

# Reflections on Wesley's Understanding of Social Holiness

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John Wesley founded a movement which in the 20th century has been known for its social activism. This concern for society has causes beyond the theology of Wesley himself, but I believe that its roots are indeed in Wesleyan theology. Wesley's theology and not simply his example forms the basis of social responsibility in Methodism.

For some time Methodists themselves did not highly regard Wesley as a theologian. Methodists knew him as an organizer and evangelist, a pious founder, but not as a great thinker. Biographies treated him as a saint, but often not as a very thoughtful one. This generation, however, has disregarded this low opinion of Wesley's theologizing, due to the scholarship of Albert C. Outler and others. Outler built upon the earlier work of scholars such as George C. Cell, Maximin Piette, Harald Lindstrom, and James Cannon, who treated Wesley seriously as a theologian. Since the 1960's and 1970's there have been dozens of books devoted to Wesley's theology. The bicentennial edition of Wesley's Works is evidence of this renewed interest. Recent books dealing with Wesley's social ethics include: Theodore Jennings, *Good News to the Poor: John Wesley's Evangelical Economics* (1990); Manfred Marquardt, *John Wesley's Social Ethics* (translated into English in 1992); and two compilations of essays, one edited by Theodore Runyon, *Sanctification and Liberation: Liberation Theologies in the Light of the Wesleyan Tradition* (1981), and the other edited by M. Douglas

Meeks, *The Portion of the Poor: Good News to the Poor in the Wesleyan Tradition* (1995).

Wesley's theological presuppositions lay behind his deep concern for the poor in the society in which he lived. For this paper, I would like to examine two of Wesley's essays and relate them to his larger theological framework. These two essays are contained back-to-back in the eleventh volume of the third edition of his Works, and are entitled "Thoughts on the Present Scarcity of Provisions," and "Thoughts Upon Slavery." In the first essay, published in 1773, Wesley attributed the poverty and hunger around him to society. The second essay, published in 1774, is Wesley's abridgment of a tract written by Anthony Benezet, but Wesley endorsed it fully and circulated it widely.①

In his "Thoughts on the Present Scarcity of Provisions" Wesley asked, "Why are thousands of people starving, perishing for want?" He had seen it himself, he says.②

Indeed. Wesley constantly visited the poor on his preaching throughout England, and during his itineration saw more of the British Isles, probably, than any other person of his generation. His ministry intentionally started with the lower class. He did not expect much to come out of his preaching to the so-called "elegant." "Religion," he said, "must not go from the greatest to the least, or the power would appear to be of men."③ He often lodged with poor people, and preferred their company to that of the rich. Wesley's understanding of poverty did not come in some detached way, but, rather, out of his fellowship with those who were poor.④ To the very end of his life Wesley saw that they had clothing and coal. It was not beneath him to go begging" for them. When past eighty years old Wesley trudged through the streets of London, ankle-deep in melting snow, raising money for the destitute.⑤

They were not poor and hungry because they were under some divine decree, or fated by either nature or God to hunger and poverty. In Wesley's theology there was an abiding idea of the love of God to all. God predestined not just a few for salvation, but We made a way in Christ for all men and women who choose so by faith to find salvation. God's grace is "prevenient." It "goes before." This grace flows to all human beings--to Hindus and Moslems as well as to the highest-born English gentry--as a benefit of the atonement. Prevenient grace allows the freedom of will that enables men and women to choose ethically, and, most importantly, to exercise faith to receive salvation. There was no hierarchy or aristocracy in Wesley's soteriology, and this endeared him to England's poor, who had been marginalized not only by the rich but also by the church. Everyone, said Wesley, had an eternally given birthright to salvation. If God's will is truly that all men and women be saved, it certainly is also his will that they had enough to eat.⑥

Wesley did not assume that poor persons were lazy or lacking in resolution by nature. The most charitable gift that one could give a poor person was a job. They were destitute of employment, not moral fiber. He did not expect God to provide food miraculously. So he had to ask, why were they hungry? The simple answer was, they simply had no jobs to seek. The small businesses that once employed them could no longer afford to do so. Wesley asked why this was so.

His analysis of the situation may not have been profound, but he laid the blame on social forces, and not just personal sin. The reasons related to three aspects of the British economy.

The first was that such a large portion of the corn and wheat harvests went into distilling. This meant that there was a shortage, and that the prices of the wheat and corn that reached the markets remained high. Furthermore, much of the distillation was done illegally to avoid paying taxes or duties. This contributed to the increasing lawlessness of the country. Most of the portion

that the government collected went to feeding the Navy's pigs! At what price was all of this, Wesley lamented. People were starving.⑦

Another reason for hunger, Wesley said, was the lifestyle of the rich. They owned too many horses, which required growing oats and hay on land that could be used more productively. Furthermore, rich farmers were breeding horses rather than raising pigs, poultry and sheep, which kept the prices of pork, chicken and mutton high. In other ways as well rich people produced, as Wesley put it, "amazing waste." They became so accustomed to a luxurious way of life that they desired more and more. So they raised the rents they charged to their tenant farmers, producing even higher food prices. There was something askew in the economic system that allowed such inequity, and Wesley laid the blame for this upon the greed of society's privileged members.⑧

He also blamed the government for allowing this. Taxes were too high, and, it seemed to him, the government put taxes on everything because of the enormous national debt.⑨

What could society do? First, Wesley advocated, it could drop the prices of commodities. If prices were lower, it would give immediate relief for hunger, and would give people more money to spend. This would pump capital throughout the economic system.

Second, he said that the government should prohibit distilling. He called liquor the "destroyer of health, of life, and of virtue."⑩ Wesley's view of the alcohol problem was that it was a social evil. This was also the stance of his Methodist progeny in the 19th century, as they waged campaigns against the manufacture, distribution and consumption of liquor. The Prohibition movement in America, largely led by Methodists, was "part of the progressive drive to reform American life, to curb big business (of which liquor interests were a part), and to democratize the nation," says historian Robert Handy.⑪

Third, Wesley said that the government should find additional ways to

repress luxury. It could reduce the number of horses by taxing them more, though not in a way that would hurt those farmers using horses for plowing their fields. Fourth, the government should reduce the national debt. One way to do so would be to abolish all government pensions given to the rich and privileged. Although Wesley advocated these means of helping the economic situation, he finally despaired over whether this really would work without sweeping moral changes in the country.<sup>⑫</sup>

The implications of what Wesley said are clear enough. He did not think that the accumulation of great wealth was just. It certainly was not a sign of God's special favor, especially when the rich became wealthy in ways that greatly took advantage of poor people. There was to Wesley no reason for the hoarding of capital, and much less for spending money for comforts and luxuries. Although he did not say that it was sinful to be rich, he called it dangerous. How could true religion, taking up one's cross, be reconciled with "faring sumptuously" daily?<sup>⑬</sup> Because he thought of the rich as so likely to be lost eternally, he did not hesitate to address them boldly. What shall I do with wealth?, a rich person asks. Wesley's response was simple. Dispense with it: give it to the poor, hungry, and naked. He cited a verse from his brother:

All my riches are above!

All my treasure is thy love.<sup>⑭</sup>

You say you can afford more things now, that you have more money now? Wesley countered, you have no more right now to waste your Lord's goods than you did before! You must give an account of every part. Is it more reasonable and just now that you are rich to rob God? If you have beyond your necessity, consider that God has entrusted this surplus to you to help the needy.<sup>⑮</sup> Theodore Jennings looks upon Wesley's sentiments as nothing less than a call for the "redistribution of wealth."<sup>⑯</sup>

For these reasons Manfred Marquardt believes that Wesley's economic

ethics were quite different from those of Calvinists, and that Wesley did little to promote the "spirit of capitalism." Although Wesley emphasized thrift, diligence, and hard work, he argued strongly against unrestrained striving for profit, wealth, and the accumulation of capital. Social groups should be responsible, and wealthy persons should voluntarily limit the opulence of their lifestyles. Also, he believed that the government possessed a responsibility for the economic welfare of citizens, and that society should not leave everything to the free market, which tended to promote greed. It should control smuggling, liquor and alcoholism; and it should intervene to achieve lower prices. Though Wesley's faith in government somewhat belied his Tory political ideas, it also marked him more as a social democrat than as a capitalist.<sup>17</sup>

Wesley played a significant part in generating a revival in the British Isles that brought great moral regeneration, and pricked the national conscience on various issues. He believed that social righteousness began with personal holiness, but he also understood that sin was more than personal. There were evils which society must address corporately, even politically. There was no more flagrant a cause for moral indignation and political action than slavery.

The "Thoughts Upon Slavery" called for public outrage against the institution of slavery. It also argued implicitly that Parliament should change laws which permitted slavery within the British Empire, which, at the time, still included the American colonies as well as islands in the Caribbean.

The pamphlet alluded to the humanity and nobility of Africans. Like all human beings, they possessed a "native liberty" which Europeans had stolen from them. They were not mere "savages" without culture and history. The pamphlet even considered the Africans more "mild, friendly, and kind to strangers" than the British. It found that these Africans were practicing justice, mercy and truth to a greater extent than the supposedly Christian Europeans. If sometimes the African slaves rebelled violently against their servitude, it was not, said the

pamphlet, because of some innate tendency. Rather, it was the very fruit of slavery itself. Slaves who were treated harshly responded harshly; slaves who were treated with love and kindness responded in the same way.<sup>⑱</sup>

Causes for their servitude (like the causes of hunger and poverty) had nothing to do with God, and everything to do with sin in persons and in societies. The European slave traders procured the Africans fraudulently, and shipped them across the Atlantic so inhumanely that most died during the voyage. Law, in America, permitted masters to beat, to whip, to maim, and even to kill slaves. All for the sake of profit. The pamphlet asked: "did the Creator intend that the noblest creatures in the visible world should live such a life as this? "Are these thy glorious work, Parent of Good'?"<sup>⑲</sup> The pamphlet labeled it "villainy." Whether legal or not, such treatment was wrong. It went against natural justice. It was "utterly inconsistent with mercy." It would be better that the islands of the Caribbean be barren than that they "be cultivated at so high a price as the violation of justice, mercy, and truth." It would be better that no labor be done than that "myriads of innocent men should be murdered, and myriads more dragged into the basest slavery." Britain did not need profit if it came by such means. What characterized a great nation? What brought glory to it? Not wealth, but "wisdom, virtue, justice, mercy, generosity, public spirit, love of . . . country."<sup>⑳</sup>

The pamphlet closed with an entreaty to slave traders to consider what they are doing to "souls immortal as your own" as nothing less than "savagery." Liberty was the right of every human creature. "Away with all whips, all chains, all compulsion! Be gentle toward all men; and see that you invariably do unto every one as you would he should do unto you." The pamphlet ended with a prayer that called upon God to save the slaves, "the purchase of thy blood."<sup>㉑</sup>

It is easy to see why Wesley put his imprimatur upon the pamphlet. It considered the African slaves as heirs along with English men and women to the benefits of salvation. It gave no credence to the idea that God had cursed the Africans or had decreed their servitude. On the contrary, and quite different from the opinions of most Europeans, the pamphlet described Africans as in many ways superior. It gave respect to their culture. It decried the deplorable ways in which the traders and masters treated the slaves. It argued for justice and mercy not simply on the basis of the Bible but on the basis of natural law. Perhaps if Wesley himself was the original author of the treatise he would have used the language of prevenient grace, but the message was the same.<sup>22</sup>

The pamphlet was consistent with Wesley's concern for the downtrodden. Jennings uses more contemporary language to describe this as Wesley's "preferential option for the poor."<sup>23</sup> Again this idea separated Wesley from Calvinist ideas of capitalism. Wesley could not tolerate wealth gained by exploitation, especially at the expense of liberty. In slavery as in social circumstances causing hunger and poverty, it was the pursuit of wealth rather than the virtues of justice and mercy that evidenced the true bent of human nature. There was, for Wesley, no justification in the Bible and no justification whatsoever for systemic inequality.<sup>24</sup>

The remedy included not only moral persuasion but the abolition of slavery by parliamentary law. Wesley had some faith in the government's capacity to act to eradicate this social evil. Wesley's very last letter was to William Wilberforce, a member of Parliament sympathetic to the Evangelical movement. Wesley encouraged Wilberforce to take up the abolitionist cause, no matter the odds against it or against him: "Go on, in the name of God and in the power of his might, till even American slavery (the vilest that ever saw the sun) shall vanish away before it!"<sup>25</sup> He was realistic enough to know that the greedy men involved in this slave trade were not likely to change otherwise. Soon, writes



historian Anthony Armstrong, "The spread of the Evangelical party in the Church of England and the development of Methodism meant that a vast number of churches and chapels could be regarded as abolitionist centers."<sup>26</sup> Indeed it was with the support of churches as well as individuals such as Wilberforce that the Parliament passed laws abolishing the slave trade in 1807 and slavery itself in the British Empire in 1833.

This mobilization of the church as a force for social change flowed out of Wesley's theology of holiness, the essence of which was perfect love. When challenged on what he meant by Christian perfection, Wesley recalled the words of Jesus. It is loving "the Lord your God with all your heart, and with all your soul, and with all your strength, and with all your mind; and your neighbor as yourself" (Luke 10:27). Holiness was not for Wesley a passive quality but an active, even restless one, full of the "work" of faith, the patience of hope, the labor of love. Christian perfection was simply doing the will of God on earth as it was in heaven, and human beings accomplished this by love.<sup>27</sup>

He believed that the Sermon on the Mount provided an ethic for this time and this place--a worldly ethic. For Wesley grace was able to cleanse, empower, and bring victory in this life over sin. Grace's realm was existential and not simply eschatological in Wesley's soteriology. The "horizon" of redemption was the creation.<sup>28</sup> In his sermon on Matthew 6:19-23, for instance, he said that anything accomplished due to wealth was nothing. The world may mark greatness based on money and the "qualifications" it may procure; but it is not to be so in the Kingdom of God. He admonished: "Weigh thyself in another balance: estimate thyself only by the measure of faith and love which God hath given thee."<sup>29</sup> The Kingdom came through the actions of Christians motivated by Kingdom ideals. Love was the means of achieving the Kingdom as well as its end. No one could truly love his or her neighbor unless there was first a transforming encounter with God. There could be no love toward God, Wesley

continued in one sermon on the Sermon on the Mount, in a kind of trinitarian formula, unless there was faith in Christ and in his redemption. There can be no faith in Christ apart from the Spirit bearing witness with men and women that they are children of God. If there was such love toward God human beings' values and ways of life would be changed. Wesley said: "Let justice, mercy and truth govern all our minds and actions. Let our superfluities give way to our neighbor's conveniences. . . . our conveniences to our neighbor's necessities; our necessities to his extremities."<sup>30</sup>

Wesley could not countenance a religion that did not issue in works. These works were not means by which individuals achieved salvation, of course. They were the fruit, the witness and the guarantee of salvation. On these points Wesley, as he himself said, came to the "very edge" of Calvinism: "(1) In ascribing all good to the free grace of God; (2) In denying all natural free-will, and all power antecedent to grace; and, (3) In excluding all merit from man; even for what he has or does by the grace of God."<sup>31</sup> However, Wesley did not agree with the Calvinists that a person, once saved, could not lose salvation.<sup>32</sup> He understood that a person's present standing before God did matter. Moral obedience was necessary at every step of the Christian's life so as not to lose the grace freely given by God--the grace received, and lived, by faith.<sup>33</sup> Indeed faith itself for Wesley was not simply intellectual or "spiritual," but a matter of being wholly dependent upon God. Faith produced holiness and good works. God called human beings to live by the law, and the only means to do so was by faith. There is in Wesley a continuity between the commandments and the new covenant. The "end" of the commandments, the moral imperative, is an actively sacrificial and creatively redemptive love.<sup>34</sup>

Wesley was very clear that without grace nothing was possible. Left to themselves human beings were "utterly impotent."<sup>35</sup> He was under no delusions about human nature. A human being, he once said, is "a mere lump of

ungodliness, and who commits sin in every breath he draws; whose actual transgressions, in word and deed, are more in number than the hairs on his head."<sup>36</sup> Any good works come not out of human effort or striving, but out of the Spirit.

Wesley warned those who considered themselves Christians simply because they had been baptized, went to church, took communion, and practiced private prayers, but really loved the world, money, pleasure. It was a form of self-deceit" to believe that religion itself was an adequate means of salvation. If some thought themselves heaven-bound, but practiced neither justice nor mercy, they were sadly mistaken about their ultimate destiny.<sup>37</sup>

Wesley and his followers were not content with the world. They lived beyond their own cultures' values and norms, and they believed that by the grace of God working within them and through them they could change the world. Calvinism left cynicism; it awaited a new heaven and a new earth. It suggested that God ordained whatever existed in the world or in society. It suggested that evil was so prevalent in materiality and humanity that it was impossible to improve the world--and useless to try to do so. Wesley, however, could find nothing in the Bible for considering the body, or anything else material, sinful in itself. No "body" could hinder God's sanctifying grace.<sup>38</sup> An "optimism of grace" filled Wesleyans. There was optimism in God's power to sanctify human beings to accomplish his will here and now. That led Wesley to tackle the issues of hunger, poverty and slavery, and his followers to tackle whatever ethical and moral problems their cultures set before them. They have worked for transformation on individual planes and social ones. They have been eager to be agents through which the sanctifying Spirit might work for others; and they have been activists for systemic change.<sup>39</sup>

Although Wesleyan theology views men and women as utterly sinful it also views them as utterly redeemable. God is able to sanctify and use human beings

in their present circumstances. God imparts grace within the context of history. The incarnation of Christ both actualizes and symbolizes the historicity of grace. It provides the model of perfect love and holiness. The doctrine of holiness exalts the potential power that there is in the unity between human nature and the Sanctifying Spirit. Wesleyan theology genuinely considers the whole situation of humankind, since it views sin in both personal and social dimensions. The dual recognition of human depravity and the immediate presence of grace separates Wesleyan theology from liberalism optimism and Calvinism pessimism concerning social action. In this, as in so many other ways, Wesleyanism forms a middle way.

Wesleyan theology forges a way of love that is not contemplative merely, but active. Love is the means of God's salvation and is also its end. Love is both the primary motivation and the goal toward which Wesleyans strive as they work through areas of personal and social responsibility. Wesleyans do not define love, obviously, as a mere emotion. It is the tangible means of God expressing his holiness through human beings. Justice is the social structure of love, and mercy the heart of justice. Through love, where sin abounds, grace all the more abounds.<sup>④</sup>

① Albert C. Outler, ed., *John Wesley* (New York: Oxford U. Press, 1964), fn. 1, pp. 85-86.

② *The Works of John Wesley*, 3rd ed. (Reprint, Kansas City: Beacon Hill, 1979), 11: 53.

③ *The Works of John Wesley*, vol. 21: *Journal and Diaries*, ed. W. Reginald Ward and Richard P. Heitzenrater (Nashville: Abingdon, 1992), 466.

④ *The Works of John Wesley*, vol. 20: *Journal and Diaries*, ed. Reginald Ward and Richard P. Heitzenrater (Nashville: Abingdon, 1991), 327-328; Theodore Jennings, "Wesley and the Poor: An Agenda for Wesleyans," in *The Portion of the Poor: Good*

News to the Poor in the Wesleyan Tradition, ed. M. Douglas Meeks (Nashville: Abingdon, 1995), 21.

- ⑤ The Works of John Wesley, vol. 23: Journal and Diaries, ed. W. Reginald Ward and Richard P. Heitzenrater (Nashville: Abingdon, 1995), 340.
- ⑥ "On Working Out Our Own Salvation," The Works of John Wesley, vol. 3: Sermons, ed. Albert C. Outler (Nashville: Abingdon, 1986), 199-209; "Free Grace," *ibid.*, 544-563. On prevenient grace see also Manfred Marquardt, John Wesley Social Ethics: Praxis and Principles, trans. John Seely and W. Stephen Gunter (Nashville: Abingdon, 1992), 89-95; Lycurgus M. Starkey, Jr., *The Work of the Holy Spirit: A Study in Wesleyan Theology* (New York: Abingdon, 1962), 130-134; and my article, "A Wesleyan Reflection on the World Mission," *Asia Journal of Theology* 5 (April 1991), 105-109.
- ⑦ Works, 3rd ed., 11: 54-55. See also The Works of John Wesley, vol. 19: Journal and Diaries, ed. W. Reginald Ward and Richard P. Heitzenrater (Nashville: Abingdon, 1990), 193.
- ⑧ Works, 3rd ed., 11: 56-57.
- ⑨ *Ibid.*, 57.
- ⑩ *Ibid.*, 58.
- ⑪ A Christian America: Protestant Hopes and Historical Realities (New York: Oxford U. Press, 1971), 150. See also Hunter D. Farish, *The Circuit Rider Dismounts: A Social History of Southern Methodism, 1865-1900* (Richmond, VA: Dietz Press, 1938), 305-324; and Norris Magnuson, *Salvation in the Slums: Evangelical Social Work, 1865-1920* (Reprint, Grand Rapids: Baker, 1990), 132-142.
- ⑫ Works, 3rd ed., 11:58-59.
- ⑬ "Dives and Lazarus," The Works of John Wesley, vol. 4: Sermons, ed. Albert C. Outler (Nashville: Abingdon, 1987), 12.
- ⑭ "On Worldly Folly," *ibid.*, 133, 138.

- ⑮ "The Danger of Increasing Riches," *ibid.*, 183-184. See also the sermons "n Dress," 248-261, and "The More Excellent Way," 263-277, in *The Works of John Wesley*, vol. 3: Sermons, ed. Albert Outler.
- ⑯ Good News to the Poor: John Wesley Evangelical Economics (Nashville: Abingdon, 1990), 97-117. See also Mary A. Tenney, *Blueprint for a Christian World: An Analysis of the Wesleyan Way* (Winona Lake, IN: Light and Life Press, 1953), 217-237.
- ⑰ Marquardt, John Wesley Social Ethics, 41-47. See also Bernard Semmel, *The Methodist Revolution* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 71-79.
- ⑱ Works, 3rd ed., 11: 63-65, 74, 76.
- ⑲ *Ibid.*, 68.
- ⑳ *Ibid.*, 73.
- ㉑ *Ibid.*, 79.
- ㉒ For Christian thought about slavery during this century see Winthrop D. Jordan, *White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550-1812* (Reprint, Baltimore: Pelican, 1969), 179-215.
- ㉓ Good News to the Poor, 47-69, 82-88.
- ㉔ Cf. Al Truesdale, "Christian Holiness and the Problem of Systemic Evil," *Wesleyan Theological Journal* 19 (Spring 1984), 39-59.
- ㉕ *The Letters of John Wesley, A.M.*, ed. John Telford (London: Epworth, 1931), 8: 265.
- ㉖ *The Church of England, the Methodists and Society, 1700-1850* (London: U. of London Press, 1973), 141; see pp. 135-141.
- ㉗ "The Principles of a Methodist," *The Works of John Wesley*, vol. 9: *The Methodist Societies: History, Nature and Design*, ed. Rupert E. Davies (Nashville: Abingdon, 1989), 55; "A Plain Account of Christian Perfection," Works, 3rd ed., 11: 371, 387.
- ㉘ Jennings, "Wesley and the Poor," 33, 37.

- ②⑨ "Upon Our Lord Sermon on the Mount: Eighth Discourse," *The Works of John Wesley*, vol. 1: Sermons, ed. Albert Outler (Nashville: Abingdon, 1984), 622.
- ③⑩ "Upon Our Lord Sermon on the Mount: Tenth Discourse," *ibid.*, 662; "A Plain Account of Christian Perfection," *Works*, 3rd ed., 11: 441.
- ③⑪ *Works*, 3rd ed., 8: 285.
- ③⑫ "A Plain Account of Christian Perfection," *Works*, 3rd ed., 11: 422, 426.
- ③⑬ "Salvation by Faith," *The Works of John Wesley*, vol. 1: Sermons, ed. Outler, 125.
- ③⑭ "A Plain Account of Christian Perfection," *Works*, 3rd ed., 11: 367-368.
- ③⑮ *Ibid.*, 11: 440.
- ③⑯ "The Righteousness of Faith," *The Works of John Wesley*, vol. 1: Sermons, ed. Outler, 212. See also "Original Sin," *The Works of John Wesley*, vol. 2 : Sermons, ed. Albert Outler (Nashville: Abingdon, 1985), 172-185.
- ③⑰ Wesley to "John Smith," June 25, 1746, in *The Works of John Wesley*, vol. 26: Letters, ed. Frank Baker (Oxford: Clarendon, 1982), 197-203; also "The New Birth," *The Works of John Wesley*, vol. 1: Sermons, ed. Outler, 73-77, and "The Marks of the New Birth," *ibid.*, 425-429.
- ③⑱ "On Perfection," *The Works of John Wesley*, vol. 3: Sermons, ed. Outler, 79-80.
- ③⑲ Cf. "Scriptural Christianity," *The Works of John Wesley*, vol. 1: Sermons, ed. Outler, 41-42. See H. Richard Niebuhr, *Christ and Culture* (New York: Harper and Row, 1951), 218-219.
- ④⑰ "On the Fall of Man," *The Works of John Wesley*, vol. 2: Sermons, ed. Outler, 410-411. See also Paul Tillich, *Love, Power, and Justice: Ontological Analysis and Ethical Applications* (London: Oxford U. Press, 1954); Mildred Bangs Wynkoop, *A Theology of Love: The Dynamic of Wesleyanism* (Kansas City: Beacon Hill, 1972).