PNEUMATOLOGY IN JOHN WESLEY’S THEOLOGICAL METHOD

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According to Albert Outler, the distinctive pneumatology of the Wesleys had no exact equivalent in Western spirituality up to their time.1 Throughout the sermons, hymns, journals, and the Explanatory Note Upon the New Testament one can see an emphasis on the person and work of the Spirit.2 Pneumatology develops a sort of theme throughout the corpus and provides a ground-tone in Wesley’s version of the ordo salutis.3

Pneumatology in Wesley has not yet been studied extensively, especially in reference to the Wesleyan Quadrilateral. Therefore, this study proposes to demonstrate that there is a distinct pneumatology in John Wesley’s theological method. This research will demonstrate the importance of understanding the soteriological and hermeneutical aspects of the Spirit, trace the historiography of his theological method, analyze the role of the Holy Spirit in each of the four religious sources (Scripture, reason, tradition, experience), and then conclude with a discussion on the importance of this study.

SOTERIOLOGY AND HERMENEUTICS

Pneumatology in John Wesley’s theological method is both soteriological and hermeneutical.4 Soteriology is an overarching theme in Wesley’s pneumatology.5 There was an experiential focus on the inspiration (work) of the Holy Spirit in the ordo salutis. Inspiration was a term that Wesley used to describe the general empowering work of the Holy Spirit in the Christian life.6 This focus carries over into his theological method with the addition of Christian experience.

Many of his standard sermons contain pneumatic soteriological concerns.7 Wesley said, “In that instant we are born again, born from above, born of the Spirit. This is both a real and a relative change. We are inwardly renewed by the power of

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God." The Spirit is the One who works this change in the believer beginning with justification, regeneration, and then sanctification. This work is confirmed in us by the witness and by the fruit of the Spirit.

Hermeneutics is also a primary emphasis in John Wesley's pneumatology. He said that the "The Spirit of God not only once inspired those who wrote it, but continually inspires, supernaturally assists, those who read it with earnest prayer." In the same way that the Spirit inspired the Scriptures and continues to inspire the reader; the Spirit is also the One who inspires redemptive experiences (regeneration, sanctification, Baptism of Spirit) and gives the witness of the Spirit to discern the authenticity of the religious experience. Therefore, the Spirit's work is similar in both instances; He is the Initiator and the Divine Interpreter of both Scripture and spiritual events. In a similar way each of the four religious sources must have the ongoing presence of the Holy Spirit in order to be interpreted.

**Wesleyan Quadrilateral**

Scripture, tradition, reason, and experience are ways in which God continues to tell His story to man. Through them He speaks to us and lets us know that we are not alone, but that He is with us. The Holy Spirit is the initiator of this ethereal conversation between God and man. The Quadrilateral is a theological method that John Wesley used in order to understand the work and Word of God. The primary way this took place was through the role of the Holy Spirit. Therefore, we must have the Spirit's guidance in our search for a more "Scriptural Christianity."

The term "Wesleyan quadrilateral" does not appear in the writings of John Wesley. It is a term that Albert C. Outler chose to describe the theological method of John Wesley. In fact, Outler regretted having coined it, because it had been so widely misconstrued. Nonetheless, it remains to be a helpful aid for understanding the context of Wesleyan thought. We can see in Wesley a distinctive theological method, with Scripture as its pre-eminent norm but interfaced with tradition, reason, and Christian experience as dynamic and interactive aids in the interpretation of the Word of God in Scripture.

John Wesley offered no creed or catechism for his people to follow. In fact, he did not articulate an explicit theological method because he was more concerned with practical relevance and applicable theology. He has been called a practical theologian because he wanted every ordinary woman and man to be able to understand the Scriptures. He wrote, "I desire plain truth for plain people." This does not mean that Wesley was not a theologian because he did not write a systematic theology. On the contrary, Wesley's refusal to provide the Methodist with a confession for subscription was the conviction of a man who knew his own mind on every vexed question of Christian doctrine, but who had decided that the reduction of doctrine to any particular form of words was to misunderstand the very nature of doctrinal statements. Some argue that Wesley was indeed a systematic theologian whose sermons, essays, journals, prefaces, and letters contain every major point of a systematic theology.

Wesley's distinctiveness rests not in a systematic theology, but in a theological method. His uniqueness of thought is evident in the way he was able to use his theological method to get his people to theologize for themselves. The effect of this was to make every Methodist man and woman his/her own theologian not by giving them an actual
paradigm for their theologizing, but hoping that they would adopt his way of reflection as their own.\textsuperscript{22} Therefore, his genius was not in writing a catechism or systematic theology, but in allowing his people to "think and let think"\textsuperscript{23} in a way that was consistent with the written Word of God and doctrinal authority.

Having briefly discussed the purpose and nature of John Wesley's theological method, we will now examine each of the four areas of the Wesleyan quadrilateral: Scripture, tradition, reason, and experience. Each one is uniquely important and vital to the Christian faith because there is a need today for an approach to theology that has the capability to dynamically fuse the four historical sources of Wesley's theological method together in order to bring us into contemporary dialogue with other traditions. As we look at each area individually, the role of the Holy Spirit will be further examined.

\textbf{Scripture}

John Wesley primarily appealed to Scripture for all doctrinal authority. He believed the "written word of God to be the only and sufficient rule both of Christian faith and practice."\textsuperscript{24} Both Reformation and Anglican heritage taught \textit{sola Scriptura}, which no doubt influenced Wesley's love for the Bible. His passion for Scripture can be best described in his own words, "O give me that book! At any price, give me the book of God! I have it: Here is knowledge enough for me. Let me be \textit{homo unius libri}."\textsuperscript{25} Wesley did not mean that other books were of no value to the Christian life, for he was an avid reader who often read on horseback and even compiled a \textit{Christian Library} for his people to read.\textsuperscript{26} Once John Wesley's view of the Bible is taken into proper perspective one can begin to understand his theological methodology.

In the Quadrilateral, the Scriptures stand first while 'Christian Antiquity', reason, and Christian experience are used as interpretive means for understanding the Scriptures. The latter three provide lenses by which we can properly interpret and understand the written word of God. The Scriptures assist the believer on his/her journey of faith as they press on toward perfection. There is a dynamic interplay in which tradition, reason, and experience work to shine light on Scripture. They have a unique reciprocal interrelationship with one another, while Scripture remains preeminent. Although never a substitute for Scripture; tradition, reason, and experience are complementary to its interpretation.

Wesley was no novice in the original languages of the Bible. He translated both the Old and New Testaments from their original tongues into English. He was also well aware of the text critical issues that were involved in translating the Biblical text.\textsuperscript{27} He felt that it was imperative for his teachers and preachers to have a "knowledge of all of the Scriptures; understanding that Scripture interprets Scripture."\textsuperscript{28} This meant that they should have knowledge of the original tongues.\textsuperscript{29}

Wesley's love for the Holy Scriptures can be best described in his own words:

Concerning the Scriptures in general, it may be observed, the word of the living God, which directed the first patriarchs also, was, in the time of Moses, committed, to writing. To this were added, in several succeeding generations, the inspired writings of the other prophets. Afterward, what the Son of God preached, and the Holy Ghost spake by the apostles, and the apostles wrote.
This is what we now style the Holy Scripture: this is that word of God which remaineth forever: of which, though heaven and earth pass away, one jot or title shall not pass away. The Scripture therefore of the Old and New Testament is a most solid and precious system of Divine truth. Every part thereof is worthy of God; and all together are one entire body, wherein is no defect, no excess. It is the fountain of heavenly wisdom, which they who are able to taste, prefer to all writings of men, however wise, or learned, or holy.  

**SPIRIT AND SCRIPTURE**

Wesley firmly believed that the Holy Spirit inspired all of the Holy Scriptures. He took this a step further in saying “The Spirit of God not only once inspired those who wrote it, but continually inspires, supernaturally assists, those who read the it with earnest prayer.”

He believed that God continually speaks and inspires the reader of the Bible through the inner working of the Spirit. This is a dual inspiration, in which the Holy Spirit *inspired* the ancient writers of the Scriptures and *inspires* the contemporary reader that they may comprehend the word of God. We see the Spirit’s hermeneutical work beautifully described in hymn 255,

1 SPIRIT of truth, essential God,  
Who didst thy ancient saints inspire,  
Shed in their hearts thy love abroad,  
And touch their hallowed lips with fire;  
Our God from all eternity,  
World without end we worship thee!

2 Still we believe, almighty Lord,  
Whose presence fills both earth and heaven,  
The meaning of the written word  
Is by thy inspiration given;  
Thou only dost thyself explain  
The secret mind of God to man.

3 Come, then, divine Interpreter,  
The scriptures to our hearts apply;  
And, taught by thee, we God revere,  
Him in Three Persons magnify;  
In each the Triune God adore,  
Who was, and is for evermore.

There is a need today for the ongoing presence of the Holy Spirit in our hermeneutics, our theology, and our doctrine. Without the assistance of the Holy Spirit, our reading of the Bible will be in vain.
TRADITION

There can be no doubt that John Wesley was a man who had a tremendous appreciation and reverence for Christian tradition. He used church tradition in his complex theological method because he felt it would direct him to the strongest evidence of Christian doctrine. When examining the Wesleyan synthesis, we can find several major traditions at work. According to Kenneth J. Collins, the traditions that had the greatest influence on Wesley were Anglicanism, Moravianism, and the Eastern Fathers. It was Wesley’s Anglican heritage more than any other that pointed him to the study of patristics. There were also many cultural and religious tributaries, which formed John Wesley’s eclectic use of tradition. However, we will only examine two of the main influences on John Wesley’s theological development at this point, namely Anglicanism and the Eastern Fathers. The Moravian influence will be discussed later.

Anglicanism was perhaps the greatest influence in shaping Wesley’s view of church tradition. He was immersed in the social and religious culture of the Church of England. He grew up the son of an Anglican priest. From a young age, he devoured Anglican homilies and devotional literature. Three major English works that influenced Wesley were Bishop Taylor’s *Rules and Exercises of Holy Living and Dying*, Kempis’s *Christian’s Pattern*, and Mr. Law’s *Christian Perfection and Serious Call*. He was educated at Oxford and was ordained to the Anglican priesthood. His love for the Church of England can also be seen in the fact that he never wanted Methodism to become a separate church, but to bring renewal to the Church of England.

Throughout the *Works of John Wesley* there are numerous mentions of the early Church Fathers, the ‘primitive Church’, and ‘Christian antiquity’. Christian antiquity as he sometimes called it, served a major role in his theological approach to interpreting the Scriptures. He said, “I reverence their writings, because they describe true, genuine Christianity, and direct us to the strongest evidence of the Christian doctrine.” First and foremost, Wesley’s concern and appreciation of early church tradition was a hermeneutical one. He felt that a renaissance of patristic studies would help renew the Church of England from within by pointing the way to a “true” religion of the heart. John Wesley’s hope and vision for a pure Church gave birth to what was to become the next major link of Church tradition.

Wesley saw Methodism as being a part of a long line of Church tradition, which reflected a genuine Christianity. Donald A.D. Thorsen points out that Wesley traced the Methodist genealogy back to the “Old religion.” Wesley describes Methodism as “the old religion, the religion of the Bible, the religion of the primitive Church, the religion of the Church of England.” For Wesley, Methodism was a part of an unbroken chain of true religion, religion of the heart, which was “no other than love, the love of God and of all mankind.” Within the context of the Universal Church, a new tradition began with John Wesley; a specific history which grew from English origins to spread across the British world and then around the globe. It is the tradition of “Methodism” as John Wesley intended it, that all Wesleyan-holiness churches can trace their theological heritage.

SPIRIT AND TRADITION

The Holy Spirit played a unique role in John Wesley’s understanding of Church tradi-
tion for a number of reasons. First, Wesley's idea of dual inspiration can give us deeper understanding of this truth. The Holy Spirit first inspired the Scriptures, and then He inspired the interpreters of the Scriptures. For John Wesley the early Fathers were "the most authentic commentators on Scripture" because they were "nearest to the fountain, and eminently endued with that Spirit by whom all Scripture was written."43 Their authenticity as interpreters of Scripture was because they had been endued with the Spirit. John Wesley deeply believed that being filled with the Spirit was the mark of "Scriptural Christianity."44

In his lengthy letter to the Conyers Middleton, John Wesley argued that the miraculous gifts of the Spirit among the early Church Fathers were the attestation of their Christianity and interpretation of Scripture. Wesley believed that the ancient church had a "standing power" to perform miracles which accompanied, and attested the truth of their proclamation of the gospel.45 He felt that the miraculous gifts of the Holy Spirit had primarily continued until the Second century. He had associated the decline of the gifts of the Spirit with the age of Constantine where "the empire became Christian."46 He felt that the church had become corrupted by the wealth and immorality of the Roman Empire.

We must keep in mind that John Wesley desired to see a revival of "true" Christianity, which would have included both the ordinary fruits and the extraordinary gifts of the Holy Spirit. Although John Wesley believed that the gifts of the Spirit had waned after the time of Constantine, he never believed that they had completely ceased. In fact, Wesley gradually believed that the gifts of the Spirit had been intended to remain in the Church throughout the ages.47 Randy Maddox says, "Since Wesley believed that his Methodist movement was recovering the holiness of the Early Church, it seems reasonable to suggest that he was open to renewed manifestations of even the extraordinary gifts among his followers."48 Wesley looked to the Holy Spirit in church tradition for hermeneutical principles and attestation of "genuine Christianity."

**Reason**

It is important to understand John Wesley within the historical context of the 18th century. It was a time known as the Age of Reason or the Enlightenment, where truth could only be known through the use of reason, logic, and scientific method. He was deeply influenced by the Enlightenment spirit, but also firmly committed to the possibility of special revelation49 He sought to logically join religion and reason. The way in which Wesley used reason to think rationally about religion can be traced to his Anglican background. He studied both Aristotelian logic and the empirical philosophy of John Locke, which he used in his ministry and theology.50

Wesley spent a considerable amount of time trying to explicate what reason was in relationship to religion.51 He attempted to find a middle way between extremists who valued one over the other. For Wesley, "reason is much the same with understanding. It means a faculty of the human soul; that faculty which exerts itself in three ways; - by simple apprehension, by judgment, and by discourse."52 (Maddox offers three modern terms: perception, comparison, and inference).53

To the question "What can reason do in religion?" Wesley answered, "It can do exceedingly much, both with regard to the foundation of it, and the superstructure."54
Wesley offered three benefits of reason, which Thomas C. Oden summarizes as physical, religious, and moral reflections.\textsuperscript{55} To the consideration of what reason cannot do, Wesley again offers three things: "First, reason cannot produce faith. Secondly, reason alone cannot produce hope in any child of man: I mean scriptural hope. Thirdly, reason, however cultivated and improved, cannot produce the love of God."\textsuperscript{56} Wesley made a clear distinction between what reason could and could not do. Although he valued reason greatly, he realized that without God it was useless speculation.

**SPIRIT AND REASON**

Throughout the course of his life, John Wesley attempted to reconcile the role of reason and religion. This led him to a religious epistemology, in which he viewed intuition as a "spiritual sensorium."\textsuperscript{57} Intuition or deductive reasoning alone cannot lead a person to the revelation of God; the Holy Spirit must be present and actively working in the believer first preveniently, and then ontologically. In "The Case of Reason Considered" John Wesley asks, "Is it not reason (assisted by the Holy Ghost) which enables us to understand what the Holy Scriptures declare concerning the being and attributes of God?" and then he states, "It is by this we understand (his Spirit opening and enlightening the eyes of our understanding)."\textsuperscript{58}

Wesley explicitly states that the Holy Spirit must assist our reasoning if we are to understand the things of God. Elsewhere, Wesley declared, "you cannot reason concerning spiritual things, if you have no spiritual sight; because all your ideas received by your outward senses are of a different kind;"\textsuperscript{59} Wesley continues, "This cannot be till the Almighty come into your succour, and give you that faith you have hitherto despised. Then upborne, as it were, on eagles' wings, you shall soar away into the regions of eternity; and your enlightened reason shall explore even "the deep things of God;" God himself "revealing them to you by his Spirit."\textsuperscript{60} For Wesley, spiritual sight is only possible when the Holy Spirit opens and enlightens our "spiritual sensorium."

**EXPERIENCE**

The restoration of religious experience to the Christian faith is perhaps John Wesley's most significant theological contribution. Scripture, reason, and tradition were common theological methods that were used by Roman Catholics and Anglicans in Wesley's day. What this trilateral method lacked was a spiritual confirmation, or an assurance of salvation within the heart, mind, and soul of the believer. John Wesley saw the need for a re-appropriation of Christian experience; once it was recovered it soon became one of the distinctive marks of Methodism. He said of experience that, "a great evangelical truth has been recovered, which had been for many years well-nigh lost and forgotten."\textsuperscript{61} Experience was a jewel that Wesley placed back into the crown of Christianity.

Through a series of encounters with a group called the Moravians John Wesley became aware that he lacked the experience of Christian assurance.\textsuperscript{62} This led him to an intense introspection of his personal faith in Christ, where he began to realize that he did not have the inner "witness of the Spirit." Through searching the Scriptures, self-analysis, and continued dialogue with other living witnesses of "an instantaneous work," Wesley was now ready to receive the experiential faith.\textsuperscript{63} The stage was set for Wesley's much
debated "Aldersgate" experience, which was largely pneumatological. Finally, on May 24, 1738, John Wesley writes:

In the evening, I went very unwillingly to a society in Aldersgate Street, where one was reading Luther's Preface to the Epistle to the Romans. About a quarter before nine, while he was describing the change which God works in the heart through faith in Christ, I felt my heart strangely warmed. I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone for salvation; and an assurance was given me that he had taken away my sins, even mine, and saved me from the law of sin and death.

Christian experience is a personal, first hand encounter with the living God who gives us the "witness of the Spirit." John Wesley described this in the following way: "The testimony of the Spirit is an inward impression on the soul, whereby the Spirit of God directly witnesses to my spirit, that I am a child of God." The inward "impression" on the soul does not refer to feelings per se, but a complex synergism, which involves both feelings and intuition. Mildred Bangs Wynkoop said that experience means that the whole man/woman is caught up in the involvement of saving faith. Experience first involves God through His saving acts and then the person who receives and perceives the reality of this action through all of the human faculties.

Theodore H. Runyon offers four interrelated factors involved in John Wesley's epistemological understanding of religious experience: (1) The Divine source of religious experience who makes impressions on the spiritual senses of the human being. The Divine source is both the cause and content of experience. (2) The telos of religious experience: the intention of the source, the purpose and goal for the human being. Christian experience is best understood within the context of God's renewal of the whole fallen creation. (3) The transformation brought through religious experience. That is, the re-creative process of the restored image of God. (4) The feelings that accompany experience. The capacity to feel is a gift of the Creator.

**SPIRIT AND EXPERIENCE**

John Wesley believed that the Holy Spirit was the primary agent involved in Christian experience. His pneumatology was distinctly soteriological. The Spirit is the Divine initiative who awakens, assures, purifies, and guides the believer in the *ordo salutis*. In "A Letter to a Roman Catholic," He writes:

I believe the infinite and eternal Spirit of God, equal with the Father and the Son, to be not only perfectly holy in himself but the immediate cause of all holiness in us; enlightening our understandings, rectifying our wills and affections, renewing our natures, uniting our persons to Christ, assuring us of the adoption of sons, leading us in our actions; purifying and sanctifying our souls and bodies, to a full and eternal enjoyment of God.

The Spirit itself bears witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God. (Rom 8:16) Wesley used this Scripture to give an explication of the work that the Spirit does
in his children. The Spirit who inspired the Scriptures continuously works to confirm the experiential truths found within its texts. In fact, Wesley believed that the witness of the Spirit confirmed what the Scriptures taught concerning experience. He said, “What the Scripture promises, I enjoy. Come and see what Christianity has done here; and acknowledge it is of God.”

Experience can be verified inwardly and outwardly. The immediate result of this testimony is the fruit of the Spirit. Wesley said without the fruit of the Spirit the testimony of the Spirit couldn’t continue. Both the witness and fruit of the Spirit spring forth from an experiential relationship with Jesus Christ. The Holy Spirit is the one who initiates a Divine encounter where man can experience God. Thomas C. Oden notes, “the Wesleyan teaching of the work of the Spirit focuses on how God the Spirit acts in drawing us toward full responsiveness to the grace manifested in the Son.” The Spirit’s initiative in the complex divine/human interaction is to give the witness and fruit of the Spirit to believers so that we may know that we are children of God.

**Concluding Remarks**

The Holy Spirit works in numerous ways to bring humanity into the full knowledge of the saving faith in Jesus Christ the Son of God. Colin W. Williams describes the Spirit’s work in the following way:

the Spirit speaks to us through the Scripture which he uses as his final authority; but to give us a vital awareness of the revelation there recorded, he calls to witness the believers through whom he has spoken to the Church in time past, and the believers in whom his promises are being realized now. And while the Spirit works in a variety of ways, the promises of God are changeless, and therefore there is a “common salvation” offered to all, which it is the task of theology and preaching to describe.

This “common salvation” is at the heart of Wesley’s theology and theological method. As this article has just demonstrated, there is a distinct pneumatology in the Wesleyan Quadrilateral, which is soteriological and hermeneutical. One cannot separate these two from the Quadrilateral or the work of the Holy Spirit.

The Holy Spirit uses the four religious sources; Scripture, reason, tradition, and experience to guide the believer in the ordo salutis. With the Scripture as the rule and the Spirit as the Guide; reason, tradition, and experience form a soteriological-hermeneutic that must be interpreted by the self same Spirit who initiated them. Without the Spirit each source is void of any discernable religious truth. Thus there must be the inspiration and supernatural assistance of the Holy Spirit for believers to be able to understand the Scriptures and religious experiences.

Pneumatology runs throughout Wesley’s corpus forming a soteriological-hermeneutic, which can show that theological method can be “practical.” He used the phrase “practical divinity” to refers to deep pastoral concerns and applicable theology that focuses on nurturing the Christian life. He was more concerned with practical discipline than speculative academic theology. This can be seen in the titles and contents of his sermons, hymns,
and letters. At the heart of his practical theology is his doctrine of the Holy Spirit, which offers us an approach to theological method that can and should be an encounter with the living God. We are not just studying about God, but we are seeking to know Him personally through a spiritual approach to theology that involves the Spirit.

We should be open to the freedom of the Spirit and respect His work in Church tradition. The Orthodox Church believes that “Tradition is the witness of the Spirit.” Whether it is Catholic, Methodist, Episcopal, or Pentecostal, each tradition should not be separated from the work of the Spirit. With this in mind, Christians should practice fellowship across the traditions, because the Holy Spirit has been with all God’s people in all traditions in all centuries. Thus a spiritual approach to tradition can and should inform our theology past, present, and future.

Wesley can help us better understand our own heritage and place within the Body of Christ. No one Christian group has a perfect system of doing theology. We can and should learn from one another. Yes, Arminians can even learn from the Calvinists. The evangelical community needs both George Whitefield and John Wesley to achieve the beauty of balance. With this in mind, Wesley becomes a good dialogue partner for embarking on a pilgrimage in theological method because he was not afraid to look to the Holy Spirit and the larger Christian family for help along the journey.

I will conclude all with that excellent Collect of our Church: “O God, who in all ages has taught the hearts of thy faithful people, by sending them the light of thy Holy Spirit; grant us by the same Spirit to have a right judgment in all things, and ever more to rejoice in his holy comfort, through the merits of Jesus Christ our Saviour; who liveth and reigneth with thee, in the unity of the same Spirit, one God, world without end. Amen.”

Notes
6. In fact, he defined “inspiration” in his Dictionary as the (restored) influence of the Holy
Pneumatology in John Wesley's Theological Method

Spirit that enables persons to love and serve God. Maddox, Responsible Grace, 121.


10. Works, 11:420. "Plain Account of Christian Perfection." Wesley says, "We know it by the witness and fruit of the Spirit. And first, by the witness. As, when we were justified, the Spirit bore witness with our spirit, that our sins were forgiven; so, when we were sanctified, he bore witness, that they were taken away. Indeed, the witness of sanctification is not always clear at first; (as neither is that of justification;) neither is it afterward always the same, but like that of justification, sometimes stronger and sometimes fainter. Yea, in general, the latter testimony of the Spirit is both as clear and as steady as the former."


15. Albert C. Outler, "The Wesleyan Quadrilateral--In John Wesley". Wesleyan Theological Journal 20:1 (Spring, 1985). See also Wesley and the Quadrilateral: Renewing the Conversation for the most recent and much-needed commentary on the Quadrilateral, written by several important contemporary Wesleyan scholars in order to offer a balanced perspective of the Wesleyan Quadrilateral.

16. Ibid., p. 9.


27. John Wesley, Preface to the New Testament. Explanatory Notes Upon the New Testament. Taken from Wesley Center for Applied Theology @Wesley.nnu.edu

28. Works, 10:482. "Address to the Clergy."

29. Ibid., 10:483.


35. Ibid., p.75.
38. Works, 10:79. "Letter to the Rev. Dr. Middleton." He also calls the Fathers, "the most authentic commentators on Scripture," Works, 10:484. "Address to the Clergy."
40. Works, 7:423. "At the Foundation of City-Road Chapel."
41. Ibid., 7:423.
43. Works, 10:485. "Address to the Clergy."
44. Works, 5:38. "Scriptural Christianity."
47. Maddox, Responsible Grace: John Wesley's Practical Theology, p. 135.
48. Ibid., p. 135.
49. Maddox, Responsible Grace: John Wesley's Practical Theology, p.40.
50. Thorsen, p. 170.
52. Ibid., 6:353.
53. Maddox, Responsible Grace: John Wesley's Practical Theology, p. 40.
55. Oden, p. 75.
57. Outler, Wesleyan Quadrilateral.
58. Works, 6:354.
60. Ibid., 8:14.
64. Outler, "A Focus on the Holy Spirit," p. 166. Randy L. Maddox says, "that there is far from a consensus among Wesley's contemporary heirs about the significance of Aldersgate, both as a component in Wesley's personal spiritual development and as a normative pattern for his descendents. Indeed, the present discussion might best be characterized as an "interpretive revolution" concerning Aldersgate." Randy L. Maddox ed., Aldersgate Reconsidered (Nashville, TN: Kingswood Books, 1990), p. 11.
69. Works, "A Letter to a Roman Catholic."
70. Works, 10:79. "Letter to Rev. Dr. Middleton."
73. Oden, p. 226.
78. Olson, Roger E., "Don't Hate Me because I'm Armenian," *Christianity Today* (Sept 6,1999).