge, eds., *Collection*, 201-307).

in Telford, ed., *Letters*, 2:64, since is given in the sermon s, 2:160-61).

t of John Wesley" (*American ley on Religious Affections: His Life and Theology* (Metuchen, e, Wesley, and the Method of 1984), 27-47, 96-102; Rex Dale ology of John Wesley" (PhD i Rack, *Reasonable Enthusiast*, y and Locke, 386-87.

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mons, 2:156-60).

5), ¶ VI:4-6 (in Davies, ed., l., *Letters*, 2:267-70).

16.

elford, ed., *Letters*, 4:146); cf.

5.

I:1 and II:1; in Outler, ed.,

repentance of sinners), and

er tentatively suggested the

i the natural state), II (on the

s, 1:251-55, 255-60, 260-63.

1:1, in Outler, ed., *Sermons*,

tes upon the New Testament (1950), 589.

usness, Sanctification, and nner of Truth Trust, 1959),

the Use of the People Called s., *A Collection of Hymns for e Works of John Wesley*, 7 ndt and Beckerlegge, eds.,

dt and Beckerlegge, eds., debrandt and Beckerlegge,

58. Ibid., section IV comprises hymns 182-465 (in Hildebrandt and Beckerlegge, eds., *Collection*, 308-648).

59. John Wesley, "On God's Vineyard," I:5; in Outler, ed., *Sermons*, 3:505-6.

60. "Large Minutes," questions 3 and 4 (in Jackson, ed., *Works*, 8:299-300).

61. John Wesley, "On God's Vineyard," I:5; in Outler, ed., *Sermons*, 3:506.

62. Letter to Robert Carr Brackenbury, 15 September 1790 (in Telford, ed., *Letters*, 8:238; in Jackson, ed., *Works*, 13:9).

3. CHARLES WESLEY AND THE TRANSMISSION OF WESLEYAN BELIEFS

1. Lloyd, *Charles Wesley and the Struggle for Methodist Identity*, 147-61, 180-212, 219-33.

2. J. Ernest Rattenbury, *The Evangelical Doctrines of Charles Wesley's Hymns*, 3rd ed. (London: Epworth Press, 1954), 85.

3. Cf. the introduction that Franz Hildebrandt wrote for the critical edition of the 1780 *Hymnal* that he edited with Oliver Beckerlegge, 3-4.

4. Campbell, *John Wesley and Christian Antiquity*, 9-21.

5. In Wallace, ed., *Susanna Wesley*, 377-407.

6. Quoted in Adam Clarke, *Memoirs of the Wesley Family*, 2nd ed. (New York: Lane and Tippet, 1848), 281; a longer excerpt of this inscription is given in the text of chapter 4 below.

7. Charles Wesley, *Hymns on the Trinity* (Bristol: Felix Farley, 1767; repr. ed., Madison, N.J.: The Charles Wesley Society, 1998).

8. John R. Tyson, "The Lord of Life Is Risen: Theological Reflections on *Hymns for Our Lord's Resurrection* (1746)" *Proceedings of the Charles Wesley Society* 7 (Madison, N.J.: The Charles Wesley Society, 2001), 81-99.

9. Charles Yrigoyen Jr., *Praising the God of Grace: The Theology of Charles Wesley's Hymns* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2005), xi.

10. In the *Collection of Hymns for the Use of the People Called Methodists*, hymns 22-38 (in Hildebrandt and Beckerlegge, eds., 107-28).

11. Wilma Quantrille, introduction to the *Hymns on the Trinity* in the reprint edition of the Charles Wesley Society (1998), cited above, vii-ix.

12. Charles Wesley, *Hymns on the Trinity*, no. 19 in the separate sequence of "Hymns and Prayers to the Trinity" (102).

13. Ibid., no. 87 in the initial sequence (58), this is the initial verse of the first hymn in the section "The Plurality and Trinity of Persons."

14. Ibid., no. 63 in the initial sequence (42); cf. Quantrille's introductory comments on this, x-xi.

15. Ibid., no. 99 in the initial sequence (64); cf. Wilma J. Quantrille, "The Triune God in the Hymns of Charles Wesley" (PhD diss., Drew University, 1989), 119.

16. Charles Wesley, "Hymn for Christmas-Day," in Charles and John Wesley, *Hymns and Sacred Poems* (London: William Strahan, 1739), 206; in George Osborn, ed., *The Poetical Works of John and Charles Wesley* (London: Wesleyan Conference Office, 1868), 1:183; orthography as in Osborn.

17. Charles Wesley, hymn V in *Hymns for the Nativity of Our Lord* (n.d. [believed to be 1745], n.p.), 7; in Osborn, 4:110.

18. Charles Wesley, "Gloria Patri," section X, in *Hymns on God's Everlasting Love* (London: W. Strahan, n.d. [believed to be 1742]), 59; in Osborn, 3:104. Although I have normally followed Osborn's orthography, in this case I have retained the small capitals in the words *Christ* and *God* in the first line, as they appear in the original printing, since Charles Wesley often uses the small capitals reminiscent of the way in which the divine name was printed in English-language Bibles.

19. Charles Wesley, "An Evening Hymn," in Charles and John Wesley, *Hymns and Sacred Poems* (London: W. Strahan, 1740), 26; in Osborn, 1:226.