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**The Two Hands of God, The Means of Grace & The Hope of Glory: A  
Trinitarian Outline of the New Creation in the Theologies of Irenaeus  
and Wesley**

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**Why Ground the Creation in the Triune Creator?**

Why must we ground the whole Creation in the work of the Triune Creator?<sup>1</sup> What is distinctively Christian about a theology of creation that not only has a *beginning* but also has an *end*? Why should we *never* separate the creation from the promise of the new creation? Moreover, since according to the New Testament the creation is *through* and *to* Christ by the Spirit, the creation has not only a beginning and an end, but also a *continued presence* of God that enables the whole creation to reach its redemptive purpose in the new creation. Furthermore, the continued goodness of the non-human and human creation is proclaimed in the Word made flesh. The Word became incarnate through the Son by the breath of the Spirit and thus, through the life, death and resurrection of Christ, the whole creation is redeemed by the energy of the Spirit.

So why are these twin doctrines of creation and redemption frequently disjoined? Does the doctrine of *creatio ex nihilo*, the lynch pin that conjoins creation and redemption, offer any insight on how the whole creation is able to share in the hope of a new creation? Why do we often espouse a doctrine of creation that is not centered on the work of Christ by the Spirit? Does the identification of the Son by the breath of the Spirit with the material creation mean that our redemption is somehow through the material creation and

certainly not without it? In other words, does it take a material creation to reach our intended destiny in the new creation?

Does the distinctiveness of a Christian theology of creation reside in the nature of our **response** to the work of “God the Father, almighty, maker of heaven and Earth?” What is the insight of our Lord’s Prayer that teaches us to pray “Thy kingdom come, thy will be done, on earth as it is in heaven?” Does the insightful interplay of the *lex orandi* and the *lex credendi* offer us any guidance in a Christian theology of the new creation? Is there something suggested in this introductory query that may give us further instruction into why we must ground the whole Creation in the work of the Triune Creator? Endless are the questions that loom before us as we explore this theme of the New Creation.

The “law of prayer” precedes the “law of belief.” Our confession (*lex credendi*) arises out of a heart that prays (*lex orandi*). Remember, *ergo credo*, “I believe,” means, what I give my heart to. So, when our hearts *pray* for the fulfillment of God’s Kingdom on earth, as it was, is, and will be, in heaven, we *confess* with hearts full of “love” what we “know:” that God the Father, Almighty, is the maker of heaven and earth. And by God’s “two hands” the Kingdom will come in the fulfillment of the new creation. Hence, the love of the Triune Creator is poured into our hearts so that through the “two hands of God” we may continuously receive in the graced-patterns of triune love those very “means of grace” necessary to share in the “hope of glory.” This response of love to the Triune Creator begins in a prayer of thanksgiving!

### The General Thanksgiving<sup>2</sup>

Almighty God, Father of all mercies, we your unworthy servants give you humble thanks for all your goodness and loving-kindness to us and to all whom you have made. We bless you for our creation, preservation, and all the blessings of this life; but above all for your immeasurable love in the redemption of the world by our Lord Jesus Christ; for the **means of grace**, and for the **hope of glory**. And, we pray, give us such an awareness of all your mercies that with truly thankful hearts we may show forth your praise, not only with our lips, but in our lives, by giving up our selves to your service, and by walking before you in holiness and righteousness all our days; through Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom, with you and the Holy Spirit, be honor and glory throughout all ages. Amen.

**Irenaeus of Lyons & John Wesley**

I have found two most notable mentors and incredibly helpful theological dialogue partners in Irenaeus of Lyons and John Wesley. Taken together, they offer some of the most intriguing insights into a Christian theology of the new creation thoroughly grounded in the Triune Creator. Perhaps, the most distinctive feature that brings Irenaeus and Wesley together is their common soteriologic that fuses the synergy of the creation with the new creation. In other words, perhaps their most salient contribution to an understanding of the new creation can be found in their commonly held notion that through the whole creation, by the constant presence of triune love, we receive the “means of grace” necessary to share in the “hope of glory” and return love to God as God is love.<sup>3</sup>

Irenaeus of Lyons taught that God the Father created a creation by means of God’s “two hands,” the Son and the Spirit that would *only* reach its fulfillment in the new creation.<sup>4</sup> By the two hands of God the Word became flesh and humanity was created anew. Through the incarnate Word, Jesus not only reveals God to us but also reveals our truest nature to us.<sup>5</sup> So, by the “two hands of God” we continuously receive through the whole creation (human and non-human) the “means of grace” that enables us to become truly human as *patterned* in Christ, “the new Adam.”<sup>6</sup> What seems to be Irenaeus’ most distinctive contribution in his classic doctrine of recapitulation is that not only does it take the incarnate Word to become truly human and learn how to love, but it also takes a material creation to become human as “patterned,” “imaged,” and “structured” by the work of Christ and the Spirit.<sup>7</sup> Simply stated in earthy terms, it takes a material creation to become human, and thus, the redemptive purpose of the creation already begun cannot be reached in the new creation without it.<sup>8</sup>

This way of the new creation begins to suggest why Irenaeus’ explicit rationale for the new creation must be grounded in the Triune Creator. In the *beginning* of creation the perfecting action of the divine creates so that in the *end* of the new creation, the perfecting action of the Son and the Spirit, will also involve the human response of returning that love of the Triune Creator. For Irenaeus, this synergy of the creation and the new creation grounded in the Triune Creator means that love is always “from the

Father and back to the Father” because God is Love.<sup>9</sup> This return of love to the Triune Creator is the hermeneutical key to understanding the new creation in Irenaeus. The way of the new creation is the way of theosis. This means we must become human before we can become divine. Thus, in the process of becoming human, we are learning how to love and thereby, share in the glory of God.<sup>10</sup>

At the center of the Christian life, for both John and Charles Wesley, was an unshakable conviction that to be created in the image of God meant that we were made “capable of God;” we were made to “know” and “obey” and “love” God.<sup>11</sup> “Knowledge,” “obedience” and “love” of the “Three-One God” was so thoroughly “interwoven with all true Christian faith, with all vital religion,”<sup>12</sup> that when the Spirit of the “Three-One God” is poured into our hearts, both brothers were convinced that we will come to know and love the God whose “name and nature is love.”<sup>13</sup> This was the constant refrain of Wesleyan hymns, sermons, and prayers alike that shaped at the deepest level of faith their understanding of the “means of grace” as a way of salvation, a way of participating in our “hope of glory.”<sup>14</sup>

These graced-patterns of triune love are the way of theosis because those “means of grace” enable us to love, as God is love.<sup>15</sup> After all, it is the Holy Spirit, “the immediate cause of all holiness in us,”<sup>16</sup> who gathers us together into the body of Christ, inscribing upon our hearts the vestiges of the Holy Trinity, so that “we become by grace what God is by nature,”<sup>17</sup> namely, “Transcripts of the Holy Trinity.”<sup>18</sup> Thus, the transitive character of these means of grace in the triune act of condescending love is always proleptic, ensuring that we will not “miss our providential way”<sup>19</sup> but “in love renewed” we will be “stamped with the triune character.”<sup>20</sup> Here, in the whole creation, the full economy of grace, the entire household of God is unceasingly present in all the stages of salvation,<sup>21</sup> (*via salutis*) iconically patterning for us in the means of grace “how” to respond in love.

### **Towards A Trinitarian Outline of the New Creation**

As indicated in the title of this paper, I have chosen to focus specifically on the “two hands of God” in Irenaeus, and the “means of grace” in Wesley, as a way of

understanding their mutually shared soteriologic that fuses the synergy of the creation with the new creation. A handful of compatible themes highlighted in both, will suffice to delineate their vision that through the material creation by the mediated presence of the recapitulating work of Christ and the Spirit, the whole creation is able to participate in the “hope of glory.” What both Wesley and Irenaeus envision is that the material creation in its own *taxis* but certainly not without the human creation, will reveal the glory of the Triune Creator, while the human creation through the means of grace, fully ensconced in the material creation, will become what God’s “name and nature” reveal—Love. The whole creation continues to groan for the kind of redemption it was created for. And yet, through the constant presence of God’s “two hands” the whole creation is able to participate “now” in the “hope of glory.” It is this special relation of the material creation with the human creation that seems to illumine the unique contribution of Irenaeus and Wesley on the new creation.

As we keep in mind Irenaeus’ protracted rebuttal against the Gnostic apologetic, the centrally organizing doctrine of theosis in the new creation emerges. The purpose of God the Father creating humankind to become “like God” (theosis) through the recapitulating work of Christ and the Spirit is Irenaeus’ eschatological vision of the new creation.<sup>22</sup> So, while the creation was created “not finished,”<sup>23</sup> in order to grow and mature into the love of God the Father, “patterned” “imaged” and “structured” by God’s “two hands,” something terrible went awry in the Fall of the whole creation and actually reversed the direction of how the creation would use the mediated “patterns” and specific “structure” of God’s love.<sup>24</sup> Thus the story would have to be *retold* through the two hands of God. The recapitulating work of Christ and the Spirit must show the human creation how to use those graced-patterns of triune love (those means of grace fully ensconced in the material creation) and become “like God” by becoming what God is—Love.<sup>25</sup>

In every point and counter-point of Irenaeus’ Gnostic rebuttal we will come to appreciate his relentless and nonetheless passionate claim that the material creation is good because it shares in *continuity* with the One who became incarnate along with the very stuff of this material creation. And, absolutely essential to Irenaeus’ argument that the human

creation, already “renewed in Christ,” the new Adam, to become “like God,” is the “continued goodness” of that material creation by the constant mediating presence of the “two hands of God.” Here we have encountered Irenaeus’ soteriological rationale for conjoining creation with the new creation. Since it takes “created-time,” “created-space,” and “created-matter” to become human by learning how to love through “the means of grace” and thereby become “like God;” the creation therefore, must be created out of nothing.

Such an eschatological soteriology offers fascinating perspective for how the synergy of creation and redemption actually work. Essential to the indissoluble unity of these twin doctrines is the function of Irenaeus’ doctrine of *creatio ex-nihilo*,<sup>26</sup> in the recapitulating work of the “two hands of God” enabling the whole creation to reach its end (*teleos*). This lynch pin doctrine that conjoins the creation with the new creation is not meant, at least in Irenaeus’ mind, to explain “how” God creates. Rather, it was meant to explain “why” God creates. To say that God creates out of nothing is certainly a tautology, but for Irenaeus, “nothing” ensures freedom and freedom enables love. Perhaps another way of stating this in the soteriologic of Irenaeus is to say, the whole creation in the beginning was out of nothing so that the new creation could be out of love. If the new creation is why God creates and that purpose is to love, then, the new creation certainly could not be out of nothing; instead, the new creation must be out of that which it has become through love. Since love for God cannot emerge out of nothing, the new creation is *ex-amore* while the beginning of creation is *ex-nihilo*.<sup>27</sup>

Once again, in refutation of the world negation espoused in Gnostic dualism, Irenaeus repeatedly insists on the continued goodness of the material creation, not only because it shares continuity with the incarnate Son, but also because God created the whole creation out of nothing.<sup>28</sup> The whole creation is good because it is truly free to exist in its own *taxis* as the creation, and thus, the whole creation is “free” to become what it was created for in the new creation. Moreover, according to Irenaeus’ soteriologic, since the creation is created to reach its fulfillment in the end and not simply as a return to the beginning, it must be created out of nothing. This eschatological dimension in Irenaeus’ doctrine of

*ex-nihilo* is often eclipsed because of the way in which *creatio ex-nihilo* has often fixated on the beginning of creation without the end of creation. The recapitulating work of Christ and the Spirit is *not* the return of the creation to its beginning, but rather the “renewal” of the creation to reach its end.<sup>29</sup>

At the risk of redundancy, allow me to recapitulate Wesley’s trinitarian rationale for the “means of grace” and the “hope of glory.” Love originates “from the Father, proceeds through the Son, and is effected in the Spirit;” the Spirit gathers up the body of Christ, and with renewed and grateful hearts, the Church responds in love, in the energy of the Spirit, through conformity to the Son, and back to the Father. So, by the energy of the Spirit, “the whole Trinity descends into our faithful hearts” and we are “filled with the energy of love.” In the new creation, this love is completed and returned and yet, always open-ended. Love is always open because it always gives and receives. And finally, love is forever open because it must always be returned. This is why for both Irenaeus and Wesley, the new creation was not completed in the beginning of the creation. It takes created-time to love. It takes created-space to love. It takes created-matter to love. In short, it takes a new creation to love, as God is love.

Along with Irenaeus, this return of love is the dominant motif of Wesleyan soteriology. And still in step with Irenaeus, this return of triune love is also Wesley’s hermeneutical key to understanding the renewal of the image of God as the goal of salvation in the new creation. This is most clear, in his sermon, *The Image of God*, where Wesley ponders the essence of what it means to have been made in God’s image.

. . . His affections were rational, even, and regular—if we may be allowed to say ‘affections’, for properly speaking he had but one: *man was what God is, Love*. Love filled the whole expansion of his soul; it possessed him without a rival. Every movement of his heart was love: it knew no other fervour. Love was his vital heat; it was the genial warmth that animated his whole frame. And the flame of it was continually streaming forth, directly to him from whom it came, and by reflection to all sensitive natures, inasmuch as they too were his offspring; but especially to those superior beings who bore not only the superscription, but likewise the image of their Creator.”<sup>30</sup>

John Wesley’s vision of *The Scripture Way of Salvation* is doxological to the core. While the doxological element of the new creation in the soteriology of Irenaeus has been commonly known, it has often been the missing link in understanding Wesley’s

Trinitarian soteriology. The sum and substance of the Christian life in both the Wesley's is to live as "transcripts of the trinity" for the praise and glory of God. A closer examination of sermon and hymn alike, reveals that this doxological pattern (*taxis*) and order of Trinitarian Love is indissolubly linked to the praxis of Christian living. We have been made to exist as the glory of God and therefore, the goal of salvation in the new creation, is to be restored back into the praise and glory of God: "The Triune God of holiness,/Whose glory fills the sky./Whose glory to this earth extends,/While God himself imparts,/And the whole Trinity descends/Into our faithful hearts."<sup>31</sup>

In *The Scripture Way of Salvation*, Wesley envisions the whole economy of grace at work in all the successive stages of salvation "throwing out" triune love. Salvation, for Wesley, is "the entire work of God, from the first dawning of grace in the soul till it is consummated in glory. . . . all the 'drawings' of '**the Father**', the desires after God, which, if we yield to them, increase more and more; all that 'light' wherewith the **Son of God** 'enlighteneth everyone that cometh into the world', showing every man 'to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with his God'; all the convictions which his **Spirit** from time to time works in every child of man."<sup>32</sup>

Wesley is not only careful to establish that it is the work of the Holy Trinity in all the stages of salvation, but that the pattern of salvation is always reflective of the goal of salvation in the new creation, namely the restoration of the image of triune love. The "means of grace" are rooted in our "hope of glory." This is why the *ordo salutis* is carefully sketched out as the *via salutis* in Wesley's sermon, *On Working Out Our Own Salvation*.

. . . Salvation *begins* with what is usually termed (and very properly) **preventing grace**; including the first wish to please God, the first dawn of light concerning his will, and the first slight transient conviction of having sinned against him. All these imply some tendency toward life; some degree of salvation; the beginning of a deliverance from a blind, unfeeling heart, quite insensible of God and the things of God. Salvation is *carried on* by **convincing grace**, usually in Scripture termed **repentance**; which brings a larger measure of self-knowledge, and a farther deliverance from the heart of stone. *Afterwards we experience the proper Christian salvation*; whereby, "through grace," we "are saved by faith;" consisting of those two grand branches, **justification** and **sanctification**. **By justification we are saved from the guilt of sin, and restored to the favour of God; by sanctification we are saved from the power and root of sin, and restored to the image of God.** All experience, as well as Scripture, show this salvation to be both

*instantaneous and gradual.* It begins the moment we are justified, in the holy, humble, gentle, patient love of God and man. *It gradually increases from that moment,* as "a grain of mustard-seed, which, at first, is the least of all seeds," but afterwards puts forth large branches, and becomes a great tree; till, in another instant, the heart is cleansed from all sin, and filled with pure love to God and man. But even that *love increases more and more,* till we "grow up in all things into Him that is our Head;" till we attain "the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ."<sup>33</sup>

"Use not trust"<sup>34</sup> is an aphorism that best sums Wesley's theology of the "means of grace" as a way of sharing in our "hope of glory." After all, "The soul and body make a [person], and the spirit and discipline make a Christian."<sup>35</sup> Stated positively, the "Presence" and "Identity"<sup>36</sup> of triune love that is patterned and ordered in the means of grace enable us to love, as God is love. The means of grace enable us to respond and relate to God for who God is so that we will become "like God." This is why the means of grace are the way of theosis. Stated negatively, the graced-patterns of triune love teach us about the heresies of triune love; i.e., they teach us what unnatural love is. They teach us about how and why love cannot be returned. Not to use the means of grace is the way of apotheosis.

What is often forgotten in the means of grace is that they are indeed sheer "gifts of grace." Perhaps, another way of understanding the "patterning" nature of the means of grace, is not by viewing them as external duties or forms of patterned behavior to be copied,<sup>37</sup> but rather as "iconic gifts" that open us up to the constant presence and identity of the Triune God. These iconic gifts are to be shared and participated in. So, like all gifts, use them, participate in them, share them, and be healed in them, but never just "trust" them. Moreover, these iconic gifts convey grace because triune love is constantly present and identifiable as the "Three-One God" in them. So, we use them because they are the gifts of triune love that enable us to participate in the life of God. As we return God's love, we "use not trust" the means of grace, so that we will be healed as "transcripts of the Holy Trinity." Thus, "the providence of God has so mingled you together with other men, that whatever grace you have received of God may through you be communicated to others; that every holy temper, and word, and work of yours, may have an influence on them also."<sup>38</sup> In a word, this love that is poured into our hearts now works iconically to illumine for all who are touched by our love, the normative patterns of holy, healing and enabling love in the means of grace.

This explicit trinitarian rationale is clearly operative in Wesley's use of the class meetings and the bands, and would become Methodism's most distinctive contribution to the Church of Christ on the "way" of theosis in the Christian life. Wesley's sermon, **On Zeal**, makes this rationale clear as he envisions each "circle" of these graced-patterns moving us to the "queen of all graces" — Love. As stated earlier, this is because the means of grace are not external duties that are to be imitated or copied, but are the normative patterns of triune love reaching out and gathering us up into the household of God and assuring us of the proper response of love. These means of grace are the "gifts of the triune God" for the "people of God." Thus our participation in these graced-patterns is how the congregation of the faithful participates in the life of God.

In a Christian believer *love* sits upon the throne, which is erected in the inmost soul; namely, love of God and man, which fills the whole heart, and reigns without a rival. In a circle near the throne are all *holy tempers*: long-suffering, gentleness, meekness, goodness, fidelity, temperance —and if any other is comprised in 'the mind which was in Christ Jesus'. In an exterior circle are all the *works of mercy*, whether to the souls or bodies of men. By these we exercise all holy tempers; by these we continually improve them, so that all these are real means of grace, although this is not commonly adverted to. Next to these are those that are usually termed *works of piety*: reading and hearing the Word, public, family, private prayer, receiving the Lord's Supper, fasting or abstinence. Lastly, that his followers may the more effectually provoke one another to love, holy tempers, and good works, our blessed Lord has united them together in one —*the church*, dispersed all over the earth; a little emblem of which, of the church universal, we have in every particular Christian congregation.<sup>39</sup>

Because God is Love, a Trinity of persons, and the means of grace are transitive in nature they cannot function as external "works of piety" or "works of mercy." Instead, they are the patterns of grace that enable and incite the same kind of love that is in God. Remember, we cannot love unless God first loves us. Moreover, since God is communal to the core of God's being, the way in which one receives God's love is in community. This is why the means of grace must always arise out of Christian community, a *koinonia* of believers. Such a vision of triune Love meant that love, that "queen of all graces," is always communal of which fellowship is a genuine "mark" of the gathered people of God filled with the energy of holy, healing and enabling love. It is out of this triune vision of God as love that Wesley envisions for the people called Methodists a distinctive way of combining both "works of piety" and "works of mercy" in the class meetings and the bands.<sup>40</sup>

There is a profound simplicity and genius in the design of the class meetings and the bands that is reflective of the nature of triune love that is poured into our hearts. Wesley was convinced that one must receive love in community before one would know how to properly give love. As the Methodists would “watch over one another in love” they were not only strengthened in love by the healing of “holy tempers” but they were learning how to properly love “with the mind of Christ” in their deeds of mercy and piety. As the close-knit groups of fellowship and mutual accountability<sup>41</sup> received that love of God through one another in prayer, singing of hymns, Scripture reading, exhortation, encouragement, and confession, they were able to zealously “give out” in “works of mercy” and “works of piety,” in the same way that God’s love has been “thrown out” “from the Father through the Son in the Spirit.” As they “reached out” in the means of grace through “works of piety” and “works of mercy” not only were others receiving this triune love, but also they were being healed. They were becoming “transcripts of the Trinity.” They were using the “means of grace” to share in the “hope of glory.” Their zeal to love was because they had already received the energy of love (“the whole Trinity descends into their faithful hearts”) that was moving “outward” transforming the holy tempers, inciting and enabling works of mercy to their neighbor and works of piety to God and finally triune love for the whole Church of Christ. This is the most explicit rationale for the design of the Societies, Class Meetings and Bands in Methodism.

In our opening, we began with a prayer of Thanksgiving, for the means of grace and the hope of glory that are constantly mediated to us in the material creation by the recapitulating work of Christ and the Spirit. Since our first response to our Triune Creator in the new creation began with a word of thanksgiving, let us close, as all eschatology will close; i.e., in worship of our Triune Creator, with a hymn of prayer and praise.

Author of every work divine /Who dost through both Creations shine.

**The God of nature and of grace.**

Thy glorious steps in all we see /And wisdom attribute to Thee, And power and majesty, and praise.

Thou didst Thy mighty Wings outspread, /And brooding o'er the Chaos, shed Thy Life into th' impregn'd Abyss;

The Vital Principle infuse, /**And out of Nothing's womb produce The Earth and Heaven, and all that is.**

That All-informing Breath Thou art /Who dost Continued Life impart, And bidst the World persist to be:

Garnished by Thee yon azure Sky /And all those beauteous Orbs on high Depend in Golden Chains from Thee.

Thou dost create the Earth anew, /Its Maker and Preserver too, By thine Almighty Arm sustain;

Nature perceives Thy secret Force, /And still holds on her even Course, And owns Thy Providential Reign.

Thou art the Universal Soul, /The Plastick Power that fills the whole, And governs Earth, Air, Sea and Sky,

The Creatures all Thy Breath receive, /And who by Thy Inspiring live, Without Thy Inspiration die.

Spirit Immense, Eternal Mind, /Thou on the Souls of lost Mankind Dost with benignest Influence move,

Pleased to restore the ruined Race, /**And new-create a World of Grace In all the Image of Thy Love.**<sup>42</sup>

***Glory to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit: as it was in the beginning, is now, and will be forever. Amen.***

<sup>1</sup> Much of the inspiration and insight for this paper has come from the profound work of Colin E. Gunton, especially his work, The Triune Creator: A Historical and Systematic Study, (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1998). Cf. also the following works on this topic by Gunton: The One, The Three and The Many, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Christ & Creation, (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans, 1992); Trinitarian Theology Today, (Edinburgh: T & T Clark Ltd., 1995); The Promise of Trinitarian Theology, (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, Ltd., 1991); God & Freedom, (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, Ltd., 1995); Persons, Divine and Human, (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, Ltd., 1991).

<sup>2</sup> One cannot help but consider how this prayer of thanksgiving in the **Book of Common Prayer** shaped profoundly Wesley's vision of the new creation. The indelible mark of "The General Thanksgiving" is apparent in Wesley's sermon, "The General Deliverance."

<sup>3</sup> My aim in this paper is simply to highlight Irenaeus and Wesley's soteriological rationale for why the whole creation must be grounded in the Triune Creator.

<sup>4</sup> Irenaeus, Against Heresies, 5:1.3. ". . . at the beginning of our formation in Adam, that breath of life which proceeded from God, having been united to what had been fashioned, animated the man, and manifested him as a being endowed with reason; so also, in [the times of] the end, the Word of the Father and the Spirit of God, having become united with the ancient substance of Adam's formation, rendered man living and perfect, receptive of the perfect Father, in order that is in the natural [Adam] we all were dead, so in the spiritual we may all be made alive. For never at any time did Adam escape the hands of God to whom the Father speaking, said, "Let Us make man in Our image, after Our likeness." And for this reason in the last times (*fine*), not by the will of the flesh, nor by the will of man, but by the good pleasure of the Father, His hands formed a living man, in order that Adam might be created [again] after the image and likeness of God."

<sup>5</sup> Irenaeus, Against Heresies, 5.16.2. ". . . For in times long past, it was said that man was created after the image of God, but it was not [actually] shown; for the Word was as yet invisible, after whose image man was created. Wherefore also he did easily lose the similitude. When, however, the Word of God became flesh, He confirmed both these: for He both showed forth the image truly, since He became Himself what was His image; and He re-established the similitude after a sure manner, by assimilating man to the invisible Father through means of the visible Word." Countless are the places in Irenaeus' work to support this dominant theme that Christ is the true icon of God and the true icon of humanity. Through the "two hands of God" Christ shows us not only who God is, but also "how" to become who we truly are. Thus, through the perfecting energy of love, the Spirit through the creative work of the son sets the creature free to become human in order to be "like God."

<sup>6</sup> Irenaeus, Against Heresies, 3.16.6. ". . . His only-begotten Word, who is always present with the human race, united to and mingled with His own creation, according to the Father's pleasure, and who became flesh, is Himself Jesus Christ our Lord, who did also suffer for us, and rose again on our behalf, and who will come again in the glory of His Father, to raise up all flesh, and for the manifestation of salvation, and to apply the rule of just judgment to all who were made by Him. There is therefore, as I have pointed out, one God the Father, and one Christ Jesus, who came by means of the whole dispensational arrangements [connected with Him], and gathered together all things in Himself. But in every respect, too, He is man, the formation of God; and thus He took up man into Himself, the invisible becoming visible, the incomprehensible being made comprehensible, the impassible becoming capable of suffering, and the Word being made man, thus summing up all things in Himself: so that as in super-celestial, spiritual, and invisible things, the Word of God is supreme, so also in things visible and corporeal He might possess the supremacy, and, taking to Himself the pre-eminence, as well as constituting Himself Head of the Church, He might draw all things to Himself at the proper time."

<sup>7</sup> Irenaeus, Against Heresies, 5:6.1. "Now God Shall be glorified in His handiwork, fitting it so as to be conformable to, and modeled after, His own Son. For by the hands of the Father, that is, by the Son and the Holy Spirit, man, and not [merely] a part of man, was made in the likeness of God. Now the soul and the spirit are certainly a part of the man, but certainly not the man; for the perfect man consists in the commingling and the union of the soul receiving the spirit of the Father, and the admixture of that fleshly nature which was moulded after the image of God. . . . also the apostle terms "spiritual," they being spiritual because they partake of the Spirit, and not because their flesh has been stripped off and taken away, and because they have become purely spiritual. For if any one take away the substance of flesh, that is, of the handiwork [of God], and understand that which is purely spiritual, such then would not be a

spiritual man, but would be the spirit of a man, or the Spirit of God. But when the spirit here blended with the soul is united to [God's] handiwork, the man is rendered spiritual and perfect because of the outpouring of the Spirit, and this is he who was made in the image and likeness of God. But if the Spirit be wanting to the soul, he who is such is indeed of an animal nature, and being left carnal, shall be an imperfect being, possessing indeed the image [of God] in his formation (*in plasmate*), but not receiving the similitude through the Spirit; and thus is this being imperfect.”

<sup>8</sup> Although there has been much work done in the “pastoral” or “moral” motif of Irenaeus’ doctrine of recapitulation, what is often missing is this ontological dimension of becoming human. Gunton makes the following insight, “. . . it is ontologically constitutive of being human that there is a process of perfecting or completing which involves something that is not inherent in, or achieved by, the beginning.” (cf. The Triune Creator, p. 201)

<sup>9</sup> I am following the lead of Basil of Caesarea, “On the Holy Spirit,” 15:38. Basil affirms that God the Father is the *original cause* of all things made, the Son is the *creative cause* and the Spirit is the *perfecting cause*.

<sup>10</sup> Irenaeus, Against the Heresies, 4. 29.2. Irenaeus is clear that the way to become “like God” is to first become human. Irenaeus writes, “How, then, shall he be a God, who has not as yet been made a man? Or how can he be perfect who was but lately created? How, again can he be immortal, who in his mortal nature did not obey his Maker? For it must be that thou, at the outset, shouldest hold the rank of a man, and then afterwards partake of the glory of God. For thou dost not make God, but God thee. If, then, thou art God’s workmanship, await the hand of thy Maker which creates everything in due time; in due time as far as thou art concerned, whose creation is being carried out.”

<sup>11</sup> John Wesley. The Works of John Wesley, Volume 7, A Collection of Hymns For the Use of the People Called Methodists, Franz Hilderbrandt and Oliver A. Beckerlegge, editors (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1983), Hereafter cited as **BE** 7:398. Hymn 256: O all-creating God,/At whose supreme decree/Our body rose, a breathing clod, Our souls sprang forth from thee./For this thou hast designed,/And formed us man for this, To know, and love thyself, and find/In thee our endless bliss. Cf. also BE 2:439, “The General Deliverance.”

<sup>12</sup> John Wesley. The Works of John Wesley, Volume 2, Sermons II, 34-70, Albert C. Outler, editor. (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1985), Sermon 55: “On the Trinity,” p. 385. Hereafter cited as **BE** 2:373-386. I would like to express my deepest gratitude and indebtedness to Geoffrey Wainwright who first helped me see the “deliberate trinitarianism” in John Wesley. Much of the substance of this study is greatly influenced by the earlier work of Geoffrey Wainwright, “Why Wesley Was A Trinitarian,” in The Drew Gateway, volume 59, Number 2, (Spring 1990) 26-43.

<sup>3</sup> **BE** 7:250-252. Charles Wesley entitled this hymn, *Wrestling Jacob*. (*emphasis in bold and italics is mine*)

Come, O thou Traveller unknown,/Whom still I hold, but cannot see!**My company before is gone,/And I am left alone with thee;/**With thee all night I mean to stay,/And wrestle till the break of day./I need not tell thee who I am,/My misery or sin declare;/Thyself hast called me by my name,/Look on thy hands, and read it there.**But who, I ask thee, who art thou?/Tell me thy name, and tell me now./**In vain thou strugglest to get free,/I never will unloose my hold;/Art thou the Man that died for me?/The secret of thy love unfold:**Wrestling, I will not let thee go/Till I thy name, thy nature know./**Wilt thou not yet to me reveal/Thy new, unutterable name?/Tell me, I still beseech thee, tell;/To know it now resolved I am;**Wrestling, I will not let thee go/Till I thy name, thy nature know./**What though my shrinking flesh complain/And murmur to contend so long?/I rise superior to my pain:/When I am weak, then I am strong;/And when my all of strength shall fail/I shall with the God-man prevail./Yield to me now—for I am weak,/But confident in self-despair!/Speak to my heart, in blessings speak,/Be conquered by my instant prayer./Speak, or thou never hence shalt move,/And **tell me if thy name is LOVE./’Tis Love!’ Tis Love!** **Thou diedst for me;/I hear thy whisper in my heart./**The morning breaks, the shadows flee,**Pure Universal Love thou art:/**To me, to all, thy bowels move—/**Thy nature, and thy name, is LOVE./**My prayer hath power with God; the grace/Unspeakable I now receive;/Through faith I see the face to face;/I see the face to face, and live!/In vain I have not wept and strove—/**Thy nature, and thy name is, LOVE./**I know thee, Saviour, who thou art—/Jesus, the feeble sinner’s friend;/Nor wilt thou with the night depart,/But stay, and love me to the end:/Thy mercies never shall remove,**Thy nature, and thy name, is LOVE./**The Sun of Righteousness on me/Hath rose with healing in his wings;/Withered my nature’s strength; from thee/My soul its life and succour brings;**Thy nature, and thy name, is LOVE./**Contented

now upon my thigh/I halt, till life's short journey end;/All helplessness, all weakness, I/On thee alone for strength depend;/Nor have I power from thee to move:/**Thy nature, and thy name, is LOVE**./Lame as I am, I take the prey,/Hell, earth, and sin with ease o'ercome;/I leap for joy, pursue my way,/And as a bounding hart fly home./Through all eternity to prove./**Thy nature, and thy name, is LOVE**.

<sup>14</sup> Although I am focused primarily on Wesley's soteriological rationale for the new creation, his broader vision of the whole creation groaning for the redemption by the Triune Creator can be found in the following sermons, "The New Creation," BE 2:500-510; "The General Deliverance," BE 2:436-451; "The General Spread of the Gospel," BE 2:485-500; "The Great Assize," BE 1:354-376 "God's Love to Fallen Man," BE 2:422-436; "God's Approbation of His Works," BE 2:387-400; "On Divine Providence," BE 2:534-551; "The Wisdom of God's Counsels," BE 2:551-567.

<sup>15</sup> Stanley S. Harakas. Wholeness of Faith and Life: Orthodox Christian Ethics, Part Two—Church Life Ethics. (Holy Cross Orthodox Pres: Brookline, MA, 1999. cf. especially "The Doctrine of the Trinity in Eastern Orthodox Ethics, pp. 1-23. I am greatly indebted to Stanley for helping me to see the ethical "ought" rooted in Triune Love. "From the Eastern view, the significance of this controversy for ethics is that there are inherent and patterned relationships appropriate to the persons of the Trinity. This means that human beings are created in the image and likeness of a God who is a Trinity of persons in concrete and specifically defined relationships. Consequently, an ethic based on becoming "God-like" must be firmly grounded in patterned relationships that indicate the appropriate behavior of human beings relative to God, neighbor, self and the rest of creation." (p. 8)

<sup>16</sup> John Wesley, The Works of John Wesley, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. (Kansas City, Missouri: Beacon Hill Press of Kansas City, 1978). "A Letter to a Roman Catholic," p. 82. 10:80-86.

<sup>17</sup> Vladimir Lossky, The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church. (Crestwood, New York: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1976, 65). Vladimir Lossky depicts a vision of salvation as consisting in grace and glory, a share in communion with the Holy Trinity: "The goal of orthodox spirituality, the blessedness of the Kingdom of Heaven, is not the vision of the essence, but above all, a participation in the divine life of the Holy Trinity; the deified state of the co-heirs of the divine nature, gods created after the uncreated God, possessing by grace all that the Holy Trinity possesses by nature."

<sup>18</sup> BE 7:88.

<sup>19</sup> BE 7: 472. This is a profound hymn of trust in the providence of the Triune God. **Hymn 17**: Captain of Israel's host, and guide/Of all who seek the land above, Beneath thy shadow we abide,/The cloud of thy protecting love:/Our strength thy grace, our rule thy Word,/Our end, the glory of the Lord./By thy unerring Spirit led,/We shall not in the desert stray;/We shall not full direction need,/Or miss our providential way;/As far from danger as from fear,/While love, almighty love, is near.

<sup>20</sup> BE 7: 394-395. Hymn 253: Come, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost,/Whom one all—perfect God we own,/Restorer of thine image lost,/Thy various offices make known;/Display, our fallen souls to raise,/Thy whole economy of grace./Jehovah in Three Persons, come,/And draw, and sprinkle us, and seal/Poor guilty, dying worms, in whom/Thy dost eternal life reveal;/The knowledge of thyself bestow./And all thy glorious goodness show./Soon as our pardoned hearts believe/That thou art pure, essential love,/The proof we in ourselves receive/Of the Three Witnesses above;/Sure as the saints around thy throne/That Father, Word, and Spirit are one./O that we now, in love renewed,/Might blameless in thy sight appear;/Wake we in thy similitude,/Stamped with the Triune character;/Flesh, spirit, soul, to thee resign,/And live and die entirely thine!

<sup>21</sup> BE 2:153-169. cf. 156-157; 160-162. Wesley makes it clear in his sermon, "The Scripture Way of Salvation" that the via salutis is the way of Triune Love.

<sup>22</sup> Irenaeus, Against Heresies, 4.38.3. "With God there are simultaneously exhibited power, wisdom and goodness. His power and goodness [appear] in this, that of His own will He called into being and fashioned things having no previous existence; His wisdom [is shown] in His having made created things parts of one harmonious and consistent whole; and those things which, through His super-eminent kindness, receive growth and a long period of existence, do reflect the glory of the uncreated One, of that God who bestows what is good ungrudgingly. For from the very fact of these things having been created, [it follows] that they are not uncreated; but by their continuing in being throughout a long course of ages, they shall receive a faculty of the Uncreated, through the gratuitous bestowal of eternal existence upon them by God. And thus in all things God has the pre-eminence, who alone is uncreated, the first of all things, and the primary cause of the existence of all, while all other things remain under God's subjection. But being in subjection to God is continuance in immortality, and immortality is the glory of the uncreated

One. By this arrangement, therefore, and these harmonies, and a sequence of this nature, man, a created and organized being, is rendered after the image and likeness of the uncreated God,—the Father planning everything well and giving His commands, the Son carrying these into execution and performing the work of creating, and the Spirit nourishing and increasing [what is made], by man making progress day by day, and ascending towards the perfect, that is, approximating to the uncreated One. For the Uncreated is perfect, that is, God. Now it was necessary that man should in the first instance be created; and having been created, should receive growth; and having received growth, should be strengthened; and having been strengthened, should abound; and having abounded, should recover [from the disease of sin]; and having recovered, should be glorified; and being glorified, should see his Lord. For God is He who is yet to be seen, and the beholding of God is productive of immortality, but immortality renders one nigh unto God.”<sup>23</sup> Irenaeus, *Against Heresies*, 4.38.1. There are plenty of places where Irenaeus surmises about why God did not create a “finished” creation. “. . . inasmuch as God is indeed always the same and unbegotten as respects Himself, all things are possible to Him. But created things must be inferior to Him who created them, from the very fact of their later origin; for it was not possible for things recently created to have been uncreated. But inasmuch as they are not uncreated, for this very reason do they come short of the perfect. . . . For as it certainly is in the power of a mother to give strong food to her infant [but she does not do so], as the child is not yet able to receive more substantial nourishment; so also it was possible for God Himself to have made man perfect from the first, but man could not receive this [perfection], being as yet an infant. And for this cause our Lord, in these last times, when He had summed up all things into Himself, came to us, not as He might have come, but as we were capable of beholding Him. He might easily have come to us in His immortal glory, but in that case we could never have endured the greatness of the glory; and therefore it was that He, who was the perfect bread of the Father, offered Himself to us as milk, [because we were] as infants. He did this when He appeared as a man, that we, being nourished, as it were, from the breast of His flesh, and having, by such a course of milk-nourishment, become accustomed to eat and drink the Word of God, may be able also to contain in ourselves the Bread of immortality, which is the Spirit of the Father.”

<sup>24</sup> Cf. the following to expand this discussion on the Fall of creation and the recapitulation of Christ: Douglas Farrow, ‘St. Irenaeus of Lyons. The Church and the World,’ *Pro Ecclesia* 4 (1995), pp. 333-355; G. Wingren, *Man and the Incarnation: A Study in the Biblical Theology of Irenaeus*. (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg, 1959); Robert E. Brown, ‘On the Necessary Imperfection of Creation: Irenaeus’ *Adversus Haereses* iv, 38,’ *Scottish Journal of Theology* 28 (1975), pp. 17-25.

<sup>25</sup> Irenaeus, *Against Heresies*, 3.18.7. Book 3 is where Irenaeus’ doctrine of the Fall and the recapitulating work of Christ and the Spirit is most explicit. Here is just a sample of many places where Irenaeus explains not only why the Fall of humankind was a problem to the purpose of God’s creation, but why the incarnation was necessary to reverse the direction and re-inaugurate humankind “back” in the creation to become “like God.” “Therefore, as I have already said, He caused man (human nature) to cleave to and to become one with God. For unless man had overcome the enemy of man, the enemy would not have been legitimately vanquished. And again: unless it had been God who had freely given salvation, we could never have possessed it securely. And unless man had been joined to God, he could never have become a partaker of incorruptibility. For it was incumbent upon the Mediator between God and men, by His relationship to both, to bring both to friendship and concord, and present man to God, while He revealed God to man. For, in what way could we be partakers of the adoption of sons, unless we had received from Him through the Son that fellowship which refers to Himself, unless His Word, having been made flesh, had entered into communion with us? Wherefore also He passed through every stage of life, restoring all communion with God.”

<sup>26</sup> Irenaeus, *Against Heresies*, 2.10.4. Here is a sample of one of Irenaeus’ strongest statements on the doctrine of ex-nihilo. “For, to attribute the substance of created things to the power and will of Him who is God of all, is worthy both of credit and acceptance. . . . While men, indeed cannot make anything out of nothing, but only out of matter already existing, yet God is in this point pre-eminently superior to men, that He Himself called into being the substance of His creation, when previously it had no existence.”

<sup>27</sup> Although Wesley does not make as much of the doctrine of ex-nihilo as does Irenaeus, he does move in the same direction of Irenaeus by coupling the doctrine of *ex-nihilo* to a much broader category of prevenient grace that enables humankind to “respond” to the constant presence of God who is the “Supporter,” “Preserver,” “Redeemer,” and “Governor” of the creation. Wesley’s most explicit reference to the doctrine of ex-nihilo can be found in his sermon “Spiritual Worship:” “He ‘beareth,’ upholdeth,

sustaineth, ‘all’ created ‘things by the word of his power,’ by the same powerful word which brought them out of nothing. As this was absolutely necessary for the beginning of their existence, it is equally so for the continuance of it: were his almighty influence withdrawn they could not subsist a moment longer. Hold up a stone in the air; the moment you withdraw your hand it naturally falls into the ground. In like manner, were he to withdraw his hand for a moment the creation would fall into nothing.” BE 3:91. What seems to overshadow this notion of “nothing” for Wesley is his persistent doctrine of prevenient grace. Similar to Irenaeus, Wesley would argue that nothing is crucial to love. In other words, God creates out of nothing so that by the constant presence of God (prevenient grace) the human creation can be free to respond to God and love as God is love. Cf. this also born out in his sermons, “On the Omnipresence of God, (BE 4: 40-47) and “The Unity of the Divine Being,” (BE 4:60-71).

<sup>28</sup> What is helpful to remember in Irenaeus’ polemic with Gnosticism and his doctrine of “nothingness” is what he intends to say about God. Irenaeus notion of ex-nihilo says, “He who contains all things, and is Himself contained by no one.” 4.20.2.

<sup>29</sup> Irenaeus, *Against Heresies*, 5.36.1-3. “. . . But when this [present] fashion [of things] passes away, and man has been renewed, and flourishes in an incorruptible state, so as to preclude the possibility of becoming old, [then] there shall be the new heaven and the new earth, in which the man shall remain [continually], always holding fresh converse with God. . . . and that they advance through steps of this nature; also that they ascend through the Spirit to the Son, and through the Son to the Father, and that in due time the Son will yield up His work to the Father, even as it is said by the apostle, “For He must reign till He hath put all enemies under His feet. The last enemy that shall be destroyed is death.” For in the times of the kingdom, the righteous man who is upon the earth shall then forget to die. “But when He saith, All things shall be subdued unto Him, it is manifest that He is excepted who did put all things under Him. And when all things shall be subdued unto Him, then shall the Son also Himself be subject unto Him who put all things under Him, that God may be all in all. . . . John, therefore, did distinctly foresee the first “resurrection of the just,” and the inheritance in the kingdom of the earth; and what the prophets have prophesied concerning it harmonize [with his vision]. For the Lord also taught these things when He promised that He would have the mixed cup new with His disciples in the kingdom. The apostle, too has confessed that the creation shall be free from the bondage of corruption, [so as to pass] into the liberty of the sons of God. And in all these things, and by them all, the same God the Father is manifested, who fashioned man, and gave promise of the inheritance of the earth to the fathers, who brought it (the creature) forth [from bondage] at the resurrection of the just, and fulfills the promises for the kingdom of His Son; subsequently bestowing in a paternal manner those things which neither the eye has seen, nor the ear has heard, nor has [thought concerning them] arisen within the heart of man. For there is the one Son, who accomplished His Father’s will; and one human race also in which the mysteries of God are wrought, “which the angels desire to look into;” and they are not able to search out the wisdom of God, by means of which His handiwork, confirmed and incorporated with His Son, is brought to perfection; that His offspring, the First-begotten Word, should descend to the creature (facturam), that is, to what had been molded (plasma), and that it should be contained by Him; and, on the other hand, the creature should contain the Word, and ascend to Him, passing beyond the angels, and be made after the image and likeness of God.”

<sup>30</sup> BE 4:294-295. (**Bold and italics are mine for emphasis**)

<sup>31</sup> BE 7:395.

<sup>32</sup> BE 2:156-157. (**Bold emphasis is mine**) Kenneth J. Collins, *The Scripture Way of Salvation, The Heart of John Wesley’s Theology*. (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1997), gives one of the most thorough treatments of the specific synthesis that is at work in the various “conjunctions and parallelisms” found in Wesley’s *via salutis*.

<sup>33</sup> BE 3:203-204. (**Bold emphasis is mine to stress the successive stages, the italics are included to highlight the process; i.e. the “way of salvation”**)

<sup>34</sup> Because the Holy Spirit, “the immediate cause of all holiness in us,” was constantly present patterning for us in those means of grace, the way of triune love, they were to be “used” and not passively “trusted.” Not to use the means of grace would mean that one was no longer “trusting” in the direction of the Holy Spirit to conform one to the “mind of Christ.” Cf. BE 1:376-397, esp. 390-397.

<sup>35</sup> BE 20:357, Journal (17 August 1751).

<sup>36</sup> I am profoundly indebted to Henry Knight for these categories of the “presence of God,” and the “identity of God” as a way of formulating for myself how Wesley’s means of grace mediate the triune love

of God to us. According to Knight, what lies behind the means of grace in Wesley, “is the intent of God’s love to transform the whole world into the image of God, so that all its relationships are characterized by love.” Cf. Henry H. Knight III. The Presence of God in the Christian Life: John Wesley and the Means of Grace, (Lanham, Md., & London: The Scarecrow Pres, Inc., 1992), p. 4. Cf. also the following helpful studies: Kenneth Collins, “John Wesley and the Means of Grace” (The Drew Gateway, 56:3, Spring, 1986); Steve Harper, “The Devotional Life of John Wesley, 1703-38” (Ph.D. dissertation, Duke University, 1981); Gregory Scott Clapper, “John Wesley on Religious Affections: His Views on Experience and Emotion and Their Role in the Christian Life and Theology” (Ph.D. dissertation, Emory University, 1985; Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1989); Randy Maddox, Responsible Grace: John Wesley’s Practical Theology (Nashville: Kingswood Books, 1994); David Trickett, “Spiritual Vision and Discipline in the Early Wesleyan Movement” (*Christian Spirituality III*, ed. Louis Dupre, John Meyendorff, and Don E. Saliers, New York: Crossroads, 1989); Ole Borgen, *John Wesley on the Sacraments* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1972); Geoffrey Wainwright, “The Sacraments in Wesleyan Perspective,” (*Doxology*, 5:5-20, 1988); Gordon Wakefield, “Traditions of Spiritual Guidance: John Wesley and the Methodist System” (*The Way*, 31:69-91, 1991)

<sup>37</sup> Wesley’s citation from Augustine is most instructive here: “It is the best worship or service of God, to imitate him you worship.” Cf. Sermon on the Mount, IX, Sermon 29, 1:635, esp. 636 where he writes: “Now God is love; therefore they who resemble him in the spirit of their minds are transformed into the same image. They are merciful even as he is merciful. Their soul is all love. They are kind, benevolent, compassionate, tender-hearted; and that not only to the good and gentle, but also to the forward. Yea, they are, like him, loving unto every man, and their mercy extends to all his works.”

<sup>38</sup> **Sermon on the Mount, IV**, Sermon 24, §I.7, 1:537.

<sup>39</sup> **On Zeal**, Sermon 92, **On Zeal**, Sermon 92, §II.5; 3:313-314.

<sup>40</sup> “**A Plain Account of the People Called Methodists**,” Works, 8:248-268; esp. 251-261. cf. also “**The Nature, Design, and General Rules of the United Societies**, 8:269-271; “**Rules of the Band-Societies**, 8:272-274.

<sup>41</sup> David Lowes Watson, The Early Methodist Class Meeting (Nashville: Discipleship Resources, 1987).

<sup>42</sup> This is a hymn of Charles Wesley on Psalm 104. Charles seems to have found a doctrine of ex-nihilo in the Psalm where none exists. Cf. “Hymns of Praise and Thanksgiving for the Promise of the Father,” # 28 (1746). **Bold** emphasis is mine.