THE RELIGIOUS THOUGHT AND HOMILETICAL METHODS
OF THOMAS ADAMS (1612-1653)

Submitted as a partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Ph. D. degree in Divinity.

By
Thomas B. Hoover, Jr.

1950
To

My brethren in the ministry of the Gospel who value our preaching heritage for its varied elements worthy of the modern ministers' application, I dedicate this thesis.
## CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FOREWORD</td>
<td>vii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Chapter</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>I. BACKGROUND OF LIFE AND WORK.</strong></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Training and Ministry</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Friends and Associates</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Political and Ecclesiastical Environment</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Extant Literary Works</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>II. RELIGIOUS THOUGHT—GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS.</strong></td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Scripture Source</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Anti-Romanism</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Calvinistic Content</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Sovereignty of God</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Total Depravity</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Unconditional Election</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Limited Atonement</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Evangelical Aspect</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>III. SOME SPECIFIC DOCTRINES.</strong></td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Soteriology</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. The Nature of Sin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. The Grace of God</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. The Person and Work of Christ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Faith and Works</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Ecclesiology</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter IV. HOMILETICAL METHODS

A. Introductory
   1. The Relationship of Adams' Theology and Preaching
   2. Factors Affecting Preaching in General during the Seventeenth Century
   3. Adams' Conception of the Function of Preaching

B. Method of Scripture Exposition
C. Method of Amplification and Use of Illustrative Material
D. Practice of Rhetoric
E. Manner of Application
F. Means of Securing and Holding Attention

V. AN EVALUATION

APPENDIX

BIBLIOGRAPHY
INTRODUCTION

As a candidate for the Ph. D. degree, I have prepared this thesis on The Religious Thought and Homiletical Methods of Thomas Adams, (1612-1653), not merely as one of the requirements for the degree itself, but also with the hope that from such a study my own ministry might be made more effective. At the same time, I shall be grateful if the material embodied in this work can have some practical value for any who may care to peruse it.

The subject of this thesis was arrived at after consultation with my faculty advisers at the University of Edinburgh. These advisers took into account, along with other factors, my own expressed interest in the fields of theology and preaching. I have found the works of Thomas Adams well suited to provide material for research in both these fields. His works have afforded an excellent basis for studying a most important period in the political and ecclesiastical history of England, for examining the effect of the Reformation on the theological thinking of the seventeenth century, and for observing the many and varied techniques to be found in the history of preaching. The aim of this paper has been to see how these factors have come to bear on the thought and creative productions of a hitherto rather obscure personality.
Questions such as the following have guided this study the findings of which, it is hoped, are set forth in this paper: What currents in the stream of history influenced the writings of Thomas Adams? What are the main theological themes upon which his thinking is centered? What techniques does Adams use in seeking to convey truth through the medium of preaching? Does Adams make any unique or outstanding contribution to the church or to the field of English literature?

In pursuing such a course of investigation as indicated by the questions in the paragraph above, it has been necessary to keep in mind Adams' own purpose in having his works published. He repeatedly points out in his dedicatory epistles that his purpose in preserving his works in print is the benefit of the reader rather than the seeking of any praise for himself. His own words can be used to justify the publication of his works: "If the grain be good, it doth better in the market than in the garner." Also what he had to say with reference to one portion of his works, he no doubt desired for the whole: "If thou likest it, then . . . with the same affection thou readest it, remember it, and with the same thou rememberest, practise it. In hope of this, and prayer for this, I commend this book to thy conscience. . . ."

Because of the value of Adams' writings, I commend to the reader a consideration of them in the pages to follow.

T. B. H.
FOREWORD

The works of Thomas Adams, in their original printed form, have been examined insofar as possible by the writer of this thesis. However, the specific source material used in the analysis of Adams' works for his religious thought and homiletical methods has been that found in his Practical Works. These works consist of three volumes published by James Nichol in his series of Standard Divines with the Rev. Thomas Smith as general editor; and the last republished edition (1863) of An Exposition of the Second Epistle General of St. Peter as revised and corrected by the Rev. James Sherman. The first volume of the Practical Works appeared in 1861 and the other two volumes in 1862. Portions of Adams' works appearing in other editions are considered as secondary sources and have not been used in this research. They have been listed in the Bibliography at the end. There is a "Memoir of Adams" by Joseph Angus, D. D., Principal of the Baptist College, Regent's Park, London, printed at the front of Vol. III of the Practical Works. The biographical material taken from this source will be indicated by footnotes. References to the prefaces and dedicatory epistles of Adams' writings have been taken from the "Memoir" by Angus as they have been, in
most cases, reprinted there from Adams' folio edition of his collected works. Any exceptions will otherwise be noted. There is an "Introduction to Adams' Works" by the Rev. W. H. Stowell at the front of a small volume containing twelve of Adams' sermons published in a series on the works of the Puritan Divines. Quotations from this source are cited under the appropriate title.

American Standardized spelling will be used in the writing of this thesis. However, all quotations will be in the form in which they are found in the sources used. Scripture quotations will be reproduced in the version used by Adams. Ordinarily, he quotes from the Unauthorized Version. "The New Translation," as he called the Authorized Version, was being prepared while he was in his early ministry. Material enclosed in parentheses is understood to originate with the writer of this paper and will be used to qualify the phrase or sentence immediately preceding. Parenthetical material found in quotations used will be designated by brackets. References to Adams' own works, specifically The Practical Works of Thomas Adams, edited by Thomas Smith, will generally be cited in the body of the text of the thesis and enclosed in parentheses. A few exceptions and all other sources will be footnoted and numbered consecutively according to chapters of the thesis. The titles of the sermons, meditations, and other divine and moral discourses of Adams are listed in an appendix at the conclusion of this paper, and according to their order.
and pagination found in the edited volumes of his works.

T. B. H.
CHAPTER I

BACKGROUND OF LIFE AND WORK

A. Training and Ministry

The Thomas Adams whose writings are treated in this thesis has no biographer, and he left no autobiography. Consequently, relatively few facts can be gathered about the personal life of the man himself. The primary source of those facts which can be known are the prefaces and dedicatory epistles prefixed to some of his works when first published. These sources, however, are not adequate to make it possible to trace, with accuracy, his entire life's history.

The earliest recorded date concerning Adams' life is 1597. According to the Alumni Cantabrigienses, this was the year in which he matriculated as a student at Cambridge. On the basis of this information, it can be assumed that he was born about 1580 though there is no mention of the exact date or place of his birth. Neither does any biographical sketch of Adams record his parentage or other family relationships. The Alumni Cantabrigienses credits Adams with having graduated from Cambridge (Clare) with the degrees of B. A., 1601-02, and of M. A., 1606. It is interesting to

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note that Joseph Angus, when writing a memoir of Adams, was not in possession of these facts about his training or degrees.  

The first years of Adams' ministry remain obscure with the exception of the reference in the *Alumni Cantabrigienses* which states that he was ordained a deacon and priest (Lincoln) on September 23, 1601, and signed as Minister of Northill, Beds, 1606-1610. The year 1612 is the date usually given to mark the beginning of his work. This year corresponds to that found on the title-page of his first published sermons. One of these sermons is described as "Heaven and Earth Reconciled: A sermon preached at St. Paul's Church, in Bedford, October 3, 1612, at the visitation of the Right Wor. M. Elaner, Archdeacon of Bedford. By Thomas Adams, Minister of the Gospel at Willington."  

There is reason to believe that Adams was at Willington as early as 1611. This date is set opposite the name of Thomas Adams on a chronological listing of the Vicars of St. Lawrence, Willington.  

If this document can be relied upon, Adams' whereabouts is accounted for during the missing year in the *Alumni Cantabrigienses* record.

In 1614 Adams went from Willington to Buckingham-

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3. Ibid., p. xxx.  
4. This list was compiled from the Episcopal Registers and Public Records, 1229 to 1933 by George Herbert Kingston, and can be seen in the Willington Church.
shire where he was Vicar at Wingrave. There he remained until, according to Lipscomb, he resigned in favor of Robert Hitchcock who was inducted May 4, 1636. While Vicar at Wingrave, Adams seems also to have held regularly the preachership at St. Gregory's under St. Paul's in London by the year 1618. In this year, he published his "Happiness of the Church" and other meditations and discourses described as "being the sum of divers sermons preached in S. Gregory's London: By Thomas Adams, preacher there." St. Gregory's was an ancient parish church and its building was joined to the southwest corner of old St. Paul's. A model of this structure can be seen in the crypt of St. Paul's today. Harben reports that the church of St. Gregory was partly pulled down in 1641 on advice of Inigo Jones, Surveyor to James II. (Jones was buried in St. Benet's, another church served by Adams.) He also states that this church was burnt in the Fire of 1666 and not rebuilt. Following this occurrence, the parish served by St. Gregory's was united to that of St. Mary Magdalen in Old Fish Street. This last named church was demolished in 1886, and the congregation united with St. Martin, Ludgate.

The position of the communion table in St. Gregory's

5George Lipscomb, History and Antiquities of the County of Buckingham (4 vols.; London, 1847), III, 536. (Adams was incumbent of St. Benet, Paul's Warf, and not of St. Benet Fink as Lipscomb states.)
was the occasion of a controversy in Adams' time between the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral and the parishioners. The action of Archbishop Laud in the matter was included in the charges against him when later he was on trial for his life.9

The incident is not mentioned in Adams' own works.

By at least 1629, Adams had become Rector of St. Bennet's, Paul's Warf, London. That year his collected works were published with an address to "My Dearly Beloved charge, The Parishioners of Saint Bennet's, near to Paul's Warf, London."10 According to Angus, St. Bennet's was in the parish of St. Gregory, and the pastor serving the parish might indiscriminately be associated with either the church of St. Bennet or St. Gregory. From this relationship, Angus explains why the title-page of Adams' commentary on II Peter, which appeared in 1633, identifies him as Rector of St. Gregory when apparently he was no longer associated with that church itself.

The building of St. Bennet's was destroyed in the great fire of 1666, and rebuilt by Wren in 1683 on the original site. There it stands today. Its location is on the north side of Upper Thames Street, slightly south of Queen Victoria Street, and bounded on the west by Bennet's Hill. Harben claims that the Parish of St. Peter, Paul's Warf, was

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10Angus, "Memoir," p. 11.
united to St. Bennet's after the fire of 1666.  An Encyclopaedia of London shows that in 1679 the congregation of St. Bennet's united with that of St. Nicholas, Cole Abbey. The building of this last named church, located near St. Paul's, was practically demolished by bombing during the late war, and the St. Bennet's Church is currently used by a Welsh Episcopal congregation.

Adam's Commentary of 1633 is the last of his published works giving any indication of his clerical position. It is not known how long he remained at St. Bennet's. Carruthers states that Adams was Rector there in 1643 when Arrowsmith, a member of the Westminster Assembly, presented The Solemn League and Covenant to the congregation for subscription.  If Adams was at St. Bennet's at that time, the question arises whether or not he was numbered later among those sequestered consequent upon the dissolution of the Episcopal hierarchy of the church. There is reason, but not absolute proof, to believe that he was. Walker, in his Sufferings of the Clergy, has the following entry: "Adams St. Bennet--Paul's Warf, R. He was esteemed an excellent preacher, and died before the Restoration."  A similar account is found in Newcourt's Repertorium.

The minutes of the sessions of the Westminster Assembly of Divines records, in several places, the case of a Mr. Adams which was considered by the Assembly. The first of these entries is a part of the record of Session 582, February 2, 1645, and reads thus: "A petition was brought from Mr. Adams. Ordered—The Assembly cannot approve of Mr. Adams, except he do appear to be examined, and that he give good testimony of his conversation from known and approved ministers near to the place of his last abode before he be approved by this Assembly." The last reference to what was evidently the same case is an entry dated July 14, 1648, in which it was ordered that "Mr. Adams be returned as insufficient." Whether or not this was the case of the Adams with whom this thesis is concerned, it is to be concluded from evidence in Matthew's revision of Calamy's Nonconformist's Memorial that he was not at St. Bennet's in 1649. This work names Allan Geare as Rector there at that time.

The last source of information about Adams comes from the dedication of two of his sermons, "God's Anger" and "Man's Comfort," published in 1653. This dedication reads:

16 Ibid., p. 527.
18 The year in which Adams' works are considered to have been concluded is 1653, and he is presumed to have died before the Restoration.
To the Most Honourable and Charitable Benefactors, Whom God Hath Honoured for His Almoners, and Sanctified to Be His Dispensers of the Fruits of Charity and Mercy To Me, In This My Necessitous and Decrepit Old Age, I Humbly Present This Testimony Of My Thankfulness, With My Incessant Appreciations To The Father Of All Mercies, To Reward Them For It In This Life, And To Crown Their Souls With Everlasting Joy and Glory In The Life To Come, Through Jesus Christ, Our Lord. Amen. Thomas Adams.

Although these words throw no light on Adams' location, they suggest his ministry to be drawing toward a close; and that at the time of their writing, he was dependent in part at least upon the mercy and charity of friends for his living. This dependency might have been a result of either one or both of two probable causes. In the first place, Adams had never been the recipient of a good living. The preachership at St. Gregory's was in the gift of the minor canons of St. Paul's and provided only meager subsistence. St. Bennet's likewise was a poor living. Newcourt says that the combined profits of St. Bennet's and St. Peter's Churches were returned in 1636 at 128 lbs. The poor livings to be had from these preferments account no doubt for the fact that Adams retained the living at Wingrave along with those in London in spite of his pronounced objection to pluralities and non-residences. In the second place, Adams' condition of dependency, at the time of his last published works, might have been due to his own possible sequestration or to

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20 Newcourt, op. cit., p. 303.
the fact that ejected and approved clergymen alike suffered from the economic conditions caused by the civil war.

**B. Friends and Associates**

In addition to the foregoing considerations, there is other pertinent information to be gathered about Adams from the prefaces and dedicatory epistles of his works. For instance, from these, it can be seen who some of his friends and patrons were. He appears to have been on intimate terms with men of high position in church and state. Among these were John Donne, Dean of St. Paul's; William, Earl of Pembroke, member of the King's Privy Council; Sir Henry Montague, Lord Chief-Justice of England, and recorder of London; and Sir Henry Marten, Dean of the Arches' Court of Canterbury, and Judge of the High Court of the Admiralty. Also, from the information given in the prefaces of some of his sermons, it is evident that he was esteemed in his day, as he has been called by critics, "an excellent preacher." He is observed to have preached, from time to time, at St. Paul's Cross in London and at other places on certain special occasions. These include the "Solemnities of the election of the Lord Mayor of London"; the "triennial Visitation of the R. R. Father in God, the Lord Bishop of London, in Christ Church," and at Whitehall on the first Tuesday after the death of King James I. It is also observed

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22Pembroke was identified with St. Bennet's Church. See Malcolm's Londinium Redivivum (London, 1803), II, 472.
24Ibid.
that his sermon on "The Soldier's Honour" was published upon request of those to whom it was first preached.26

C. Political and Ecclesiastical Environment

This chapter dealing with the background of Adams' life and work should naturally include some reference to the political and ecclesiastical history of his period though it is not within the scope of this paper to trace, in detail, its significance. It is, however, important to observe what seems to have been Adams' attitudes toward and position in regard to the main political and ecclesiastical issues of his age. Again, it is necessary to glean this information from his own works which were written neither as a treatise on the times nor as a defense for any political or ecclesiastical policy or party.

One distinguishing mark of Adams' writings is their relative degree of silence regarding the political and ecclesiastical controversies and changes which took place in his time and were being discussed by many of his contemporaries. This silence on the part of Adams, no doubt more than anything else, explains why the facts about his life are so obscure and his works have found no place of great prominence in the field of 17th century religious literature. This same marked absence of controversial discussion in his writings would indicate that he did not take sides with any of "the parties" in church and state, and consequently was

26Ibid., I, 31.
perhaps molested by none during all of his ministry. However this might have been, some idea of Adams' position regarding the civil and ecclesiastical society can be gathered from the general tenor of his writings and by inference from specific statements found here and there in his works.

Nowhere in his works is there any suggestion that Adams was ever disloyal either to the crown or to the Church of England though it is evident that he did not always agree with their policies. His confidence in the monarchial form of government by royal succession is expressed in his sermon on "The City of Peace" where he says:

There are three ways of choosing kings—1. An immediate nomination from God; 2. A succession of blood; 3. election of the people. The first ceaseth, the last hath been found dangerous, the best remains. They that are suddenly chosen out of the flock do seldom manifest such royal behaviour, nor become their majesty, for it is not their trade. . . . Anarchy is the mother of division, the stepmother of peace. . . . We are not shuffled into a popular government, nor cut into cantons by a headless, headstrong aristocracy; but in Henry was the union of the roses, in James of the kingdoms.27

He goes on in this same passage to speak in flattering terms of the reigns of Elizabeth and James.28

Every king is not a peacemaker: ours like a second Augustus, hath shut the rusty door of Janus's temple; so making peace, as if he were made of peace. That blessed queen, of sweet and sacred memory before him, was filia pacis; who, as by her sexual graces she deserved to be the queen of women, so by her masculine virtues to be the queen of men. Certainly,

27Ibid., II, 326.
26It is to be remembered that Adams was ordained the year following the succession of James I to the throne of the United Kingdom.
it would have troubled any king but him, to have
succeeded such a queen; yet no man complains the
want of peace. This he promised, and this he hath
performed to every good soul's content.29

This same sort of flattery is found where he recalls the
instance of James' deliverance from an earlier conspiracy,
and at the same time makes known his belief in the place of
kings in the divine order.30 Although Adams held the reigns
of Elizabeth and James in high regard, acknowledged their
sovereignty, and voiced his praise for the nature of their
tenures, the general tone of his works suggests that he must
have considered the Elizabethan Settlement of the church too
much of a compromise on the side of Roman Catholicism, and
the attitude of James toward the Puritans too severe.
Adams, as will be seen later, had no patience with the hier-
archy of Rome and was acutely aware of the doctrinal cor-
rupations and superstitious ceremonies in the Roman Catholic
Church. His position regarding Puritanism is not so pro-
nounced. He was unquestionably a Doctrinal Puritan, but
just where he drew the line in the matter of form is not
clear. It seems he did not think like some that unless cer-
tain forms were left indifferent they became substantially
popery. He agreed with Calvin that "all indifferent things
are put to the disposition and ordering of the church."31
Seldom did he touch on the forms of the Angelican Church,
but his view regarding ritual is well summarized in the fol-

29Adams, Works, II, 326.
30Ibid., II, 307-08.
31Ibid., I, 180.
There be certain royal laws, which Christ and his apostles made for eternal use; to the observation whereof all Christian nations and persons are unchangeably bound. And there be some ritual things, which were at the first convenient, but variable according to the difference of times and places. Strictly to impose all these circumstances on us, were to make us, not the sons, but the slaves of the apostles. That is a fond scrupulosity which would press us in all fashions with a conformity to the primitive times; as if the spouse of Christ might not wear a lace or a border for which she could not plead prescription.32

One can be sure that Adams had no sympathy with the extreme form of Puritanism that led to separation from the church. He thought of schismatics or separatists as destroying the peace of discipline in the church as heretics destroy the peace of doctrine.33 He justifies separation from the church "when the substance of God's worship is quite corrupted,"34 but there are to be found no statements in his works which imply that he thought the worship in the Church of England was corrupted to that degree. At the same time, he was not blind to the imperfections of the church. "Separate we not then from the church, because the church cannot separate from all imperfections."35 This position regarding separation from the church accounts for Adams' manner of speaking out against the sects that had developed in England before and during his period. For example, when referring to the reign of Elizabeth, he speaks in disapproving

32Ibid., II, 264.
33Ibid., II, 310; I, 180.
34Ibid., II, 520.
terms of the Anabaptist and the Brownist whom along with the papist he calls fires "kindled in a land of peace, though many tears have been showered upon them, and earnest prayers sent up to heaven for their quenching." Elsewhere, he compares the errors of the Anabaptist and the Brownist with those of the papist. "The Anabaptist imagined a church like the tick, all body and no head; the papist have made a church like the toadstool, all head and no body." "How bitterly the Brownist on the right hand, the Papist on the left, rail at each other: how friendly agree they, like Herod and Pilate, to afflict Christ."

The esteem in which Adams held the person of James I has already been observed. Also it has been suggested that he did not agree with James' oppressive attitude toward the Puritans within the church—an attitude shown in his threat at the Hampton Court Conference (1604) to harry them out of the land unless they conformed. Adams could not, however, agree with those Puritans who sought to impose upon the church the Presbyterian form of church government that James knew in Scotland and opposed for the United Kingdom. James' maxium of "no Bishop, no King" evidently satisfied Adams' Royalist leaning and conception of ecclesiastical polity. His "Visitation Sermon" makes clear his position regarding church government as well as his thought upon the

36 Ibid., II, 152.
37 A fuller treatment will be given of Adams' Anti-Romanism.
38 Adams, Works, II, 524.
39 Ibid., I, 178.
relationship of the church to the state.

The first foundation of the church was laid in an inequality, and hath ever since so continued. Parity in government is the mother of confusion and disorder. . . there be ἐρευνῶν, seers, which signifies the duty of each pastor over his flock; and there be ἐρευνῶν, overseers, such as must visit and overlook both flock and seers. In the Old Testament, together with the parity of priesthood, there was an imparity of government; one Levite above another, priests above them, the priest above them all. Christ himself is said to be a 'Priest after the order of Melchisedek'; he was of some order then; but we have those that would be priests without any order at all, that refuse to be ordered. Take away difference, and what will follow, but an anabaptistical ataxy, or confusion. . . . That great Claviger . . . hath left two keys for the government of the church: the one, Clavum Scientiae, the preaching of the gospel . . . the other, Clavum Potentiae, the key of jurisdiction or discipline, which makes the church a sem ordinated, an army well marshalled. The former imposeth a duty . . . the latter imparteth a decency . . . Without order, faith itself would be at a loss. . . . Therefore is our ministry called orders, to show that we are bound to order above other professions. This orderly distinction of ecclesiastical persons is set down by the Holy Ghost, I Cor. xii., placing some as the head, other as the eyes, other as the feet; all members of one body, with mutual concord, equal unity, but unequal dignity. To be a bishop, then is not a numeral, but a numeral function; a priority in order, a superiority in degree.\(^4^0\)

Such is Adams' view of Episcopacy. In the same sermon, when referring to the visitation of bishops, he says: "and even those visitors [bishops] may be visited by such delegates as the Prince appoints, who is the Chief visitor under Christ."\(^4^1\) Having admitted the difference in governmental affairs between ministers and bishops, and between bishops and princes, Adams points out a respect in which there is

\(^{4^0}\) Ibid., II, 266.
\(^{4^1}\) Ibid., II, 265.
IS
no distinction.

Bishops are in the chiefest respect brethren to the ministers; in a meaner regard they are fathers. They are our fathers but in that respect whereby they govern us; but in that respect which doth save us, they are brethren. Even princes should not scorn the brotherhood of their subjects; for howsoever on earth there is a necessity of these ceremonial differences, yet in the grave for bodies, in heaven for our souls, there is no distinction.42

Thus it seems that Adams never questioned the theory of the divine right of kings or the jurisdiction of the crown in the affairs of the church. He considered it the duty of the crown to correct many of the social and economic injustices that were present during the reign of the early Stuarts. For instance, when speaking of the "wants of the church, the poverty of ministers, and the hard hearts of their oppressors," he goes on to say:

Though I cannot but hope, that so long as our royal and religious Jacob (whose days God makes as the days of heaven) and his seed shall bear rule in our Judah, he and they will make good that deserved title, and be 'defenders of the faith,' and not give leave and authority to any violence further to forage the church.43

The above reference not only illustrates Adams' conception of the place of the civil ruler in relationship to the church but also suggests some conditions under which many of the clergy labored during the period under discussion. This aspect of the times will be observed more closely in connection with the application of Adams' preaching. It should, however, not go unnoticed in this chapter.

42 Ibid., II, 267.
43 Ibid., I, 469.
on the background of his life and work. One or two quotations will suffice here to show that the impropriation of church revenues and ministers livings was a common practice at the time when Adams preached.

If we speak of this, we are censured for covetous, but how lewdly? Is this covetise, to desire our own? I say not the church's superfluities . . . but even the church's necessaries . . . which . . . profane men enjoy: for gentlemen have cut out their gallants suits out of the church's broadcloth, and left the church herself nothing but mere shreds. . . . Let them undo two or three ministers by their impropriations, and they will reward one (in their own humor) with the plasters of their bounty.44

To illustrate this point, he refers to Nero and Agrippa, and remarks, "Sure, never worse to the commonwealth of Rome than Simoniacal patrons to the Church of England."45 Adams defends the tithe as Scriptural and then asks, "What can then be pleaded for our accursed impropriations?"46 It is lay impropriators to whom he is alluding where he says:

If they cannot devour our flesh, they will pluck our fleeces, leave us nothing but the tag-locks, poor vicarage tithes, whiles themselves and their children are kept warm in our wool, the parsonage. . . . Every gentleman thinks the priest mean, but the priest's means hath made many a gentleman.47

Little reference has been made, thus far in this chapter of background material, to doctrinal issues. The reason for this omission is that Adams' theological thought will be discussed at length in the following chapter. How-

44Ibid., I, 463.
45Ibid.
46Ibid., I, 143.
47Ibid., II, 115. See also Ibid., II, 120-121; 228; 362; 557.
ever, it should be kept in mind that King James sent a delegation to the Synod of Dort in 1618 where the Arminian Controversy was being discussed. James himself seems to have been attracted somewhat by the Arminian school of thought. At any rate, in 1622, he is known to have issued directions to the parish clergy stating that they were not to preach on the deep points of predestination and election, or use railing speeches against Papists or Puritans; and in the afternoons were to expound the Catechism, Creed or Ten Commandments instead of preaching sermons. In light of Adams' Calvinist theology and anti-Romanism, it is likely that he personally disapproved of the restraints against preaching on predestination and abusing the papist. On the other hand, he must have delighted in the encouragement to expound the Creed which he did and had published in 1629.

A review of the dates of Adams' publications will reveal that the bulk of his writings, other than his exposition of the Creed and II Peter (these give little insight into the history of the times) fall within the reign of James I. This fact makes it unnecessary to say much and impossible to know a great deal about Adams in relation to the political and ecclesiastical history of the period from the accession of Charles I. It can be assumed from his earlier work that he no more approved of the extreme eccle-

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48 Preaching was a Puritan emphasis.
49 Another exception is the two sermons published in 1653. See footnote 51.
siastical policy of Charles as directed by Archbishop Laud and implemented by such means as the Court of High Commission and the Court of Star Chamber than he approved of the increasing intolerance of the Puritans. Adams' position was that of a moderate churchman over against that of the extreme Anglo-Catholics on the one hand and the schismatical Puritans on the other.

Adams refrains from any reference to the growing tension between the Crown and Parliament and his published works are exclusive of anything from his pen during the period of the Grand Rebellion. His expressed fear of innovations, and his loyalty to the monarchy, would lead one to believe that he regretted its abolition, and the establishment of the Commonwealth. His two sermons published in the Commonwealth period say nothing of the political and ecclesiastical situations or his own ideals. One can be sure that regarding church government, he did not favor the Independents' theory of congregational autonomy nor the Presbyterian system of rule by Elders elected by the people. Had Adams been living at the Restoration, it is not difficult to imagine him welcoming the re-establishment of both the monarch and the church. To conclude these remarks about Adams' relationship to his political and ecclesiastical environment, it might be said: He respected authority, believed in order, and at the same time held that "there is nothing so voluntary as religion" and that "faith comes by
persuasion, not by compulsion.\textsuperscript{50}

\section*{D. His Extant Literary Works}

The writer would now familiarize his reader with the literary remains of this author before setting out to analyze their characteristics and content. The extant writings of Thomas Adams consist of sixty-five sermons and discourses upon Scripture texts and passages; some meditations upon parts of the Creed; and \textit{An Exposition upon the Second Epistle General of St. Peter}. The first classification of works were originally published, over a number of years beginning in 1612, in several volumes of the quarto form containing from one to as many as twenty-six sermons or discourses. In 1629, the author collected and had these works published in a large folio edition of 1240 pages.\textsuperscript{51} Appended to this edition of the works is what is evidently the first appearance of "Meditations Upon Some Parts of the Creed."

Appearing on the title page of this huge folio volume are the following words:

\begin{quote}
The works of Tho: Adams being the summe of His sermons, meditations, and other divine and morall discourses. Collected and published in one intire volume. With additions of some new, and Emendations of the old The titles where of are placed in the beginning of the Booke: And a table of the principall points, in the end. 2 Cor. 12:15 I will very gladly spend, and be spent for your Soules.
\end{quote}


\textsuperscript{51}Exceptions are the two sermons, "God's Anger" and "Man's Comfort," published in 1653.
Adams' voluminous work entitled *An Exposition upon the Divine Second Epistle General* Written By the Blessed Apostle St. Peter was first published in 1633, and republished in 1642 by a Mr. Holdsworth as corrected and revised by the Rev. James Sherman, Minister of Surrey Chapel. Other editions of Adams' works mentioned in the foreword to this thesis are included in the bibliography at its end.

This edition can be seen in the University of Edinburgh and other places.
CHAPTER II

RELIGIOUS THOUGHT—GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS

A survey of the works of Thomas Adams discloses certain general characteristics of his religious thought, and it is with these that this chapter will be concerned.

A. Scriptural Source

The primary source of Adams' religious thought is Biblical literature. His reliance upon a divinely inspired revelation rather than upon human speculation, for religious truth, is evident throughout his writings. He makes Scripture content the foundation stone of his preaching ministry, and frequently refers in his writings to the Scriptures as the human medium for acquiring a knowledge of spiritual realities.

Throughout his writings, Adams is found magnifying the Scriptures as the chief source of spiritual knowledge in contrast to the opinions and traditions of men. He challenged the Roman Catholic view of the Church as the infallible authoritative source of religious truth. In exposing this heresy, he emphatically pronounces that "To God alone, and to his majestical word, be the impossibility of erring. That church, that man shall in this err palpably, that will challenge an imminence; whosoever thinks he
cannot err, doth in this very persuasion err extremely." (I, 411.) The same thought is expressed in another place: "Particular churches have erred; therefore the best security from error is in the Scriptures." (II, 526.) It is because of this difference of reliance for an authoritative source of truth that Adams finds harmony between Protestants and Catholics difficult if not impossible.

Our doctrine and profession are tuned to the blessed gospel, that infallible canon of truth, and therefore must not be changed. Their faith and religion jarreth and erreth from that; therefore must be proportioned to ours, if they endeavour a perfect harmony. (III, 313.)

Adams not only considered the church fallible in the matter of religious truth, but also human writings in general. On one occasion, he contrasted human philosophy and Scriptures by means of a figure in which he says that those who dig into the writings of the former find a little gold in a great deal of ore while those who dig into the latter (Scripture) find much treasure in a few words. (II, 447.) In speaking of the Pharisees corrupting the law of God by their traditions, he wrote: 'Indeed to some traditions we give locum, but locum suum,--a place, but their own place. They must never dare take the wall of the Scripture.' (II, 518.) He reasons that if there is one God, there is one religion, and if one religion one gospel. "Not, he said, "here the written verity, there unwritten vanities; not human tradition blended with the divine canon." (III, 96.) To those who place tradition above the Word, he has this to say: "They that will believe dreams and traditions
above God's sacred Word, let them hear and fear their judgement. . . ." (II, 16.) Adams looks upon mere tradition and opinion as "the conceits of men" and considers all spiritual wisdom to be derived from God and ordinarily imparted through the written Word. However, it is not to be assumed that he excluded all other means from the possibility of arriving at the truth of God's revelations. He admitted others, but undoubtedly considered them as secondary sources. In affirming the doctrine of divine providence, he introduces a section of discourse upon "The Creed" by saying: "Now consider we some reasons for it, which we may derive from Scripture, experience, conscience, consequences, conference and sense." (III, 155.) It is evident that Adams looked to the Scriptures alone for those points on which he was dogmatic. Regarding the question of whether there are particular angels as guardians for particular men, he says: "I will not dispute it yet I must doubt it; because I see no clear ground in the Scriptures to prove it." (II, 518.)

Adams apparently believed in a verbal inspiration of the Scriptures. In one sermon (preached on Oct. 26, 1623—the day when the building fell on the worshipers at Blackfriars, London), he speaks of his text as having been written by "His [God's] holy pen." In another place, he speaks of "those holy books inspired from heaven." He thought of every letter and accent of Scripture as being significant. (I, 395.) Yet he did not conceive of Scripture revelation
as being mechanically bound to the letter. "The life of the Scriptures is not in the letters and leaves, but in the inwards of the heart." (II, 526.) This view is put in other words: "In holy writ, these two things ever concur a finite sentence, an infinite sense." (I, 294.)

There can be no question about the Scriptures being the primary source of Adams' religious thought. Joseph Angus suggests that Adams' conviction that men are not safe while they are ignorant of the Scripture accounts for his being a minister of the Word as he is seen to be from his teachings.¹

B. The Anti-Romanism

Adams was not in accord with the Puritan aims of carrying the Reformation to the extreme of abolishing the episcopal form of government from the Church of England. On the other hand, one can hardly find, among the writers of his period, a more ardent opponent of the Roman Catholic hierarchy and the doctrines of the papacy. His writings are filled, and at times burdened, with anti-popish invectives. The vehement manner in which he attacked the claims of the Roman Church was such as to make him appear, at times, intolerant of any whose position was not in accord with his own.

Adams' charges against Romanism are chiefly directed

¹Angus, "Memoir," p. xxvi.
to the pope of whom he frequently speaks in an opprobrious manner. Repeatedly, he is found denying the authority claimed to be invested in the pope as the head of the church. (II, 294.) On the authority of Scripture, he denies the power of the pope to depose kings and princes. (II, 364.) In "Heaven and Earth Reconciled" it is pointed out that power lies not with the minister or the church to beget faith and salvation in the individual, but that these are wrought by the Holy Spirit through the Word of God as authority. This discussion is summed up where Adams says: "Our [ministers'] personal authority, then, is nothing; the authority of God's word not to be withstood." (I, 445.) Adams thought of the authority claimed by Romanism for the pope and the church as being usurped and often dealt with it in a satirical manner as he is seen to do in "The Fatal Banquet" in speaking of the source from which grace comes to bless human life. (I, 203.)

He denounces the manner in which the Roman Catholics regarded and used the Word of God. He accuses the Pope of having "adulterated it with his own sophistication" and of claiming that "he [the Pope] only hath the balm, and shews us his mass-book." In the same vein, he says of popes in general: "They presume to temper the balm at their own pleasure, and will not minister it to the world except their own fancy hath compounded it, confounded it with their impure mixtures." (I, 369.)

He considered the popish teachers guilty of "allow-
ing no scripture or new Scripture" and making "them a nose of wax; and they wring this nose so hard that, as Solomon says, they force out blood." (I, 387.)

With no less contempt than for the Roman attitude toward the Scriptures, Adams denies their claims with respect to the church. In his sermon "Physic from Heaven," he makes reference to their claim of papal Apostolic succession: "They that would build all on their church, yet build their church on Peter; and not only on Peter, that was weak, but on his feigned successor, who is weaker." (I, 371.) And in "The Happiness of the Church," he is found saying: "As Caligula took off the head of Jupiter, and set on other of his own; so they [Catholics] have smitten off Christ's headship, and set on the Pope's." (II, 524.)

When discussing the nature of the church, in this same sermon, he speaks of the papists' conception of it as synonymous with the Roman Catholic Church, and goes on to affirm: "The church of God is catholic, not Roman Catholic; that is just as foolish a phrase as the by word of Kent and Christendom." (II, 525.) His own general conclusion is that the Catholic Church is really no church due to its willful and obstinate destruction by error of the true church's foundation. (II, 530.) Upon his own belief that "the most infallible mark of the true church is the right ministration of the sacraments" (II, 526), Adams takes issue with the Roman Church on its doctrine of the sacraments accusing them of beginning "their treasons with a mass" (I, 107),
and maintaining a faith "that he [papist] can turn bread into flesh, and cause one circumscribed body to supply millions of remote places at once..." (II, 20l.) Opposing this doctrine, he states the Protestant position thus: "...we deny the Romish reality of Christ's body in the sacrament..." (III, 101.) He looked upon the Roman sacrament of baptism as being in substance an outward without an inward washing.

Another Roman doctrine which Adams denounces is that of purgatory which he calls in one place "the pope's puddle-warf." (I, 203.) His own affirmation with reference to their claim for its existence is expressed in the words "there is not a spark difference betwixt purgatory and hell." (I, 91.) That his position is well-founded he has no doubt: "It is undeniably true, that St. Paul knew no purgatory; otherwise, he that 'shunned not to declare to men all the counsel of God,' Acts xx. 27, would not in a voluntary silence have omitted this mystery." (II, 471.) And again, "that terra incognita is not mentioned in Christ's Lordship. The pope may keep the key of that himself." (III, 229.)

Not only is Adams' thought anti-Roman Catholic in respect to doctrine, but to the Catholic practices of worship and ritual as well. He looks upon these as generally being idolatrous and superstitious. In his sermon entitled "The Temple," he proclaims that "every image made and used for religious purposes is an idol. The images of God are
Idols, wherewith Popery abounds" (II, 290), and in his treatment of "The Creed," he writes: "There be many gods in name, Christ is God by nature. Lucifer and the pope are gods by robbery, Christ is by right." (III, 235.) This charge of idol worship among the Catholics is called to the attention of Sir Henry Carey, to whom Adams addresses the dedication of his sermon on "The Temple:"

Among the many absurdities which give us just cause to abhor the religion of the present Roman Church, this seemeth to me none of the least, that they have filled all the temples under the command of their politic hierarchy with idols, and changed the glory of the invisible God into the worship of visible images. They invoke the saints by them, yea, they dare not serve the Lord without them. As if God had repealed his unchangeable law; and instead of condemning all worship by an image, would now receive no worship without an image. 3

Another objection raised against the Catholics by Adams has to do with the place given the saints and the Virgin in their worship. Of the latter, he says in his sermon called "A Crucifix:" "Upon good cause, therefore, we abhor that doctrine of the Papist, that our offences are expiated by the passions of the saints. No, not the blessed virgin hath performed any part of our justification, paid any farthing of our debts." (II, 428.) In "Christ's Star," he says: "... they ... give the mother more honour than her maker. ... Some, setting the cart before the horse, have written, Laus beatae virginis, et Jesu Christo—'Praise to the Virgin Mary, and Jesus Christ'. And have enjoined ten

Ave Marias for one Pater noster." (I, 7.) Calvin is quoted in "The Temple" as saying of the Virgin: "... she would hold it less despite done her, if they should pull her by the hair of the head, or trample her in the dirt, than to set her in rivalry with her son, and God, and Saviour." (II, 391.) He himself expressed the belief that those who pray to the dead, dishonor the living Mediator. He confessed to find no sanction in St. Paul for "sprinklings, crosses, amulets, and prayers to saints" as observed by the Catholics, and considered these and like practices as being contrived to "please imagination." "If we look into popery, we shall find it universally a professed study to mock God" (II, 367) is a statement typical of Adams' belief regarding Romanism.

From the preceding references, it is not surprising to find Adams, throughout his works, calling Roman Catholics papists, recusants, idolators, adulterers, madmen, demigods, and the like; and accusing them of all manner of heresies, corruptions and treasons. In his "Lycanthropy" he says they would have laid the Gunpowder treason on the Puritans if it had been effected. (II, 116.) Such statements as this, therefore, leave no doubt about his antipathy for the Roman Catholic Church. Truly, he is "one who had no secret sympathies with Rome, who never loses an opportunity, indeed, of abusing the pope and his adherents with all the violence of epithet common in those days." 3

C. Calvinistic Content

It has been previously stated that Adams adhered to the Doctrinal Puritanism of his time. This term is used in referring to the then current theology which was essentially Calvinistic in substance as opposed to certain principles of dogma as some of those found in the Arminian and Pelagian schools of thought. If Adams' thought is examined for its relationship to Calvin's, it will be seen to be in agreement with those principles sometimes referred to as the Five Points of Calvinism, namely: The total depravity of man, unconditional election to salvation, the limited atonement of Christ, irresistible grace, and the perseverance of the saints. This agreement is seen in Adams' use of quotations from Calvin, and in the manner in which he states the doctrines themselves. As the purpose of this chapter is to acquaint the reader with some of the general characteristics of Adams' thought, only a limited number of references to the above mentioned principles will be cited. A fuller discussion of most of these points will be found in the subsequent chapter under headings commonly found in systematic treatments of Biblical Theology.

1. Sovereignty of God

The religious thought of Adams, as that of Calvin himself, has the sovereignty of God as its basic concept. His theology is built upon the fundamental premise that God is independent and unlimited in knowledge and power; and that his omnipotence and omniscience is demonstrated not
only in his acts of creation, but in his divine providence as well. This last named manifestation of Divinity is defined as "that most free and powerful action of God, whereby he disposeth all things; that universal art whereby all the affairs of the world are ruled." (III, 151.) In the same discourse, he states that God "foreknoweth all things, and ordereth them by a certain, deliberate, and eternal counsel." (III, 153.) Adams finds this absolute and universal rule of God comprehended in the title "the Lord God of Hosts." Says he, "The Lord God of Hosts is not properly a title of creation, but of providence. All creatures have their existence from God as their maker; but so have they also their order from him as their Governor." (III, 266.) That Adams thought of the sovereignty of God as being contingent upon nothing outside himself is evident from his statement to the parishioners of St. Bennet's to whom he dedicates, along with others, his collected works: "I know that God can effectuate his own ends, and never required men to appoint him the means."

Additional evidence for this view is found in his statement that God "is able to do what he pleases, and that in all places ... he is able to do more than he pleaseth...." (III, 109.) The latter part of this statement recognizes God's power as being exercised only in accordance with his will—a fact that would support rather than weaken a claim for sovereignty.

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The relationship of God's sovereignty to the existence of evil in the world will be discussed under another heading. However, it should be stated in this connection that Adams held evil's presence to be only of God's permissive will. He denies any responsibility of God for the origin of evil, but attributes its restraint to his control, and points out that it is God's preventing grace that "stops the precipitation of erring nature" and divine providence that "turns our purposed evil into eventual good." (I, 23.)

2. Total Depravity

The foregoing reference to evil leads to a consideration of Adams' thought relating to the condition of man before the operation of God's spirit upon his being. Along with Calvin, he holds that this condition is one of total depravity and total inability due to the pollution of original sin. That is, the effects of sin extend to every part of man's personality rendering him totally unable in spiritual matters though capable of natural, civil and external religious good. This view of the effect of sin is quite different from the view that fallen man possesses a plenary ability, and that he is not in a sinful state having the capability of doing all that he ought to do. Also Adams' view differs from that which claims that because original sin is involuntary it is not actual or true sin; and that the influence of the first man's sin extends only to the sensuous nature, and not to the rational and moral
nature of man. Adams' theology would not admit the claim that man is capable of keeping the law perfectly as law is adjusted according to man's ability; and the possibility of man's being free from conscious sin—a view that allows fallen man a gracious ability enabling him to turn to God and believe.

Adams' Calvinism with respect to the nature of man's depraved condition is expressed in clear and certain terms. When discussing original sin he says: "There is a depravation and corruption of the whole nature of man, whereby he stands guilty and polluted before God, indisposed to all good, and prone to all evil." (III, 19.) In the same discussion, he further indicates the extent of this corruption by calling it "a pravity and deformity of all the powers of man." Here he traces its efficient cause to the perverseness of the first man's will, and accounts for its imputation to the human race by means of carnal propagation. This view of natural propagation as an instrument is opposed to what Adams calls the Pelagian error holding "that the guilt of the first sin was derived to other men, not by propagation, but by imitation." (I, 25.) This extension of corruption to the whole of man is treated by Adams in a sermon entitled "The Bad Leaven" in which he says: "a little sin makes the whole man, in body and soul, unsavoury to the Lord." (II, 33.) His position regarding man's spiritual condition by nature is one which allows no goodness in man at all, and sees him as corrupted in mind,
will, and affections making him spiritually incapable without divine grace. In other words, it is a position that holds that men all have a natural corruption depriving them of all habitual goodness. His thought on this subject will be given more attention in a later discussion of God's grace as he understood it. There, it will especially be treated as opposed to the Arminian viewpoint.

3. Unconditional Election

Another point marking the thought of Adams as Calvinistic is his adherence to the doctrine of election as a decree of God, and commonly referred to as predestination. The doctrine of election as found in Adams' thought is the eternal decree whereby God purposes to save some to eternal life. Adams conceived of election as consisting of God's decree to save out of the world a definite number of people from eternal damnation as a consequence of sin. Said he, in his commentary on Second Peter: "God hath a purpose to redeem us; there is election. . . ."\(^5\) As this purpose was fore-ordained of God before the creation, and as God's decrees are unchangeable in accord with his own nature—election to salvation is unconditioned by man's will or works according to Adams' interpretation of it. He believes it to be an act of God resulting from God's own wisdom and mercy, and for the purpose of His glory.

A study of Adams' doctrine of the church shows that he identifies the elect of God with the true members of the church. "The church itself is a number of men, which God hath set apart by an eternal decree, and in time sanctified to become real members of it. They are 'written in heaven', there is their eternal election." (II, 532.) His use of the word "eternal" with his references to election implies that he thought of it as a condition absolutely independent of man's choice. This view is substantiated in those places where he speaks of election and salvation decreed before either the world began or objects of God's election were born. In one place, he points to Paul's words to Timothy: "He hath saved us according to his own purpose and grace, which was given in Christ Jesus before the world began." II Tim. 1:9. In another place where the church as the body of Christ is being treated, he says: "Now some predestinated members of this body are yet unborn..." (II, 402.) A further look at Adams' treatment of the Scripture phrase, "the first-born which are written in heaven," gives in summary form his belief in the Calvinistic concept of unconditional election. He differed with Calvin on the meaning of "the first-born"—believing that it was an inclusive term for all the elect whereas Calvin limited the term to "the ancient saints, the noble and primitive parts of the church." (II, 533.) As Adams contended that "the first-born" consist of all the elect, just as certain is he that "those whose names were written in heaven" consist of none
but the elect. In describing the elect, he frequently speaks of their names being written on a book, and states that "this writing in heaven is the book of election, wherein all that shall be saved are registered." (II, 539.)

From this limited inscription on God's book of the names of only those who are called to salvation, he shows by logic the reasonableness of accepting the doctrine of election. "For if there were universal inscription, there should follow universal election; if universal election, then universal salvation. If the former were true, then were not election any such name. If the latter, to what purpose did God make hell? 'God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son.' What, that all should be saved? No, but that 'whosoever believes might have everlasting life.' Not all; for he that takes all cannot be said to choose." (II, 545.) Further in speaking of the saved, he says: "Before all time they were his by election." (III, 215.)

To assume that Adams' doctrine of election would leave no place for man to exercise himself as a free agent would be an error in judgment. This is made clear in a statement of Adams in "The Creed:" "Though he [God] be almighty, he forceth no man to heaven against his will. If they will deny his power, he that is mighty to save them that believe, is as mighty to condemn those that will not obey." (III, 144.) This matter of man's faith as related to salvation as well as reprobation as the opposite of election will be included in the discussion of the next
However, it should be stated in concluding this section that Adams' thought on predestination is in no way to be confused with fatalism. He objects to man's complacency based on the grounds that all comes to pass by God's unchangeable decree, by pointing out that means as well as the ends are decreed, and man must use the former to achieve the latter. (III, 115.) Adams' belief in unconditional election is summed up in his statement: "Gods elections be as free as himself." (III, 212.)

4. Limited Atonement

Calvin's principle of limited atonement is found in the religious thought of Adams as might be expected in view of his doctrine of election. As he holds that not all are saved by eternal decree, so does he hold that Christ's atonement was limited in effect to the elect rather than extending to all men. This is not to say that Adams denies the fact that salvation is universally offered in the gospel. He readily admits this to be true and states that "the offer of salvation is general. . . ." (II, 430.) But this admission in no way alters his belief that universal salvation is impossible. He speaks of the blood of the crucified Jesus as being effectual for the pardon of "none but those that bleed in soul for . . . sins" (I, 184.), and all "that will apprehend it faithfully." (II, 430.) In "A Crucifix" or a "Sermon upon the Passion," Adams' use of personal pronouns to signify the objects of Christ's
atonning sacrifice might leave the impression that Christ's atonement was made for all people. Such an erroneous impression is corrected when the context of this usage is understood. Like the writer of the Scripture text of this sermon, it is Adams' intention to teach that those for whom Christ died consist only of those who either have or will appropriate Christ's death by faith. He thought of Paul's words to the Ephesians: "He hath given himself for us an offering and a sacrifice to God for a sweet smelling savour" as being relevant only to God's elect. It is with this limitation that he makes redemption apply to the pronoun "us." He further shows that atonement is limited by Christ's words "I give my life" being qualified by the other words "for my sheep" and draws the conclusion that for some there is no more mercy than if there were no Saviour. (II, 366.) This Calvinist doctrine is most explicitly seen to be Adams' in his discussion of the Covenant of Grace in his discourse upon "The Creed." Here he states that God's promise of reconciliation to raise up forlorn man from his misery if found in a covenant not with all men "but only with those to whom the free mercy of God hath given faith." (III, 205.) Here he says further: "That doctrine is repugnant to the Scripture, and unsound, which teacheth the redemption by the Second Adam to be as universal as the sin of the first; it is so, indeed, for value and sufficiency, it is not so for communication of the benefit." (III, 206.) This same thought is expressed
in his treatment of a preceding portion of "The Creed:"
"As the first Adam did not sin only for himself, but for all that should come after him; so the second Adam did not die at all for himself, but for all [not everybody] that should come unto him?" (III, 38.) Adams finds in Christ's words "I pray not for the world" (John 17: 9) conclusive evidence for limited atonement on the grounds that redemption and intercession are related parts of Christ's Mediatorship, and deduces that Christ's exclusion from his redemption follows his exclusion from his intercession.
"... for whom he does not pray, he did not die: he did not open his side, if he will not open his mouth for them." (III, 208.)

In summing up Adams' thought with reference to a doctrine of limited atonement, it can be said that he accepted atonement as extending in its effects generally to all men as an act of providence, and at the same time being limited in effects whereby it could be enjoyed by some and not by others as an instrument of salvation.6

D. The Evangelical Aspect

References to one additional characteristic of Adams' thought remains to be included in the scope of this chapter, namely its evangelistic nature. Adams was un-

6The Calvinistic principle that grace is irresistible is a part of Adams' thought, and it will be noted in a subsequent discussion of grace in general. Likewise, his conformity to Calvin's principle of the perseverance of the saints will be noted in a later discussion dealing with the relationship between faith and works in his thought.
questionably an Evangelical in the sense of being deeply concerned about man's redemption, and the necessity of challenging him to its appropriation through the presentation of the gospel. This is not to say that he was unconcerned about the ethical and practical aspects of the Christian way of life. His sermons show him to be much concerned about these matters, but throughout all his writings there is observed this note of evangelism which at times seems to be stressed to a more noticeable degree than such matters as worship, fellowship, and service. This emphasis is no doubt a result of his belief, already discussed, in man's totally depraved condition, and that there can be no living and conscious relationship between man and God until the barrier of sin has been removed. He believed that the principles of Christianity could be expressed in life and its relationship only after God's special grace had become operative in the lives of individuals. Although Christianity as related to every day living is in no wise neglected as can be observed from the titles of his sermon subjects (listed in the appendix of this thesis), Adams was always conscious of man's sinful condition and God's redeeming grace. The zeal and fervor of his evangelistic spirit is discovered in almost every theme upon which he spoke, and tends to be of a passionate nature when he seeks to portray the awfulness of sin, the tremendous value of the human soul, and the redemptive purposes of God in Christ. A few quotations from his works will serve to
illustrate this observation. In his sermon entitled "The Sinners' Passing-Bell," he says:

Horrid and to be trembled at are the sins that bring weariness into the courts of happiness, and send grievances to the very thresholds of joy. That were as angels and cherubims, the celestial choristers, make music before the throne of God for the 'conversion of one sinner.' Luke xv. 10.—of one! What would they do at the effectual success of such a sermon as Peter preached? (I, 342.)

This sermon is concluded with an evangelical plea: "Lord, open our hearts with the key of grace, that thy holy word may enter in, to reign in us in this world, and to save us in the world to come!" (I, 357.) Similarly, he concludes his sermon on "Man's Seed-Time and Harvest": "Pray you then with me, every one to the Lord, that this seed [God's Word] now sown may bring forth fruit in us all... to the glory of his holy name, and the eternal salvation of our souls through Jesus Christ." (II, 374.) It is not uncommon to find passages in Adams' sermons that make a passionate plea for a consideration of the abiding value of spiritual things. An example is these words of his:

Think, oh think, there is a heaven, a God, a Jesus, a kingdom of glory, society of angels, communion of saints, joy, peace, happiness, and eternity of all these, which it will be a fearful thing to lose for the base pleasures and short delights of this world." (II, 470.)

The same sort of emphasis is found in this statement in his "The Creed":

Seeing the soul is immortal, and cannot be extinguished, let us neglect the body in comparison of it. Most men are all for the body, nothing for the soul. Yet 'What shall a man gain, by winning the world, and losing his soul?' Matt. xvi. 26." (III, 150.)
Salvation is a frequent note in Adams' preaching and teaching. He expressed the conviction that "None but evangelical priests bring saving health." (III, 204.) He conceived the minister's task to be the proclamation of the gospel which he believed the only effectual means of salvation, affirming that "The preaching of the gospel shall save those whom God hath determined to save by it. . . ." (II, 74.) And,

Indeed, so doth God dignify our ministerial function, that the priest is said to make the heart clean, and Timothy to save souls, by attribution of that to the instrument which is wrought by the agent, the happy concurrence of the Spirit and the gospel, Acts III, 12, 16. (II, 77.)

Along with this view of the minister's task, it is natural to expect in Adams an overbearing sense of compassion, urgency and responsibility. Said he: "Shall ministers see and not sorrow for the greatest ruin—the loss of the world were less—of men's souls!" (I, 345.) Speaking of the Word of God as leaven, he wrote: "In the minister's soul it is like fire shut up in the bones, which must have vent, or it will make him weary of forbearing, and ring as a woe in his conscience, if he preach not the gospel." (II, 76.) Regarding the evangelical responsibility of the minister, he saw an example in Moses and Paul, and expressed the desirability of all ministers, like them, zealously seeking "their people's salvation." (II, 542.) Growing out of this evangelical emphasis in Adams' works is his insistence upon repentance and faith which will be noted in his doctrine of salvation as treated in the chapter which follows.
CHAPTER III

SOME SPECIFIC DOCTRINES

A. Soteriology

The preceding chapter has been an attempt to give a general survey of some of the characteristic features of Adams' religious thought. This chapter will continue to treat the content of his thought under the heading of Soteriology and Ecclesiology. As the scope of this thesis must of necessity be limited, the writer has concluded that a representation of Adams' religious thought can best be comprehended under an analysis of his doctrines of salvation and the church rather than under other divisions of systematic theology. This does not mean, however, that his thought relative to theism, anthropology, Christology, etcetera, will go unnoticed. On the contrary, it is intended that such facets of his thought be an integral part of this review, but shown in their relationship to the doctrines of salvation and the church rather than treated under separate categories. It is hoped that this chapter along with the preceding one will be inclusive of the most important aspects of Adams' thought contained in his collected works.

1. The Nature of Sin

Soteriology presupposes man's need for salvation as
a result of the effects of sin. It has already been observed that Adams held the effect of sin on man to be such as to deprive his whole personality. In order to understand his doctrine of salvation, it is necessary to discover further his thought relative to man's sin. With Augustine, he thought of man as being dead in sin, and rejected the view that man is not dead but merely sick and becomes sinless after justification. His position regarding the origin and propagation of sin is similar to that of Calvin. Calvin held that all men are born in the state of original sin which includes original guilt and original pollution as proved in experience, history and Scripture; and that the first man's sin is directly imputed to his posterity and not through a medium. Calvinism further holds sin to be a specific evil different from all other evils, and stands related to the law of God in consisting of a want of conformity of the rational creature to that law. It breaks man's communion with God, throws him into a state of total depravity, causes him to stand guilty before the law, and makes him subject to penalty and death. This view denies any claim that original sin is not voluntary sin and therefore not actual or true sin; that the influence of sin extends only to the sensuous nature and not to rational and moral nature; and that there is no original sin in infants. Such a claim would attribute to man the possibility of being free from conscious sin and capable of keeping the law of God perfectly.
On the contrary Adams holds sin to be an inherent corruption—as he describes it—"a depravation of goodness" or "an original depravity" derived by propagation from the parents of the human race. He says in "A Generation of Serpents:" "We are born corrupt." In his "Mystical Bedlam," he points to Rom. 5:12 "As by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin: so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned" as a proof text of his contention. He finds in the phrase "the sons of men" a reminder "of our original contamination, whereby we stand guilty before God, and liable to present and eternal judgements." (I, 255.) Again in "The Two Sons," he states that "we brought with us into the world sin enough to repent all our short day." (II, 88.) And in "The Cosmopolite," he speaks of "even in this hour [of our nativity] there is sin." (II, 134.) Other statements like these are made by Adams upon such Scripture evidence found in the references he quotes in "The Soul's Refuge:" "I was born in iniquity, and in sin did my mother conceive me." (III, 23.) In connection with this same reference (Ps. 51:5), he affirms in "The Creed" that "Sin is hereditary" (III, 86.); and of the first man's sin of disobedience, he says: "The whole world took a surfeit of it." (III, 192.) (See this reference for full discussion.)

In holding sin to have originated with the first man and propagated to all his posterity, Adams is careful not to leave the impression that God in any way is to be held
accountable for its existence. He answers the objection that if God decrees and ordains all things (as Adams thought), then sin, in this manner: "God decreed sin not properly as it is sin . . . converting that to his glory which the sinner commits to his own confusion . . . by his [God's] will of permission, but not by his will of approbation, he wills it." (III, 115.) This point is further clarified where he says:

Satan, as he is a devil; and sin, that came by his suggestion; and death, that came by sin; are none of God's works. . . . when we see any ataxy or deformity in the creatures, let us look back to the apostasy of our parents, and confess in the sorrow of our hearts, that our wretched sins have defiled heaven and earth, and drawn a curse upon the whole fabric of nature; whatsoever imperfection is in it, we, we have caused it. (III, 118-119.)

In "The Bad Leaven," he has this further word: "Sin is not a created quality, but the corruption of a created quality. God made not sin. Who, then? The devil begot it on man's lust." (II, 345.) It is from this corrupted nature originally in all men that Adams traces the source of every specific sin committed by the individual. He conceived of actual sin as distinguished from original pravity as the effect of a poisonous serpent "dispersing the venom over all the parts of body and soul," and infecting society in general in such a way as to be manifested in such forms as contention, anger, drunkenness, hypocrisy, lust, covetousness, slothfulness, robbery, extortions, et cetera.¹ In

"The Creed," he calls original sin the "daughter of the first sin, and the mother of all the rest." Here, he explains that "In Adam first was actual sin; in us first is original, and after that follows actual." (III, 194.) Also, "In every man are all sins, because original sin is the material of all." (III, 199.)

2. The Grace of God

As Adams believed every man to be born into an estate of sin, and the natural effects of sin to be a corruption of the whole man causing him to stand guilty before God as a transgressor of the law, so did he hold eternal death to be the ultimate effect of sin as a penalty to satisfy the divine justice of God against whom all sins are committed. It is not within the scope of this paper to discuss death as the wages of sin, but rather to see how, in the thought of Adams, there is an escape for some from it. This leads to a consideration of the grace of God seen in the effecting of his decree of election. The unconditional nature of election in the doctrine of Adams has been examined in another place in this thesis. In this connection, it is to be examined as the positive aspect of the doctrine of predestination which relates to the purpose of God respecting his moral creatures in pre-determining their final end. Under the heading of limited atonement, it has been pointed out that Adams denied salvation to be universal and thought of it as the final end for only those whom God chose out of the human race. All others, he con-
sidered as falling under God's act of reprobation as being passed by in his special grace and punished by eternal death for their sins as a manifestation of justice. Adams did not deny the non-elect to be benefactors of common grace or that they were recipients of some of the blessings God imparts indiscriminately to mankind. He affirms that both the godly and the ungodly "taste the sweets of his [God's] bounty." (II, 72.) What he does deny is the sufficiency of common grace for salvation. He would grant that by it sin is restrained, order maintained, and civil righteousness promoted. In this view, he denies the position of Arminianism which holds common grace sufficient for salvation if not restrained thus eliminating a necessity of special grace for salvation. God's special grace, as an attribute from which proceeds the whole program for the redemption of the elect among sinful men, is the key-stone of Adams' soteriology which rejects the possibility of man's attaining salvation on the basis of merit or by keeping the law of God. In emphasizing the necessity of faith alone in Christ for salvation, he says: "The law finds no works righteous." (I, 129.) In "The Creed" where he treats the remedy for sin, he asks: "Shall we run to the law?" Then, he proceeds to show its inadequacy. "There is, indeed, a promise of life, but, withal, a condition which we were never able to perform, 'Do this, and live;' this we have not done; therefore the law condemns us." (III, 202.) Following this statement, there is a personification of Grace which is
concluded with the words: "I, Grace, do promise both to live with you during this world, and that you shall live with me in the world to come." (III, 203.)

In his sermon "Heaven Gate" or "The Passage to Paradise," Adams speaks of grace as the only gate to eternal life: "no passage to glory but by grace." (II, 81.) In "The Creed," he discusses the covenant of grace as "a promise of reconciliation ... made with those to whom the free mercy of God hath given faith." (III, 205.) In his treatment of this subject, he interprets the Scripture "The grace of God brings salvation to all men," Tim. 2: 11, to mean "all sorts of men," thereby defending his contention that God's saving grace is made efficacious only to some—the cause of which he attributes to "the free mercy and good pleasure of God." "Election," he says, "hath no cause by dilection" and "the cause of all causes is the love of God." (III, 208, 209.)

Before proceeding to what Adams considered the instrument and foundation of God's grace as a manifestation of his love, it should be pointed out that he held, with Calvin, that this special grace of God is irresistible on the part of its objects—those chosen by God unto salvation. He affirms that "it is of God that a sinner opens his heart to God" (II, 38.); and "We as good [well] have no Saviour as not to have him our Saviour; and ours he cannot be unless the Lord make us his ... the Lord gives us faith." (II, 468.) Another statement of this nature is that where he
says, "Let none be so sottish as to think the faith whereby they shall be saved was bred and born in them, for it is the fair gift of God." (III, 86.)

3. The Person and Work of Christ

The substance of Adams' soteriology converges upon the person and work of Christ which he treats at length in "The Creed" following his discussion of man's fall from the estate in which the first man as representative of the race was born. Referring to the place given Christ in "The Creed," he says, "Wherein he is set forth as a Saviour, performing the great work of our redemption." (III, 176.) Here he proceeds to develop his doctrine of soteriology from an exposition of the scriptural meanings of the titles ascribed to the only begotten Son of God. For a discourse upon the title "Jesus," he uses the text: "Thou shalt call his name Jesus: for he shall save his people from their sins." He finds in it three particulars, viz., "What he shall do, 'save;' Whom he shall save; 'His people,' From what he shall save them: 'from their sins.'" (III, 214.) Regarding "Christ" he says: "... it is the name of his office, expressing that in significance, which himself was in substance, 'the anointed of God' for the World's redemption." (III, 219.) This office of Christ, Adams held to be threefold; of priest, prophet, and king. Of the first he asserts: "He was anointed to be our priest, to offer up that propitiatory, expiatory sacrifice for all our sins." (III, 220.) And also, Christ saves us as Priest "by the
sacrifice of himself and his own precious merits." (III, 225.) He of course means that his sacrifice of himself is made adequate by his merits. For Adams, it is the mediatorial function of Christ alone that makes reconciliation between God and man possible. He considered Jesus Christ the only mediator between heaven and earth and through whom only the promise of salvation is made. In an exposition of Heb. 12: 22-24, under the title "The Happiness of the Church," he discusses Jesus as the mediator of the new covenant. Here he emphasizes the unique nature of Christ's work as mediator by saying, "Not a mediator, but the, that mediator, that only one. 'For there is one God, and one mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus,' I Tim. II.5. God was angry, man was guilty, Christ is the mediator betwixt them; who being God, could satisfy God, and being man, could suffer for man." (II, 573.)

The fact of Christ's mediatorialship is directly related to the doctrine of Christology. As the nature of Christ's person is the ground upon which Adams' soteriology is built, his thought regarding it must of necessity be noted in this connection. He discusses his view of the Diety of Christ in "The Creed" where the phrase "His only Son" is treated. Here, he shows the relationship between the sonship and Godhead of Christ. "As a son, he is not of himself, but the Son of the Father; as God, he is of himself, not begotten, nor proceeding. He is ... not the same species with the Father, but the same individuum ...
this is . . . by an unspeakable communication of the whole essence from the Father to the Son." This discussion of the relationship between Christ as Son and God as Father is concluded with the words: "The Son of God therefore must needs be God." This necessity of the God-man nature of Christ as mediator is summarized by Adams in words that point out the function of both human and divine attributes in the process of reconciliation: "Therefore he was both: man to become bound himself, God to free us; man to become mortal; God to overcome death; man to die for his friends, God to vanquish his enemies." (III, 226.) In another place, this same necessity is asserted: "This Mediatorship of the new covenant is a high office, compatible to none but the Lord Jesus. Who should appear between a God and sinful men, but he that is mortal with men and just with God?" (II, 574.) The Divine nature of Christ's person, Adams holds to be a fact on the grounds that Christ "gave a resolute and constant testimony of himself, that he was the Son of God, and very God" and in his claim of divinity was never confounded as he would have been had he been mere man. (III, 225.) Further testimony to the nature of Christ is seen in his own words cited in John 10: 30 where he says, "I and my Father are one." Adams interprets this to mean one substance, not one person. (III, 234.) He holds that the person of the incarnation is the Son of God, but admits mystery in the Scripture "The Word was made flesh," and exhorts: "Let us grant the Lord to do what we are not able
to understand." However, he ventures to comment on the humanity of Christ as expressed by the word "flesh" and makes a distinction in his humanity as compared with others. "He took infirmities, not diseases. He took affection, not sins." (III, 234.) In attempting to explain that Christ is God by nature, he affirms that his being "made flesh" is not by conversion, mutation, confusion, or composition, but "by the assumption of the manhood into God. His divinity was no whit consumed when his humanity was assumed."

That the incarnation is essential for salvation, Adams has no doubts. "The incarnation of God is that history and mystery wherein the faith and salvation of the world dependeth." (III, 237.) Just as convinced is he that belief in the virgin birth of Christ, as the instrument of incarnation, is necessary for salvation as the incarnation itself. This is evident from his statement: "This is an article of our faith, 'born of the Virgin Mary:' whereof we cannot doubt, and be saved." (III, 252.) The necessity of belief in both the incarnation and the virgin birth for salvation is clearly indicated as a positive element in Adams' thought from a remark in which he admits the impossibility of their rational comprehension: "No reason in the world can comprehend the conception of a virgin, or the incarnation of God, or the creation of the world, or the resurrection of the body; yet he that doth not believe all this, shall never be saved." (III, 260.)

In passing from a view of Adams' thought about
Christ's person to his treatment of Christ's atoning work, the inter-relationship of these two points bearing on his soteriology is aptly expressed where he says: "God was made man, that for man he might appease God. Thus did so great a majesty stopp low for our love...love is that word of mercy that reconciles so glorious a God to so ungracious sinners." (II, 419.) In the thought of Adams, the expression of God's love for sinners and the means by which his divine justice is satisfied by the payment of the penalty for sin is the atoning death of His only begotten Son who is the "Lamb of God which taketh away the sins of the world"—the one by whom "we were reconciled to God by his death." As he believes that man derives sin and death from the first man, so does he believe that it is from the shed blood of the crucified Christ that he derives grace and life. He points to Christ as one "who at one blow slew our sins and saved our souls." (I, 228.) He affirms with John that Christ's "blood cleanseth us from all sin." I John 1: 7. In "The Happiness of the Church," he shows the "blood" to be a word symbolizing Christ's death. "To speak properly, it [the blood] is the death of Christ that satisfies the justice of God for our sins; and that is the true material cause of our redemption." (II, 376.)

Adams' sermon entitled "A Crucifix or a Sermon upon the Passion" sets forth his doctrine of the atonement by an exposition of Eph. 5: 2. "He hath given himself for an offering and a sacrifice to God for a sweetsmelling savour."
In it, he shows Christ alone as being qualified to make atonement for sin by his death. He further contends that not only was Christ's death necessary but that it was voluntary in order to be meritorious and afford satisfaction.

Another circumstance of the atonement, given in this sermon, concerns the extent of Christ's sacrifice of himself. He holds it to be total—inclusive of "all himself, his whole person, soul and body, Godhead and manhood." It is noted here, however, that he draws a distinction between "all Christ" and "all of Christ" to show that his Deity though necessarily present did not suffer in the Passion. He illustrates the possibility of Christ's manhood suffering and dying, without violence to the Godhead, by a comparison of sunbeams shining on a tree and not being hurt when the tree is cut down. "So," he says, "the Godhead still remains unhurt, though the axe of death did for a while fell down the manhood." (II, 427.) Christ's death as a sacrifice for sin is shown in this sermon to be offered to God whom man has offended by his transgression of the law. Its effect on God is that of propitiation whereby God is conciliated and his wrath turned aside. This view is based on the belief that "all sins are committed against him [God]: his justice is displeased, and must be satisfied," and Christ alone in whom there was no sin would suffice to pay the penalty, for man's guilt, by punishment judicially inflicted to satisfy God's justice and law. As Adams believed the effect of Christ's offering himself as an atonement terminated on God
as propitiation, so did he believe its effect as terminating on sinners to be an expiation whereby there is the remission of sins and the removal of guilt. This expiation is a result of Christ's death as a vicarious substitution, and is pointed out by Adams in the significance of the words "for us" in the sermon which has been under observation. This exposition is an adequate summary of Adams' soteriology. It traces the process of man's redemption, and shows how reconciliation between God and man takes place through the mediatorial work of Christ who is both Priest and sacrifice in making efficacious man's salvation and God's satisfaction.

4. Faith and Works

Adams' doctrine of salvation consists not only in his thought concerning the mediatorial office of Christ and his substitutionary death as a sacrifice for man's sin. It also comprehends man's faith as a factor in God's purpose and plan for man's redemption. He points to this additional element where he says, "Now this mediator is not had without a medium--faith" and follows with an explanation of what he conceives faith to be. "Faith is that means whereby we lay hold on this Christ." In the same discussion, he describes faith as "that grace which makes Christ ours, and all his benefits." (II, 275.) His sermon on "Faith's Encouragement" (II, 186.) reveals his thinking about faith in general and makes clear his understanding of the word in its numerous Scriptual uses. The discussion of his thought here is
limited to his conception of it as a means to salvation and its relationship to works. Therefore, in view of his doctrine of election unto salvation, faith as here observed is the faith that exceeds in degree that which believes there is a God or that which believes what God says is true. It is faith that believes on God, relies on his mercy in Christ to affy the believers' reconciliation. "This," he says, "is the faith of the elect . . . this faith only saves." (II, 202.) He distinguishes saving faith from historical faith (which is generally an acknowledgment and assent to truth) as faith which is "peculiar to the elect, which is a super-natural gift of God, whereby we apprehend the promise of life, and are persuaded of our own salvation by Christ." (III, 86.)

Adams is careful not to confuse man's faith and the work of Christ in the matter of justification, holding the meritorious cause of justification to be the atoning work of Christ, and faith as the means by which Christ's righteousness is appropriated. To show that faith is not righteousness itself nor that it saves of itself, he quotes from Paul the desire "to be found in Christ, not having mine own righteousness, which is of the law, but that which is through the faith of Christ, the righteousness which is of God by faith," and concludes that "faith brings justification, not by any special excellency it hath in itself, but only by that place and office which God hath assigned it; it is the condition on our parts." (II, 205.) Man's right-
eousness is held by Adams to come by imputation of Christ's righteousness. (I, 396.) And faith is considered a justifying cause of salvation only as it leans on the merits of Christ. He would agree with Calvin that "We are justified through faith, not on account of faith," and would not agree with the Arminian view that faith as the evangelical obedience of the sinner is the ground upon which justification rests, and that man's part in regeneration precedes God's part by cooperating with the divine influences exerted by truth to accomplish regeneration. Adams' view of justification is that of judicial ascription of the state of righteousness to the sinner on the basis of Christ's merits, and imputed to him by God, and on which he rests in faith.

Although Adams' doctrine of salvation, from man's point of view, puts an emphasis upon faith and claims faith alone to be the means whereby man lays hold of the merits of Christ for his justification, it does not exclude man's works as irrelevant to redemption. He sees faith and works as inseparable in their relationship to each other. "Works are dead without faith, and faith is not alive without works." (I, 181.) In "Faith's Encouragement," he speaks of saving faith as having the two properties of repentance and works. Concerning the latter, he says: "If it work not, it is dead; and a dead faith no more saves than a painted fire warms." (II, 203.) The relevancy of faith and works in Adams' thought is that of cause and effect.
He holds that faith is the root of all good works. Good works as such would not be considered by him as essential to salvation, but possible only where there is faith that saves. He answers the plea that God, in the last judgment, accepts men to life for their deeds of charity, feeding, clothing, et cetera by saying, "... the Scripture fully testifies, that God neither accepts these, nor ourselves for these, further than they are the effects of true faith. Our persons being first justified by faith in Christ, then God will crown our works." (II, 280.) In "The Christian's Walk," he speaks of some who "think that by building up a ladder of good works their souls shall, on meritorious rounds, climb up to heaven," and goes on to say, "These men, so confident in their good works, do but set their shoulders to heaven-gates, alas! without comfort; for it is the key of faith that only opens them." (II, 410.) In his discourse upon the "Happiness of the Church" is found a clear conception of his thought on the relationship of faith and works in regard to salvation. Here he states that the gospel requires probation of faith by a good life—that as we believe, we must live, and affirms the failure of faith without works: "Thou shalt be saved for thy faith, not for thy works; but for such a faith as without works thou shalt never be saved." (II, 559.) In this discourse, he shows that Paul's doctrine of faith must be expounded in light of James' doctrine of works, and that Christians are both those who believe and obey. He asserts that justice
is ascribed to a Christian in two ways: First, a passive justice attained by faith. It is justice based on Christ's righteousness imputed to man, causing him to stand perfectly just before God. Second is active righteousness which is an effect of active justice and a testimony that the Christian is justified by Christ. He concludes this discussion of a dual nature of righteousness by saying, "... he that will wear a crown in heaven must be all his life on earth preparing the gold to make it. Not that thy own virtues crown thee, but that God without thy virtues will never crown thee. The robe of glory that is worn there must be spun and woven here,—spun out of the side of Christ by faith, and embroidered with our good works." (II, 572.) This statement and others of a similar nature show Adams' theology in agreement with the Calvinistic principle of the perseverance of the saints mentioned earlier. In "Heaven-Gate," he speaks of blessedness resulting from perseverance, and says: "Our labours must not cease till we can see these gates open, and our Saviour offering to take us by the hand, and welcome our entrance. We know who hath taught us, that only 'continuers to the end shall be saved.'" (III, 74.) In the same sermon, he mentions Bernard and Augustine as teaching the need of perseverance—the first as saying that the good life is to suffer evil, to do good, and so continue to the end, and that perseverance is the perfection of virtues, the store-house of good works, a virtue without which no man shall see God. The second is
shown to affirm perseverance to be the main content of the Lord's Prayer in the petition "Hallowed be thy Name, thy kingdom come, thy will be done." Adams himself says that this grace perfects all graces. He writes:

We believe in vain, if our faith hold not out to the end; we love in vain, if our charity grow cold at last; we pray in vain, if our zeal grows feint; we strive in vain at the strait gate, if not till we enter. (III, 75.)

Related to Adams' idea of perseverance as a necessary Christian virtue is his doctrine of sanctification. In "Heaven-Gate" he calls sanctification the second gate by which heaven is entered. The first gate he calls adoption. For him, both adoption and sanctification are requisite for salvation. He thinks of adoption as preceding sanctification in order and being exclusively an instantaneous act of God whereby the sinner is made an heir of Christ upon his conversion; whereas on the other hand, he thinks of sanctification as an act in which there is divine and human participation, and in which there is development by degrees. He conceives of sanctification as a way of living characterized by holiness; and a sign of one's election as repentance is a sign of regeneration. He does not think of sanctification as being a state of perfection, and interprets Paul's prayer that the "God of peace to sanctify us wholly" (I Thess. 5: 23.) to refer to the necessity of sanctification being "communicated to the whole man, and universally propagated to every part, though it have in no place of man a total perfection." (III, 78.) He thought of perfection
as an attribute of man's justification, but not of his sanctification on earth.

On earth there is a kind of perfection: all the faithful are perfectly justified, but not perfectly sanctified. ... Justification admits no latitude ... but the perfection of sanctity is brought by degrees ... Christ's blood doth now wholly take from us the guiltiness of sin, not wholly the pollution of sin; that blessedness is reserved only for heaven. (II, 571.)

Though he thought of justification and sanctification as differing in degree, Adams thought of them as inseparable conditions for salvation. This is observed in the statement that "God will never accept him for just that will not be holy; nor acquit that soul of her sins that will not amend her life." (II, 85.) It is further evident from this statement and others in Adams' writings that he considered sanctification a partial responsibility of man. In "Man's Seed-Time and Harvest," this matter of holy living as a condition of salvation is defended by Adams against the claim that the doctrine of predestination eliminates the necessity of sanctification. Here he says,

God ordains not men to jump to heaven, but to climb thither by prescribed degrees. He that decreed the end, decreed also the means that conduce to it. If thou take liberty to sin, this is none of the way. ... Look thou to the way, let God alone with the end. Believe, repent, amend, and thou hast God's promise to be saved.

To support his argument, he quotes Augustine as saying God's predestination helps many to stand and pushes none down. (II, 365.) The same necessity for sanctification to salvation is found in a sentence from "Heaven-Gate:" "This cor-
ruptured man must be regenerate that he may be saved; must be sanctified that he may be glorified." (III, 81.) This quotation, in part, contributes to a final matter which must be included in this examination of Adams' soteriology, namely a salutis ordo. Though no references can be cited as explicitly setting forth the order of salvation held by Adams, the body of his teachings in general and such relationships as have been considered point to the Calvinistic order of calling, regeneration, conversion, justification, adoption, sanctification and glorification. No attempt has been made in this paper to treat all of these elements in their order, but instead, those which repeatedly occur in his writings have been shown in their essential relationships.

**B. Ecclesiology**

Adams' doctrine of the church is so closely bound up with his doctrine of salvation that there is warrant for inclusion of the two aspects of his thought in the same chapter of this work. The interrelationship of his soteriology and ecclesiology is seen in a passage from his discourse on "The Happiness of the Church." Here, he expounds the meaning of the Scripture phrase "the first-born which are written in heaven" by saying:

This is a description of the persons of whom the church consists. The church itself is a number of men, which God hath set apart by an eternal decree, and in time sanctified to become real members of it. They are 'written in heaven,' there is their eternal election; and they are the first-born, that is
new-born, there is their sanctification. For the
two parts of the description, their primogeniture,
and registering in God's book, are but borrowed
speeches, whereby God would ratify the everlasting
predestination and salvation of his church; that
as the first-born is not to be defeated, of his
inheritance, and the enrolled names are never to be
obliterated, so certainly shall they inherit etern¬
al life. (II, 532-533.)

A further explanation of the church as consisting of the
first-born is given where he says "the first-born of the
world may be a younger brother in Christ, and the first-
born in Christ may be a younger brother in the world. Be
they younger or elder, all that 'are written in heaven,' if
their names be in the book of life, their souls are in the
bundle of life; all they, and none but they." (II, 495.)

Such statements as these show that Adams identifies the
members of the true church with those whom God elects to
salvation; that in addition to "an innumerable company of
angels," the church is an assembly of those men alone who
are heirs of salvation, and excluded from the true church
are those who are the non-elect by God's reprobation. "We
must know that there is no salvation out of this church; such
as never become members of it must eternally perish: they
that are true members shall be saved." (II, 523.) He
justifies this assertion on the grounds that out of the
church there is no means of salvation, no word or sacra-
ments; and especially on the ground that out of the church
there is no Christ and out of Christ no salvation. Adams
considers the right administration of the sacraments of
Baptism and the Lord's Supper and the sincere preaching of
the doctrine of the gospel as the infallible mark of the true church. Adams is cognizant of the fact that the word church is used in the scriptures to signify various things such as the material temple, the faithful in a given family or place, an ecclesiastical body or organization; but his doctrine revolves around the church as meaning the whole number of the elect constituting its body with Christ as its Head. It is the general assembly of all the elect whether or not yet born, or born and alive on the earth, or born and having died bodily. He refers to the Creed as attributing three properties to the church, viz. holiness, knit in a communion, and catholic. He attributes holiness to the church's heavenly nature in respect to her birth, conversation, and inheritance. (II, 511.) In "The Saints' Meeting," he described this communion as being in one sense future and another present: "There is a time when the elect shall meet in one universality. . . . There is now a communion of saints: First, as of all the members with the head; all have interest in Christ. . . . Secondly, so one member with another; even of the church triumphant with this militant. They sing hosannahs for us, and we hallelujahs for them: they pray to God for us, we praise God for them; for the excellent graces they had on earth, and for their present glory in heaven. We meet now in our affections, to solace one another, and serve our God; there is a mutual sympathy between the parts." (II, 391.) There is communion in the church which he calls "a congregation of saints."
The catholic or general property of the church is discussed by Adams with respect to time, persons, and place.

Of time; because the church had a being in all ages, ever since the promise was given to our first parents in paradise . . . of persons; for it consists of all degrees and sorts of men, rich and poor, princes and subjects, bond and free . . . of place; it is gathered from all parts of the earth, especially under the New Testament. (II, 524.)

Regarding the catholic property of the church with reference to persons, Adams points out in "England's Sickness" that, according to Gal. 4: 26, "the church is not the mother of all, but 'us all,' whom God hath chosen before all time, and called in time to himself . . ." (I, 401.) Likewise the catholic property of the church respecting place is shown to be conditioned by God's election. In "The Temple," he says, "... the church is universally spread—in all parts of the world God hath his chosen." (II, 297.) He thinks of this universally dispersed church as being one kingdom though lacking in a universal visibility and perfect unity neither of which could be realized until the "general Assembly" of the church in heaven. In Jerusalem he sees the catholic church typified in election, collection and direction. (II, 511.)

Though Adams conceives the church to be in essence one body, he recognizes the whole as having parts. One part he sees as the triumphant church in heaven consisting of a company of justified spirits (whose bodies are still in the grave) triumphing over the flesh, the world, and the devil. Another part is that militant "company of men living under
the cross, and desiring to be with Christ." Though one militant company, this latter body, he described as being dispersed throughout the world in parts which can be identified regionally or nationally. In the words "ye are come," introducing the further words, "to the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to an innumerable company of angels to the general assembly and church of the first-born, which are written in heaven..." (Heb. 12:22-23), he finds a description of the militant estate of the church as well as of the triumphant. Of the two parts, he says: "Indeed either hath a relation to other, a communion with other; and the inestimable privileges of them both are wrapped up together. The connexion of glory to grace is so infallible, that they often change names: heaven is called the Kingdom of holiness and holiness is called the Kingdom of heaven." (II, 49.) An inseparable relationship of the militant and triumphant parts of the church is stated to exist by Adams where he says: "As Christ, now in heaven, dwells with his church on earth by grace; so she, though partly now on earth, dwells with him in heaven..." (I, 396.)

Another distinction Adams makes with reference to the church's nature is that of invisible and visible. The catholic church or general church he holds to be always invisible, "the members thereof only known to God." Particular churches he holds to be sometimes invisible and "other times manifest in the open profession of Christ's name."
He gives as a reason why particular churches sometimes lie hidden the want of the word preached and the public administration of the sacraments. He answers the papist inquiry as to the whereabouts of the church prior to the Reformation as constituted according to Protestant belief, by saying that "a universal apostasy was over the face of the world, the true church was not then visible; but the grain of truth lay hid under a great heap of popish chaff. But this invisibility doth not prove a nullity." (II, 525.)

He describes a church as being visible when it flourishes, and defines what he means by visible thus:

Not that the faith and secret election of men is seen, but there are apparent signs, by frequenting the sanctuary, and submitting themselves to the ministry of the Word. Now this visible church is a mixed company of men professing the faith. I call it mixed, for in it are both believers and hypocrites, corn and tares; it is a band of men where be some valiant soldiers and many cowards. It is called a church from the better, not from the greater part. The ungodly, though they are in the church, are not of the church... these profess the true faith, but not truly. Hence it appears that there be two sorts of members in the church; members before God, such as beside the outward profession, keep a 'pure heart, a good conscience, and faith unfeigned'; members before men, such as have only the colour and husk of religion, in heart 'denying the power of godliness.' Yet these are by us to be esteemed members, according to the rule of charity judging the best. (II, 525, 526.)

In a sermon entitled "The Temple," Adams depicts the temple built by Solomon for a permanent place of worship for the Israelites, as representing the church of Christ; and calls the material temple under the law a figure of the spiritual under the gospel. Here, he says the word temple
is a testification of God's presence. He defines as the temple of God any place "wherein the saints are assembled, the truth of the gospel is preached and professed, the holy sacraments duly administered, and where the Lord's Name is invoked and worshipped." (II, 286.) In this sermon also, he sees the material structure of the temple as a representation of the church in its degrees. He considers the porch of the temple as signifying baptism whereby the professor of Christ is admitted to the external and visible church. He considers the holy place of the temple symbolic of the communion of the invisible militant church upon earth. Lastly, he considers the holy of holies—that place in the temple where only the high priest could enter—as a prefigure of the church triumphant in heaven consisting only of God's glorified saints. (II, 297.)

Other characteristics of the church, according to Adams' view of it, are its eternity, and its unity. In respect to the former, he asserts in "England's Sickness" that though the church may be sick, it cannot die or perish, and affirms its eternity, saying, "The church was from the beginning, shall be to the end, without limitation of time, or place." (I, 409.) In respect to the unity of the church, he finds the idea expressed in the singular word "daughter" as applied to Israel, and the phrase "mother of us all" and the figure of "one body;" on the basis of I Peter 5:4, he says, "The church consists of a communion of saints, a united flock under one shepherd." (I, 397.) He
calls the church "the dove of unity." (I, 413.) It is to be noted, however, that Adams did not conceive of the possibility of perfect unity in the church on earth, but only in heaven. He does conceive of unity and peace in both faith and knowledge as the churches' ideal (II, 396), but impossible until the church is fully gathered together. (II, 402.)

He points to Christ as the source of the churches' unity who "is our peace, who hath made both [Jew and Gentile] one and hath broken down the middle wall of partition between us." (Eph. 2:14.)
CHAPTER IV

HOMILETICAL METHODS

A. Introductory

1. The Relationship of Adams' Theology and Preaching

The first part of this thesis has been confined largely to an examination of the theological content in the writings of Adams. However, it is not to be assumed that his sermons take the form of theological treatises. When approached from the standpoint of their practical aims and for their preaching values, they show much of his thinking to be concerned with religious truth as it applies to the life of man in his mundane existence, and various relationships in society. In fact, from this viewpoint, he appears as much a moralist as a theologian—to be as much concerned with life and practice as with dogma or theoretical knowledge. This quality found in Adams' sermons is pointed out by Brown.¹ He says, "Many of his sermons, like others of the period, were sermons on manners rather than on doctrine and lead us to think of him as a divine moralist rather than a theologian. Yet a theologian he was, his theology

being Calvinistic and Evangelical."² Stowell, in his introduction to Adams' works points to life as the grand distinction of his writings, and says, "In his hand the word of truth becomes indeed a lively oracle, and Christianity not a thing but a being."³ This writer also says of Adams' works: "None of them can be considered a strictly doctrinal discussion, though, in all of them, some more than others, there are statements of doctrine..."⁴ This relationship of doctrine to life or conduct as found in Adams' writings is also mentioned in the editorial note of Thomas Smith at the beginning of Vol. I of the Practical Works being used in this study. Here, he states:

Adams was not distinctively a doctrinal writer; but sound evangelical doctrine, according to the school of Augustine and Calvin, forms the basis of his writings. Neither does he enter deeply into Christian experience; but perhaps no preacher ever excelled him in faithfully and vigorously, without fear or favour, or respect of persons, denouncing vice and immorality under all disguises. It is evident in every page of his writings that 'in his eyes a vile person was contemned.'³

In a section given to Adams' prose style, Douglas Bush in his English Literature in the Earlier Seventeenth Century speaks of his works as having "very little of the theological erudition and argument which make so many contemporary

²See Ch. II, Sections C and D of this thesis.
⁴Stowell, op. cit., p. xxii.
⁵Adams, Works, I, xi.
sermons crabbed reading." It is with this practical aspect of Adams' work that this chapter will be concerned; and it is not without significance that "The Sum of his Sermons, Meditations and other divine and Moral Discourses" have been designated Adams' Practical Works by the publisher of the volumes being used as the source material for this research.

In turning from the doctrinal to the practical nature of Adams' works, from a consideration of the content of his thought to its expression and application, it will be helpful to keep in mind a question raised by W. F. Mitchell with reference to Adams' popularity as a seventeenth century preacher. "Was Adams," he asks, "merely acceptable as a Calvinist, and if so, were listeners indifferent to those elements in his work which made Southey call him 'the prose Shakespeare of Puritan theologians.'" An answer to this question should partially at least indicate the relative value of Adams' thought and methods.

2. Factors Affecting Preaching in General

During the Seventeenth Century

As a background to a study of Adams' homiletical methods, a few remarks should be made with reference to preaching in general during this period. One thing worthy of note is the place of influence held by the sermon in the field of literature. Most students of the seventeenth cen-

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tury literature admit the fact that contemporary preaching played no small part in determining the forms which literature in general took during the period; and that the sermon was, to borrow a phrase from Bush, "A sensitive index to changing fashions in homiletic technique and prose style." This same author points out, in a discussion of religion and religious thought in relationship to early seventeenth century literature, that what is today known as the power of the press was largely concentrated in the pulpit, and that "in addition to his office as a guide to salvation, a preacher of repute combined the attractions of a modern journalist, publicist, and lecturer." In light of the preachers' position as a public speaker, it is not surprising to find the sermon to be a highly developed literary form employing principles of rhetoric and logic which can be traced to the influence of oratorical traditions and practices of other times. Nor is it surprising in light of this fact to find a widespread interest in the sermon for its literary value. Mitchell states that "all through the century the sermon clearly interested men from two angles, the religious and the literary or rhetorical, and men were quick to recognize the enormous influence for good or evil which a pure or vicious style of pulpit oratory could exercise."

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8Bush, op. cit., p. 299.
9Ibid., p. 296.
10Mitchell, op. cit., p. 11.
In addition to the place of the sermon in its literary relationship, another fact should be kept in mind with reference to preaching in general during Adams' period. Not all preaching was of a uniform character in material or manner, though all was naturally influenced by an oratorical heritage as well as contemporary principles of rhetorical education. There was by no means agreement as to what the prose style of the sermon should be, and transition from the florid to the plain type of pulpit oratory took place in the last half of the century. This transitional tendency can at times be observed in Adams' writings. An important factor contributing to the wide differences to be found both in theory and practice in seventeenth century preaching was the influence of the schools of varying theological thought existent in that period. This fact, along with the temperament of the individual preacher, affected preaching perhaps as much or more than the rhetorical principles with which most preachers were familiar. Mitchell states that "While the importance of the rhetorical foundations of their work must be kept in mind, the consideration of the personal factor and the influence of the theological party to which particular preachers belonged are of still greater importance."\footnote{Ibid., p. 133.}

Along with the preacher's formal training in rhetorical principles, his individual temperament and the the-
ological school of thought to which he belonged, the audience which commonly heard his sermons, no doubt, constituted a factor in determining his particular methods of preaching. For example, the city preachers tended to exhibit a mastery of the literary resources with which their more critical hearers were familiar. As much of Adams' preaching was to London audiences, it is reasonable to believe that this factor, in some measure, accounts for the characteristics to be found in his preaching.

Earlier in this paper, it was pointed out that ecclesiastically as well as politically England at the time of Adams' ministry was divided into a number of parties each of which sought to propagate its own ideals and philosophies. Further, mention has been made of the influence exerted by the various schools of theological thought upon its subscribing clergymen with reference both to content and form in preaching. It would be wrong, however, to infer from this that the sermon literature of the period arbitrarily falls into a definite category or follows the characteristic pattern of a given party. Just as there are certain affinities to be found in the sermons of men of all parties, during the period, so are there certain differences to be found in the sermons of men belonging to the same class of preachers. The variation to be found in preaching methods of the time is observed by Bush who states that "It was natural that the preaching of men of all religious categories—except ranters—should have a generic likeness,
but there were tribal and individual differences.\textsuperscript{12} The fact that preaching in this period had its individual as well as its categorical characteristics is exemplified in the sermons of Adams who cannot be considered as a strict representative of any one ecclesiastical group. The form and style of Adams' sermons must be considered for their own merit rather than as examples or contributions to any general type of preaching. Without doubt, his sermons were influenced by and exerted an influence upon the preaching of others of that period regardless of his or their theological and ecclesiastical position. The concluding chapter of this work will include some evidence of this fact. It is sufficient at this point to say that Adams has been compared to a number of eminent writers not only among those who were his contemporaries, but among those who came both before and after him. To what extent these likenesses are due to influences of a personal nature, and to what extent they occur as a result of those factors already noted as effecting preaching in general during the seventeenth century in England is a matter which must be left largely to speculation.

3. Adams' Conception of the Function of Preaching

When turning from factors that affected preaching in general in Adams' time to his own sermons, it is well to discover what seems to be his personal conception of the

\textsuperscript{12}Bush, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 297.
function of preaching. It is only in light of what he aimed at through his preaching ministry that any fair judgment can be made as to what extent his sermons are a fulfillment of his ideals. The evangelical aspect of his thought is a part of the contents of Chapter II. Therefore, evangelism as an aim in his sermons can be anticipated. Along with the evangelistic tone of much of his preaching, and the evangelistic character of some of the Scripture texts which he expounds, there are to be found in his sermons specific references to evangelism as one aspect of the ministers' task. These references suggest evangelism to be a conscious endeavor on the part of Adams in the construction and delivery of his sermons. For an example of these specific references he speaks in "Heaven and Earth Reconciled" of the minister as one who "strives to bring souls to God," and of ministers performing the function of "logical copulatives" to join the subject of men to the righteousness of God. (I, 448.) Here he describes ministers as "the persons whom God hath deputed to at-one these two contrary natures, sinful men and righteousness." (I, 454.) In "The Fire of Contention," his evangelistic zeal is related to the task of preaching when he says, "The gospel must be preached, though hell break out into opposition; and we must keep faith and a good conscience, though persecutors print in our sides 'the marks of the Lord Jesus.'" (II, 153.)

Another preaching aim to be seen in his sermons is that of edification. He not only believes that men must be
challenged with the gospel as a way of salvation, but also
that by preaching they must be built up in the knowledge of
God with the view of serving Him. "All our preaching," he
says, "labours and aims at this, to beget in you a knowledge
and a conscience how to serve God..." (I, 458.) Also,
he believes that exhortation should be aimed at in preach-
ing. (I, 339.) He directed much of his own preaching to
exhorting men to live Godly lives and renounce all wicked-
ness. In regard to evil, it is his belief that the minister
must be a watchman to warn. Thus he says:
That which a watchman is to the city, or sentinel
to the leagure, a minister is to the people. To
watch over yourselves is every particular man's
duty; to watch over all, opus ministri, is the work
of the ministry. If our eyes be blind in descrying
dangers, our tongues dumb to give warning, the city
or fort is easily taken. (I, 305.)

He thought of true preachers as the voice of God, and con-
sidered it their responsibility to pronounce God's judgment
upon sinners and to speak out against all manner of personal
and social vices. (I, 349.)

Adams' conception of what should be the aims of the
preacher, besides those things already mentioned, might be
summarized to some extent from the following additional
quotations taken from his sermons:

Christ sends us to preach on his preachings, to
paraphrase his lectures, and no more but to de-

er that to you which he hath dictated to us.
(II, 110.)

I deny not but learning to divide the word, elo-
cution to pronounce it, wisdom to discern the
truth, boldness to deliver it, be all parts re-
quirable in a preacher. (II, 256.)
When studied in light of his own references to preaching, Adams' sermons are of such a nature to make convincing the conclusion of Bush regarding Adams' aims as a preacher. And it should be remembered that this critic is primarily interested in Adams from a literary point of view. In describing Adams' style of preaching, Bush states:

... the texture of Adams' sermons is rich in vivid and usually homely metaphor and pointed wit. But his sole and fervent aim is to rebuke sin and preach the gospel, and his tricks, including the rhetorical schemata of which he is one of the last exponents, are only means of arousing the sluggish conscience.\(^1\)

When comparing Adams' style with that of Lancelot Andrews, this same author has this further word to say about his purpose: "... Adams seeks always to awaken the sinner and arm the Christian Warrior for combat in a world of evil. ..."\(^2\)

The question can now be asked: How did Adams seek to realize, through his sermons, this conception of the preachers' task? In other words, what are some of the characteristics of his pulpit ministry? Such an inquiry leads to a study of that phase of this thesis stated in its title as Adams' Homiletical Methods.

**B. Method of Scripture Exposition**

When treating Adams' religious thought in Chapter II, the Scriptures were seen to be its source. Therefore,

\(^{1}\) _Ibid._, p. 299.
\(^{2}\) _Ibid._, p. 300.
in a discussion of his homiletical methods it is logical to consider first how he dealt with the Scriptures in his sermons. That this aspect of his preaching should come first also, as a natural order of consideration, is suggested by the fact that his sermons have the Scriptures as their starting point. That is to say, he turns to the Scriptures for the truth he would convey in his sermon messages. His preaching is based on an attempt to find out what the Scriptures say rather than to append some Scripture verses to his own personal opinion or philosophy. His sermon topics are suggested by or discovered in the Scriptures themselves, and are not of the sort in which no definite Scripture text can be cited as the basis of the thought. From a look at the sermon topics along with his Scripture text, it can readily be seen that his preaching is of a varied nature—ranging from the evangelical to the ethical, from the doctrinal to the practical, from the general to the occasional. His titles alone do not always indicate what the sermon is actually about. When comparing Adams' sermon titles with those of Tillotson, Smyth describes the former as more enticing while the latter have the merit of being self-explanatory. Frequently, Adams throws additional light on his themes by the use of sub-titles. This is especially true in their printed form. The sub-title of his "Mystical Bedlam" is "The World of Madmen"; of "Heaven

Made Sure," "The Certainty of Salvation"; of "God's House," "The Place of Praises"; of "The Sinner's Passing-Bell," "A Complaint from Heaven for Man's Sins"; of "The Black Saint," "The Apostate"; of "The Two Sons," "The Dissolute Conferred with the Hypocrite"; of "Majesty in Misery," "The Power of Christ Even Dying"; of "Lycanthropy," "The Wolf Worrying the Lambs"; of "The Cosmopolite," "World's Favourite"; of "The Fire of Contention," "The Trouble that Follows the Gospel"; of "The White Devil," "The Hypocrite Uncased"; of "The Bad Leaven," "The Contagion of Sin"; of "Spiritual Eye-Slave," "The Benefit of Illumination"; of "Love's Copy," "The Best Precedent of Charity"; of "A Divine Herbal," "Garden of Graces"; of "Semper Idem," "The Immutable Mercy of Jesus Christ." If these and others of Adams' sermon titles are examined in light of the text upon which they are based, his apt choice of titles to express a Scripture truth becomes obvious. The following titles are examples: "Heaven Made Sure"—"Say unto my soul, I am thy salvation," Ps. 35: 3; "A Generation of Serpents"—"Their poison is like the poison of a serpent: like the deaf adder that stoppeth her ear," Ps. 57: 4; "The Rage of Oppression"—"Thou hast caused men to ride over our heads; we went through fire and through water: but thou broughtest us out into a wealthy place," Ps. 66: 12; "The Fatal Banquet"—"Stolen waters are sweet, and the bread of secrecy is pleasant. But he knoweth not that the dead are there; and that her guests are in the depths of hell," Prov. 9: 17-18; "The Fool and His Sport"—
"Fools make a mock at sin," Prov. 14:9; "Mystical Bedlam"—
"The heart of the sons of men is full of evil, and madness
is in their heart while they live; and after that they go
to the dead," Eccles. 9:3; "Physic from Heaven"—"Is there
no balm in Gilead; is there no physician there? Why then
is not the health of the daughter of my people recovered?"
Jer. 8:22; "Heaven and Earth Reconciled"—"They that turn
many to righteousness shall shine as the stars for ever and
ever," Dan. 12:3; "The Good Politician Directed"—"Be ye
wise as serpents, and harmless as doves," Matt. 10:16;
"Lycanthropy"—"Behold, I send you forth as lambs among
wolves," Luke 10:3; "The Fire of Contention"—"I come to
send fire on the earth; and what will I, if it be already
kindled," Luke 12:49; "Faith's Encouragement"—"And he said
unto him, Arise, go thy way: thy faith hath made thee
whole," Luke 17:19; "The Lost are Found"—"For the son of
man is come to seek and to save that which was lost," Luke
19:16; "The Holy Choice"—"And they prayed, and said, Thou,
Lord, which knowest the hearts of all men, shew whether of
these two thou hast chosen," Acts 1:24; "The Temple"—"What
agreement hath the temple of God with idols?" II Cor. 6:16;
"The Bad Leaven"—"A little leaven leaveneth the whole
lump," Gal. 5:9; "Man's Seed-Time and Harvest"—"Be not de-
ceived; God is not mocked: for whatsoever a man soweth,
that shall he also reap," Gal. 6:7; "Spiritual Eye-Slave"—
"The eyes of your understanding being enlightened, that you
may know what is the hope of his calling, and what the
riches of the glory of his inheritance in the saints," Eph. 1:18; "The Saint's Meeting"— "Till we all meet in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ," Eph. 4:13; "The Christian's Walk"— "Walk in love, as Christ also hath loved us, and hath given himself for us an offering and a sacrifice to God for a sweet-smelling savour," Eph. 5:2; "Love's Copy"— "As Christ loved us," Eph. 5:2; "Semper Idem"— "Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, and today, and forever," Heb. 13:8; "The Taming of the Tongue"— "But the tongue can no man tame: it is an unruly evil, full of deadly poison," James 3:8; "The Soul's Refuge"— "Let them that suffer according to the will of God commit the keeping of their souls to him in well doing, as unto a faithful Creator," I Peter 4:19; "Heaven-Gate"— "And may enter in through the gates into the city," Rev. 22:14; "God's Anger"— "0 Lord God of hosts, how long wilt thou be angry with thy people that prayeth." Ps. 80:4; "Man's Comfort"— "In the multitude of my thoughts within me, thy comforts delight my soul," Ps. 94:19.

From the foregoing citations of topics in relationship to texts, the brief nature of Adams' Scriptural texts are noticeable. In most instances, his sermon text consists of only one or two verses. Because of the very limited Scripture passages that ordinarily constitute his text, Adams might be classified homiletically as a textual expositor. By this is meant that he is the type of preacher
whose practice it is to expose by divisions, connections, allusions, et cetera, the teaching of a passage of Scripture limited to a few words, phrases or sentences rather than to long passages such as whole chapters as is the case in the type preaching ordinarily referred to as expository. Angus describes Adams' method of exposition in some general remarks regarding his style:

Nor is it to be overlooked that he deals largely in expositions of Scripture. He does not, indeed, busy himself to shew the connection or to trace the under-current of thought that often runs through chapters and books of the Bible, but in verbal expositions he is rich and happy. Many texts will be found set in new lights, while they often reflect something of their own lustre and beauty on the thoughts amid which they stand. The beginning of his sermon on the 'City of Peace'; and his sermons on 'England's Sickness', are good examples. Sometimes his comments are based on mistakes, and sometimes he pushes the interpretation of the letter of Scripture to an extreme; but his expositions are often both accurate and striking; and they will illustrate the principle, that it is the ministry of the word to which the preacher is called.16

Adams' method might be further distinguished from topical preaching in that it relates as much to texts as topics. It differs from textual preaching in that his scheme is not always according to the textual components or of the running commentary type, and from the narrative in that it is never confined to one Biblical story. His method is to teach the truth underlying a text from the general scope of Scripture rather than merely from the context in which the text is found. However, he does not

ignore the context if by it additional light is shed upon the truth he seeks to teach. (II, 360.) His expositions, as will be seen later, are by allusions, quotations, illustrations, and other forms of amplification of the truth of the text with which he begins and from which his topic is derived. He indicates from time to time in his sermons the intention of observing the principle of limitation in preaching—that his discourse be within the bounds of his text or that the matter of it relate to his topic. For example, in "The Temple" where he is preaching on the text "What agreement hath the temple of God with idols?" 2 Cor. 6:16, he says: "The scope of the text, and the matter of my discourse, is to separate idols from the temple of God. . . ." (II, 284.) In "The Good Politician Directed," he refers to "regarding the limits of both my text and time." (II, 33.) In spite of his apparent awareness of the value of this principle and his intention of observing it, he sometimes fails to adhere strictly to the subject matter of the text or the topic under discussion. His allusions for purpose of amplification of a point at times lead him astray and become the subject themselves for a lengthy discussion. He was not altogether unconscious of this violation of what was apparently a principle he endorsed. In "A Divine Herbal," he recognized his departure from the main point of his discourse to discuss pride which had been mentioned rather incidentally. "But I have strayed out of my way to cut off a lap of pride's garment." (II, 437.)
Likewise, in "Politic Hunting," he refers to such a departure: "But as a physician coming to cure doth sometimes receive some of his patient's infection, so I have been led to hunt a little wide to find out these cunning hunters." (I, 8.) He further remarks, "These hunters are gone; let them go: for they have brought me a little from the strictness and directness of my speech."

When coming more specifically to Adams' textual expositions, it is well to note that he considered a method of treatment important. Frequently, he makes reference to method itself. "But as no battle can be well fought without order and martial array," he comments in "The Temple," "so no discourse can be made profitable without some method." (II, 265.) Thus in "God's House," he indicates that he will set his text in some "division or method." (I, 100.) After commenting on his text (Heb. 12:22-24) as a whole in "The Happiness of the Church," he indicates what his method is to be in expounding it:

Thus briefly have I paraphrased the text. Now for method's sake, in the tractation we may consider generally these five points: I. There is a city, Jerusalem; 'the city of the living God.' II. The situation whereon it is built, 'Mount Zion.' III. The citizens, who are angels and men; 'an innumerable company of angels, and spirits of just men.' IV. The King that governs it; 'God, the judge of all.' V. The purchaser that bought it, and gave it us; 'Jesus, the mediator of the new covenant.'

Having outlined his method, he further makes reference to it: "But now the situation hath the first place in the words [text], therefore challengeth the same in my dis-
course. And indeed on good cause should the foundation go before the building: we first seek out a fit ground, and then proceed to edify on it." (II, 496.)

The procedure of exposition as shown above is the typical method of Adams' treatment of a passage of Scripture. It is closely akin to what may be described as the schemata of material method. Of course, his division technique and construction of points varies, but his method of analyzing a text for the parts of its whole message is consistently present. Often he opens up the meaning of a text by employing the question method in calling attention to its points. "The Saint's Meeting" (II, 388) is a good example. His text is Eph. 4:13, "Till we all meet in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ." His method of treatment is as follows:

1. What? There shall be a meeting. 2. Who? We, yea, we all: All the saints. 3. Where in? In unity; that unity, Eis tnv evotnta. 4. Whereof? Of the faith and knowledge of God's Son. 5. Whereunto? To a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ.

A similar procedure is used in the exposition of Eph. 5:2, "He hath given himself for us an offering and a sacrifice to God for a sweetsmelling savour." (II, 422.) The discourse is divided into parts as follows:


He comments on this outline thus: "The points, you see, lie
as ready for our discourse as the way did from Bethany to Jerusalem." (II, 422.) This inclusive verbal method of treating a text is, no doubt, used by Adams as a result of his belief in the significance of every word of Scripture as was seen to be true in looking at his attitude toward Scripture (Chapter II) and the unity he observed in textual components. In "The Sinner's Mourning Habit," referring to the words in Job 42:16, "I abhor myself, and repent in dust and ashes," he comes to his method, after a brief departure from the intended meaning of the text, by saying, "But I will not pull the text in pieces; only I follow the production of the words: for there is not a superfluous word in the verse, as the psalmist said of the army of Israel, 'There was not one feeble person among them.'" (I, 50.)

Adams did not always derive his sermon points from the actual phraseology of the text. A different approach is observed and his own reference to the method is noticed in his sermon called "The Three Divine Sisters," having as a text, I Cor. 13:13. "Now abideth faith, hope, charity, these three; but the greatest of these is charity." At the beginning of this sermon he introduces the method to be followed:

For method's sake, we might first confer them all, then prefer one. But I will speak of them according to the three degrees of comparison:—I Positively; II Comparatively; III Superlatively; 'The greatest of these is charity.' Under which method we have involved—1. Their order, how they are ranked; 2. Their nature, how they are defined; 3. Their distinction, how they are differenced; 4. Their number, how many are specified; 5. Their conference,
how they are compared; 6. Lastly, their dignity, and therein how far one is preferred. (II, 274-275.)

Adams possesses an apt ability to analyze a text and treat its message under categorical divisions expressed by words different in meaning, but similar in construction. An example is to be seen in the text "They said to the mountains and rocks, Fall on us, and hide us from the face of him that sitteth on the throne, and from the wrath of the Lamb," Rev. 6:16. (III, 63.) The opening words of this sermon illustrate the method just referred to: "This verse may be distinguished into error and terror; the error of the reprobate, the terror of the judge." (III, 63.) Another example is his treatment of "The Victory of Patience" under the headings of Misery and Mercy. (I, 94.) "The Way Home" (II, 13) is divided into: I. An informing: a Word; II. A performing: a Work. The text is Matt. 2:12, "And being warned of God in a dream that they should not return to Herod, they departed into their own country another way." This practice of Adams will be observed more extensively when dealing with his use of literary forms.

The latitude to be found in Adams' method of textual exposition need not be elaborated upon further, but can be confirmed by the fact that he treats differently under three sermon topics the text, "Is there no balm in Gilead; is there no physician there? Why then is not the health of the daughter of my people recovered?"—Jer. 8:22. ("The Sinner's Passing Bell," I, 328; "Physic from Heaven," I,
Another writer has characterized Thomas Adams' method of dealing with Scripture material in the following manner:

Expository discourses on large paragraphs of Scripture are eminently conducive to the instruction of the human race in the highest wisdom. But such is not exactly the method of these volumes. Instead of unfolding the meaning and connexion of a large portion of Scripture, or expounding consecutively an entire book, as he does in the Exposition of the Second Epistle of Peter, a striking and generally brief passage is chosen; its words are explained, --its bearing is pointed out, --its applications are unfolded to the various characters of men, whether bad or good, and to the various ranks, conditions, professions, opinions, joys, and sorrows of humanity. To do this, after the fashion of his own age, this author brings out the powers of a vigorous understanding, and the stores of many years' accumulation, aided by wonderful ingenuity; and engaging the reader by unexpected turns of wit, by imagery which is sometimes coarse and strong, but not unfrequently displaying great delicacy and beauty. By perpetually keeping before his readers the word of God, as an acknowledged authority, he wields a moral influence over our minds, which no reasoning on general principles could secure. We are far from vouching for the soundness of all his interpretations, or the accuracy with which, at all times, he uses the words of Scripture; yet we cannot withhold our admiration of his prevailing method. --We are the more disposed to give prominence to this characteristic, because we perceive in religious discourses of the eighteenth century, and in not a few of the present day, a preference for a style of religious instruction, which runs into the extreme of making very chary use, and even taking but slight notice, of the most perfect language in the world. It is certainly better for any man to clothe his own thoughts in his own words, than in any other; but in teaching the truths of religion, urging its duties, or ministering either rebukes or its consolations, all our reading, observation, and experience plead on behalf of a copious and judicious use of Scripture language, not interwoven with the fabric of a human composition, but standing out in the majesty of its own truth, and the sacredness of its own inspiration.
The author now before us affords a happy example, to a considerable extent, of the fulness of meaning which there is in Scripture, without the torturing miscalled senses of a passage; while the capabilities of a learned and ingenious teacher are excited in calling attention to that meaning imbuing the thoughts with it, writing it with living freshness on the inward tablets of the spirit.17

C. Method of Amplification and Use of Illustrative Material

When looking at Adams' sermons for his method of amplification and their content of illustrative matter, it at once becomes obvious that his sermon material is not confined to the Scriptures. He resorts to various means of sermon amplification, and turns to other sources for illustrations. As a preacher, he goes to the Bible for preaching truths, and draws upon a wider wealth of knowledge for preaching techniques. We are concerned here with the employment of these techniques for didactic and persuasive purposes.

The scheme which Adams regularly employs in amplifying his theme is that of arranging his material under the headings of observations or considerations and uses. His observations range in nature from those that obviously appear in the text to those that are suggested by inference. His uses are intended in scope to apply at times to various categories of people and at others to his hearers collectively. Attention is called to two sermons showing how he

17Stowell, op. cit., pp. xxii-xxiii.
treats his material under uses. The first is "The Crucifix." (II, 422.) Here, after making a number of observations on the text, "He hath given himself for us an offering and a sacrifice to God for a sweetsmelling savour," three uses are introduced in connection with the observation that it is "for us" that Christ offered himself. He says, "We shall consider the uses we are to make of this by the ends for which Christ performed this." Then follows: Use 1. "To save us"; Use 2. "This should move us"; Use 3. "This should mortify us." Further, each of these uses is elaborated upon. This last use is an example of how Adams frequently goes into exhaustive amplification in his expositions—making his sermons, at times, confusingly laden with divisions and subdivisions. He makes five points, and discusses them under this use of Christ's death to "mortify us." They are: First, "At all times"; secondly, "In all places"; thirdly, "In all senses"; fourthly, "In all members"; fifthly, "In his soul." The second sermon example of uses and observations which might be noticed is "The Soldier's Honour." (I, 35.) After expounding upon his text (Judges 5:8-9) about Israel's warfare, he deduces "two useful observations:" 1. "That war at sometimes is just and necessary," and 2. "That munitions and arms should at all times be in readiness." Other sermons in which observations and uses are especially numerous are "The Sinner's Passing-Bell" (I, 18 In all probability these were added to a more extensive degree for the benefit of the publisher.
329) and "Physic from Heaven" (I, 358). These two sermons along with "England's Sickness" (I, 396)---all on the same text (Jer. 8:22)---are good examples of how Adams amplified his text out of his store-house of copious learning in many fields. In these discourses, he displays, for example, extensive knowledge about the balsam-tree, Mount Gilead, the vocation of physicians, and the nature of leprosy. All of his works are marked by a wide acquaintance with facts of nature, familiarity with the literature of all ages, and a wide range of secular knowledge in general. "The Soul's Sickness" (I, 471) contains much material based on his knowledge of the symptoms and characteristics of numerous physical diseases. His knowledge in other fields of learning other than religion indicates that he applied, in his study and preaching, the theory stated in his own words:

A minister without learning is like a mere cipher, which fills up a place, and increaseth the number, but signifies nothing. There have been some niggardly affected to learning, calling it man's wisdom; they thrust out the use of arts, as if, with Julian, they would shut up the doors, and send all human knowledge into banishment... Secular learning hath use, if it be washed in the soap of the prophets. (I, 456-457)

Adams' methods of amplification reveal an acquaintance with the principles of logic. His use of deductions, inductions, inferences and the like are primarily for the purpose of teaching, rather than defending. At times, he raises objections to religious truth and attempts to refute them logically, but his works are not essentially apologetic in nature. He is found defending the minister's calling...
(I, 465), and his anti-Roman Catholic utterances, considered in Chapter II, are often of the defensive sort. An example of the logical type of reasoning sometimes appearing in his works is the statement he makes in "Plain-Dealing": "If there were no God to search the heart, he were a fool that would not dissemble; since there is, he is a fool that doth." (I, 29.) Another example of this type is found in "God's Anger":

1. If it were not for sin, God would not be angry.
2. If it were not for the continuance of sin, he would not be so long angry.
3. If it were not for the universality of sin, he would not be angry with the whole people.
4. If it were not for the unnatural ingratitude of sin, he would not be angry with his own people.
5. If it were not for the base hypocrisy of sin, he would not be angry with his people that prayeth. Thus, then, the argument lies fair and plain before us:—1. It is sin that makes God angry. 2. It is the continuance of sin that makes him long angry. 3. It is the generality of sin that makes him angry with the whole people. 4. It is the unthankfulness of sin, or the sin of unthankfulness, that makes him angry with his own people. 5. Lastly; it is the hypocrisy of sin, or the sin of hypocrisy, that makes him so long angry with his own people that prayeth. (III, 266-267.)

One practice consciously observed by Adams and relating to logic is that of moving from generalities to particulars in amplifying the truth. Sometimes this is by the pure logic of deduction, sometimes it is simply a transition from references to men in general to men in particular for the purpose of making truth personally applicable. His "Mystical Bedlam" (I, 254) is first a discussion of madness among men in general and then of men in particular as represented by a series of character studies, including the Epicure, the
Proud, the Lustful, the Hypocrit, the Usurer, et cetera. 19

Adams' methods for purpose of amplification and illustration draw upon a variety of sources such as history, philosophy, poetry, quotations, topical allusions, et cetera. He answers the objection to the use of some of these resources by saying:

If the moral says [utterances] of a poet, or a philosopher, or perhaps some golden sentence of a father drop from us, it is straight called venenata facundia, a poisoned eloquence; as if all these were not the spoils of the Gentiles, and mere handmaids unto divinity. They wrong us; we make not the pulpit a philosophy, logic, poetry-school; but all these so many stairs to the pulpit. (I, 457.)

If any one of Adams' sermons is examined for its content of illustrative material, it is found to abound with quotations, allusions, or descriptions from a number of different fields of learning. Take as an example his sermon called "Politic Hunting" (I, 1). In addition to numerous references to Biblical texts, peoples, and historical incidents, such as are always present to amplify and illustrate in his sermons, this sermon contains citations from Chrysostom, Theodoret, Paterculus, Thrasius, St. Augustine, Gregory, Cicero, Tertullian, Aristotle, Nitidius, Seneca, an unnamed orator, an unnamed philosopher, and "the mathematicians." In it are to be seen quotations from a poem, a song, and a French proverb. Its illustrations are drawn from fables, legends and mythology, and references are made to people, places and things. He refers to the pope.

19 See Section D of this chapter.
Crassus, Constantine, Machiavel and Actaeon, travellers, traders, professors, shepherds, ploughmen, ministers, mothers, physicians, the Hebrews, the rich, the poor and soothsayers. He makes references to England, the commonwealth, and the Indies. He characterizes flatters, usurers, oppressors, depopulators, defrauders, and rogues. Also in this sermon, he is found alluding to the subjects of mathematics, the Hebrew language, astronomy, astrology, customs, and the weather. He mentions the Trojan war, Parisian matins and a Sicilian evensong. He displays a profuse knowledge of such subjects as parsimony among ancient peoples, the characteristics of various breeds of dogs and he touches upon the subjects of intemperance and physical recreation. All these quotations, references, allusions, et cetera are skillfully employed and woven into his discourse for the purpose of amplifying and illustrating his topic and the thoughts growing out of his text. They do not appear to be an attempt at displaying a wealth of personal information.

The sermon just observed for its sources of illustrations is not exceptional in the extent and scope of this sort of material. Almost any of his public discourses are well supplied with what might be called "homiletical windows" through which those to whom they are addressed or those who read them in printed form might see more clearly the thoughts, ideas, and truths he would convey. Only a casual perusal of his collected sermons reveals the extent
and variety of this kind of usage. In addition to some of those forms already mentioned, an abbreviated list made from his sermons in general include the following categories: stories, common-place practices, anecdotes, contemporary life, epitaphs, et cetera. The scope of his illustrative references might be indicated by the following random selections: dress fashions of the time (I, 278); the gunpowder plot (I, 73, 306; II, 116, 119, 118); the reign of Queen Mary (II, 330); the practice of primogeniture (II, 85); religious sects (II, 152); Richard the Third's ascension to the English throne (I, 150); Colony of Virginia (I, 163); Parisian Jacobins (II, 57); the emperor Vespasian (II, 88); Aesop's fable of the dog (II, 225); Thames River (II, 330); London as a city of peace and center of world trade (II, 332); Henricus, emperor of Germany, Pope Alexander the Sixth (II, 371); insecurity of London's inhabitants (II, 502); characteristics of thorns and briers (II, 478); Aeneas Sylvius and the fall of Constantinople (I, 345); dreams (II, 15); the Spanish Armada (I, 419); Epicureans (I, 309); Stoics (I, 349); and the Spanish Inquisition (I, 467).

Adams' employment of the quotations of others to illuminate his sermon thoughts are well chosen both from the standpoint of fitting into his discourse and from the standpoint of their recognized authoritativeness. Quotations are plentiful but not too frequent in any one sermon so as to confuse his own thoughts with those of others.
His quotations come mainly from the patristic and the classical writers, and are a practice characteristic of preaching in the Middle Ages. A fact to be noted is that he does not limit his references to Christian writers, but uses statements from heathen writers as well if applicable to his discourse. The earlier authors most frequently quoted are Augustine, Tertullian, Ambrose, Seneca, Bernard, Jerome, Chrysostom, Anselm, and Gregory. Among others quoted, but less frequently, are Cicero, Virgil, Homer, Thomas Aquinas, Socrates, Aristotle, Clement, Plato, Pliny, Ovid, Basil, and Beza. As might be expected, because of Adams' adherence to Calvinistic theology, he frequently quotes Calvin.20 Luther is another author among the reformers he quotes from time to time. Quotations from his own contemporaries are noticeably absent in his works. One exception is a quotation of the Lord Bishop of London (Lord Bishop of London, in his lectures on Jonah, I, 467) found in "Heaven and Earth Reconciled," and introduced thus: "The words of so reverend and honourable a prelate come here to my mind." The quotation consists of these words: "Time was, religion did eat up policy, and the church devoured the commonwealth; but now policy eats up religion, and the commonwealth devours the church." (I, 467.) Perhaps this meager use of contemporary quotations in Adams' works is due to the tradition of scholarship, the nature of his own writings, the lack of important theologians at the time, and

20See Chapter II, Section C.
the fear of being considered a plagiarist. This latter sup-
position is supported by some words found in Adams' dedica-
tory epistle "To the Reader" of his sermon on "The Diseases
of the Soul:"

The title of this book requires some apology. There
is a book lately conceived in Scotland, and born in
England, which both promiseth in the frontispiece,
and demonstrates in the model, the method and matter
here proposed. Whereof I cannot speak, having only
cursorily perused some page or two of it, but not of
the worthiness. Because that hath the priority of
the time, and transcendency in quantity of mine, I
have reason to fear that this will be thought but
the spawn of that, or an epitome, or at best, that
it is begot out of imitation. Herein I must serious-
ly propose, and engage my credit to the truth there-
of, that this was committed to the stationer's hands,
perused, and allowed by authority; yea, and with full
time to have been printed, and, perhaps, an impres-
sion sold, before that of Mr. John Abernethy's came
out... .

Angus explains that this is an allusion to "A
Christian and Heavenly Treatise, containing Physic for the
Soul" by John Abernethy, minister at Jedburgh, and after-
wards Bishop of Caithness, and calls attention to "the care
with which Adams guards against the impression that he had
taken his thoughts from Abernethy." 21

Whether these words can be considered as evidence
why Adams quoted little from contemporary works is a matter
of opinion.

The general field of source material used by Adams
in illustrating and amplifying his sermons has been reviewed.
How some of these materials actually employed by him are
used remains to be shown. In "The Sinner's Passing-Bell"

where Adams is stressing the opportunity of the physician
to minister to the spiritual needs of his patient as well
as his physical needs, he illustrates by citing an incident
in the case of an Italian physician:

Thus memorable and worthy to be our precedent was
that Italian physician’s course: that when dis-
solute Ludovicus lay desolate in his sickness, and
desired his help, he answered him in his own tune:
‘If you shall live, you shall live, though no physic
be given you: if you shall die, you shall die;
physic cannot help you.’ According to the sick
man’s libertine and heretical opinion concerning
predestination: ‘If I shall be saved, I shall be
saved, howsoever I love or live: if I shall be
dammed, I shall be damned, howsoever I do or die.’
The physician’s answer gave him demonstrative con-
viction, taught him the use of means, as well for
his soul’s as body’s health, and so cured recant-
ing Ludovicus of both his diseases at once. A
godly practice, worthy the best physician’s imi-
tation. (I, 339.)

This illustration in practice is observed to be in harmony
with Adams’ own doctrine of predestination considered ear-
er, and further indicated in this connection when he
says, “We must carry, everyone, a converting ministry,
though God alone have the converting power.” Though an
illustration used for the purpose cited above, it likewise
shows Adams’ distinction between a belief in predestination
and fatalism—that God ordains means as well as ends.

The effect of sin is illustrated in "The Bad
Leaven" in this manner:

When one commended Alexander for his noble acts
and famous achievements, another objected against
him that he killed Callisthenes. He was valiant
and successful in the wars; true, but he killed
Callisthenes. He overcame the great Darius; so,
but he killed Callisthenes. He made himself mas-
ter of the world, so grant it, but still he killed
Callisthenes. His meaning was that this one unjust fact poisoned all his valorous deeds. Be¬
wore of sin, which may times leaven the whole lump of our soul. (II, 355.)

By means of a legend, Adams illustrates how it can be determined whether a man is on the side of God or Satan:

I have read and observed in the history of Scotland a certain controversy betwixt that kingdom and Ire¬
land, for a little island that lay between them; either claims it as their due, and the strife grow¬
ing hot, was falling from words to blows. But reason moderated both kinds, and they put it to the decision of a Frenchman, who thus judged it: he caused living serpents to be put into that island; if they lived and thrived there, he judged it Scot¬
land's; if they pined and died, he gave it for Ire¬
land. You can apply it easily. If the venomous serpents, poisons, and corruptions of our nature batten and thrive in us, we are Satan's; if they languish and consume, we are God's. (I, 325-326.)

Ingratitude is illustrated in "The Sacrifice of Thankfulness" by the use of a fable:

There is a pretty fable, the moral of it will profi-
itably fit our present discourse. A serpent acci-
dentally enclosed betwixt two great stones, that he could no ways extricate himself, made his moan to a man passing by to deliver him. The man with much force removed the stone, and set him free. The serpent now feeling his liberty, thus bespake his deliverer: I confess you have done me kindness in helping me out, being almost famished; but now I am out, my hunger is so violent, that I must needs take the benefit of my fortune, and devour you. The man urged his ingratitude, but to no purpose, for the serpent would eat him. Instantly he spied an ass coming, and desired the serpent to put it to his judgment. The serpent was contented, know¬ing that the ass durst not but condemn the man for his prey, lest he endangered himself. The case was pleaded on both sides; the man urging his kind¬ness, the serpent his hunger. But the ass gave judgment on the serpents side, who is now ready to set on the man. Hereupon flies by an eagle hear¬ing the cause debated, demanded of the serpent if he could have freed himself without the man's aid. The serpent answered affirmatively, and said it was only his policy by this trick to get the man
within his reach. The eagle desires to see the place, the man shows it. The eagle bids the serpent go into the hole again for the more certain demonstration. The serpent doth so, and the man removes the other stone as it was before, and recloseth the serpent. The eagle now bids the serpent deliver himself; he replied he could not. Then, quoth the eagle, this is my judgment; the next time the man lets thee forth, do thou take him for thy prey, and eat him. (I, 133-134.)

Humorous verse is employed to illustrate the subtle manner in which the papist would fain peace with the Protestant:

Good brother mouse, creep out thy house, come forth and let us chat:
Behold, my crown is shaven down; I'm now a priest, no cat.
When cats say mass, the mice, alas! must pray against their will:
Kind puss, your pate is smooth of late; your heart is rugged still.

("Gallant's Burden," I, 307.)

Verse is sometimes used for purpose of illumination as in "The Sinner's Passing-Bell" to show that there is lamentation in heaven for man's short lived devotion and continuing impieties in spite of God's goodness.

What mean those airy spouts and spongy clouds
To spill themselves on earth with frequent floods?
Because man swelling sins and dry eyes bears,
They weep for us, and rain down showers of tears.

(I, 350.)

An epitaph is cited as revealing how one might live and die without doing good:

Here lies he, was born and cried,
Lived three score years, fell sick, and died.

(II, 447.)

In order to point out how the poor are oppressed, Adams speaks in "Man's Seed-Time and Harvest" of a reported in-
Baldwin, an archbishop of Canterbury, boasted often that he never ate flesh in his life. To whom a poor lean widow replied that he said false; for he had eaten up her flesh. He demands how. She replies, by taking away her cow. Never pretend your earnest zeal, fasting or praying, or travelling to sermons, when you devour widow's houses, enclose commons, and so eat up the very flesh of the poor. (II, 366.)

The usurer's persistency in clinging to his sin is illustrated in this manner in "The Sacrifice of Thankfulness":

But I remember a true story that a friend told me of a usurer. There was a godly preacher in his parish, that did beat down with all just convictions and honest reproofs that sin. Many usurers flocked to his church, because he was a man of note. Among the rest, this usurer did bid him often to dinner, and used him very kindly. Not long after, this preacher began to forbear the touching usury, not in any connivance or partiality, but because he had dealt plentifully with it, and now his text led him not to it. Now begins the usurer to be heavy, sorrowing, and discontent, and turned former kindness into sullenness. The preacher must needs observe it, and boldly asked him the reasons of this sudden aversion. The usurer replied, If you had held on your first course to inveigh against usury, I had some hope you would have put all the usurers down, and so I should have had the better vent and custom for my money. For my part, say what you will, I never meant to leave it; but I should have been beholden to you if you could have made me a usurer alone. You see the hope of a usurer's conversion. (I, 126.)

The references cited above serve to indicate something of the manner in which Adams used illustrative material in his preaching. In treating his use of rhetoric in the section immediately following, it will be see how he employs character descriptions, allegories, et cetera, also for purpose of illustration and amplification of his thought.
D. Practice of Rhetoric

This section will deal with Adams' use of literary forms in preaching—his style characteristics. His literary usages are, in certain senses, inseparable from his methods of exposition, illustration, and application. Generally his modes of expression are employed as means by which he seeks to expound Scripture teachings, amplify and illustrate their significance and meaning, and to effectively apply religious truth to men's needs, conditions, and circumstances. However, because of the possibility that some of his literary forms and usages serve none of these purposes—becoming rhetorical for rhetoric's sake—it is advisable that his practice of rhetoric be treated under this separate heading.

Not every element in Adams' rhetorical method can be considered in this paper without giving undue space to this aspect of his homiletics. At the same time, some of his usages occur less frequently and appear by comparison to be of minor importance as contributions to his literary preaching style. Therefore, only those characteristics most prominent in his works will be considered to any extent here. His preaching, from the standpoint of its literary quality, is treated by Mitchell in his book on English Pulpit Oratory where, along with others, Adams is treated under the category of "Other Anglicans to 1660."

As pointed out by this author, these men consisted of the

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class of early seventeenth century preachers who remained loyal to episcopacy but could be distinguished on the one hand from those Anglo-Catholic preachers who were in accord with the Laudian movement, and on the other hand from those who, to use his phrase, "did not scruple at separation and the formation of independent religious bodies." This identification is mentioned here solely for the purpose of looking at Adams' prose style against the background of certain preaching characteristics to be found in this general class of preachers of his period. Without forgetting the originality, variety and diversity of thought and style to be found within this group, Mitchell attributes much of the common merit in their preaching to exist "in its avoidance of the two extremes—the jagged, allusive, studiously ingenious exegesis of the 'metaphysicals' and the heavy exposition of the stricter Puritans—in the interest of freer, more fluid, and consequently more literary, addresses, which were to form to some extent the basis of the simpler post-Restoration sermon."23

A study of Adams' homiletical method in the matter of literary form, however he may be classified as a churchman or theologian, reveals that it cannot be characteristically confined to any one period or limited to the homiletical methods or literary usages of any defined class of preachers. His preaching is an impure mixture of charac-

23Ibid., p. 196.
teristics observed in the preaching of others within and without his own period and ecclesiastical position. Thus in respect to witty conceits he sometimes resembles the metaphysical and witty preaching of the Anglo-Catholics as represented by Donne and Andrews. At other times, he resembles the Puritan preachers of the more extreme type in resorting to vivid imagery and multiple allusions and elaborate outlines. At times he appears to cling to the traditional rhetorical modes of the past, and at times he appears to lay aside their influence for a freer less florid style. The fact that he was a strong opponent of papacy, a Doctrinal Puritan, and a city preacher, no doubt, influenced his preaching to be sometimes blunt and of the invective sort less common among the more Catholic preachers. At the same time, neither did his Calvinism nor his Puritan tendencies of necessity keep his sermons from being lively and colorful as they frequently are. As Mitchell points out:

The fact that a man was a Calvinist must not be taken to imply that his preaching was likely to be dull or that he was a Puritan that his illustrations would be invariably grave and sober. The early Puritans were Elizabethans, with that fullblooded relish for a variegated life which characterized the dramatists and pamphleteers of the age, and the topical onslaughts of Puritan preachers strike at times much the same note as the more serious of the latter.24

Adams' style is a combination of characteristics inherited from the past rather than any innovation of his own introduced into preaching methods. Mitchell states that he

24Ibid., p. 198.
employs "the favourite schemata of preachers in all ages from the time of Cyprian onwards." His use of characters can be traced back to the Greeks and that type of description developed by Theophrastus. His general style is marked by the influences going back to Lyly's Euphuism and Seneca's Sentences. His fanciful and figurative type preaching was by no means unique to him or his period and had particularly been employed by the Spanish preachers in their "figurine sermons." As Adams defended secular learning as a resource for intelligent exposition and the elaboration of religious truth, so does he defend his use of figurative language and his varied rhetorical practices in expressing and illustrating these truths. He does so on the grounds of the diversity of men's minds and the practice of Christ and the Apostles.

God hath given us this liberty in the performance of our callings, not only nakedly to lay down the truth, but the helps of invention, wit, art, to prevent the loathing of his manna. If we had none to hear us but Cornelius or Lydia, or such sanctified ears, a mere affirmation were a sufficient confirmation. But our auditors are like the Belgie armies that consist of French, English, Scotch, German, Spanish, Italian, etc., so many hearers, so many humours: the same diversity of men and minds, that, as guests at a strange dish, every man hath a relish by himself—that all our helps can scarcely help one soul to heaven. But of all kinds, there is none that creeps with better insinuation, or leaves behind a deeper impression on the conscience, than a fit comparison. (I, 335.)

Some of these literary forms of expression of Adams' style will now be considered, keeping in mind the observa--

25Ibid., p. 223.
tion someone has made that in the greatest writing literary beauty is not a main object but a by-product.

Noteworthy in Adams' literary methods is the "character." This form of writing is generally associated with such Englishmen as Joseph Hall (1574-1656), Sir Thomas Overbury (1581-1613), John Earle (1600-1665), and to a certain extent with Thomas Fuller in connection with his book *The Holy State.* However, Adams also employed this method with apparent skill and effectiveness. Bush mentions Adams in this respect by saying, "One [name], which attests more clearly than Hall's the mutual debt of character and sermon, is that of the great Puritan preacher, Thomas Adams."26 In a more comprehensive discussion of Adams literary characteristics, this same author refers to him as a "lively exponent of the 'character' as a homiletic device—and recreation."27 Mitchell likewise points to Adams as an exponent of character writing. "In his works . . . the character remains an integral part of the sermon, and forms a most interesting feature of his art."28 It is interesting to note that in this connection, Adams is called "the greatest of early Puritan Divines." Adams was no doubt influenced in his use of character by the same factors that Bush describes as reasons for the enormous vogue of character-writing in the seventeenth century:

27 Ibid., p. 298.
The persistence of the allegorical mode of conceiving character and of medieval forms of social satire; the use of character-sketches as exempla in sermons; the growth of psychological studies and the medical, psychological, and dramatic doctrine of 'humours,' fortified by Horatian precepts regarding dramatic types; the love of aphorisms, proverbs, and paradoxes; the general attachment to classical models, particularly in satire and epigram; the desire for realistic treatment of actual life and manners which had achieved fuller expression in social pamphlets, satires, and plays than in the modern medium of prose fiction; the popularity and the limitations of the essay; the eagerness to apply a formula which could be both didactic and entertaining; and perhaps one may add literary men's consciousness of aristocratic cultural standards and of the disturbing pressure of commercial, professional and religious groups—these were some main reasons for the enormous vogue of character-writing in the seventeenth century.29

The history of character-writing in the seventeenth century shows its use to be of a wide and varying sort and thus difficult to confine in nature to one summation as Overbury attempts to do in calling characters "wits descant on any plaine song."30 It is evident that Adams' use of characters in his sermons is intended for the purpose of depicting by rhetorical illustration the innumerable follies, moral distempers, and spiritual vices—as well as virtues—of men which he wished to describe in warning men against sin and exhorting them to holy living. However, there is occasion to believe that at times he became the victim of his own device and fell into the practice of portrait painting as a personal pleasure instead of an edifying objective. What has been said about his character

29Bush, op. cit., p. 198.
preaching is based upon those sermons in his works where this mode is best illustrated, and from which the following passages are taken:

THE EPICURE—I would fain speak not only of him, but with him. Can you tend it, belly-god? The first question of my catechism shall be, 'What is your name?' 'Epicure.' 'Epicure.' What is that? Speak not so philosophically, but tell us, in plain dealing, what are you? 'A lover of pleasure more than of God,'... one that makes much of myself; born to live, and living to take mine ease. One that would make my belly my executor, and bequeath all my goods to consumption, for the consummation of my own delights.' 'Ho! a good fellow, a merry man, a madman! What is your sumnum bonum?' 'Pleasure.' 'Wherein consists it? Rehearse the articles of your belief.' 'I believe that delicacies, junkets, quotidian feasts, suckets, and marmalades are very delectable. I believe that sweet wines and strong drinks—the best blood of the grape, or sweat of the corn—are fittest for the belly. I believe that midnight revels, perfumed chambers, soft beds, close curtains, and a Delilah in mine arms are very comfortable. I believe that glittering silks and sparkling jewels, a purse full of golden charms, a house neatly decked, gardens, orchards, fish-ponds, parks, warrens, and whatsoever may yield pleasurable stuffing to the corpse is a very heaven upon earth. I believe that to sleep till dinner, and play till supper, and quaff till midnight, and to dally till morning, except there be some intermission to toss some painted papers, or to whirl about squared bones, with as many oaths and curses, vomited out in an hour, as would serve the devil himself for a legacy or stock to bequeath to any of his children: this is the most absolute and perfect end of man's life. (Mystical Bedlam," I, 276-277.)

THE USURER would laugh to hear himself brought into the number of madmen. He sits close, and is quiet at home, whiles madness rambles abroad. He holds others in bonds, is in no bonds himself; he stands so much upon law, you cannot judge him lawless. He would not come near a tavern door, where madness roars; he keeps a succinct course, and walks in an even pace to hell. Slander him not for one of bedlam; yet he is mad, raving, roaring mad; and that by the verdict of God in the pen of Solomon: Eccles. vii.7. 'Surely oppression maketh a man
There walks fraud cheek by jowl with a tradesman. There stalks pride with the pace of a soldier, but habit of a courtier, striving to add to her own stature, feathered on the crown, corked at the heels, light all over, stretching her legs, and spreading her wings like the ostrich, with ostentation of great flight; but, nil Penna, sed usus, not an inch higher or better. There slugs idleness; both hands are in its bosom, while one foot should be in the stirrup. Hallow in his ear, preach to him; if he will not waken, prick him with goads; let the corrective law discipline him; he cries not Fodere nescio, but Fodere nolo; not, I know not how to dig, but I will not dig. . . . Here reels drunkenness with swollen eyes, stammering feet, befriended of that poor remnant of all his wealth (the richly stocked grounds, richly furnished house, richly filled purse, are all wasted, and nothing is left rich but) the nose. There goes murder from Aceldama, the field of blood, to Golgotha, the place of dead souls, and from thence to Hinnom, the valley of fire and torments. There see atheism projecting to displant the paradise of God, and turn it to a wilderness of serpents. . . . ("The Spiritual Navigator Bound for the Holy Land," III, 60.)

Pride is of the feminine gender, therefore the more intolerable in a masculine nature. Much civet is unsavoury: Non bene olet, quae bene semper olet. She that breathes perfumes artificially, argues herself to have naturally corrupted lungs. This woman hath neither her own complexion nor proportion, for she is both painted and pointed together. She sits moderator every morning to a disputation betwixt the comb and the glass, and whether concludes best on her beauty carries her love and praise. Howsoever, of men saith the poet, Forma viros neglecta decet. Indeed there is no graceful behaviour like humility. This fault is well mended when a man is well-minded,—that is, when he esteems of others better than himself. Otherwise a proud man is like the rising earth in mountainous places: this swells up monte, as he mente; and the more either earth advanceth itself, perpetually they are the more barren. He lives at a high sail, that the puffy praises of his neighbours may blow him into the enchanted island, vainglory. He shines like a glow-worm in a dark village, but is a crude thing when he comes to the court. If the plethora swells him in the vein of valour, nothing but wellbeating can hold him to a man. If ever he goes drunk into the
field, and comes off with a victorious parley, he would swell to a son of Anak. ("The Soul's Sickness," I, 466.)

Penny-royal, and Content.—Doth poverty fasten her sharp teeth in a man's sides, and cannot all his good industry keep want from his family? Let him come to this garden for a little penny-royal, content. This will teach him to think that God who feeds the ravens and clothes the lilies, will not suffer him to lack food and raiment. The birds of the air neither plough nor sow, yet he never sees them lie dead in his way for want of provision. They sleep, and sing, and fly, and play, and lack not. He gathers hence infallibly, that God will bless his honest endeavours; and whiles he is sure of God's benediction, he thinks his penny-royal, his poor estate, rich. No man is so happy as to have all things; and none so miserable as not to have some. He knows he hath some, and that of the best riches; therefore resolvesth to enjoy them, and want the rest with content. He that hath this herb in his garden, penny-royal, contentation of heart, be he never so poor, is very rich. ("The Herbs," II, 463.)

This last quotation is from a group of characters in which Adams seeks to portray virtues. It is to be noticed that he fails to excel in this type of portrayal to the extent that he does when depicting vice. However, in his practice of taking a leading idea and by suggestive description of character in writing about it, he is far from being ineffective in his method whether the subject be vice or virtue.

Adams' character studies abound in tropes and figures. His use of imagery and figurative descriptions ranges from short similies and metaphors to lengthy comparisons and allegories; and are so much a part of his method that, at times, he appears to be a bit too fanciful and excessively given to allegories and rhetorical flourishes. A few ref-
ences will serve to exemplify this type of rhetorical usage in his preaching, and though taken out of their context indicate something of his thought and aptness in the art of illustration:

"Man's heart is like a door with a spring lock; pull the door after you, it locks of itself, but you cannot open it again without a key." (I, 54.)

"... the lady of all graces, Faith." (I, 156.)

"Like hooded hawks, they [fools] are easily carried by the infernal falconer to hell." (I, 254.)

"Man's soul is of an excellent nature, and like a beauteous damsel, hath many suitors." (I, 401.)

"Thus spreads example, like a stone thrown into a pond, that makes circle to beget circle, till it spread to the banks." (II, 223.)

"Peace is a fair virgin. . . ." (II, 311.)

"All vanities are but butterflies, which wanton children greedily catch for and sometimes they fly beside them, sometimes before them, sometimes behind them, sometimes close by them; yea, through their fingers, and yet they miss them; and when they have them, they are but butterflies; they have painted wings, but are crude and squalid worms. Such are the things of this world, vanities, butterflies." (III, 3.)

"Faith is the passageway to God. . . ." (III, 79.)

"The world is a glass, wherein we may contemplate the eternal power and majesty of God." (I, 2.)
"He that hath seen heaven with the eye of faith, through the glass of Scripture, slips off his coat with Joseph, and springs away." (I, 27.)

"When the heart is a good secretary, the tongue is a good pen; but when the heart is a hollow bell, the tongue is a loud and lewd clapper." (I, 29.)

"The five senses are the Cinque ports, where all the great traffic of the devil is taken in." (I, 72.)

"The emperor [devil] of the low countries—hell—hath delicatos of strange variety, curiosity." (I, 161.)

"Hath any papist a superstitious appetite? He is set down in the chair of ignorance, and to him are served in, by Sorbonnists, Jesuits, Seminaries, Loyolists, a large and lavish feast of crucifixes, unctions, scrapings, traditions, relics, etc.; and, as cheese to digest all the rest, yet itself never digested, treason." (I, 161.)

"Cardinals and Jesuits are his [satan's] mariner, and the Pope sits at the stern." (I, 162.)

"Pleasure is a channel, and death the sea whereinto it runs." (I, 218.)

"If men could send their understandings, like spies, down into the well of their hearts, to see what obstructions of sin have stopped their veins, those springs that erst derived health and comfort to them, they should find that male afficiuntur, quia male afficiunt,—their mad affects have bad effects; and the evil-disposedness of their souls ariseth from the want of composedness in their affections."
"God loves not such limping zeal, that is carried to church on two crutches, law and custom: but that which, with Peter and John, runs to the place where Christ is." (II, 20.)

"... I will now unlock the gates of my text to let you in to it." (II, 109.)

"Ignorance is not God's star-chamber of light, but the devil's vault of darkness." (II, 220.)

"Man is an abridgment of the world, and is not exceeded by it but in quantity. ..." (III, 282.)

"Yes, there is a watchman in the tower of the soul, that doth seldom sleep, holy fear." (III, 298.)

"The whole court of heaven waits for us; let us long for that blessed society with a hearty affection. The saints look for our coming, desiring to have the number of elect fulfilled; the angels blush when they see us stumble, grieve when we fall, clap their wings with joy when we go cheerfully forward; our Saviour Christ stands on the battle-ments of heaven, and with the hand of help and comfort wafteth us to him." (II, 199.)

Adams' style also makes extensive use of antitheses in varying forms. The following passage reveals something of the manner in which he employs rhetorical comparisons and parallels:

Thus when the sun is hottest, the springs are coldest; and the more fervent the love of God is to us, the more cold is our charity to him, and to others for him.
As if the sweet dews of Herman had made the hill of Zion more barren. It is written of the Thracian flint, that it burns with water, and is quenched with oil; a fit emblem of those wicked souls that are the worse for God's endeavour to better them. But such contrary effects hath the gospel in contrary natures. As by the heat of the sun wax is softened, and yet clay is hardened: so by the preaching of the word the hearts of such as shall be saved are mollified; but the hearts of the lost are further obdurate. (I, 476.)

The type of antithesis resembling Bacon's method of definition in his essays and developing into a series of parallels is illustrated from a passage from "The City of Peace:"

Peace is the daughter of righteousness, and the mother of knowledge: the nurse of arts, and the improvement of all blessings. It is delectable to all that taste it, profitable to them that practice it; to them that look upon it, amiable; to them that enjoy it, a benefit invaluable. The building of Christianity knows no other materials... peace is a fair virgin, every one's love, the praise of all tongues, the object of all eyes, the wish of all hearts. (II, 311.)

This same type of rhetorical prose style is observable in a passage from "The Fatal Banquet":

Sin is the depravation of goodness. The same that rottenness is in the apple, sourness in the wine, putrefaction in the flesh, is sin in the conscience. Can that be sweet which is the depraving and depriving of all sweetness? Let any subtlety of the devil declare this riddle. The pre-existent privations were deformity, confusion, darkness. The position of their opposite perfections was the expulsion of those foul contraries. Sin comes like bleak and squalid winter, and drives out these fair beauties; turns the sunshine to blackness, calmness to tempests, ripeness to corruption, health to sickness, sweetness to bitterness. (I, 198-199.)

Other passages in which comparisons, though not necessarily antitheses, constitute the characteristic feature are found throughout his works. For example, he describes wickedness
by comparing it to a woman: "Lust is her eye to see; injury, her hands to feel; sensuality her palate to taste; malice, her ears to hear; petulancy, her nose to smell; and because she is of the feminine sex, we will allow her the sixth sense, tittle-tattle is her tongue to talk." 31 (I, 161.) Wickedness is compared in another place--"The Wolf and the Lambs"--to wolves in four respects: sterility, ferocity, voracity, and subtlety. (II, 119.) In "The Forest of Thorns," a detailed comparison is made between natural and allegorical thorns. (II, 478.) And, in "The Soul's Sickness" (I, 471), numerous comparisons are made between physical and spiritual diseases. In "The City of Peace" (II, 311), a comparison is made between peace and the city of London with Bishopsgate, Ludgate, Aldgate, and Cripplegate representing allegorically the four gates of innocence, patience, benefaction, and satisfaction. Bush remarks that the method here is not strictly allegorical, but springs from an allegorical habit of mind and goes on to say that "whether or not an entire discourse rests upon an allegorical frame, the texture of Adams' sermons is rich in vivid and usually homely metaphor and pointed wit." 32 Adams' employment of that type of allegory of which Bunyan 33 is the most renowned writer of the seventeenth century is

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31 The last part of this quotation is an example of the type of humor often found in Adams' discourses.
32 Bush, op. cit., p. 298.
33 It is not unreasonable to suspect that Bunyan was acquainted with Adams' preaching and perhaps influenced by it as Adams preceded him and in his early ministry was located in Bedfordshire.
discovered notably in "The Gallant's Burden," where pleasures, riches and Christ are allegorically represented (I, 327); in "Man's Seed-Time and Harvest" where usury, pride, idolatry, homicide, lust, covetousness, and enclosing are portrayed in this manner (II, 363); and in "Love's Copy" where he speaks thus:

Charity, and certain other rivals, or indeed enemies, would run a race together. The prize they all ran for was felicity; which was held up at the goal's end by a bountiful lady, called Eternity. The runners were Pride, Prodigality, Envy, Covetousness, Lust, Hypocrisy, and Love. All the rest were either diverse or adverse, neighbors or enemies to Charity. I will, herald-lie, shew you their several equipage, how they begin the race and end it.

Then follows a fanciful story in which appear Insolence, Luxury, Malecontent, Unconscionableness, Dissimulation, Innocence, Patience, Glory, Immortality, Eternity, Faith, Hope and Mercy—all as allegorical figures. (II, 420-421.)

Adams' attraction to this sort of description is further indicated by his inclusion of an allegory of Bernard in his sermon on "The Victory of Patience" (I, 93), and in the preface to the sermon on "The Soldier's Honour" "preached to the worthy company of Gentlemen that exercise in the Artillery Garden (London)." (I, 31.)

Adams is also fond of preaching on texts with allegorical meaning as is the case with Jer. 8:22—"Is there no balm in Gilead; is there no physician there? Why then is not the health of the daughter of my people recovered?"

Of this text he says: "The words are divided to our hands by a rule of three. A tripartite metaphor, that willing
spreads itself into an allegory:—1. God's word is the balm; 2. The prophets are the physicians; 3. The people are the patients, who are very sick." (I, 333; also I, 358.)

Another text of this kind is Heb. 6:7-8 of which he says: "All is an allegory. I The earth is man; II The rain, God's word; III The herbs are graces; and IV The blessing is a sweet retribution of mercy." (I, 435-436.) One final example is the text "Before the throne there was a sea of glass like unto crystal," Rev. 4:6. When dealing with it, he states a number of allegorical interpretations that others have given as the meaning of "a sea," and then indicates his own view to be in accord with Bullinger's in believing the allusion is to the world. (III, 41.)

The use of figures of speech, comparisons, analogies, and allegories is sometimes mentioned by Adams as an apparent defense of his practice. In "The Leaven," he refers to Christ's method of teaching in parables. "He doth, as it were draw the curtain of heaven, and describe the kingdom of God by many resemblances..." (II, 70); and in "The Barren Tree" defines a parable by its use: "A parable is not like a looking-glass, to represent all forms and faces; but a well-drawn picture to remonstrate that person whereof it is a counterfeit... the more profitable, the more acceptable." (II, 167.) In similar words, he says in "Faith's Encouragement:" "Allegories are tolerable when they be profitable." (II, 189.) He justifies the use of comparisons, in another place, by calling attention to
their employment by Christ: "So often by plain comparisons he taught secret doctrines." (I, 33.) He expressed his belief in their value by saying, "familiar comparisons give the quickest touch to both understanding and conscience." (I, 327.) With reference to preaching and the figurative language of Scripture, he makes a lengthy comment in an epistle to the reader of his sermon on "The Devil's Banquet." It is reproduced here as what is apparently an answer to criticisms that had been made of his literary style in preaching, and his interpretation of certain Scriptures.

The main intents of all preachers and the contents of all sermons aim to beat down sin and to convert sinners, which the most absolute and unerring Scriptures have shadowed under divers metaphors, comparing them to beasts, to blots, to sicknesses, to sterilities, to pollutions, to leavenings, to devils; in which (and many other such figurative speeches) I think it lawful, nay necessary for us, God's ministers, to explain the metaphor, and (still within bounds of the similitude) to show the fit accordance and respondency of the thing meant to the thing mentioned. Indeed, to stretch the text against its own will is to martyr it, and to make every metaphor run upon four feet is often violabile sacris. But so long as we keep the analogy of faith and the sense of the present theme, it is a fault to find with us. Indeed, rhetorical flourishes without solid matter is like an Egyptian bondwoman in a queen's robes; or the courtier's chamber, which is often a rotten room, curiously hanged. God's word is full of dark speeches, dark, not in themselves, but to our thick-sighted understandings; therefore, his propositions require expositions. Not that we should turn plain morals into allegories, but allegories into plain morals. The former was Origen's fault, of whom it is said (I speak not to uncover that father's nakedness, but to shew that all men may err, and therefore truth of love must not prejudice love of truth) that wherein he should not allegorize, he did; and wherein he should have allegorized, to his woe he did not. I have presumed, not without warrant of the best expositors,
to manifest the manifold temptations of Satan under the harlot’s inveigling her customers. 34

In addition to "characters" and figurative language, other forms of expression used as homiletic techniques constantly appear in Adams' sermons. These at times seem to be employed as didactic devices and at other times merely as mechanical aids to memory, the securing of attention, and not infrequently, for the purpose of displaying cleverness on the part of the preacher. Adams is especially fond of making terse and pithy statements having something of the character of epigrams and aphorisms, and at times used as sort of definition in which balanced words and phrases frequently occur. Some of these elements are to be seen in the following selection of quotations from his sermons:

"A man may be lost though born in the faith, unless he be born again to the faith." (I, 9.)

"To abhor others is easy, to deny others more easy, to despise others most easy." (I, 52.)

"Load not thyself with the luggage of this world, lest it hinder thy journey; and cease not travelling till thou come to thy home, the place of peace and eternal rest." (I, 109.)

"He never truly understands what he is, that forgets what he hath been. ... Nothing can make sure a good memory but a good life. ... It is not dead stones, but living men, that can redeem thy good remembrance from oblivion." (I, 152.)

"It is a strangely affected soul that can find sweetness in sin. Sin is the depravation of goodness." (I, 198.)

"In all the corrupted parts of this decrepit and doting world, men's best lesson of morality is a lesson of mortality." (I, 337.)

"If God hath made the bushel great, make not you the peck small. Turn not the bounty of heaven to the scarcity of earth." (II, 9.)

"Care is the inseparable companion of abundance." (II, 123.)

"It is a good thing to be praised, but a better to be praiseworthy." (II, 141.)

"It is wretched for a man then to begin his life when he must end it." (II, 193.)

"Wealth is like a woman—the more courted, the further off." (II, 469.)

"When the body puts forth an arm, the shadow shews an arm; so man in his actions and courses depends upon the disposition of God, as his all-powerful maker and mover." (II, 436.)

The above quotations illustrate in practice what Adams considered their types to be by definition. He defined Solomon's proverbs as "so many select aphorisms, containing, for the most part, a pair of cross and thwart sentences, handled rather by collation than relation, whose conjunction is disjunctive" (I, 216); and "so many select
aphorisms, or divinely moral says, without any mutual dependence one upon another. Therefore to study a coherence, were to force a marriage between unwilling parties." (I, 245.) He compares an epigram to a bee with all his sting in his tail. (I, 402.)

Adams is given to a constant and often seemingly superfluous and sometimes strained use of alliteration; to quaint expressions displaying learned conceits and wit; and to an ingenious use of word play. Examples of these forms of expression are noticeable in the following references:

"For they love ... not their master's good, but their master's goods." (I, 8.)

"Not diseased, but deceased." (I, 74.)

"We are not only guilty of averseness from God, but of adverseness against God." (I, 173.)

"We leave then the prescription of the waters, and come to the description of their natures." (I, 177.)

"Wherefore are we warned, but that we might be armed?" (I, 197.)

"The second argument of their sweetness is their cheapness." (I, 201.)

"In a word, it is far less miserable to give up the ghost than to give up the Holy Ghost." (I, 334.)

"When man fell to sliding, God fell to chiding." (I, 340.)

"His spouse must be no blouse. She is adorned by him, let him be adored by her." (I, 399.)
"To pursue this argument, I would willingly dispose the tenor of my speech into this method:—I To describe the disease; II To ascribe the signs; III To prescribe the remedy." (I, 471.)

"You see the informance; let us look upon their performance." (II, 19.)

"That he be speedy, then he be heedy, and, as we say, that he be deedy." (II, III.)

"God's house, God's day, is neglected: the temples unrepairoed, and unrepairoed to ..." (II, 122.)

"It was the saying of Bishop Jewel, or the jewel of bishops ..." (II, 266.)

"The less informed did prove the more reformed." (II, 187.)

"There be many that pray in the temple, who yet also prey on the temple: as if a thief should do homage to that house in the day which he means to rob in the night." (II, 288.)

"Let us do that we pray, and pray that we may do it." (II, 296.)

"I ask not whether this book lies in thy study, but whether the study of it lies in thy heart." (II, 543.)

"The two main objects of envy are highness and nighness: the envious man cannot endure another near him; the envious man loves no neighbor." (II, 406.)

"Excommunication, bondage, exile have been thought fit punishments for heretics; fire and faggot is not God's
law, but the Pope's canon-shot [play on cannon-shot]."

"Purpose without performance is like a cloud without rain..." (II, 489.)

"Preparation does well, if reparation follows."

"God judgeth by the liver, man by the livery."

"And here fitly I will end our misery, and come to God's mercy. Desolation hath held us long, but our consolation is eternal." (I, 94.)

A footnote in Mitchell's English Pulpit Oratory states that "Adams' sermons are rich in examples of paronomia" and gives as examples the following quotations from the 1630 folio edition of Adams' Works: "His brain is full of humour, his heart of tumour, his tongue of rumour."

"There is no such Schoole instructing as the cross inflicting."

"And indeed, if we consider what Master we have served, and what wages deserved, we have just cause to abhorre our selves."

"There is the Diligite of the Heart, Loue your enemies. The Benefacite of the Hand, Doe good to them that hate you..."35

In addition to those references already cited others might be given to illustrate the type of felicity with which he is capable of expressing himself. The following two quotations are typical: "... the eternal throbs of an

35 Mitchell, op. cit., p. 223.
ever-wounded and wounding conscience." (II, 87.) "This pearl then must be cut out of the worldling's eye with the sharp knife of repentance, otherwise he is likely never to see heaven." (II, 380.)

E. Manner of Application

The next aspect of Adams' homiletical methods to be considered concerns his manner of relating truth and his sermon material to occasions, times, people and places as a practical aim of his preaching. As it has been indicated in another place, Adams was possessed with an evangelical spirit, and a deep conviction of the preacher's task of revealing to man his sinful condition and pointing to God as the source and hope of his salvation. Thus his primary intention is to make religious truth applicable to man as a sinner in need of redemption. Also, it was pointed out at the beginning of this chapter that Adams' preaching could not be thought of as merely doctrinal in character. Therefore, it is natural to find much of his preaching directed at particular sins and to find his sermons to be practical in their moral and ethical as well as spiritual applications to those who heard or read them.

Many of Adams' sermon titles suggest their practical content, and adaptation to the prevailing conditions and needs of individuals as well as society in general at the time of his preaching (1612-1653). The practical and timely nature of his preaching is suggested by such sermon

The "character," discussed under practice of rhetoric, is skillfully used by Adams in making his sermons applicable to various classes of people as in "Mystical Bedlam" (I, 254*). His purpose in presenting character portraits is to enable his hearers to see themselves in the light of these descriptions. Likewise, his similitudes such as those found in "The Soul's Sickness" are to call attention to the evils to be found among his hearers. This "Divine, Moral, and Physical" discourse touches upon a list of vices frequently dealt with or alluded to generally in Adams' sermons and provides a good index to those things he commonly pointed out as sins and temptations present among the people of his time and place. Included in the discourse are such things as inconstancy, anger, envy, idleness, covetousness, pride, lust, hypocrisy, profaneness, vainglory, flattery, prodigality, and usury. (I, 470-506.)

This last, a common abuse in his period, occurs often in

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36See Section D of this chapter.
his preaching. For instance, in "The Forest of Thorns," he says:

What say you to the usurer? Is he not a thorn amongst you? If you were not usurers yourselves, you would confess it. But they say, the most horrible usury in the world is here practised, to forty in the hundred; nay, to doubling of the principal in one year.

And after a continuation of this accusation, he remarks, "You understand me; I need not further apply it." (II, 481.) In this same sermon (II, 471 ff.), he speaks out against other evils of the time. "There is a generation of men like these briers, given to drunkenness, etc." (I, 480.) "This island of ours, within these late days, hath bred a great number of these fieldbriers: which unnaturally turn their mother into barrenness. Oppressors, enclosers, depopulators, deportators; that run the land to ruin for a private benefit, and work out a particular gain from a public and general loss." (I, 481.) "There are furious malecontents among us, a contemptible generation of thorns, that, because their hands are pinioned, prick only with their tongues." (I, 483.) He includes in the application of this theme adulterers, "corrupt and conscienceless lawyers," "corrupted officers," and "papist among us." (I, 482.) He concludes this catalogue of metaphorical thorns and briers with those persons guilty of simony.

There are briers, too, growing near the church; too near it. They have raised church livings to four and five years' purchase, and it is to be feared they will shortly rack up presentative livings to as high a rate as they did their impropriations, when they would sell them. For
they say, few will give above sixteen years' purchase for an impropriate parsonage; and I have heard some rate the donation of a benefice they must give at ten years, what with the present money they must have, and with reservation of tithes, and such unconscionable tricks; as if there was no God in heaven to see or punish it. (I, 483.)

Similarly, he denounces this practice in "Man's Seed-Time and Harvest"; "If there be any here (because my text depends on that occasion) that robs his minister of his temporal food, and yet makes show to hunger after his spiritual food; though he may cozen man unseen, either by his greatness or craftiness, let him know that 'God is not mocked.'" (II, 368.) (Note: other references to this practice are found in Vol. I, pp. 78, 120, 169.) "The White Devil" (II, 221) is another of Adams' sermons abounding in practical and pointed applications under the general classification of thievery. In it he makes application to dishonest magistrates, lawyers, officers, tradesmen, patrons, landlords, and brokers; and to engrossers, enclosers, taphouse keepers, flatterers, and usurers. "The Fatal Banquet" (I, 158) deals with the common sins of men as pride, bribery, faction, rioting and oppression. "England's Sickness" (I, 394 ff.) is a sermon in which the applications are directed to the church. "Heaven and Earth Reconciled" (I, 448) is a sermon bearing upon the minister's responsibility as such. "Heaven-Gate" (III, 74) has in it a special reference to God's elect. Especially noticeable in Adams' sermons is his sympathy for the poor and oppressed. Bush compares him to
Burton and Latimer "in his mixture of sympathy for the poor and satire upon their oppressors." Examples confirming this observation are found in such places as Vol. I, p. 13 and 170, and Vol. II, p. 409, and in the fact that one of his sermons is entitled "The Rage of Oppression." (I, 81.)

Adams' special or occasional sermons demonstrate his ability to choose appropriate texts and topics and make fitting applications to the occasion and the people concerned. For instance, when preaching to a company of soldiers, he uses the topic "The Soldier's Honour" (I, 31). At the solemnities of the election of a Lord Mayor of London, he preached a sermon at the Chapel of Guildhall with the title "The Holy Choice," and in it made application to the occasion by comparing election to public office with election to office in the church. (II, 254.) The text of this sermon is Acts 1:24, "And they prayed, and said, Thou, Lord, which knowest the hearts of all men, shew whether of these two thou hast chosen." In a sermon preached at the Triennial Visitation of the Lord Bishop of London, in Christ Church, he takes opportunity to approve visitations upon the ground of apostolical practice, and says, "... when we look back upon those first patterns, and find a rule of discipline fit for the present times, in vain we should study a new, that are so well accommodated with the old." His text in this connection is Acts 15:36 concerning

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37 Bush, op. cit., p. 298.
38 Thomas Smith names Dr. Mountaigne as the Bishop of London at the time, 1621-1627.
the visitations of Paul and Barnabas, and he relates it to the occasion by saying, "The business of the text and day is a visitation." (II, 264.) The introduction to his sermon on "The Sinner's Mourning-Habit" is made by reference to the time—the death of King James. (I, 149.) His sermon entitled "The Barren Tree" was preached on October 26, 1623, the day that the house fell upon the Papists in the Blackfriars, London, and in publishing a preface to it, application is made by reference to this incident:

It pleased God Almighty to make a fearful comment on this his own text (Luke XIII. 7), the very same day it was preached by his unworthiest servant. His holy pen had long since written it with ink, now his hand of justice expounded in the characters of blood. There was only a conditional menace: so it shall be. Here a terrible remonstrance: so it is. Surely he did not mean it for a nine days' wonder. Their sudden departure out of the world must not so suddenly depart from the memory of the world. Woe to that soul that shall take so slight a notice of so extraordinary a judgment. We do not say, They perished; charity forbid it. But this we say, It is a sign of God's favour, when he gives a man law. We pass no sentence upon them, yet let us take warning by them. The remarkableness would not be neglected, for the time, the place, the persons, the number, the manner. Yet still we conclude not, this was for the transgression of the dead; but this we are sure of, it is meant for the admonition of the living. Such is our blessed Saviour's conclusion upon a parallel instance: Except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish. There is no place safe enough for offenders; but when the Lord is once up in arms, happy man that can make his own peace! Otherwise, in vain we hope to run from the plague while we carry the sin along with us. Yet will not our wilful and bewitched recusants, from these legible characters, spell God's plain meaning. No impression can be made in those hearts, that are ordained to perish. For their malicious, causeless, and unchristian censures of us, God forgive them; our requital be only pity and prayers for them. Howsoever they
give out—(and I will not here examine) that their piety is more than ours: impudence itself cannot deny, but our charity is greater than theirs. Now the holy fear of God keep us in the way of faith and obedience, that the preparation of death may never prevent our preparation to die. And yet still, after our best endeavour, from sudden death, good Lord, deliver us all. Amen. (II, 185.)

Adams' sermons are often made timely with such references as "Sin of our times" (II, 242); "these sinful days" (I, 34); and "Oh for one dram of this respect of God's house in these days" (II, 102). He frequently made the points of his sermons applicable to the national life. For instance, in "The Soldier's Honour" after referring to honour, pleasure and riches, he exclaims, "These are thy gods, 0 England." (I, 37.) In the same sermon, with reference to a lack of concern about national defense, he again exclaims, "Oh the madness of us Englishmen." (I, 45.) He brings his sermon on "Thankfulness" to the point where he says, "It would here be examined England hath any ground in it guilty of this barren ingratitude." (I, 131.) He charges England and the church of having in them simoniacal patrons. (I, 463.) In another sermon, the church of England is considered in relationship to the doctrine of a catholic church. (II, 526.)

He also applies his sermons to people within more limited boundaries as when alluding to those living in London: "What innumerable swarms of nothing does beleaguer this city!" (II, 182.) Often his applications are of the sort that include people in general as a result of the uni-
versal character of the truth or common traits in people. "Let it be granted that we have all wandered from the way of life." (II, 19.) "Thus we all long for restrained things, and dote on difficulties." (I, 200.) Sometimes his applications are in the form of remarks or an interpretation following an illustrative story. (II, 545.) Sometimes he specifies classes he intends to include in the application of his discourse as where he says: "I would direct the application of this (reference to people being like stars) to three sorts of people--patrons, laity, ministers." (I, 463.) In another place, he indicates his intention of applying a doctrine to "the dispensers of God's secrets"--ministers--and to "all Christians." (I, 335.) Most generally, his manner of application is in an inclusive way to those who hear the sermon at the time of its delivery. This is observed in frequent statements such as the following: "To make this useful to ourselves" (II, 299); "Let us make some uses concerning this discourse . . ." (II, 519); and "Thus literally; let us come to some moral application to ourselves." "Now let us usefully apply them to ourselves." (II, 191.) "You can easily apply it." (II, 411.) "The application is this. . . ." (II, 465.) It is obvious that Adams wished his sermons to bear fruit in the lives of those who heard them as he expressed it: "Not perish in your memories, without some fruit in your lives." (III, 53.) The error of merely hearing sermons and not applying their message is indicated where he says, "You will admit fre-
quency of preaching, but you have taken an order with yourselves of rare practising" (II, 41); and again where he speaks of "Too many such among us, that will often join with the church in common devotions, who yet join with the world in common vices." (II, 11.) It was his constant endeavor to apply truth in such a way that his hearers would be moved to apply it to themselves in practice. He points out the cooperation needed in this respect between the preacher and the people in his sermon on "The Leaven." Referring to the woman in the parable, he says, "She hath it ready before she useth it." Then he makes this comment:

We must first have the gospel, before we can leaven your souls with it. We must not be vaporous and imaginative enthusiasts, to trust all on a dabitur in hore; but with much study and painfulness get this leaven, and apply it. What betters it to have a physician, that hath no medicine; or a medicine, without skill to apply it? Men think sermons as easy as they are common. You that never prepare yourselves to hear, think so of us, that we never prepare ourselves to preach. If this cheap conceit of preaching did not transport many, they would never covet to hear more in a day than they will learn in a year, or practise all their lives. Alas! how shall we take this leaven? The skill of mingling it is fetched from the schools of the prophets; from meditation, from books. But in these days, disquietness allows no meditation; penury, no books. You deprive us of our means, yet expect our leavens; as Pharaoh required of the Israelites their number of bricks, but allowed them no straw. (II, 78.)

F. Means of Securing and Holding Attention

In bringing this chapter on Adams' homiletical methods to a conclusion, one thing which has not been dis-
cussed should be mentioned. It is the fact that he was not
unaware of the psychological element in preaching, and consequently did not fail to employ it in his sermons. He resorts to his knowledge of human behaviour in the matter of securing and holding the attention of his auditory. He speaks of the importance of attention throughout a sermon.

This reprehends a common fashion of many auditors. When the preacher begins to analyse his text, and to open the points of doctrine, to inform the understanding, they lend him very cold attention. That part of the sermon is spent in slumber, as if it concerned us not. But when he comes to apply his conclusions, and to drive home the use of his inferences by application, then they begin to rouse up themselves, and lend an ear of diligence: as if they had only need to have their hearts warmed, and not to have their minds warmed and enlightened with knowledge. But, alas! no eyes, no salvation. Your affections are stirred in vain without a precedent illumination of your souls. You must know to do before you can do what you know. And indeed he that attends only to exhortation, and not to instruction, seems to build more upon man's zeal than God's word. Both do well together: attend to the 'doctrine,' and suffer also 'the word of exhortation,' that you may have both clear eyes and sound feet; those which God hath joined together let no man put asunder. (II, 377.)

Just as Adams used certain methods, already observed, in order to instruct, persuade and move his hearers so does his homiletical methods include various props and techniques designed and used for the purpose of effect—the creation and preservation of mental contact between himself and those whom he addresses. These methods consist primarily of the use of references to the sermon itself, especially its length, state of development, et cetera; exclamations, rhetorical questions, paradoxical statements, diversions of thought, satire, and humorous remarks and puns—the last
mentioned being an object of criticism by the editor of his collected works. The degree to which these usages of Adams were effective must of necessity go unascertained. How his sermons generally have been regarded since the time during which they were preached will be shown in the following chapter on an evaluation of his works.
CHAPTER V

AN EVALUATION

This writer feels that after dealing with the background of Adams' life and work, the substance of his religious thought and his characteristic preaching methods, it is necessary, for the completion of this thesis, to include a final chapter in which an attempt is made to evaluate the man and his works. This evaluation could be based on the study of Adams' writings alone—on what might be called an internal approach for evaluation purposes. However, it is thought best to supplement this material with certain external criteria of Adams' worth as a theologian and preacher. By external criteria is meant such things as how the writings of others have had a literary influence on him, the extent to which his writings have been included in the works of others, the manner in which his writings are compared with those of his contemporaries and with those of other times, and especially the most frequent comments made about Adams by other critics. It is to be regretted that the editor of Adams' works did not, as he intended, "insert [in Vol. III] a short dissertation on the literary requirements of Adams, what he borrowed from previous and contemporary writers, and what contemporary and succeeding
writers borrowed from him."1

In theology, Adams was unquestionably influenced most by Augustine and Calvin, and, as has been shown in Chapters II and III, follows very closely the latter in his interpretation of doctrine. In preaching, Adams is primarily medieval in spirit and content. G. R. Owst in his *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England* calls attention to the medieval spirit that persisted in the sermons of Adams.2 The influence of the medieval traditions in preaching, as observed in these sermons, is discussed more in detail by Charles Smyth in "A Practical Survey of Preaching in the Church of England, 747-1939." In this book entitled *The Art of Preaching*, Smyth singles out Adams especially as a late exponent of the exempla as a major characteristic of medieval preaching. He identifies exempla in medieval preaching with what is called illustrations in modern homiletics.3 Smyth says:

Exempla of the more traditional type—figures from the literature of classical antiquity, odd scraps of natural history, and observations regarding the properties of things—continue to be found in English preaching of the late medieval or pre-Tillotsonian period. . . . Thomas Adams . . . delights no less than any Anglo-catholic divine in the fabulous natural history of Pliny and the *Physiologus*: 'Poyson is like a serpent, death to a man, and that which is life to a man, his humidity and spettle; they say is death to a serpent.'4

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1 Adams, Works, I, x.
4 Ibid., pp. 113-114.
In another place in this same book, Smyth quotes from Adams' sermon "The City of Peace" and refers to it as a "full-blown specimen" of the use of moralized exemplum that long persisted in preaching techniques. He remarks that it had value for mnemonic purposes. Another writer, William Haller, in The Rise of Puritanism, describes how for centuries preachers had analyzed the moral life in the abstract and treated wickedness under a variety of categories such as pride, envy, lust, avarice, et cetera. This method, he points out:

... often led the preacher in the sixteenth and seventeenth, as in the fourteenth, centuries to more or less realistic description of actual manners and morals as well as elaborate systematic allegorization of moral abstractions. Not infrequently he ventured to attack particular persons or classes. On the other hand he also devoted his talents to the creation of allegorical types of human nature or of typical portraits and 'characters' representing moral qualities. Thus he came to depict the miser or the hypocrite instead of, or in addition to, defining or allegorizing the sins they embodied. Eventually he found it natural to portray social types, the country fellow, the townsman, the gallant, the apprentice and the milkmaid, even the preacher himself. Such devices and conventions are present in the sermons of Greenham and Smith as they are also in varying degrees in those of other Calvinist and Puritans of the time. Thomas Adams, for instance ... was ... a late and extreme though brilliant example of the persistance of these traditions.

Adams' use of allegory and the "character" has been treated elsewhere, but reference is made to these usages here to

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5 Ibid. pp. 90 ff.
emphasize the recognition given Adams by other writers, to show how his works are marked by the influence of medieval traditions and how he in turn seems to have helped perpetuate certain literary conventions in the writings of others. This last point is made significant by the opinion of certain authoritative critics that the allegorical material in Adams' works exerted some influence upon John Bunyan. The Rev. A. B. Grosart, in a sketch of Adams in the Dictionary of National Biography, states that "John Bunyan was then [1629, the date of Adams' first collected works] only two years old, but it seems certain that the Bedfordshire preacher's quartos and great folio came to be known and devoured by the 'immortal dreamer.'"\(^7\) Grosart also speaks in this sketch of Adams' ability to outmatch Bunyan's with respect to word 'portraits.' Owst calls attention to the inclusion of excerpts from Adams' sermons in the Lyman Beecher Lectures at Yale in 1897 (pp. 89-94, published 1900) and observes "in some passages an amazing likeness to Bunyan's own treatment of the characters and scene of Vanity Fair."\(^8\) Owst points out however that the lecturer makes no comment upon this similarity. It is further interesting if not significant that John Brown, in his book John Bunyan, quotes from Adams' sermon "Heaven and Earth Reconciled."\(^9\) Whether Bunyan was influenced and if so to

\(^8\)Owst, op. cit., pp. 101-102.
what extent by the writings of Thomas Adams must be left to
the opinion and imagination of the individuals who care to
compare the works of two gifted men who capitalized on passing
traditions to contribute in their own way to the field of
seventeenth century literature.

In evaluating Adams, it would be unfair to leave
the impression that he merely borrowed from the past and
is simply numbered among those who persisted late in the
practices of medieval preaching. Mitchell calls attention
to the interesting variety to be found in Adams' prose:

... the blending of old and new, the conceited and
the rhetorical, with the freer, grander, more poet¬
ical, and ultimately, more beautifully handled style
of Bacon and Donne and Taylor. While himself play¬
ing no definite part in discarding the old and adopt¬
ing the newer manner, Adams was keenly alive to the
effect to be produced by reverting from time to time
to the archaic manner or experimenting with the new.
His sermons, in consequence, are a kind of literary
workshop of the early seventeenth century, where we
may see English prose in the making. ... It was
for others to choose the manner English prose should
adopt; but it remains to Adams' credit, as it gives
to his work an additional importance, that he should
have seen its possibilities, and amid the demands of
a spiritual cure in a distracted time have experi¬
mented so interestingly with the materials he found
to his hand. 10

Mitchell's phrase "the materials he found to his hand" aptly
points to the fact that Adams' genius lay in his ability
to use well the rich literary heritage of his age rather
than in any unique contribution to that age. Bush speaks
of Adams' ability to handle discreetly secular quotations
ranging from numerous classics to Montaigne, John Owen,

10 Mitchell, op. cit., p. 221.
Chapman, and Sylvester and "one may say ingeniously when Ovid’s lines about a woman’s feigned resistance are applied to the soul and the body." This ability to effectively integrate a wide range of literary materials into his own writings no doubt accounts for the fact that Adams’ works resemble those of many different writers and the fact that he has been compared to many writers of note. As a rhetorician, Adams can be compared to such men as Joseph Hall, John Donne and Jeremy Taylor. All had been affected by the "Senecan" influence and showed an affinity with reference to sermon schemata. A kinship to Adams’ schematic pattern is observed in one of Donne’s Hague Sermons: "No eloquence enclined them, no terrors declined them, no dangers withdrew them, no preferment drew them." Mitchell further observes in Adams’ "Mystical Bedlam" a resemblance to Donne. Bush likewise sees a resemblance between Donne and Adams.

Adams’ ability to portray the manner of his times and the conditions of men of all ages by means of the "character" is one of the most distinguishing features of his sermons. As a character writer, he has been favorably compared to Thomas Overbury and John Earle. In his "characters," Mitchell sees "a highly coloured portrayal of sin" which reminds of the Elizabethan Pamphleteers.

1 Bush, op. cit., p. 299.
3 Ibid., p. 218.
4 Bush, op. cit., p. 299.
5 Mitchell, op. cit., p. 219.
nineteen characters in "The Soul's Sickness" are considered by Mitchell to be "a considerable advance ... in the power of 'witty' delineation." Bush finds in this same sermon a reminder of Burton in character device. Also, he thinks of Adams' works as attesting more clearly than Hall's the mutual debt of character and sermon.

To speak of Joseph Hall is to speak of a man of Adams' own age whom he seems to resemble most from the standpoint of a lively and racy style which made for vividness in preaching. Stowell makes what seems to be a fair comparison between Joseph Hall and Thomas Adams:

In both we have the same varied learning, somewhat ostentatiously displayed; the same fondness for antithesis and quaint conceits; the same richness of Scriptural illustration; the same pugency and pathos in appealing to the conscience and the affections; the same fervour of piety and soundness of doctrine ...

Another contemporary with whom Adams has been both compared and contrasted is Lancelot Andrews. In scholarship and deep learning, the two met on common ground, but differed noticeably in that Andrews "presented truth in her naked purity," and "not bedizened with human and profane learning" as did Adams. For intellectual and oratorical power, Adams was akin to "the silver-tongued" Henry Smith; for his love of the gospel to Richard Baxter; for fancy and splendor of imagery to Jeremy Taylor; for wit to Thomas

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16 Ibid., p. 220.
17 Bush, op. cit., p. 298.
19 Stowell, op. cit., p. xv.
20 Bush, op. cit., p. 297. See also p. 301.
Fulcher; for his plainness and directness of speech, to Hugh Latimer; and for thoroughness, to Barrow. With all of his versatility, it is not unfitting that Adams has been called "The Prose Shakespeare of Puritan theologians"—an appellation attributed to Southey and included in most biographical sketches of Adams.\(^{21}\) This designation is generally accepted as being merited, and is found to be disputed in only one instance.\(^{22}\) In his *Puritan Preaching in England*, John Brown, by way of comparison makes the following statement:

We remember how Shakespeare makes Hamlet exclaim, 'What a piece of work is a man! how noble in reason! how infinite in faculty! in form and moving how express and admirable!' Here is an exclamation by this other Shakespeare—this Shakespeare among the Puritans, not unworthy to stand beside it. 'Oh, how goodly this building of man appears when it is clothed with beauty and honor! A face full of majesty, the throne of comeliness wherein the whiteness of the lily contends with the sanguine of the rose; an active hand, an erected countenance, an eye sparkling out lustre, a smooth complexion arising from an excellent temperature and composition, Oh, what a workman was this, that could raise such a fabric out of the earth, and lay such orient colors upon dust!'\(^{23}\)

A comparison like this along with the general nature of Adams' writings is convincing to this writer that the comparison between Shakespeare and Adams is warranted. The fertility of imagination, the intimate acquaintance with human nature, the felicity of expression, and the scope of


\(^{22}\) *Haller*, op. cit., p. 31.

knowledge to be found in Thomas Adams seems sufficiently
like these qualities in Shakespeare to entitle Adams to be
called "the prose Shakespeare of Puritan theologians."
Regardless of the difference of opinion in this connection,
one thing at least can be agreed upon: Like Shakespeare,
we have the works of Adams, but know comparatively little
about the man himself.

"The sermons and expositions [of Adams] have been
highly regarded by many critics" is a statement found in
A History of Preaching by E. C. Dagan. In addition to
the remarks of critics, the excellency of Adams' thoughts
and the acceptable manner in which he expressed himself is
evidenced by the places where some of his writings are
found outside his own published works. His commonplace
sayings are quoted extensively in Stevenson's Book of Quo-
tations. His description of a "Rich Fool" is found in
John Spencer's Things Old and New. John Vicars quotes
from his "Black Devil." He is honored by H. C. Fish in
his History and Repository of Pulpit Eloquence by the inclu-
sion of his sermon "The Three Divine Sisters: Faith, Hope
and Charity." Dagan reproduces some "quaint beauties of

24 E. C. Dagan, A History of Preaching (2 Vols.; New
York, 1912), II, 168.
26 John Spencer, Things Old and New (4th ed. by J. G.
Pilkington; London, 1872), p. 75.
27 Found in Coleman's St. Conclave Visited, 1647.
28 Fish, History and Repository of Pulpit Eloquence
Adams. John Brown collected and edited twelve of his sermons which were published in a small volume of the Cambridge Devotional Series, 1909. One of his sermons is found in Bishop Henson's Selected English Sermons (World Classics, 1939). Some of his characters are reproduced in G. Murphy's "Cabinet of Characters" (1925). In an "Exposition of Jude" (London, 1652), William Jenkyns uses a number of Adams' thoughts as set forth in his own commentary on Second Peter. The inclusion of selected excerpts from Adams' works in those of such persons as named above is sufficient evidence to cause Adams to be looked upon as one who was qualified to stand in the forefront of England's great and gifted preachers of the seventeenth century.

In concluding this evaluation as well as this paper, the author would summarize his own estimate of Thomas Adams in the following manner: Thomas Adams was a sound theologian of the Calvinist school of thought. Though deserving to be called a Doctrinal Puritan, his preaching was less doctrinal in form and less experimental and evangelical in essence than the ordinary Puritan discourse. It is to his credit that his preaching was in no way removed from life and the practical interpretation of it in light of Scriptural truth. As J. Stoughton says: "He is ever combattting the vices around him and insisting upon a solid Scriptural morality."

29 Dagan, op. cit., II, 163.
30 See Adams, Works, III, iv.
him from drawing upon "heathen writers" or from the use of lively comparisons and vivid illustrations in his preaching. Adams was a loyal churchman and is admired for the courage of his convictions. He spoke out in no uncertain terms against any with whom he disagreed and especially with those whom he considered heretical and schismatical.

As a preacher, Adams is admired most. Here he displays more than ordinary gifts of intellectual and oratorical power. His sermons are appreciated for their clarity and vigor, for their abundance of imagery and curious felicity of expression, for their topical allusions and commonplaces, for their variety and quaintness, for their depth of thought and practical wisdom, for their severity and tenderness, for their elements of conceit and humor, and for their freshness and originality.

This writer would adversely criticize Adams in the following way: As a theologian, he is at times overly dogmatic. As a churchman, he tends to be too intolerant. As a preacher, he is excessively rhetorical and fanciful. However, in his defense, it can be said that these shortcomings were as much a characteristic of his age as of the man as an individual. As the editor of his collected works has said: "Every reader who can appreciate genuine English manliness, decided sentiments, and frankness in expressing them, will receive a rich treat in the perusal of the works of Thomas Adams." 32

32 Adams, Works, I, xi.
# APPENDIX

## ADAMS' SERMONS

**Volume I**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I. Politic Hunting</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>II. Plain-Dealing</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. The Soldier's Honour</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. The Sinner's Mourning-Habit</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. Heaven Made Sure</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI. A Generation of Serpents</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII. The Rage of Oppression</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII. The Victory of Patience</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX. God's House</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X. The Sacrifice of Thankfulness</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XI. God's Bounty: The First Sermon</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XII. God's Bounty: The Second Sermon</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIII. The Fatal Banquet: The First Sermon</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIV. The Fatal Banquet: The Second Service</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XV. The Fatal Banquet: The Breaking Up of the Feast</td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVI. The Fatal Banquet: The Shot</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVII. The Fool and his Sport</td>
<td>245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVIII. Mystical Bedlam</td>
<td>254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIX. The Gallant's Burden</td>
<td>294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter</td>
<td>Title</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XX</td>
<td>The Sinner's Passing-Bell.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXI</td>
<td>Physic from Heaven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXII</td>
<td>England's Sickness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXIII</td>
<td>England's Sickness (continued)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXIV</td>
<td>Heaven and Earth Reconciled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXV</td>
<td>The Soul's Sickness: A Discourse, Divine, Moral, and Physical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Volume II</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXVI</td>
<td>Christ's Star</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXVII</td>
<td>The Way Home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXVIII</td>
<td>The Good Politician Directed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXIX</td>
<td>The Black Saint</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXX</td>
<td>The Leaven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXXI</td>
<td>The Two Sons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXXII</td>
<td>Majesty in Misery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXXIII</td>
<td>Lycanthropy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXXIV</td>
<td>The Cosmopolite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXXV</td>
<td>The Fire of Contention</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXXVI</td>
<td>The Barren Tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXXVII</td>
<td>Faith's Encouragement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXXVIII</td>
<td>The Lost Are Found</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXXIX</td>
<td>The White Devil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XL</td>
<td>The Holy Choice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XLI</td>
<td>A Visitation Sermon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XLII</td>
<td>The Three Divine Sisters: Faith, Hope, and Charity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XLIII</td>
<td>The Temple</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
XLIV. The City of Peace ........................................ 311
XLV. The Bad Leaven ........................................... 335
XLVI. Man's Seed-Time and Harvest ............................ 360
XLVII. Spiritual Eye-Slave ...................................... 375
XLVIII. The Saint's Meeting .................................... 388
XLIX. The Christian's Walk ..................................... 404
L. Love's Copy .................................................... 413
LI. A Crucifix ..................................................... 422
LII. A Divine Herbal ............................................ 435
LIII. The Praise of Fertility .................................... 447
LIV. A Contemplation of the Herbs ............................. 457
LV. The Forest of Thorns ....................................... 471
LVI. The End of Thorns ......................................... 485
LVII. The Happiness of the Church ............................. 493

Volume III

LVIII. Semper Idem; or, The Immutable Mercy
 of Jesus Christ ..................................................... 1
LIX. The Taming of the Tongue .................................. 10
LX. The Soul's Refuge .......................................... 23
LXI. The Spiritual Navigator Bound for the
 Holy Land ............................................................ 38
LXII. Presumption Running into Despair ....................... 63
LXIII. Heaven-Gate; or, The Passage to Paradise ............ 74
 Meditations upon Some Part of the Creed ...................... 85
LXIV. God's Anger ................................................. 265
LXV. Man's Comfort .............................................. 280
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