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John Wesley: the synthesis of John Calvin and Martin Luther

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Thesis

JOHN WESLEY:

THE SYNTHESIS OF JOHN CALVIN AND MARTIN LUTHER

Submitted by

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"By grace are ye saved, through faith," St. Paul.

"Resolve to make religion the business
of your Life."

Susannah Wesley.
OUTLINE.

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Introduction

The argument of this thesis is to show that John Wesley combined Luther's epoch-making religious understanding of the gospel with Calvin's religious evaluation of activity in the world.

"This is a unique synthesis and is the distinguishing feature of his work judged as a historic whole." 1

We shall show that Martin Luther's understanding of the gospel came to John Wesley through the Moravians.

We shall further show that John Calvin's religious evaluation of activity in the world came to John Wesley through his nonconformist antecedents.

These two things proven will offset the mistaken view that the evangelical reaction was simply a reaffirmation of Luther's ideas or that Luther's influence was the sufficient historical basis of Wesley's work. It will show that the conspicuous position in Wesley's theology is given to the article on Justification, the mark of Lutheran-ism; at the same time, that Wesley took over Calvin's religious evaluation of the ethical conduct of life and of activity in the world as the highest conceivable expression of true faith.

PART ONE

MARTIN LUTHER.

A short sketch of Martin Luther's life.

Martin Luther was born on November 10, 1483, in Eisleben, Germany. His parents were of simple, unecclcsiastical piety. "He came," says, Arthur C. McGiffert, "as so many of the world's great men come, of peasant stock, but not of the lowest class. He was of common people and was glad of the fact. Luther felt that rich folk's children were arrogant, conceited and never felt the need of education, while the poor trust God because they have nothing to boast about. Luther felt that God gave to the poor good heads that they might study, become educated and intelligent, and be able to assist princes, kings, and emperors with their wisdom." 1.

Young Luther attended school in Mansfield, Magdeburg, and Eisenach, as preparatory for the university of Erfurt. At the university he was known as an earnest, companionable, and music-loving student.2

After graduation, Luther became instructor of philosophy at Wittenberg. In the summer of 1511 he was called to be professor of divinity. During these years of professorship Luther began to lecture on the Bible.

L. McGiffert: Martin Luther p. 4.
2. Walker: History of the Christian Church, p. 337
Luther lectured and commented on such books as the Psalms, book of Judges, the Epistle to the Romans and Galatians.

Professor Smith says, "The Commentary on Romans is a great human document, priceless for its biographical interest. So important is it in the history of the author's thought that Father Denifle, who first called attention to it, was inclined to date the commencement of the Reformation from it." 1

The lectures of Martin Luther were prepared with great care. He first annotated almost every word of the text, and then wrote out, in a fair, legible copy, the whole discourse. It is claimed by Professor Preserve Smith that Luther was the first to show what Paul really felt, thought, and taught. That the commentaries were valuable contributions to exegesis, but they were far more valuable because they show Luther's ideas taking shape. Such sentences as these: "We are partly sinners and partly just, but nothing if not penitent, for repentance is the mean between sin and righteousness"; and again, "We are not called to ease but to labor against our passions." Smith adds, "Throughout the whole, the theological, practical and moral interest is the dominant one." 2.

1. Smith: Martin Luther p. 23
2. Ibid., p. 24.
The religious and economic situation of Germany at this period was in many respects critical. Division was being greatly intensified in the intellectual world of Germany by a quarrel between Reuchlin, one of the most peace-loving and respected of the humanists, and Hochstraten, who took the opposing view to Reuchlin.

Reuchlin defended Jewish literature, urged a fuller knowledge of Hebrew, while Hochstraten tried to carry out the order of Emperor Maximilian in confiscating all Jewish books because they were said to be dishonoring Christianity. A storm of controversy was the result.

The historical records tell us that, "it was while this contest was at its height that a protest against an ecclesiastical abuse, made, in no unusual or spectacular fashion, by a monastic professor in a recently founded and relatively inconspicuous German University, on October 31, 1517, found immediate response and launched the most gigantic revolution in the history of the Christian Church." It was from Martin Luther that this protest came.

The influence of Martin Luther.

It may be said, that this protest altered the history of the world.

1. Walker; History of the Christian Church, p 335.
2. Ibid., p.336.
Martin Luther was not a great scholar, not a great organizer or a great politician, but he moved men by the power of a profound religious experience. Luther had an unshakable trust in God, and in direct and immediate personal relation to God brought a confident salvation to his world which left no room for the hierarchical and sacramental structures of the Middle Ages.

The strength of Luther's influence is shown through professor Walker when he says, "Martin Luther spoke to his countrymen as one, profoundly of them in aspirations and sympathies, yet, above them by virtue of a vivid and compelling faith, and a courage, physical and spiritual, of the most heroic mould. Whether honored or opposed, none can deny his pre-eminent place in the history of the church." 1.

Luther's Conversion Experience.

"In the cell of his convent Luther fought out the spiritual battle," says Harnack. The experience is told in a very interesting way by Prèserve Smith. It is as follows: "It was one day at Wittenberg in 1508 or 1509, as he was sitting in his cell in a little tower, that his life message came to him, and with it the first assurance of permanent comfort and peace. He was reading Paul's Epistle to the Romans, and came to the verse (1:17) "The just shall

1. Ibid., p.336-337.
live by faith." Pondering this, it came to him that it was not, as he had been taught, by man's own works that he was redeemed, but by faith in God and the Saviour. Luther's experience was similar to that which St. Paul had undergone in his day. Luther learned from this great experience that God alone gives faith.

The Inner Experience of the Soul.

After Luther's conversion experience, religion became a part of his very self. He explains religion in a different manner. Harnack, speaking of the Christian experience of Luther and his views on the inner experience of the soul, says, "The Christian religion is living assurance of the living God, who has revealed Himself and opened His heart in Christ. Objectively, it is Jesus Christ, His person and work; subjectively, it is faith, (fides vita nostra est ) its content is the God of grace, and therefore the forgiveness of sins, which includes adoption and blessedness."

Further Harnack states, "for Luther, the whole of religion was contained within this circle. The living God--not a philosophical or mystical abstraction--the God manifest, certain, the God of grace, accessible to every Christian."

1. Smith, Martin Luther. p.15
2. Harnack, History of Dogma, V, vii, p.182
To Luther religion was the "unwavering trust of the heart in Him who has given Himself to us in Christ as our Father, personal assurance of Faith, because Christ with His work undertakes our cause--this became for him the sum of religion." 1

To substantiate this statement and give further comment on the religious experience of the soul we quote the words of Professor Walker, "In his (Luther) own personal experience the sum of the gospel was the forgiveness of sins. It was "good news," filling the soul with peace, joy, and absolute trust in God. It was absolute dependence on the divine promises, and on God's Word.

Further Walker states,"Luther had had a deep, vital experience. It was an experience, however, in no way to be squared with much of current theories of salvation, in which acts, penances, and satisfactions had a prominent part. No theoretic considerations made Luther a reformer. He was driven by the force of a profound inward experience to test the beliefs and institutions which he saw about him." 2

Professor McGiffert relates the fact, that, it was the vividness of his religious that enabled Luther to stand upon his own feet during the Peipsic debate. This experience only made him sure of his acceptance with God. 3

1.Ibid,p.183-4
3.McGiffert, Martin Luther,p.144
Luther's Emphasis on Faith.

Faith became to Luther a vivifying personal relationship. It was vital, it was a transforming power. "Faith meant for Luther," says Professor Harnack, "no longer adherence to an incalculable sum of Church doctrines or historical facts; it was no opinion and no action, no act of initiation upon which something greater follows; it was the certainty of forgiveness of sins, and therefore also the personal and continuous surrender to God as the Father of Jesus Christ, which transforms and renews the whole man." 1

Luther's own confession of faith was: faith is a living, busy, active thing, a sure confidence, which makes a man joyous and happy towards God and all creatures; which, like a good tree, yields without fail good fruit, and which is ever ready to serve everyone and to suffer all things. Luther believed that in spite of all evil, and in spite of sin and guilt, the life of a Christian is hid in God. This became the ground belief of his religious life. 2

It is quite evident that Luther's creed was the product of his religious faith. Here we quote from Harnack who says, "Luther's creed was entirely the product of his religious faith, and it rests on the following closely united principles, to the truth of which he constantly adhered. First, that the

2.Ibid., p. 187.
Church has its basis in the Word of God; second, that this Word of God is the preaching of the revelation of God in Christ as being that which creates faith; third, that accordingly the Church has no field other than that of faith, but that within this field it is for every individual the mother in whose bosom he attains to faith; fourth, that because religion is nothing but faith, therefore neither special performances, not any special province, whether it be public worship, or a selected mode of life, or obedience to ecclesiastical injunctions, though these may be salutary, can be the sphere in which the Church and the individual give proof of their faith, but that the Christian must exhibit his faith in neighbourly service within the natural relationships of life, because they alone are not arbitrarily chosen but provided, and must be accepted therefore as representing the order of God. 1.

Closely allied with faith and perhaps included within faith was the thought of the freedom of a Christian man. To Luther this freedom was not an empty emancipation or a license for every kind of subjectivity; but freedom was for him dominion over the world. He rested this freedom in the great promise "that if God be for us who can be against us." For him (Luther),"says Harnack, "that soul was free from all human laws which has recognized in the fear of God and in love

for, and trust in Him, its supreme law and the motive principle of its life." 1

Justification by Faith.

We would not know Luther perhaps, if it had not been for his great experience of conversion and his cardinal doctrine of justification by faith, which was the product of the conversion experience. That justification by faith was the most important of Luther's religious beliefs is seen by the statement of Preserve Smith: "Justification by Faith has been rightly selected as the cardinal doctrine of the Lutheran theology; he himself recognized in it the cornerstone of his whole life." 2

The development of the doctrine was not completed at once. After the master-key had been found the struggle continued for twelve long years. "In those long years," writes Smith, "he laid the foundations of that adamantine character which stood unshaken midst a tempest that rocked Europe to its base." 3

Under the of justification, Luther gives to the following thoughts pre-eminently a special clearness and the most distinct expression:-- (1) "that for all attributes of God combined in the attribute of His righteousness, with which

1. Ibid., p. 185-6.
2. Smith, Martin Luther, p. 15
3. Ibid., p. 15.
He makes us righteous (which is therefore at the same time grace, truth, mercy and holiness), (2) that it is God who works and not man, (3) that our whole relation to God rests on the "for Christ's sake"; for God's righteousness unto salvation is His action through the gospel, i.e., through Christ; it is the righteousness of Christ, in which He holds us and which he imputes to us the righteousness of Christ. (4) That the righteousness of God, as it appears in the gospel, affects both things—death and life—that is to say, judgment and death of the old man and the awakening of the new; (5) that justification takes place through faith—that is, through the producing of faith; the latter is not so much the human answer to a divine acting, it is the means, rather by which God works our justification and carries it home; (6) that justification is nothing else than the forgiveness of guilt, and that in this forgiveness everything is included—that is to say, life and blessedness—because there are in all only two states—that of conscious guilt and misery and that of gracious standing and blessedness; (7) that justification is therefore not the beginning, but is at the same time beginning and is therefore every day now, because it must always lay hold anew of the gracious remission, but is also the full and entire faith, if in sincere penitence it finds comfort
in its God; (8) that justification is both in one, namely, a being righteous and a becoming righteous, it is the former inasmuch as by the faith which attains forgiveness man is really righteous before God; it is the latter, inasmuch as the faith that has become certain of its God, can alone bring forth good works." 1

Luther believes faith to be the act of initiation, or the beginning of the work of the Holy Spirit on the soul. He never thought of a faith that was not in itself regeneration, he calls it therefore good works. Refuge is found in time of despondency, in the faith which is "nothing but faith." In other words he says: "We are justified by faith alone" (justificamur sola fide), "ONLY BY THE FAITH WHICH LAYS HOLD ON THE FORGIVENESS OF SINS." 2 That continued to be the chief matter for Luther; for only this faith secures certainty of salvation.

In the preceding paragraphs we have stated the ultimate and highest thing which Luther wished to say in describing the state of the Christian as a state of justification, and which under no other scheme, he could make the subject of such impressive preaching: "man in his poverty, stricken in conscience and therefore godless, can only find rest in what is

1. Harnack, His. of Dogma, V.vii,p 208-9
2. Ibid., p. 209
highest, in possessing God Himself—this was known by Augustine also—but Luther finds rest only when he is absolutely certain of God, and he becomes certain of God only through faith—both these things were unknown to Augustine." 1

Luther was able to carry his beliefs beyond the Middle Ages by his certainty of salvation and faith. He made the fundamental thoughts of the eighth chapter of Romans the rock-basis of religion. Here he found the true relation of faith and good works. As Harnack says, "He knew that all that succeeded with him, all real life and blessedness, so far as he possessed it was the outflow of that certainty; he knew that certainty as the source of his sanctification and his good works. Thereby for him the whole question as to the relation of faith to good works was in its essence solved." 2.

Further Harnack says, "The exclusive relation of forgiveness of sins, faith and assurance of salvation is the first and last word of Luther's Christianity." 3

1. Ibid., p. 209
2. Ibid., p. 210
3. Ibid., p. 211
PART TWO.

JOHN CALVIN

A brief sketch of his Life.

John Calvin was born in Noyon, a city of Picardy, July 10, 1509. His father, Gerard Cauvin, was a lawyer and a person of considerable importance as secretary of the bishopric and attorney of the cathedral chapter at Noyon.

Tradition relates that Calvin's mother, was a woman of exceptional beauty and piety. Little is known of her life for she died early in the life of the home. The Cauvins were loyal Catholics, and though not of great wealth they were people of social standing in Noyon.

Georgia Harkness says that Calvin was a very precocious child, and early displayed both the intellectual and personal qualities which were destined to lay their stamp upon his life work.

Theodore Beza makes the following statement concerning the early religious life of Calvin;—"Even in his tender years he was in a surprising manner devoted to religion, and a stern reprover of all the vices of his companions." 2.

Calvin belongs to a long line of religious reformers. His place is chronologically, as a theologian, among the heirs rather than with the initiators of the Reformation.

1. Harkness, John Calvin, p. 3
2. Calvin, Life, p. 2 Opera XXI, 121. (Ibid., p. 4)
At the time of Calvin's birth, Luther and Zwingli were about ready to take up a student's career at the University of Heidelberg, and Henry VIII, had just begun his eventful reign.

Calvin ranks among the most influential leaders in the gigantic struggle of the sixteenth century. Had it not been for the work of Luther and Zwingli, Calvin would have been unable to have done his work. He owes a debt to his spiritual antecedents.

Calvin entered the University of Paris in August 1523, there enjoying the remarkable instruction in Latin given by Mathurin Cordier, to whom he owed the foundation of a style of great brilliancy. He continued his course with special emphasis on philosophy and dialectics, completing his work in 1528.

The completion of his undergraduate course, brought Calvin face to face with the question of his life's work, and the consequent further direction of his studies. The time for technical preparation for a profession had now come.

The choosing of a profession was not easy. Calvin's father had designed his son for theology, but at this time

Gerard Gauvin (his father) was in a quarrel with the Noyon cathedral chapter and determined that his son should study law. With this end in view Calvin attended the University of Orleans and the University of Bourges. He graduated in law; but his father now being dead it left young Calvin to choose his own vocation. Quite undecided as to what he should do Calvin continued the study of Greek and Hebrew in the humanist College De France.1

Like most great spiritual leaders, Calvin had his conversion experience. The date of this experience is not exact, but it was during the time of his publication of his first Commentary on Seneca's Treatise on Clemency or immediately following.(1523 or 1533)

The experience is said to have been a "sudden conversion." Walker speaks of the importance of the experience as follows; "Its central experience was that God spoke to him (Calvin) through the Scripture and God's will must be obeyed. Religion henceforth took the first place in his thoughts." 2

Calvin writes about his experience in middle life. His comments appear in his preface to his commentary to the Psalms.

1.Walker, History of the Christian Church, p. 389-390  
2.Ibid, p 390 f.
The struggle of the Psalmist brings to Calvin's mind his own struggle for spiritual life and he writes as follows: "It is true that my estate is much humbler and lower (than David's), but as he was taken from caring for beasts and raised to the sovereign rank of royal dignity, so God has advanced me from my humble and lowly beginnings so far as to call me to this most honourable office of minister and preacher of the gospel." 1.

"It is evident," says, Walker, "that Calvin regarded his "conversion" as the sovereign work of God. Nothing less, he felt, than divine power could have wrought the change which he recognized as having taken place in him. It had been brought about by an immediate and transforming intervention of God himself." 2.

John Calvin's Influence.

John Calvin, while in many ways antithetical to Martin Luther, was in the Protestant system a necessity. "Calvin was destined to seize and hold fast with an iron hand the car of the reformation, which Luther had set going, but which was now rolling down the hill with dangerous speed." 3

John Calvin's influence is felt in at least three ways; In the first place according to Professor Schaff: "He was a

1.Walker, John Calvin; Heroes of the Reformation," p.76
2.Ibid., p.76.
3.Schaff; History of the Christian Church, V.vii, p.261
theologian. He easily takes the lead among the systematic expounders of the reformed system of Christian doctrine. In the next place, Calvin is a legislator and disciplinarian. He is the founder of a new order of Church polity, which consolidated the dissipating forces of Protestantism, and fortified it against the powerful organization of Romanism on the one hand, and the destructive tendencies of sectarianism and infidelity on the other." 1

The third way that Calvin was felt, according to Schaff, is not from a religious and moral standpoint; but his influence extends to the intellectual and literary development of France. According to Schaff, "he occupies a prominent position in the history of the French language, as Luther, to a still higher degree, figures in the history of the German language." 2

The Doctrine of Predestination.

The corner-stone of the Calvinistic system is commonly known as predestination. Walker says that, "it became so under his successors and interpreters. Its prime value for him was always its comfort as giving assurance of salvation to the Christian believer." 3.

While Luther made the temporal justification by faith the article of the standing or falling Church, and the source of strength and peace in the battle of life, John Calvin made

2. Ibid., p. 262.
the eternal election of God the main stay of his system. 1
The manifestations of the doctrine of God's eternal election was shown by a life of good works.

Under the doctrine of Calvinistic predestinarianism the sacramental efficacy is confined to the elect, and the baptism of the non-elect becomes only an empty form; however on the other hand the door for the extension of electing grace is opened to the non-elect beyond the visible church. 2

According to Calvin, predestination is the "eternal and unchangeable decree of God by which he foreordained, for his own glory and the display of his attributes of mercy and justice, a part of the human race, without any merit of their own, to eternal salvation, and another part, in just punishment of their sin, to eternal damnation." 3

We often know only one side of this great doctrine. It had a great prominence in France and other countries in Europe and is still the main doctrine of the great body of Presbyterians.

Calvin continues to explain the doctrine of predestination by saying it is the eternal decree of God by which he has determined within himself the destiny of every man.

1. Schaff: Hist. of the Christian Church, V. vii, p. 265
2. Ibid., p. 549
3. Ibid., p. 549-550
According to his explanation, all men are not created for the same purpose, and all are not created in the same condition, therefore eternal life is foreordained for some and eternal damnation for others. Therefore all men according to their condition is created for these ends, and thus we say, "he is predestined to life or to death." 1

Calvin's favorite New Testament writer was Paul. Calvin points to Paul's writings and infers that the doctrine of predestination is taken from St. Paul's letter to the Romans. The passage which is often quoted in this connection reads as follows, "God hath mercy on whom He will have mercy, and whom he will, he hardeneth." 2

The inference here according to Calvin is that Paul attributes both equally "to the mere will of God." The doctrine of predestination then implies a twofold decree. The decree of election unto holiness and salvation, and a decree of reprobation unto death on account of sin and guilt. Calvin deems them both essential and inseparable.

Many, according to Calvin, wish to avert this and deny the election to eternal damnation. But Calvin says this could not be true election. That there must be the election in the twofold decree. "Whom God passes by, he reprobates (Quos Deus praeterit, reprobat) and from no other cause than his deter-

1.Ibid., p.550
omination to exclude them from the inheritance which he predestines for his children." 1

We credit Weber for saying, "Calvinism, was the faith over which the great political and cultural struggles of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were fought in the most highly developed countries, the Netherlands, England, and France. At that time, the doctrine of predestination was considered its most characteristic dogma." 2

The clearest and strongest symbolic statement of the doctrine of predestination is given in the Westminster Confession of faith. This confession was prepared and passed on by the Westminster Assembly in the year 1647. It was then adopted by the Long Parliament, by the Kirk of Scotland, and by the Presbyterian Churches of America. We shall quote the confession as given by Professor Schaff:

"1. God from all eternity did, by the most wise and holy counsel of his own will, freely and unchangeably ordain whatsoever comes to pass; yet though as thereby neither is God the author of sin, nor is violence offered to the will of the creatures, nor is the liberty or contingency of second causes taken away, but rather established."

"2. Although God knows whatsoever may or can come to pass upon all supposed conditions, yet hath he not decreed

2. Weber: The Protestant Ethic, p. 98
nothing because he foresaw it as future, or as that which would come to pass upon such conditions.

"3. By the decree of God, for the manifestation of his glory, some men and angels are predestinated unto everlasting life, and others foreordained to everlasting death.

"4. These angels and men, thus predestinated and foreordained, are particularly and unchangeably designed; and their number is so certain and definite that it cannot be either increased or diminished.

"5. Those of mankind that are predestinated unto life, God, before the foundation of the world was laid, according to his eternal and immutable purpose, and the secret counsel and good pleasure of his will, hath chosen in Christ, unto everlasting glory, out of his mere free grace and love, without any foresought of faith or good works, or perseverance in either of them, or any other thing in the creature, as conditions, or causes moving him thereunto; and all to the praise of his glorious grace.

"6. As God hath appointed the elect unto glory, so hath he by the eternal and most free purpose of his will, foreordained all the means thereunto. Wherefore they who are elected, being fallen in Adam, are redeemed by Christ, are effectually called unto faith in Christ by his spirit working
in due season; are justified, adopted, sanctified, and kept by his power through faith unto salvation. Neither are any redeemed by Christ, effectually called, justified, adopted, sanctified, and saved, but the elect only.

"7. The rest of mankind God was pleased, according to the unsearchable counsel of his own will, whereby he extendeth or withholdeth mercy as he pleaseth, for the glory of his sovereign power over his creatures, to pass by, and to ordain them to dishonor and wrath for their sin, to the praise of his glorious justice.

"8. The doctrine of this high mystery of predestination is to be handled with special prudence and care, that men attending the will of God, revealed in his Word and yielding obedience thereunto, may, from the certainty of their effectual vocation, be assured of their eternal election. So shall this doctrine afford matter of praise, reverence, and admiration of God and of humility, diligence, and abundant consolation to all that sincerely obey the gospel." 1

According to Max Weber, "the influence of predestination can be clearly traced in the elementary forms of conduct and attitude toward life in the era with which we are concerned.

"It was this influence which gave Puritanism a negative

attitude toward sensuous and emotional elements in culture and in religion. Puritanism held these elements of no use for salvation, they rather promote sentimental illusions and idolatrous superstitions. It formed one root for individualism. The results of predestination is seen again in the English Puritan literature, in the form of warnings against any trust in the aid of friendship of men.

"The Calvinist identified the fruits of true faith with the Christian's conduct. True faith was seen in the Christian's conduct, which served to increase the glory of God.

"Only the elect is able by virtue of his rebirth and the resulting sanctification of his whole life, to augment the glory of God by real, and not merely apparent, good works. In practice this means that God helps those who help themselves. Thus Calvinism held the most intensive form of religious valuation of moral action which has ever existed." 1

The Religious Evaluation of Activity in the world.

Professor Georgia Harkness gives a review of Max Weber's book "The Protestant Ethic," in his recent volume entitled, "John Calvin." The entire ninth chapter is devoted to Weber's book. In this review Harkness says, "The central theme of Weber's essay is the idea that in economic rationalism, one's secular calling took on a religious significance which gave a moral dynamic to business activity." 1

The new idea of the conception of the calling came with Luther and the Reformation. There was in the Middle Ages suggestions of the positive valuation of routine activity in the world, and perhaps even before that, but now with the Reformation there comes a new interpretation of the calling. The new element which the Reformation brought, was, "the valuation of the fulfilment of duty in worldly affairs as the highest form which the moral activity of the individual could assume."

R.H. Tawney, in his introduction to "The Protestant Ethic" says, "For most mediæval theologians, it had normally meant the state of life in which the individual had been set by heaven, and against which it was impious to rebel. To the Calvinist, Weber argues the calling is not a condition in which the individual is born, but a strenuous and exacting

1. Harkness, John Calvin, p. 181
enterprise to be pursued with a sense of religious responsibility. Baptized in the bracing icy waters of Calvinist theology, the life of business acquired a new sanctity. Labour is not merely an economic means; it is a spiritual end. Thus the pursuit of riches, which once had been feared as the enemy of religion, was now welcomed as its ally." 1

It was this which gave every-day worldly activity a religious significance, and which first created the conception of a calling in this sense. 2

The new meaning of calling overthrew the old idea of asceticism, and placed the emphasis on living acceptably to God through the fulfilment of his obligations imposed upon him as an individual by his position in the world. That was the new idea of calling. 3

We base the main of our argument on Harkness, we shall use his argument at length. He argues as follows; In Luther's use of the term, one's Beruf or vocation, is the work he accepts as God's decree. God decrees that man fulfil his calling, not in a monastery, but in the world. The concept is intertwined with one of Luther's most fundamental contributions, the setting aside of the distinction between the cloister and secular life as spheres

1. Tawney, Intro., The Protestant Ethic, p. 2-3
2. Weber, The Protestant Ethic, p. 80
3. Ibid., p. 80.
of religious activity. All men, he said, are equally obligated to do God's work, and every legitimate calling is of equal value in the eyes of God. Man must labor at his Beruf, not away from the world, but in it.

Calvin want a step further and made the distinction between serving God within one's calling and serving God by one's calling. The obligation to glorify God in one's daily toil passed from service in vocazione to per vocationem. The change had theological roots. Predestination took a different turn in Calvin's thought, for Luther was a mystic, Calvin an intellectualist. The result, in Calvinism, is a doctrine of the isolation of the individual.

Weber points out two important historical results of this doctrine of man's isolation. One is the ascetic note of Puritanism. It became the ground for the negative attitude of the Puritan toward all sensuous, aesthetic, and emotional elements in culture and religion. In the second place, it is the root of the pessimistic, otherworldly individualism of people of Puritan background.

Calvinism, through divine sovereignty shows marked superiority in social organization. The world, thought Calvin is designed solely for God's glory, and the elect must honor him by obedience to his will in the social order.1

1.Harkness, John Calvin, p. 181
m. For God's glory, society must be served. But this is a rationalized and impersonal social service, not one actuated by brotherly love or concerned for humanity. It finds its foremost expression in fidelity to the duties of one's daily task. Brotherly love, since it may only be practised for the glory of God and not in the service of the flesh, is expressed in the first place in the fulfilment of the daily task given by the lex naturae; and in the process this fulfilment assumes a peculiarly objective and impersonal character, that of service in the interest of the rational organization of our social environment. 1

By still another channel Calvinistic theology became an incentive to activity. The question of the elect was important. As Calvinism developed, the question became acute. Outwardly, the elect did not differ from the damned. The same subjective experiences were possible except the perseverance of the saints, and this lay in the future which was veiled to human eyes. Yet not only one's peace of mind, but admission to the communion table and much one's social standing depended on the crucial question of one's state of grace.

To this two answers were given. On the one hand it was held to be an absolute duty to consider oneself chosen, and to combat all doubts as temptations of the devil.2

1. Ibid.; p.183.
2. Ibid.; p.183f
On the other, intense secular activity was recommended as the most suitable means of banishing doubt and attaining certainty of grace. The faith of the believer must be fides efficax--must confirm itself in outward deeds. This quest for assurance of salvation readily reinforced the obligation to glorify God by diligent toil. Not election, but assurance of election, could thus be won. Good works could save no man; but good works could give clear evidence, to the believer and his associates, that God had chosen him for salvation.

Weber sums up this rather paradoxical doctrine thus:-

Only one who is of the elect has really the fides efficax. Only he is able, by means of his regeneration and the resulting sanctification of his whole life, to increase God's glory by really, not merely apparently, good works...

In practice this means that God helps him who helps himself. Thus the Calvinist works out his own salvation; or more properly, the assurance of it. This is not, however, as in Catholicism through the gradual laying up of merit in individual good works, but through a life of systematic self-discipline. 1

The outcome is seen as Weber traces the influences of this "Protestant asceticism" upon the growth of the capitalist spirit in English Puritanism. He finds in Richard Baxter a type of the seventeenth century Puritan. Weber relates that Baxter's writings like those of other Puritans, abound in warnings against the entanglements of riches. However, to avoid the moral relaxation which comes with their

1.Ibid., p. 183-4
possession, every man must labor. Waste of time is in principle the deadliest of sins. Work is necessary both as a defense against sexual temptation and as a means of glorifying God. Baxter said; "It is for action that God maintaineth us and our abilities; work is the moral as well as the natural end of power---. It is action that God is most served and honoured by." 1

Baxter's oft quoted saying is; "If God show you a way in which you may lawfully get more than in another way (without wrong to your soul, or to any other), if you refuse this, and choose the less gainful way, you cross one of the ends of your calling, and you refuse to be God's steward." 2

The Puritans found themselves in an economic dilemma. On the one hand, they feared the soul-corrupting influence of riches. On the other, their diligence in business and asceticism in expenditures made them rich. Wesley in a sermon points to the danger;-

"I fear whenever riches have increased, the essence of religion has decreased in the same proportion. Religion must necessarily produce both industry and frugality, and these cannot but produce riches."

Wesley's solution was, that, those, who gain all they can, and save all they can, must also give all they can.

In a survey of Calvin's life and personal traits we

2. Ibid., p. 185.
see certain virtues repeatedly exemplified; reverence, chastity, sobriety, frugality, industry, and honesty.

The above virtues, were the dominant Puritan virtues, and through Puritanism they became the dominant virtues of middle class America. To fear God and keep the Sabbath; to shun scandal and do a sober, honest way's work; to live simply, invest shrewdly and put by for a rainy day--. These also are the virtues which make the descendants of the Puritans esteem highly their cultural heritage and look askance at the coming of immigrants with a different cultural background.1

Calvin lived simply and frugally himself, and laid on his followers an aversion to extravagance and luxury. The "pure and frugal use of goods is constantly enjoined." Economy was a dominant trait in the Calvinistic conscience.

Calvin was opposed to dancing, card-playing and the like as were the Wesleys. Songs must pass the censor, and instrumental music was banned from the churches. The theatre was anathema. Churches and dwellings must be plainly furnished. Plain living in foods is commended, both as to quantity and quality. Here are Calvin's own words as given by Harkness;-

Those who have devised much vanity in order to satisfy the appetite have surely offended God, and ought to be despised. 2

1.Harkness, John Calvin, p. 159
2. Ibid., p. 165
Calvin considered all earthly possessions as gifts of God. He had no patience with the person who was too busy to say grace before a meal. We have his own words:

Those things which God has appointed for our use...require us to offer praise to Him... Hence, it follows that they who swallow them down without thinking of God are guilty of sacrilege, and profane God's gifts. And this instruction is the more worthy of attention because we daily see a great part of the world feeding themselves like brute beasts. 1

Calvin also believed in simplicity of dress. He had very little respect for those who put everything they had on their backs. In his own words, he says,

"It is certain...that if it were not for ambition and pride, extravagance would not be so common as it is. There are a great many people who prefer to endure hunger and thirst in their bodies in order to use their money on things which are of no use to them except for pomp and vanity...And we see this today more than ever before." 2

Calvin was unusually untiring in his work. He was known for his industry. This quality was passed on to most of his disciples. It was this quality in the Puritan fathers that enabled them to establish themselves in a new country. The Calvinistic temper is opposed to softness of any kind, and idleness is a form of softness. Calvin believed like Paul, that, "if any would not work, neither should he eat."

1.Calvin, Opera.XLVII, 132, Comm. on Jn. 6:11 Ibid., p.166
2.Calvin, Opera.XXVIII, 20 Ser. on Dt. 22:5-8."
Another quality of Calvin and the Puritans was honesty. It was viewed as: fair dealing toward master, servant, or peer. Honesty of spirit— not simply the appearance of honesty as an economic asset characterized the Puritan conscience. 1

Although the reformation is unthinkable without Luther's own personal religious development, and was influenced for a long period of time by his personality, yet without Calvinism Luther's work could not have had permanent and concrete success. 2

Weber speaks of Calvinism as a development which added something positive to asceticism. This new addition was the "idea of the necessity of proving one's faith in worldly activity." "Therein it gave," continues Weber, "the broader groups of religiously inclined people a positive incentive to asceticism. By founding its ethic in the doctrine of predestination, it substituted for the spiritual aristocracy of monks outside of and above the world the spiritual aristocracy of the predestined saints of God within the world." 3

In some respects Calvinism was in direct contrast to Lutheranism. Luther believed in justification by faith alone, while Calvin through the doctrine of predestination placed the emphasis on the elementary forms of conduct and attitude toward life. In this new attitude toward life, the act of private confession disappeared. This was an important occurr-

1. Harkness, John Calvin, pgs. 176-177.
2. Weber: The Protestant Ethic, p. 87
3. Ibid., p. 121.
ence for two reasons. In the first place, it was a symptom of the type of influence this religion exercised. In the second place, it was a psychological stimulus to the development of their ethical attitude. 1

Perhaps we could express this doctrine more emphatically by quoting Weber, who says, "the community of the elect with their God could only take place and be perceptible to them in that God worked through them and that they were conscious of it." 2. Their faith given by God's grace gave rise to action. This action justified faith by the quality of that action. In Calvinism the religious believer can make sure of his state of grace only as the tool of the divine will. 3. Calvin's idea of life and salvation was that of election but he believed "the whole lives of Christians ought to be a kind of aspiration after piety. Calvin regarded the office of the law as an instrument to excite people to the study of purity and holiness by reminding them of their duty. We quote him saying;

"We are justified not without, and yet not by works, since in the participation of Christ, by which we are justified is contained no less sanctification than justification. If the end of election is holiness of life, it ought to arouse and stimulate us strenuously to aspire to it, instead of serving as a pretext for sloth." 4

1. Weber: The Protestant Ethic, p. 106
2. Ibid., p. 106
3. Ibid., p. 113
Calvin's system laid great emphasis on Christian intelligence. It made its appeal to the intellect. It trained a sturdy race of thinkers on the problem of faith wherever it went. It became the foe of popular ignorance, and of shallow, emotional, or sentimental views of Christian truth.

Equally significant as an educative force has been its insistence on the individual nature of salvation. A personal relation of each man to God, a definite divine plan for each life. A value for the humblest individual in the God-appointed ordering of the universe.

Professor Walker says, "Perhaps the crowning historic significance of Calvinism is to be seen in its valuation of character." Its conception of the duty to know and do the will of God, not, indeed, as a means of salvation, but as that for which we are elected to life, and as the only fitting tribute to the "honor of God which we are bound to maintain, has made of the Calvinist always a representative, of a strenuous morality."

We close this section of this thesis with the fitting words of Professor Walker in his final appraisal of Calvinism. He says, "The spiritual indebtedness of western Europe and of North America to the educative influence of Calvin's theology is well nigh measureless."

1. Walker: John Calvin, Heroes of Reformation, p. 428
2. Ibid., p. 428
3. Ibid., p. 428
PART THREE.

John Wesley; The Synthesis of Calvin and Luther.

A short sketch of Wesley's life.

John Wesley was born at Epworth, England, in the county of Lincoln, on the 17th of June, 1703. He was the son of Samuel and Susannah Wesley. Samuel Wesley, father of John is called by Tyerman "the learned, laborious, and godly rector of the Epworth parish." 1

Wesley was born into a family of notable stock. "His ancestors for three generations," says, Fitchett, "were gentlefolk by birth, scholars by training, clergymen by choice and martyrs, in a sense, by roughness of fortune." 2

The Wesley family consisted of nineteen children, of these, nine died in infancy. Tyerman says, "Wesley, like all the other members of his father's family, was indebted for his elementary education to his mother. The principles upon which he acted were unique. When the child was one year old, he was taught to fear the rod, and, if he cried at all, to cry in softened tones." 3

Long Afterwards, in a sermon, on the education of children, Wesley refers to his mother's training, urging parents never to give a child a thing for which it cries, on the ground that to do so would be a recompense for crying, and he would certainly cry again."

1. Tyerman; Life and Times of John Wesley, V.I., p. 15
2. Fitchett: Wesley and His Century, p. 21
3. Tyerman: Life and Times of John Wesley, V.I., p. 17
In the Wesley home religion was the "masterforce." The household was of strong nature, strongly ruled, and the ruling was directed toward noble ends. A certain religious atmosphere was felt around the children. Here John Wesley grew up a grave, silent, patient boy, with meditative brow and reflective ways. He always required a reason for everything he was told. In this home there was time for study and devotions. Wesley was an ideal student, quick, tireless, methodical, frugal of time and sober of spirit. 1

"While yet a child," relates Tyerman, "Wesley passed from under the tutelage of his accomplished mother, and became a pupil at the Charterhouse, London....

"The privilege was great, and, to the day of his death, John Wesley loved the place of his early education, and was accustomed to walk through its courts and ground once a year..."

"Wesley entered the school as the poor child of an impoverished parish priest, and had to endure wrongs and insults neither small nor few; but, though he was only sixteen years of age when he left, he had, by his assiduity, and his progress in learning, acquired a high position among his fellows." 2

While in school Wesley lost the religion which had marked his character from the days of infancy.

1. Fitchett: Wesley and His Century, p. 49
2. Tyerman: Life and Times of John Wesley, V.I., p.19-20
Wesley says of this period of his life: "Outward restraints being removed, I was much more negligent than before, even of outward duties, and almost continually guilty of outward sins, which I knew to be such, though they were not scandalous in the eye of the world. However, I still read the Scriptures, and said my prayers morning and evening. And what I now hoped to be saved by was, - 1. Not being so bad as other people. 2. Having still a kindness for religion. And, 3. Reading the Bible, going to church and saying my prayers." 1. Tyerman says of this period of Wesley's life," John Wesley entered the Charterhouse a saint, and left it a sinner." 2

Wesley began his Oxford studies in 1720, entering Christ Church as a commoner on a Charterhouse scholarship of forty pounds a year. Here, Wesley met with success. He had a trained mind and at Oxford he applied himself. It is said that his career at Oxford was, "studious, brilliant and successful." 3

The atmosphere at Oxford was anything but religious. Perhaps by some subtle law of reaction though it made him more intense. He took his Bachelor's Degree in 1724 and was elected Fellow of Lincoln in 1725. A year later he was appointed lecturer in Greek and Moderator of the Classes. He took his Master's Degree in 1727.

1. Wesley: Works., V.I. p. 92
2. Tyerman: Life and Times of John Wesley, V.I., p. 22
3. Pitchett: Wesley and His Century, p. 52
Of his experience at Oxford Fitchett says, "Oxford put upon John Wesley its ineffaceable mark. He was a university man, with the lerits and mental faculties that worked with the exactitude of a machine. He excelled in logic, and was apt to resolve everything—even his own religious experience—into the terms of logic." 1

During these years in school Wesley had great plans in his mind. It was during this period when he wrote home saying, "leisure and I have taken leave of each other."

The supreme fact in Wesley's life is religion. It is this fact that gives his life historic and immortal interest. Wesley made himself visible for all time by changing the very currents of English Protestantism. By mastering the central and essential secret of religion he was able to do this. Fitchett says, "It is the religious history of John Wesley which still supremely concerns the world." 2

At the beginning of the year 1725, with a university course behind him John Wesley was facing his career. He must now make his choice of a vocation. There were three fields that opened up to him. These three fields were, law, medicine, and the ministry. As to which he should chose Wesley was uncertain. As to his qualifications Fitchett says, "Wesley had some gifts to make a lawyer, he had strong natural tastes in the direction of medicine. But

1. Fitchett: Wesley and His Century, P. 53
2. Ibid., p.57
3.
on the whole the church was for him inevitable. The force of heredity, the whole pressure of his training, and certain qualities of natural temperament carried him in that direction." 1

Influences Upon the life of Wesley.

Wesley, having decided upon his life career, set himself with characteristic thoroughness to prepare for it. His own record is;"When I was about twenty-two my father pressed me to enter into Holy orders. At the same time the providence of God, directing me to Kempis's 'Christian's Pattern,' I began to see that true religion was seated in the heart, and that God's law extended to all our thoughts as well as words and actions. I was, however, angry at Kempis for being too strict; though I read him only in Dean Stanhope's translation, yet I had frequently much sensible comfort in reading him, such as I was an utter stranger to before. Meeting likewise with a religious friend which I never had till now, I began to alter the whole form of my conversation and to set in earnest upon a new life."2

Wesley being a student, and familiar with books and accustomed to approach everything from the literary side betook himself to devotional literature. Three writers influenced him at this time greatly. These three were--Thomas A. Kempis, Jeremy Taylor, and William Law. 3

1.Fitchett: Wesley and His Century, p. 64
2.Wesley; Works, Vol. I., p. 93
3.Fitchett: Wesley and His Century, p. 66
Wesley read three books about this period. He read, "De Imitatione Christi." About this book he remarks, "I began to see that true religion was seated in the heart, and that God's law extended to all our thoughts as well as words and actions.

The second book which Wesley read was Taylor's "Holy Living and Dying." This book greatly influenced him also. Perhaps as much if not more did this book influence Wesley. Taylor's book taught Wesley the need of absolute simplicity and purity of intention and added to his theology the flavor of sacerdotalism. At this stage in his life Wesley thought of religion as something definite. He either had religion or he did not have it.

Tyerman gives the following results of Wesley reading Taylor and Kempis. "To these we are indebted for Wesley's long continued record of the events and exercises of his daily life. In the preface to his first journal, dated September 20, 1740, he states, that about fifteen years ago (1725), in pursuance of advice given by Bishop Taylor in his 'Rules for Holy Living and Dying,' he began to take a more exact account of the manner wherein he spent his time." 1. Another result of reading these two books was an entire change in his life. He writes, "when I met with it (Kempis' Pattern) in 1725, I saw that giving even all my life to God would profit me nothing, unless I gave my heart." 2

1. Tyerman; Life and Times Of John Wesley, V.I., p. 36
The third book which had a profound influence upon Wesley was "The Serious Call." by William Law. It was Law's book which aroused a real interest in religion for Wesley. He speaks for the book as follows, "I took up the book expecting to find it dull, as such books generally are; but I found Law quite an overmatch for me. That book first set me thinking in earnest." 1

Wesley even makes more forceful statements as to the help that he received from the books of Law. In this fine testimony Wesley says, "Meeting now with Mr. Law's 'Christian Perfection' and 'Serious Call' although I was much offended with many parts of both, yet they convinceth me more than ever of the exceeding height and depth and breadth of the law of God. The light flowed in so mightily upon my soul that everything appeared in a new view. I cried to God for help, resolved as I had never done before, not to prolong the time of obeying Him. And, by my continued endeavor to keep His whole law inward and outward to the utmost of my power, I was persuaded that I should be accepted of Him, and that I was even then in a state of salvation." 2

Luther's Influence upon Wesley.

In the preceding pages we have mentioned some books and men that especially influenced the earlier part of Wesley's life. Now we come to look into his theology and see what

1. Fitchett: Wesley and His Century, p. 71
2. Ibid., p. 72
influences are there. That he was influenced both by the Moravians and by Martin Luther and led to his experience of conversion we shall first note.

It is interesting to note the historic relations of the conversion experience of John Wesley. It is here that the reformation of England and Germany touch. If we are to trace the great spiritual movement under Luther, which transformed Germany and created Protestantism, we must go back beyond Luther to another Lincolnshire parsonage. We must go back to Lutterworth where John Wycliffe translated the Bible into English, he was the centre of the spiritual movement which swept over England in the fourteenth century. 1

John Wycliffe influenced Germany almost as much as he did England. John Huss owes a great debt to Wycliffe. Huss did not try to keep it a secret but gave great credit to Wycliffe for his spiritual help.

Through the stormy generations which followed, come the Moravians. They come by direct spiritual descent from Huss. By Huss also, in a direct way Luther had his spiritual birth.

It is after more than three hundred years, that Wycliffe's teaching came back to England in Peter Bohler; it spoke to Wesley from Luther's lips in the little gathering in Aldergate

1.Ibid., P. 125
We relate here the events leading to Wesley's conversion as based on Professor Tyerman. In the year 1735 Wesley met Oglethorpe, who strongly urged "the high church Methodist" to undertake a mission to the infant colony, Georgia, in America.

Wesley considered this proposal very seriously. Before he made his decision Wesley took counsel with his brother Samuel; with William Law, with Clayton and Byron, two friends of Manchester and with his widowed mother. The reply of his mother according to Tyerman was, "Had I twenty sons, I should rejoice if they were all so employed." 1

Wesley consented to go to Georgia, and gives the following reasons for going in a letter written October, 10, 1735. He writes:

"My chief motive is the hope of saving my own soul. I hope to learn the true sense of the gospel of Christ by preaching it to the heathen. They have no comments to construe away the text; no vain philosophy to corrupt it; no luxurious, sensual, covetous, ambitious expounders to soften its unpleasing truths. They have no party, no interest to serve, and therefore fit to receive the gospel in its simplicity. They are as little children, willing to learn, and eager to do, the will of God. . . .

Further, I hope from the moment I leave the English shore under the acknowledged character of a teacher sent from God, there shall be no word heard from my lips but what properly flows from that character; and the same faithfulness

1. Tyerman; The Life and Times of John Wesley, V.I., p. 109
I hope to show in dispensing my Master's goods, if it please Him to send me to those who, like His first followers, have all things in common. What a guard is here against that root of evil, the love of money and all the vile attractions that spring from it!

"I then hope to know what it is to love my neighbor as myself, and to feel the powers of that second motive to visit the heathens, even the desire to impart to them what I have received—a saving knowledge of the gospel of Christ.

"I cannot hope to attain the same degree of holiness here, which I may there."

Wesley went on board ship to sail for Georgia on October 14, 1735. His chief fellow voyagers were: Charles Wesley, his brother, Benjamin Ingham, James E. Oglethorpe, Charles Delamotte, and David Nitschmann.

The last man named was a Moravian Bishop, who accompanied by about thirty Moravians of the Brethren, were on their way to Georgia. The voyage was not without adventure. Tyerman describes a storm which broke on Jan. 17, and lasted for several days as follows: "The sea broke over the ship, and, shaking it from stern to stem, brought down the mainyard upon the decks, and dashed through the cabin window.

Six days after, an immense wave vaulted over Wesley's head, and drenched him to the skin. Two days later, the winds roared, and the ship rocked to and fro with the utmost violence. The sea sparkled and smoked as if on fire, and the air

literally blazed with lightning. The mainsail was torn to tatters, and the companion swept away. 1

The English passengers were quite alarmed and some began screaming. At the same time the Moravians were engaged in their evening worship and continued singing, quite calm and restful. Wesley was struck with their action and afterward asked one of them, "were you not afraid?" To this he replied, "I thank God, no." Wesley asked again, "but were not your women and children afraid?" "No," replied the Moravian, "our women and children are not afraid to die." From this experience Wesley pointed out the difference between those that feared the Lord and those that did not. Wesley said at the end of the storm, "This was the most glorious day which I had ever seen." Eleven days later they landed in the Savannah river harbor. 2

One of the first persons to meet Wesley after landing in Georgia, was a Moravian elder, by the name of August Gottlieb Spangenberg. Wesley asked Spangenberg's advice concerning the new work. Spangenberg's reply was in the form of two questions. "My brother, have you the witness within you? Does the Spirit of God bear witness with your spirit, that you are a child of God? Wesley found himself at a loss for the proper answer. Spangenberg continued," Do you know Jesus Christ?" To this Wesley answered," I know

1. Ingham: Journal, Quoted by Tyerman, V.I., p. 123
2. Ibid., p. 123
He is the Saviour of the World." "True," said Spangenberg; "but do you know He has saved you?" Wesley was again perplexed and it was hard for him to answer, his answer was, "I hope He has died to save me." To this Spangenberg added, "Do you know yourself?" To which Wesley replied, "I do." Tyerman adds, "The conversation left Spangenberg in doubt as to Wesley's conversion, but it lead Wesley to think of doctrines which it took him more than two years to fully understand." 1.

We are only concerned here with Wesley's contacts with the Moravians and his search for religious certainty. Of his stay in America Wesley makes the following remarks:

"I went to America to convert the Indian; but oh, who shall convert me? I have a fair summer religion. I can talk well; but let death look me in the face, and my spirit is troubled.......A wise man advised me some time since, "Be still and go on!" Perhaps this is best, to look upon it (my belief) as my cross." 2

Wesley's mission to America seemed to him a failure; but Whitefield said of his work;" The good Mr. John Wesley has done in America is inexpressible. His name is very precious among the people; and he laid a foundation that I hope neither men nor devils will ever be able to shake. Oh that I may follow him as he has followed Christ." 3

1. Tyerman; The Life and Times of John Wesley, V.I. p. 125
2. Wesley; Works, V.I., p. 76
3. Whitefield; Journals, by Tyerman V.I., p. 170
The result of Wesley's visit is given as follows:

"Many reasons I have to bless God for my having been carried to America. Hereby, I trust, He hath in some measure humbled me and proved me, and shown me what was in my heart. Hereby God has given me to know many of His servants, particularly those of the church of Herrnhuth. (Moravians) Hereby, my passage is open to the writings of holy men, in the German, Spanish, and Italian tongues. All in Georgia have heard the Word of God, and some have believed and begun to run well. A few steps have been taken towards publishing the glad tidings both to the African and American heathen. Many children have learned how they ought to serve God, and to be useful to their neighbors, and those whom it most concerns have an opportunity of knowing the state of their infant colony, and laying a firmer foundation of peace and happiness to many generations." 1

Wesley returned to England February 1, 1738. He was in bad health and low spirits. He redoubled his austerities and his zeal in teaching, and he was tortured by doubts about the reality of his faith. It was at this time and in this state of mind, that he came in contact with Peter Bohler, a Moravian teacher, whose calm and concentrated enthusiasm united with unusual mental powers gained a complete ascendancy over his mind. From him Wesley for the first time learned that form of the doctrine of justification by faith which he afterwards regarded as the fundamental tenet of Christianity. 2

The first interview which Wesley had with Bohler was on February 7, 1738; and, from that time until the 4th of May, when Bohler left London for Carolina, Wesley embraced every opportunity of conversing with him.

Wesley at this time was in a state of doubt and unbelief. Bohler told Wesley that true faith in Christ was inseparably attended by—(1) dominion over sin; and (2) constant peace arising from a sense of forgiveness. Wesley considered this as a new gospel, and disputed it. Two things were used by Bohler to defend his argument, the Bible, and experience. Wesley was still hesitant and Bohler brought three persons, who testified of their own personal experience. These three also added with one mouth, that this faith is the gift, the free gift of God; and that He will surely give it to every one who earnestly and perseveringly prays for it.

Later interviews with Bohler proved to Wesley that saving faith was not only in Christ, but that it was instantaneous. Bohler brought again living witnesses, who testified that God had given them, in a moment, such a faith in Christ as translated them out of darkness into light, out of sin and fear into holiness and happiness. Wesley writes;

"Here ended my disputing. I could now cry out, "Lord, help Thou my unbelief.""

"I was now thoroughly convinced; and by the grace of God, I resolved to seek this faith unto the end—(1) By absolutely renouncing all dependence, in whole or in part, upon my own works of righteousness; on which I had really grounded my hope of salvation, though I knew it not, from my youth up. (2) By adding to the constant use of all the other means of grace continual prayer for this very thing—justifying, saving faith, a full reliance on the blood of Christ shed for me; a trust in Him as my Christ, as my sole justification, sanctification, and redemption."

The experience of his conversion is told in the journals of Wesley in a very interesting way. On Wednesday, May 24th, a day which he ever after looked back upon as the most momentous in his life, the cloud was dispelled.

Early in the morning, according to his usual custom, he opened the Bible at random, seeking for a Divine guidance, and his eye lighted on the words, "There are given unto us exceeding great and precious promises, even that ye should be partakers of the Divine nature." Before he left the house he again consulted the oracle and the first words he read were, "Thou art not far from the kingdom of God." In the afternoon he attended service in St. Paul's Cathedral, and the anthem to his highly wrought imagination, seemed a repetition of the same hope. The sequel may be told in his own words. "In the evening I went very unwilling to a society in Aldersgate Street, where one was reading Luther's

preface to the Epistle to the Romans." "About a quarter before nine," Wesley continues, "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. I began to pray with all my might for those who had in a more especial manner despitefully used me and persecuted me. I thus testified openly to all, what I now first felt in my heart." ¹

Luther's preface to the book of Romans has been translated by Professor George C. Cell, professor of Church history in Boston University. The translation was published in the Zion's Herald for October, 21, 1931, and is as follows:

"Faith is not something we fetch up from our imagination and put over on ourselves. That which is feigned goes not to the heart's grounding nor are we any the better for it.

"Faith comes over us in the mighty impact of God's revelation of Himself to us. It is God's own work in us which changes us all over and makes us like new. It kills the past and utterly transforms men in heart, disposition, spirit, and all the faculties; and the Holy Spirit is at once implicit and actively present in it all. Oh! it is a lively, busy, active, mighty thing--this faith whereby the Holy Spirit regenerates us and pours itself forth in a steady stream of good deeds.

¹Wesley: Journals, Vol. L., p. 475
"This faith does not stop to ask about good works but is swifter than doubt in the doing and never lets up. It is just a lively, reckless confidence in God's grace, so sure that the believer could die a thousand times for it! Such knowledge of God's grace and trustful reliance upon it sets a man up, makes cheerful, sure of himself, bold-hearted, happy toward God and all creation. Pray God this faith may be wrought in you by the gospel, or it will never be yours, fancy what you will and do what you can!" 1

Professor Cell continues his article in the Zion's Herald by saying, that Wesley was well versed in the doctrine of justification by faith long, long before the Aldersgate Street experience. However, at this particular time of his earnest quest of faith he was overripe to listen to the word of an authority. It was at this time that he caught a vivid picture of the majesty and simplicity of Martin Luther's faith. He saw as never before the sovereign significance of saving faith in Christ as never before. In the words of Professor Cell, "a voice as from a burning bush spoke to Wesley out of the example of Luther's faith, out of his very words, and came home to him in the name of "that mighty man of God" (Wesley's Oxford Sermon). In the strength of that credential, he let belief take hold of him. By and in that experience, Wesley crossed his religious Rubicon. The live coal carried from the alter-fires of Luther's faith to Wesley's lips, the heartfelt acceptance of Luther's deeply

1. Cell; Wesley as Seen Through His Letters, Zion's Herald, October, 14, 1931
religious understanding of the gospel, is the master-key to the great 18th century revival of Protestant Christianity under Wesley which Lecky has rightly placed second only to Luther, in the total reach of its influence." 1

Weber, speaking on 'The Religious Foundations of Worldly Asceticism,' says, "The emphasis on feeling, in John Wesley awakened by Moravian and Lutheran influences, led Methodism, which from the beginning saw its mission among the masses, to take on a strongly emotional character, especially in America." 2

Again, Weber says, "the strong Lutheran influences to which Wesley was exposed through the Moravians." 3 Professor Cell substantiates this point in his article on "The Decay of Religion" when he says, "the conspicuous position in Wesley's theology is given to the article on justification, the mark of Lutheranism. He(Wesley) combined Luther's epoch-making religious understanding of the gospel with Calvin's religious evaluation of activity on the world." 4

Further Professor Cell says, "Luther's understanding of the gospel came to Wesley through the Moravians." 5

Wesley's Belief in the Inner Experience of the Soul.

When Wesley came into a personal touch with Christ as a personal Saviour, he found deliverance. Justification and

1.Cell, "Wesley as Seen through His Letters," Zion's Herald, October, 14,1931.
2.Weber; The Protestant Ethic, p. 140
3.Lbid., p.142
4.Cell, Decay of Rel., Methodist Review, Mas.'24, p.312
5.Lbid., p. 416
saving faith in the light of that great experience he defines as "a full reliance on the blood of Christ as shed for me; a trust in Him as my Saviour, as my sole justification, sanctification, and redemption." 1

As Wesley tasted the gladness of that experience he says; "an assurance was given me that He had taken away my sins, even mine, and delivered me from the law of sin and death." 2

Wesley believed that attending the great experience of justification was the sealing and witnessing grace of the Holy Spirit. He calls it the doctrine of assurance. To Wesley the doctrine of "assurance" through the witness of the spirit was an integral part of religion.

Wesley prizes this experience highly, He says, "it is hard to find words in the language of men to explain the deep things of God." 3 The spirit of God works wonders that cannot adequately be expressed in words.

With the experience of conversion and as a witness to it Wesley explains the 'witness of the spirit.' To Wesley it became plain that God was working a great work of grace in his heart. He explains the 'witness of the spirit' in the following words; - "By the 'testimony of the Spirit' I mean an inward impression on the soul, whereby the Spirit of God immediately and directly witnesses to my spirit that I am a child of God;

1. Fitchett; Wesley and His Century, p. 274
2. Ibid., p. 275
3. Ibid., p. 416
that 'Jesus Christ hath loved me, and given Himself for me,' that all my sins are blotted out, and even I, am reconciled to God." 1

Wesley makes statements later in his life which reinforce the above statements. After twenty years of experience and testing Wesley wrote concerning justification by faith and the witness of the Spirit thus; "After twenty years, I see no cause to retract any part of this, neither do I conceive how any of these expressions may be altered so as to make them more intelligible." 2

The Inner Experience Grounded in

The Reformation.

It is our purpose to show in this section of the paper that Wesley and Luther not only had similar experiences and believed almost identically, but that Wesley inherited this doctrine from the reformation and from Luther.

Townsend, speaking of Wesley's conversion says, "this is the inheritance of Methodism from the reformation." 3 Further he adds, concerning the work of grace wrought through the experience of justification by faith, "few will deny that the idea of Methodism lies in its emphasis of experience." 4 In concluding his argument he clearly states that the ground cause of experience is the reformation.

1. Ibid., p. 416
2. Ibid., p. 416
3. Townsend, New History of Methodism, p. 6
4. Ibid., p. 6
For our purpose it is not necessary to go back further than the reformation. (Referring always to the Lutheran reformation) The reformation, in its final significance was the protest of individualism against the excessive solidarity characteristic of the mediaeval world.1

The condition of salvation in the Roman Church was that the individual belonged to a corporation. In this corporation the individual shared in the functions and privileges, the individual was nourished through the sacramenta of the Church, he was linked to the supreme head; who shielded him by their merits of intercessions. It was only through this corporation that he was brought into touch with his Saviour; outside of the Church he was lost.

As a result of the reformation separate nations began to arise, each nation was determined to work out its own life, political and religious, on its own lines. Instead of a salvation conditioned by corporation relations, we find the assertion by Luther of the paramount importance of the inner life of the individual. 2

Whatever else justification of faith may mean it stands firmly for the claim that between the individual and his Saviour no corporation, no priest, no sacrament, no saints may intervene. The result says Townsend, "the diverse creeds of the reformation--and their very diversity was one of the fruits of this resurrection of individualism." 3

1. Ibid., p. 7
2. Ibid., p. 9
3. Ibid., p. 9
The above is the result of the reformation. But it had its battle for existence and at this time there came in opposition to the faith of Luther and Wesley the Deism of the eighteenth century. Deism stripped religion of all its power, eliminated from it all sense of mystery, reduced it to frozen metaphysics and then made reason supreme and robbed it of all the nobility which the overwhelming consciousness of the greatness of God had imparted to the lowest creature.

Townsend says, "In a reaction against Deism, Methodism had one of its roots. Wesley destroyed Deism, not by his pen, but by his deeds. The Deists had appealed to logic; Wesley, leaving the more logical issues to Butler and Berkeley, appealed to the heart. In place of a frozen theology, Wesley gave us a living experience, in which God was not hidden, neither far off, but very nigh. God, said the deist, unrelated. Wesley taught once more the great Pauline truth—(Which Luther had taught) relation in Christ Jesus, the redeemed soul conscious of its sonship to the Father through the Holy Spirit. Prayer said the Deist, is illogical and absurd; God is not a man that he should change." 2

In this conflict with the Deist, Wesley shows strongly his belief in the inner experience of the soul. The right of the individual, Wesley preserved. Here Luther and Wesley

1. Ibid., p. 11
2. Ibid., p. 12
agree fully and Wesley takes up the defense where Luther left off. The deist denied anything mysterious in Christianity. Wesley brought men face to face with the mystery of the Cross. The Deists said, miracles are impossible, calling them a manifest contradiction. Wesley appealed to experience alone, and adduced the real miracle of life, the break in all continuity exemplified in every conversion of a sinner into a saint, that right-about-face of all the forces of a depraved character the explanation of which is beyond the ken of any merely natural system of ethics. 1

From the Deist movement and from their opposition, Wesley learned to join with his faith logic and reason and set before his societies a better ideal. 2

The great contribution of Methodism to the life and thought of the Church was the doctrine of assurance. Wesley's great appeal was to experience. The question of forgiveness, of relation to God, even the experience of the Trinity itself, was answered by an appeal to one's own consciousness—not the universal consciousness of men, but the enlightened consciousness of the few, the spiritually-minded, to whom God had thus given a 'special understanding.'

Wesley proclaimed with no uncertain sound, not only that a man know that his sins are forgiven, but that he has within himself the witness to his own relation to God.3

1. Ibid., p. 12
2. Ibid., p. 13
3. Ibid., p. 19
When we turn to Luther's doctrine, which was a revolt against the mediæval doctrine and practice of merit, and with his cardinal principle of justification by faith, we see a great resemblance. What could be nearer the Methodist doctrine of assurance than the following? :-

"Faith is a living deliberate confidence in the grace of God, so certain that for it one could die a thousand deaths. And such confidence and knowledge of divine grace makes us joyous, intrepid, and cheerful towards God and all creation. Even more than in individual passages the doctrine of assurance is expressed in the salient facts of Luther's spiritual life." 1

To Luther, religion is not so much a doctrine as an experience, the certainty that by faith in Jesus Christ he had a gracious God. To Wesley the true test of anything was experience. Everything for Wesley must be tested.

With Luther all real life and blesseawess is the outflow of religious certainty. His great historic cry at Worms was, 'Gott helfe mir, Ich kann nicht anders,' is the eternal voice of humanity, falling back upon the fundamental experience of the soul as the justification of action. 2

In the appeal to experience Methodism finds its historic work and place. Let it as a church lose this note, and its historic justification has perished. The consciousness of this

1. Ibid., p. 23
2. Ibid., p. 23-24
fact has given to its preaching its greatest power, this consciousness is the explanation of its fervid evangelistic appeal, this lies at the root of its special institution of the classmeeting, this also is the essential qualification demanded from all candidates for its ministry, and is one of the secrets of its hold upon the masses.

Again, in this emphasis on experience lies one cause of the tendency towards superficial disintegration. It is natural that a vivid experience is unwilling to be regulated by rules and authority.

The religion of experience— "battles everywhere with authority, with the dogmas of infallibility, and the dogma of agnosticism, with the dogmas of arrogant assertion, and the dogmas of confident denial." 1

The religion of experience is the complete expression of that individualism, the desire for which as we have already seen, lay at the root of the reformation. It was inherited by Methodism, and given to following generations through the zeal and efforts of John Wesley.

Wesley's View of Faith.

As to faith Luther and Wesley agree in full. Wesley owes to Luther's preface to the book of Romans the grasp of his faith for his own religious experience. We shall see that his teaching is in corroboration with his own religious experience.

1. Ibid., p. 26
The faith which John Wesley taught as the condition of justification, regeneration, and sanctification, he has defined with much particularity. The definition is as follows:

"taking the word in a more particular sense, faith is a divine evidence and conviction, not only that 'God was in Christ, reconciling the world to himself; but also that Christ loved me, and gave himself for me. It is faith (whether we term it the essence, or rather a property thereof) that we receive Christ, that we receive him in all his offices, as prophet, priest, and king. It is by this that, He is made unto us wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption.'" 1

The truth of faith Wesley expresses by saying, that it is not just an opinion or any number of opinions. The opinions might be true but faith is more than just an opinion. "A string of opinions," Wesley says, "is no more Christian faith than a string of beads is Christian holiness." 2

The faith by which the promise is attained is represented by Christianity as a power wrought by the Almighty in an immortal spirit, inhabiting a house of clay, to see through that vail into the world of spirits into things visible and eternal; faith is a power to discern those things which, with eyes of flesh and blood no man hath seen, or can see, either by reason of their nature or by reason of their distance, as being yet afar off in the bosom of eternity" It is the eye of the newborn soul, whereby every true believer 'seeth him who is invisible.'" 3

2. Ibid., p. 414
3. Ibid., p. 414
Wesley's View on Justification

By Faith.

The great experience which Wesley experienced in conversion became the main doctrine of his preaching. He defines justification as, "a work done for us rather than in us—the pardon of sin, whereby the relation of the sinner to the Divine law is changed, and he is recognized, through the atonement, as no longer guilty, but just, and has peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ." 1

Wesley makes strong, positive statements concerning this doctrine in the sermon preached from Romans 4:5. "The plain Scriptural notion of Justification is pardon, the forgiveness of sins. It is that act of God the Father, whereby, for the sake of the propitiation made by the blood of His Son, He "showeth forth his righteousness (or mercy) by the remission of the sins that are past." 2 To Wesley, justification is forgiveness of sins that are past. God "will not impute to his condemnation. He will not condemn him because of his past.

To Wesley, his sins, all his past sins, in thought, word, and deed were all covered, they were blotted out, according to the Scriptures and would not be remembered or mentioned against him, any more than if they had not been committed. "God will not inflict on that sinner what he deserved to suffer, because the Son of his love hath suffered for him.

1. Ibid., p. 411
2. Wesley; Works, Vol. I., p. 48
And from the time we are 'accepted through the beloved,' and 'reconciled to God through his blood,' he loves, and blesses, and watches over us for good, even as if we had never sinned." 1

On Sunday afternoon, June 11, 1738, Wesley preached in St. Mary's, Oxford, before the university. The sermon was preached from the text, "By grace are ye saved through faith." Halford E. Luccock says, This sermon was an echo of the words from Luther which had been so effective in his own case. 2 The sermon was later published by James Hutton. Hutton speaks of it as, "the first publication after Wesley's conversion, and a great manifesto." 3

In the edition of his Works published in 1771, Wesley placed the sermon on faith first, even before all the discourses which formed part of the doctrinal standard of Methodism. Wesley preached from this same text several times in his lifetime and it is recorded as being preached during the last year of his life.

A century after Wesley preached at St. Mary's, John Newman, While preaching at St. Mary's referred to Wesley's sermon on "Salvation by Faith! Newman stressed the need of the same doctrine being preached when he said, "At this time more especially will we speak, that "by grace we are saved through faith" ; because never was the maintaining this doctrine more reasonable than it is at this day.

1. Ibid., p. 48
2. Luccock; History of Methodism, p. 72
3. Wesley; Journals, V I. p. 483
"It was this doctrine," continues Newman, "that drove Popery out of these kingdoms, and it is this alone can keep it out." 1 Here we see a vital connection between Luther and Wesley. It was Luther, who began the work and Wesley, who maintained it.

Luther and Wesley alike were opposed, when they preached this doctrine. When Wesley preached before the university he reminded them that when the doctrine of "Salvation by Faith" was first preached, that, "it aroused the adversary;"

"so also, Wesley continues, "by lies and calumny he (the adversary) sought to affright Martin Luther from reviving it." 2

Wesley then remembering the debt he, himself owned to the teaching of Martin Luther, added these remarkable words;

"Nor can we wonder thereat; for as that man of God observes, how would it enrage a proud, strong man armed, to be stopped and set at naught by a little child, coming against him with a reed in his hand? Especially when he knew that little child would surely overthrow him, and tread him underfoot. Even so, Lord Jesus." 3

We have seen in these arguments that Luther and Wesley were identical in their teaching. Wesley knew Luther's doctrines because he refers to them. His conversion was due to Luther's interpretation of religion by faith. The great doctrine of justification by faith which was revived by Luther, became the corner-stone of Methodism.

1. Wesley: Journals, V.I., p. 484
2. Ibid.; p. 484
3. Ibid., p. 484
Wesley's Controversy with Calvinism.

Perhaps the severest condemnation of the Westminster Calvinism came from John Wesley, the most apostolic man that the Anglo-Saxon race has produced. Wesley adopted the Arminian creed and made it a converting agency; he magnified the free grace of God. His reproduction of Calvin's views on the absolute grace of God is letter-perfect. In man's salvation, God is everything, man is nothing. Contrary to what is commonly received about Wesley, he wrote; "I think on justification just as I have done any time these seven and twenty years, and just as Mr. Calvin does. In this respect I do not differ from him an hair's breadth." They differed in that Wesley extended free grace to all men, while Calvinism limited it to the elect. 1

In a sermon on free Grace, preached at Bristol, Wesley charged the doctrine of predestination with "making vain all preaching, and tending to destroy holiness, the comfort of religion and zeal for good works, yea, the whole Christian revelation by involving it in fatal contradiction." 2

In the same sermon he uses still stronger words, he says, "I abhor the doctrine of predestination; it is a doctrine, upon the supposition of which, if one could possibly suppose it for a moment, one might say to our adversary the devil, "thou fool, why dost thou roar about any longer?" 3

1. Schaff, History of Christian Church, V. VII., p. 566
2. Wesley, Sermons, V. I., p. 484
3. Ibid., p. 485
Wesley proclaimed without hesitation that the doctrine of predestination was blasphemy. In the sermon on "Free Grace," Wesley continues his tirade against Calvinism by saying, "Calvinism destroys all the attributes of God, his justice, mercy, and truth, yea, it represents the most holy God as worse than the devil, as both more false, more cruel, and more unjust." 1

This great controversy is well known in history. There are many, who, have never seen that Wesley takes from Calvinism an essential part of Methodism. We have already pointed out that "Luther's understanding of the gospel came to Wesley through the Moravians." 2 We shall now prove that the "religious evaluation of activity in the world came to Wesley through the Calvinistic tendencies of his non-Conformist Antecedents." 3

The Religious Evaluation of Activity in the World.

The religious activity on the world came to Wesley through his non-conformists antecedents. There is no doubt that Wesley inherited many fine traits from his Godly mother. Many have attributed to her the credit for the Methodist church. Among other things, Wesley received from his mother the religious evaluation of activity in the world.

1. Ibid., p. 489
2. Cell, Decay of Religion, Methodist Review, Mar.'24, p. 214
3. Ibid., p. 214
In this argument we shall go back to John Wesley's grandfather on his mother's side. Dr. Samuel Annesley was said to be a "dignified and liberal-minded non-conformist divine." 1 The daughter of Dr. Annesley and mother of the Wesleys commended to her sons her father's abstemious, wholesome habits of life and his contempt for Royalist royster-ing and unmanly "delicacy." 2

The method of training the Wesley children is given by Tyerman as follows; "Wesley, like all the other members of his father's family, was indebted for his elementary education to his mother. The principles upon which she acted were unique. When the child was one year old, he was taught to fear the rod, and, if he cried at all, to cry in softened tones.....

"Another of Mrs. Wesley's principles of action was to limit her children to three meals a day. Eating and drinking between meals was strictly prohibited.....

"Rudeness was never seen amongst them; and on no account were they allowed to call each other by their proper names without the addition of brother or sister, as the case might be. Six hours a day were spent at school; and loud talking, playing and running into the yard, garden, or street, without permission, was rigorously forbidden." 3

1. Townsend; New History of Methodism, V. I., p. 168
2. Ibid., p. 168
3. Tyerman: Life and Times of John Wesley, V. I., p. 17
Tyerman continues to describe the family life, by saying, "Psalms were sung every morning when school was opened, and, also every night when the duties of the day were ended. In addition to all this, at the commencement and close of every day, each of the elder children took one of the younger and read the Psalms appointed for the day and a Chapter in the Bible, after which they severally went to their private devotions.

"Mrs. Wesley, assisted by her husband, seems to have been the sole instructor of her daughters and sons, until the latter were sent to school in London; and never was there a family of children who did their teacher greater credit." 1

Townsend shows how Wesley appreciate his mother's training when he writes, quoting Wesley, "her orderliness, reasonableness, steadfastness of purpose, calm authority, and tender affection might be multiplied." Townsend adds to Wesley's sayings, "Wesley expressed admiration for the serenity with which his mother transacted business, wrote letters, and conversed, surrounded by thirteen children. He appears to have inherited this 'serenity'." 2

Further, on this point we would add the words of Fitchett, when he says, "Wesley got his mother's bent of character, her insistent and orderly discipline that surrounded her children's lives, an atmosphere, was exactly calculated to produce that

1. Ibid., p. 18
2. Townsend: New History of Methodism, V.I., p. 168
casing of which makes so large a part of the religion of a child. What theology the child learned was naturally of a High Church Type." 1 A letter written to John by his mother in February, (23), 1725, Mrs. Wesley says:-

"The alteration of your temper has occasioned me much speculation. I, who am apt to be sanguine, hope it may proceed from the operations of God's Holy Spirit that by taking away your relish of sensual enjoyments, He may prepare and dispose your mind for a more serious and close application to things of a more sublime and spiritual nature. If it be so, happy are you if you cherish those dispositions, and now, in good earnest, resolve to make religion the business of your life; for after all that is the one thing that strictly speaking is necessary, and all things else are comparatively little to the purposes of life." 2

Calvin was a reformer. He reformed the church on social principles, and founded on the democratic basis of the general priesthood of believers. He held the supremacy of Christ over both the church and state. Calvin united the spiritual and secular powers as the two arms of God, on the assumption of obedience of the state to the law of Christ. This form of theocracy was established by the puritans in New England in 1620 and continued for several generations. 3

One proof of the religious evaluation of activity in the world is in the puritan spirit of Wesley. We see the genuine puritan spirit, outlook, and character of Wesley in his ethical teaching and writings. Dr. Cell in his article

1. Fitchett; Wesley and His Century, p. 59
2. Tyerman: Life and Times of John Wesley, V.I., p. 32
on the "Decay of Religion," says, "In his ethical ideals, Wesley was a Puritan all over. He repudiated no doubt the characteristic emphasis of Calvin's theology upon the doctrine of predestination...but at the same time, Wesley took Calvin's religious evaluation of the ethical conduct of life and of activity in the world as the highest conceivable expression of true faith." 1

We can see the incarnation of Methodism in Weber's statement. "The God of Calvinism demanded of His believers not single good works, but a life of good works combined into a unified system. It is no accident that the name of Methodist stuck to the participants in the great revival of Puritan ideas in the eighteenth century." 2

We shall notice by the writings of Wesley some things which he inherits from his non-conformists antecedents. Wesley was told by his father when he entered the Charterhouse, to improve his health by running around the Charterhouse Garden three times every morning. This Wesley invariably carried out. Thus Wesley learned that it was good to bear the yoke in his youth and as a boy he learned to suffer wrongfully with a cheerful fortitude, and to submit to the cruel exactions of his elder tyrants without acquiring either the cringing of a slave or a despot's imperious temper.

2.Weber, The Protestant Ethic., p. 117
Wesley was well acquainted with the writings of Richard Baxter, who may be used as an ideal type of Puritanism of the seventeenth century. The writings of Baxter were read by Wesley and almost paralleled in some of his sermons. To these sermons we shall refer later in this thesis. Wesley believed in the Puritan Ideal of life. He briefly states it as follows, "I see, I love, I serve God, I glorify him with my body and with my spirit." 1

The proper use of time is the underlying principle of Methodism. The Holy Club was formed at Oxford in order to help the men make better use of their time. The very name implies their mode of living. They were so methodical in everything they did, the people nicknamed them "methodists."

Wesley incorporates in his sermon "On Redeeming the Time"2 a large part of his ethical teachings. He quotes Paul's letter to the Ephesians 5:15,16. "See that ye walk circumspectly, not as fools, but as wise men, redeeming the time." Wesley sanctioned this heartily. Any man who wasted his time, was a fool, for time was that which men used to prepare for eternal life.

Wesley's first reason for redeeming time is an economic reason. If a man would sleep an hour a day more than he needed, he wasted six hours of working time each week. Thus he says, "It hurts his substance. It is throwing away six hours a week,

1. Wesley, Sermons. V.VI., p. 450
2. Ibid., V.VII., p. 67
which might turn to some temporal account."

Wesley's second reason for redeeming time from sleep is that it "hurts your health." People who sleep too long subject themselves to 'diseases' and 'nervous disorders.' Wesley says, that anything that weakens the body, will or spirit is caused by too much soaking in bed.

Another effect of sleeping too long is "weakness of sight." He tells of his own condition when he was young and how he believed he was losing his sight. Then God blessed him with stronger sight, and he decided it was on account of his early rising.

Sleeping late 'hurts the soul' as well as the body, and it 'is a sin against God.' 'For,' says, Wesley, "We cannot waste, or not improve, any part of our worldly substance, neither can we impair our health, without sinning against Him."¹

Puritanism was a strict self-discipline which opposed useless recreation more because of the easy indulgence than because of any intrinsic harm. They renounce anything which was 'contrary to that lively, zealous, watchful, self-denying spirit,' which should be the mark of true christians. With this Wesley was heartily in accord, as his writings readily show.

¹. Ibid., V.VII., p. 67
Calvin believed, work to be human endeavours, not in opposition to Grace, but that through work christians prove themselves to be the genuine children of God. Wesley had no place for a lazy preacher. Here we see in both the Puritan Ideal of labor.

The religious activity in the world is again brought out in Wesley's view of the conduct of life. On the subject of desire, Wesley quotes St. John, "Love not the world, neither the things of the world." He says, that love for the world is divided into three parts,' the desire of the flesh, the desire of the eyes, and the pride of life.'

Wesley asks a number of questions on the first division. "Do not you seek your happiness in enlarging the pleasure of tasting? Do you not eat more plentifully, or more delicately, than you did ten or twenty years ago? ... Do you fast as often, now that you are rich, as you did when you were poor?"

In his sermon on the 'Danger of Riches,' Wesley tells people they may not be intemperate in the amount they eat, so that, they hurt their body, but such 'genteel, regular sensuality' destroys the soul and keeps it 'at a distance from all true religion.'

Calvin taught the people the right use of food not for the purpose of saving money but for the sake of their health. This also was Wesley's main object in giving instruction on proper foods to be eaten.

1. Wesley, Sermons, V.VII., p. 359
2. Ibid., p. 359
3. Ibid., p. 6
The 'desire of the eyes.' The eyes are attracted by the grand, or new, or beautiful objects and they are not always found in one. Explains Wesley. Clothes are seen by the eyes, and Wesley asks if people do not spend more for clothes than they did at first. If they do, he continues, they don’t please God, so must please the devil.

The third desire is the 'pride of life' or the 'desire of honor.' When men get rich, they easily win esteem and applause, and Wesley believes this is not conducive to real religion.

Wesley on eating. Wesley was not opposed to eating. It is commonly thought that he ate because he had to and not because he wanted to. What he really taught was that people should eat the plainest, cheapest and kost wholesome food that would promote health for both body and mind. 1 One of Mrs. Wesley’s principles of action in the home was to limit her children to three meals a day. Eating and drinking between meals was strictly prohibited. 2

Wesley on Drinking. In spite of his intense hatred of excessive drinking and drunkenness, Wesley maintained a steadfast faith in his gospel to cure men. He begins his 'Word to a Drunkard' by asking questions, "Are you a man! God made you a man; but you make yourself a beast. Wherein does a man differ from a beast? Is it not chiefly in reason and

1 Wesley, Sermons, V. VII., p. 32
2 Tyerman, Life and Times of John Wesley, V.I., p. 17
understanding?... You do all you can to make yourself a beast; not a fool, not a madam only, but a swine, a poor filthy swine." 1 These are hard words, but they come from his heart. He forbade his preachers to touch any "spirituous liquor, no dram of any kind. They could not minister to others, if they were users themselves.

Wesley so arranged and catalogued his life that he knew how each hour was to be spent and for what purpose. In order to further the idea of 'practicing the presence of God' Wesley formed in 1729, an evening club, which met to read the Greek New Testament and aid the members to make better use of their time. Four years later, he preached a sermon before the university on 'The Circumcision of the Heart' in which he showed how his attitude was growing.

The heart of the sermon may be expressed in his own words as follows, "Yet lackest thou one thing, whosoever thou art, that to a deep humility, and a steadfast faith, hast joined a lively hope, and thereby in a good measure cleansed thy heart from its inbred pollution. If thou wilt be perfect, add to all these charity; add love, and thou hast the circumcision of the heart." 2

Wesley gives them the first and second commandments as the royal law of heaven. He tells them that they must love both God and their fellow men. "Thou shalt love the Lord

1. Wesley, Sermons, V. II., p. 169
2. Ibid., Vol. V., p. 207
thy God with all thy strength." The desire of thy soul shall be his name. " One thing shall ye desire for its own sake—the fruition of Him that is All in all. One happiness shall ye purpose to your souls, even a union with Him that made them; the 'having fellowship with the Father and the Son;' the being joined to the Lord in the Spirit. One design you are to pursue to the end of time,—the enjoyment of God in time and eternity. 1

Wesley seeks to know the will of God. Men are to do everything to the glory of God. " Let every affection, and thought, and word, and work, be subordinate to this. Whatever ye desire or fear, whatever ye seek or shun, whatever ye think, speak, or do, be it in order to your happiness in God, the sole end, as well as the Source of your being. Have no end, no ultimate end, but God." 2

Wesley concludes his sermon, by summing up how all life should be lived to the glory of God. "Have a pure intention of heart, a steadfast regard to his glory in all your actions for them, and not till then, is that 'mind in us which was also in Christ Jesus;' when, in every notion of our heart, in every word of our tongue, in every work of our hands, we 'pursue nothing but in relation to him, and in subordination to his pleasure: ' when we, too, neither think, nor speak nor act, to fulfil our 'own will, but the will of him that sent us;'

1. Wesley, Sermons, Vol. V., p. 207
2. Ibid., p. 208
when, whether we ' eat, or drink, or whatever we do, we
do all to the glory of God.' 1

In the advice given to the Methodists in 1745, Wesley
defines the Methodists as a "people who profess to pursue
(in whatsoever measure they have attained) holiness of heart
and life, inward and outward conformity in all things to
the revealed will of God; who place religion in and uniform
resemblance of the great object of it; in a steady imitation
of Him they worship, in all his imitable perfections more
particularly, in justice, mercy, and truth, or universal love
filling the heart, and governing the life." 2

"Holiness of heart and life, inward and outward con-
formity in all things to the revealed will of God," was the
distinguishing mark of a Methodist, Wesley believed. This
was made possible on the lives of people by the Spirit of
God, which came into one's life by 'the inspiration or in-
fluence of the Holy Ghost.' People must continually endeavor
'to know and love and resemble and obey the great God and
Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, as the God of Love and of
pardon ing mercy.' They must unite together to encourage one
another in working out their own salvation, if they are true
Methodist. 3

1. Wesley, Sermons V.V., p. 207
2. Ibid., p. 207 f
3. Ibid., p. 207 f
Weber says, "Methodism is the combination of an emotional, but still ascetic type of religion with increasing indifference to or repudiation of the dogmatic basis of Calvinistic asceticism." "The name in itself," continues Weber, "shows what impressed contemporaries as characteristics of its adherents; the methodical, systematic nature of conduct for the purpose of attaining the certitude salutis. This was from the beginning the centre of religious aspiration for this movement, and remained so." 1

Weber adds, "The emphasis on feeling in John Wesley, awakened by Moravian and Lutheran influences, led Methodism, to take on a strongly emotional character, especially in America......

"This emotional religion entered into a peculiar alliance, with the ascetic ethics which had for good and all been stamped with rationality by Puritanism." 2

We have pointed out the great difference in beliefs of Wesley and Calvin.- Weber says, "In spite of the great significance of self-evident feeling, righteous conduct according to the law was thus naturally adhered to. Whenever Wesley attached the emphasis on works of his time, it was only to revive the old Puritan doctrine, that works are not the cause, but only the means of knowing one's state of grace, and even this only when they are performed solely for the glory of God.

1 Weber; The Protestant Ethic, p. 139
2. Ibid., p. 140
Righteous conduct alone did not suffice, as he had found out for himself. The feeling of grace was necessary in addition. He himself sometimes described works as a condition of grace, and in the Declaration of August 9, 1771, he emphasized that he who performed no good works was not a true believer.....

"The regeneration of Methodism created only a supplement to the pure doctrine of works, a religious basis for ascetic conduct after the doctrine of predestination had been given up. The signs given by conduct which formed an indispensable means of ascertaining true conversion, even its condition as Wesley occasionally says, were in fact just the same as those of Calvinism." 1.

1 Weber; The Protestant Ethic, pgs 142,143
CONCLUSION

By various references in his writings, we find that John Wesley was well acquainted with the teachings of Martin Luther, and that he was influenced by his teachings. In the works of Wesley references are made to Moravians and Luther. Historians bear out the argument that we have proven. Wesley recognized the debt that he owed to Martin Luther. Wesley was introduced to the doctrine of justification by faith only, by the Moravians. It was while the Moravian reader was reading Luther's preface to the Epistle to the Romans that Wesley says, that, 'He felt his heart strangely warmed.'

Wesley's quest for ten years was religious certainty. His desire was the attainment of religious assurance and Christian Perfection. He learned through the Moravians and Luther that both were obtained by faith.

The conspicuous position in Wesley's Theology is given to the article on justification, the mark of Lutheranism.

It is a mistake, however, to think that this alone was sufficient basis for Wesley's work. Wesley combined this part of his theology with Calvin's religious evaluation of ethical conduct of life and activity in the world as the highest conceivable expression of true faith.

Like Calvinism, the major emphasis of Methodism was not on dogma but on discipline, not on orthodoxy but on the ethical
conducted of life. The non-conformist mother of the Wesleys gave to the great of her sons the slogan of his life.

"Happy are you if from this time forth, you make religion the business of life."
Summary.

The argument of this thesis is to show that John Wesley combined Luther's epoch-making religious understanding of the gospel with Calvin's religious evaluation of activity in the world. The first part of the thesis summarizes briefly the religious experience of justification by faith as taught by Martin Luther and show how his teaching was similar to Wesley and that Wesley took from Luther the doctrine of justification by faith.

Martin Luther's life sketch was given to show his importance. We found that he was the most influential character in Germany in the sixteenth century as a reformer.

While Luther was in the monastery, he had a deep, vital experience of religion. After this experience faith became to Luther, a vivifying personal relationship. It was a vital, transforming power. His confession of faith was, that it was living, busy, active, a sure confidence, which makes a man joyous and happy towards God and all creatures.

Luther's creed was entirely the product of his religious faith. He believed that the Church had its basis in the Word of God. That the Word of God was the preaching of the revelation of God in Christ as being that which creates faith, that accordingly the Church has no field other than, that of faith, but that within this field, it is for every indivi-
dual the mother in whose bosom he attains to faith. And that because religion is nothing but faith, therefore neither special performance, nor any special province, whether it be public worship, or a selected mode of life, nor obedience to ecclesiastical injunctions, though these may be salutary, can be the sphere in which the Church and the individual give proof of their faith, but that the Christian exhibits his faith in neighbourly service within the natural relationships of life, because they alone are not arbitrarily chosen but provided, and must be accepted, therefore, as representing the order of God.

The most important religious belief for Luther is justification by faith. It is a work of God. Through faith, forgiving our sins and giving us peace. The work is wrought through faith alone. A faith which lays hold on the forgiveness of sins.

The second part of this thesis is concerned with the influence of Calvin upon the religious thinking of John Wesley.

We first gave a short sketch of Calvin's life and the influence that he had upon the thinking of his day. We found that his influence was felt in at least three ways. As a theologian, he easily took the lead among the systematic expounders of the reformed system of Christian doctrine.
In the second place he was a legislator and disciplinarian. And in the third place his influence extends to the intellectual and literary development of France.

We found that the chief corner-stone of the Calvinistic system was known as predestination. That this was adopted by Calvin's successors. That Calvin himself taught that the end of election was holiness of life. Shortly defining it, Predestination is the 'eternal and unchangeable decree of God by which He foreordained for his own glory and the display of his attributes of mercy and justice, a part of the human race, without any merit of their own, to eternal salvation, and another part, in just punishment of their sin, to eternal damnation.'

We found that the doctrine of predestination was antithetical to the Arminian teaching of Wesley, but that Wesley did take from Calvin the Religious Evaluation of Activity in the world.

The Religious Evaluation of conduct of life, is to Calvin the emphasis on the elementary forms of conduct and attitude toward life. That God helps those who help themselves.

The Religious Evaluation of Activity in the world came to Wesley through his mother. Wesley got his mother's
bent of character, her insistent and orderly discipline that shut around him an atmosphere which produced a Christian character.

Wesley learned from her, discipline. He was very careful of his time, of his money, that all was used for the glory of God.

The Puritan Ideal of life was inherited from his non-conformists antecedents. He was greatly influenced by the writings of Richard Baxter, and ideal Puritan of the seventeenth century. The Puritans were strict in self-discipline, opposing idleness. The Methodists were so-called because of their methods of doing their work. Holiness of heart and life, inward and outward conformity in all things to the revealed will of God was the distinguishing mark of a Methodist. Thus, in religious experience, Wesley was Lutheran. In religious practice, Wesley was Calvinistic.
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