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ABSTRACT OF THESIS

Name of Candidate Raymond James Wells

Degree Doctor of Philosophy *Date* May, 1957

Title of Thesis ADAM CLARKE, LL.D., (1760?-1832)
CHURCH LEADER IN EARLY METHODISM

Adam Clarke was a church leader in early Methodism during the greatest transitional era in English history. He became a Methodist preacher of the Gospel when John Wesley--nine years before his death--laid his hands upon the Irish lad and made him an Itinerant helper. Clarke emerged into prominence in the period of crisis after Wesley when the very existence of the Societies was threatened. That the Conference--without the unifying presence of Wesley--was able to initiate changes to meet the spiritual demands of the people, and that the Connexion was able to pursue a separate, middle course, was due to the distinguished leadership of preachers such as Adam Clarke.

However, because of his magnum opus, the Commentary on the Holy Bible, Clarke is known today mainly as a Biblical scholar. Hence, the significance of his general leadership in the difficult post-Wesley period has never been properly recognized or evaluated. This study reveals that his motivation for leadership came from his strong evangelical purpose. For, as a child of the Wesleyan Revival, Clarke's single aim during his half-century of ministry was to advance the cause of Christianity in every part of the world that all men might be converted to Christ. Hence, while inheriting a strong attachment for the Establishment, he became a Wesleyan preacher in order to be most useful. Moreover, he became a diligent student of the Bible in order to expound God's Word effectively. During the 1790's he promoted changes in the Conference that would satisfy the people's demand for the sacraments. In the early nineteenth century he shared the fruits of his Biblical research with others by use of his pen in order to assist in the understanding of God's Word. Likewise, he assisted Evangelicals and Dissenters in translating Bibles, as in their humanitarian efforts, in order to share the blessings of God's great plan of

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salvation. He also sought to use his influence among Government leaders, with whom he became acquainted while working on the Public Records, to increase religious liberty.

Clarke would have been a more influential Wesleyan churchman had he given stronger leadership to the "Moderate-Conservatives" during the growth of rigid Conservatism; however, having a strong aversion to party politics, he preferred to remain a man of peace. He would have been recognized more widely as a Wesleyan theologian had he not rejected the eternal Sonship, but he followed his own independent thinking. Despite these and other weaknesses, his leadership was effective in improving the quality of Wesleyan preaching and in raising the level of denominational literature. Few preachers did more than Clarke to promote the general interests of the Connexion--particularly evangelism, missions, education, and charities. That Wesleyan Methodism was able to expand in the nineteenth century and to become a Church recognized universally, was due in a large part to the appropriate leadership of Adam Clarke--not only as a Biblical scholar, but also as an effective preacher, independent theologian, influential churchman, and honored public figure.

Adam Clarke

ADAM CLARKE, LL.D., (1760?-1832)
CHURCH LEADER IN EARLY METHODISM

A Thesis
Presented to
the Faculty of Divinity
University of Edinburgh

In Partial Fulfilment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy

---

by
Raymond James Wells, A.B., S.T.B., S.T.M.
May 1957

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To

Marilynn

Sarah Lynn

and

Mark Raymond James

PREFACE

Adam Clarke is known today primarily for his *magnum opus*, the Commentary on the Holy Bible; however, in early Methodism he was more than a Bible scholar. An understanding of the significance of Clarke's general leadership and the evaluation of his work have been largely overlooked. It is this neglect that prompted The Very Reverend Principal Emeritus Watt of New College, University of Edinburgh, to suggest the study of "Adam Clarke as Church Leader in Early Methodism."

The purpose of this thesis is to ascertain the significance of Adam Clarke's leadership in early Methodism. It is a study and evaluation of the several areas of his leadership in the crucial years after Wesley not only as a Biblical scholar, but also as a preacher, theologian, churchman, and public figure.

Since this thesis is primarily an evaluation of Clarke's general leadership, neither a historical nor biographical approach *per se* is used. Yet, the transitional years of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries are considered in order to give the historical setting of the period in which Clarke lived and worked. Likewise, a study is made of early Methodism during these years of change; the writer of this thesis has found that a complete history of Methodism during its "Middle Period (1781-1849)" is still a *desideratum*. The greater interest in John Wesley and the Evangelical Revival of the eighteenth century has resulted in the neglect of the important years after Wesley when the Methodist Societies separated from the Mother

Church and established themselves as a new form of Dissent. General Methodist historians discuss mainly the growth of organization and the various secessions that took place without grasping the picture *en toto*. The prize essay by E. R. Taylor, *Methodism & Politics 1791-1851*, and the work of Maldwyn Edwards, *After Wesley*, are the only published studies of this period of Methodism, but both are brief with obvious limitations. The respective studies of Wearmouth and Warner, while not dealing primarily with Methodist history *per se*, are reliable and helpful. John H. S. Kent has made a significant study of the later years of this period in his unpublished Doctor of Philosophy thesis (Emmanuel College, Cambridge University) entitled, "The Struggle between Radicalism and Conservatism in Methodism, 1815-1848." Consequently, this study on Adam Clarke will contribute indirectly to a fuller understanding of this neglected phase of Methodist history.

Although this thesis is not intended to be a biography of Adam Clarke, a brief biographical sketch of his life is given in order to consider the important aspects of his work and to evaluate his general leadership. The details of his life are sufficiently recorded in the various "Memoirs" written by J. M. Hare (1834), W. Jones (1834), R. West (1849), T. M. Newness (1858), J. W. Etheridge (1858), S. Dunn (1863), and others. The most valuable biographical source is *An Account of the Infancy, Religious and Literary Life of Adam Clarke, LL.D., F.A.S., &c.* (1833), written in three volumes by himself and members of his family. The most comprehensive biography is the three volume

work of Clarke's close friend and great admirer, James Everett. He wrote Adam Clarke Portrayed (1843-1849), and added a fourth volume in 1854 entitled, The Last Years of Adam Clarke. Moreover, this important biographer gathered and edited The Miscellaneous Works of Adam Clarke (1836-1839). This thirteen volume collection contains most of the results of Clarke's pen, with the exception of such larger works as his Commentary, Bibliographical Dictionary, Bibliographical Miscellany, and Concise View of Sacred Literature, et cetera. The latest biography--and the only work on Clarke that has been written during the last century--is the brief study by Maldwyn Edwards. This publication entitled, Adam Clarke, was the result of a popular lecture delivered by the author to the Wesley Historical Society in 1942. Edward's purpose was not to give a complete and systematized study of Clarke, but to rediscover the importance of this early Methodist and to make him live today. That Edwards succeeded is evidenced by the present study that has grown out of this introductory work. While there are several "Memoirs" of Adam Clarke extant, no complete, systematized study of the significance of his leadership and evaluation of his work in early Methodism has been undertaken. It is this neglect and need, together with the finding of new manuscripts and materials, that give justification for this study.

The procedure used herein will be: first, to consider the historical setting of the period when Adam Clarke emerged into prominence; second, to place him in this setting and to give a short portrayal of his life; and third, to study and evaluate

the various areas of his leadership in early Methodism not only as a Biblical scholar, but also as a preacher, theologian, churchman, and public figure.

The writer of this thesis is indebted to the several persons and institutions that have given generous invaluable assistance in the research for this study. The Reverend Principal John T. Wilkinson, The Hartley Victoria Methodist College, Manchester, was particularly helpful in making available the abundant material on Adam Clarke in the James Everett Collection of MSS. and the George A. K. Hobill Collection of Early Methodist Literature. Likewise, The Reverend Doctor Frank F. Baker, General Secretary, the Wesley Historical Society, was helpful in enabling the writer to have access to the material in the Lamplough Collection of MSS., Strong Rooms, City Road, and to transcripts from his own collection as well as bibliographical information. Other persons who made available to the writer manuscript material in various collections were : The Reverend Doctor Frank H. Cumbers and The Reverend J. Henry Martin, the Collection of MSS., Strong Rooms, City Road, London; The Reverend E. T. Selby and The Reverend Doctor W. Partridge, the W. L. Watkinson Collection of MSS., John Wesley's Chapel, Broadmead, Bristol; and L. C. Hector, Esquire, Public Record Office MSS., Chancery Lane, London. In addition, the writer received manuscript letters and transcripts from the following individuals: Major L. E. Clarke (great-grandson of Adam Clarke), Ballynolan, Kildimo, County Limerick; Miss O. Austen, Brede, Sussex; and The Reverend Doctor Francis J. Cole, Ardmara, Greenisland, County Antrim.

Moreover, the writer of this thesis is appreciative of the general assistance given by librarians, particularly that of The Reverend Doctor J. A. Lamb and Miss E. R. Leslie, New College Library, University of Edinburgh. Appreciation is extended also to the librarians and staffs of the following libraries: The National Library of Scotland and The Public Library, Edinburgh; The British Museum and The Wesley Historical Society Library, London; The John Rylands Library and The Hartley Victoria Methodist College Library, Manchester; and The Bodleian Library, Oxford University, Oxford.

The writer is particularly indebted to the advisors of this study who have given generous guidance and assistance: The Reverend Principal Charles S. Duthie and The Very Reverend Principal J. H. S. Burleigh. Other persons who have given personal assistance are: The Reverend Doctor David Stewart, John Bebbington, Esquire, The Reverend Doctor Robert Allen, The Reverend R. H. Gallagher, and The Reverend J. B. Jameson, Belfast; G. B. Johnston, Esquire, M. P. S., Coleraine; The Reverend Doctor R. Lee Cole, Dublin; The Reverend Doctor Maldwyn Edwards, Birmingham; and The Reverend Doctor John H. S. Kent, Cambridge.

American spelling and punctuation are used throughout this thesis.

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CHAPTER I

METHODISM AFTER JOHN WESLEY

CHAPTER I

METHODISM AFTER JOHN WESLEY

I. England in Transition

Adam Clarke's usefulness in Wesleyan Methodism spans half a century and is concurrent with the greatest transitional period in English history.[1] This transition began with the loss of the American Colonies in 1782, the same year John Wesley laid his hands upon the promising lad from Ireland.[2] J. R. Green says:

> "The England that is about us dates from the American War. It was then that the moral, the philanthropic, the religious ideas which have moulded English society into its present shape first broke the spiritual torpor of the eighteenth century."[3]

The landmark historians use to close this half century of change is the passing of Lord Grey's Reform Bill in 1832 and coincident with this was the death of Adam Clarke.[4] A recent British historian adds the judgment that these fifty years, crowded with exciting events and picturesque personalities, "compose a single epoch."[5]

That epoch, which Adam Clarke witnessed during his years of service, was not merely the end of the eighteenth century and

. . . . . .

1. W. L. Mathieson, England in Transition 1789-1832, Preface.
2. This is not to be confused with ordination, but was Wesley's usual custom when sending out new Itinerants. This event took place in Bristol on September 6, 1782, and the provisional articles of peace between England and the United States were signed on November 30, 1782.
3. J. R. Green, History of the English People, IV, p. 272.
4. Clarke died on August 26, 1832, and the Reform Bill became law on June 27, 1832.
5. G. M. Trevelyan, British History in the Nineteenth Century (1782-1901), Preface, p. viii.

the beginning of the nineteenth, but rather, the death of the mediaeval age and the unexpected birth of modern civilization.[1]

E. R. Taylor says:

> "Socially and economically, it was a period of change and industrialisation; politically, it was moulded by the French Revolution, its ideas, its results, its hopes and its fears; culturally and artistically, Romanticism swept the field; religiously, in England at least, the Evangelical Movement had its period of greatest activity and influence. In every sphere of life . . . there were great forces at work reshaping men's thought and action."[2]

These transitional years, between feudal and modern life, were turbulent and painful. The storm of the American War was countered by the severe gales of the French Revolution which swept across the channel and blew fiercely and relentlessly upon a land already troubled by economic and social change. Then the dark shadow of Napoleon Bonaparte fell upon the whole scene, bringing fear, reaction, and suffering. These tumultuous events aggravated the worst features of the old civilization before they could be mitigated by the amenities of the new. And the modern England that was born was at first misshapen, undesirable, unconscious of herself; nor were there absent "the usual pangs and pains of unexpected birth."[3] Not least among the causes of such a birth were the changes brought by the rise of industry and new methods of agriculture.

A. Industrial and Agrarian Revolutions

The Industrial Revolution, the shift from small home

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1. Sydney Carter, The English Church in the Eighteenth Century, pp. 11-12.
2. E. R. Taylor, Methodism & Politics, 1791-1851, p. 88.
3. H. B. Workman, Methodism, p. 9.

industry to factory mass-production, and the Agrarian Revolution, the change from "subsistence agriculture" to large-scale capitalistic farming,[1] both date from 1760, the year Adam Clarke was born.[2] These disintegrating forces tore up traditional village life and brought economic and social changes that were "violent and revolutionary."[3] These powerful processes swiftly transformed England from an agricultural country into the "workshop of the world."[4] This shift from the country to the town was due to a whole series of great mechanical inventions which changed with unexampled rapidity the whole course of English industry and in little more than a generation created manufacturing centers unequalled in the world.[5] This brought desolation to rural areas almost overnight. In Goldsmith's well-known work, "The Deserted Village," he vividly portrayed this change when he said:

> No busy steps the grass-grown footway tread,
> For all the flush of life is fled.[6]

Large factories and great towns mushroomed in the North; wild

. . . . . .

1. G. M. Trevelyan, op. cit., pp. 4-5; and W. R. Inge, England, p. 192. England's struggle with France made it necessary to use her soil to the best advantage; hence, capitalists were encouraged to introduce new scientific methods of seeding, fertilizing, and breeding. This inevitably dispossessed the small farmer who was unable to compete.
2. Arnold Toynbee, Lectures on the Industrial Revolution of the Eighteenth Century England, p. 32. Toynbee was first to use the term, "Industrial Revolution." Clarke was born either in 1760 or 1762, probably in the former. Vide Appendix A. Since both the Agrarian and Industrial Revolutions began at this time and ended around 1820 and 1830 respectively, they coincide with Clarke's life span of about seventy years.
3. J. H. Plumb, England in the Eighteenth Century (1714-1815), p. 77.
4. Green, op. cit., pp. 872-3.
5. W. E. H. Lecky, A History of England in the Eighteenth Century, II, p. 636.
6. R. A. Willmott (ed.), The Poems of Oliver Goldsmith, p. 42.

heaths and barren moors became densely populated. Suddenly the modern industrial age was born. "Since the neolithic revolution," Plumb asserts, "when men learned to domesticate animals and grow crops, there had been nothing of such consequence for the material destiny of man."[1] The old traditional life of the eighteenth century formed a sharp contrast to the new style of the nineteenth, as given poetically:

Old Style
Man, to the plough;
Wife, to the cow;
Girl, to the yarn;
Boy, to the barn,
And your rent will be netted.

New Style
Man, Tally Ho
Miss, piano
Wife, silk and satin
Boy, Greek and Latin
And you'll all be Gazetted.[2]

However, between the old style and the new Victorian Age, the road was neither smooth nor without economic, social, and political dangers. Since the Industrial Revolution came first in England, she benefited and suffered as a pioneer.[3] The economic doctrine of laissez-faire, dominant throughout the eighteenth century and now enjoying its golden age, gave the factory masters a free hand.[4] Science had advanced then, as today, more

. . . . . .

1. Plumb, op. cit., p. 83; and E. A. Payne, The Church Awakes, p. 17.
2. Cited by G. M. Trevelyan, English Social History, p. 472.
3. A. L. Rowse, The Spirit of English History, p. 108; and Lecky, op. cit., pp. 636 et seqq.
4. Laissez-faire was at its height from 1780 to 1830, paralleling the half century of transition. Ramsay Muir, A Short History of the British Commonwealth, II, The Modern Commonwealth, pp. 314-6.

rapidly than social legislation.[1] Before relief could come, the new "proletariat" suffered appalling injustice and unbelievable misery.

The Enclosure Acts progressively took from the poor people the privilege that had made their existence possible.[2] Paupers thus created had to receive help from the Poor Laws which stripped them even of their self-respect. These impoverished peasants, dispossessed of home and self-esteem, were herded to the factory towns of the North and forced to live in places that were not the homes of a race, but the "barracks of an industry."[3] The most pathetic was the "crying of the children" who, driven by brutal taskmasters to factory toil, "half-dressed but not half-fed," could be heard even above the din of new machinery. Even as young as five years, children were torn from their parents, without hope of seeing them again, to labor fourteen and sixteen hours a day in factories and to be herded together at night into bare barns. Iron was the working material and workers were looked upon as mere machines to be exploited at will. A hundred colliers might be killed in a Northumberland mine without even a coroner's inquest.[4] And when these victims needed most to make their wretchedness known, the liberty even

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1. T. S. Ashton, The Industrial Revolution 1760-1830, pp. 140-1.
2. G. M. Trevelyan, British History in the Nineteenth Century, 1782-1901, p. 146.
3. J. L. and Barbara Hammond, The Town Labourer, pp. 38-9.
4. J. L. and Barbara Hammond, The Rise of Modern Industry, p. 158. The putting of children to work was not a new idea, for Locke had suggested that they should begin work at three. Defoe rejoiced to see that in busy Yorkshire clothiers' homes most every child above four years of age was able with his own hands to earn his own support. Ibid., pp. 195-7.

to protest was forbidden by laws skillfully enacted and savagely administered by those to whose advantage they were devised.[1] The wretched workers were faced with poverty, malnutrition, and disease; they were haunted with constant fear of unemployment and starvation. The incompetent Tory government, dominated by owners of rotten boroughs, offered them no relief, no educational improvement, no police protection and even suspended its old Habeas Corpus safeguards.[2] And the stagnant Church, used as a tool for corrupt political ends and manned by a clergy known as "the most lifeless in the world," sadly neglected its impoverished parishioners.[3] Hogarth's "Beer Street" and "Gin Lane" only too faithfully represent these, who--without hope--took up the offer "to get drunk for a penny, or dead drunk for two pence."[4] They gave themselves over to vicious living and brutal pastimes. The contaminated hideousness of their lives served only to intensify the love of God and hope of Heaven preached by John Wesley and his Itinerants, such as Adam Clarke. Methodism, which rose with industrialism, was almost alone in showing love and giving to these a hope of a present deliverance and of a brighter day.[5]

These workers, massed together and enduring such unprecedented hardships, were "tinder to the flames of agitation."[6]

. . . . . .

1. Robert Wearmouth, Methodism and the Working-Class Movements of England 1800-1850, pp. 52-3. Meetings of workers were illegal and secret meetings were looked upon as seditious.
2. Trevelyan, op. cit., p. 71.
3. J. R. Green, A History of the English People, IV, pp. 273-4.
4. J. R. Green, A Short History of the English People, p. 736.
5. Lecky, op. cit., II, p. 600; and E. R. Taylor, Methodism & Politics 1791-1851, p. 89.
6. G. M. Trevelyan, English Social History, pp. 476-7.

Temptations to give expression to their feelings grew; their restraints weakened. Even the new middle class which rose in wealth and importance side by side with the workers it exploited--though encouraged to make money and pay taxes--were told they had come into the world too late to be counted among the privileged ruling class.[1] Before this group swung round towards Radicalism to usher in reform and relief, there was a swelling of mass discontent in the nation which was further aggravated by the hopes and fears of the revolt in France.

B. American and French Revolutions

The cataclysm of the French Revolution overshadowed the storm of the American War, yet both are among the most important events of history.[2] The gaining of independence by the Americans and the creation of the United States had a strong influence throughout the world. In the mother country it aroused no small dissatisfaction with the Absolute Monarchy and unreformed parliament; it stimulated political interest and agitation for reforms.[3] The American example gave "the cue to every friend of liberty in the old world";[4] and among the nations most eager to receive this

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1. G. M. Trevelyan, British History in the Nineteenth Century 1782-1901, pp. 61-2.
2. G. P. Gooch, "Europe and the French Revolution," The Cambridge Modern History, VIII, pp. 754-5.
3. P. A. Brown, The French Revolution in English History, pp. 25-6. Adam Clarke said concerning the state of England at this time: "I believe the basis of our government to be the very best in the world; but I am not ignorant of the corruptions which have crept into it, and I believe a reform in parliament essential to its salvation." Cited by James Everett, Adam Clarke Portrayed, I, p. 323.
4. H. A. L. Fisher, A History of Europe, III, p. 791; and Basil

"cue" was France.

On the Continent, and especially in France where the ancien régime endured to the end of the eighteenth century, erruptive forces of a complex nature were seething beneath a despotic monarchical suppression. Existing institutions furnished no hope against this strangling domination of absolutism.[1] The rising power of the peasants, guided by an intelligent middle class in revolt, became irresistible. Philosophers filled them with enthusiasm by undermining traditions, exalting human reason, and enthroning the grand idea of democratic freedom. The great demonstration of democracy in America gave them the needed determination by making revolution seem easy and profitable.[2]

Then the French Revolution came![3] It was like an erupting volcano bringing destruction in the wake of its flowing fury. With this dramatic upheaval, which came so apocalyptically, the remains of the mediaeval world were broken up. The three watchwords, Liberté, Égalité, and Fraternité were screamed aloud to an astonished world, and "the Grand Monarchy, supreme

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Hall, "Travels in North America," The Eclectic Review, II (November, 1829), p. 369.

1. S. C. Carpenter, Church and People, 1789-1889, p. 1. For a discussion of the causes of the French Revolution, vide Ramsay Muir, A Short History of the British Commonwealth, II, pp. 149-152.
2. The idea of liberty received from Hobbes and Locke was developed fully into the idea of democracy by Rousseau, but not before the stage was set by Voltaire who tore the veil of traditional reverence and the Encyclopaedists who exalted human reason. W. L. Mathieson, England in Transition 1789-1832, pp. 15-16; and Muir, op. cit., pp. 149-152.
3. The French Revolution was a series of events which extended from the fall of the Bastille on July 14, 1789, to about the end of the eighteenth century.

example of magnificance and privilege, was dissolved as in a night."[1] It opened a new era for democracy; its vibrating message of equality of man still echoes around the world. In the mêlée the fabric of social order in France was destroyed; in Europe it was everywhere shaken and not least to feel the shock was England.[2]

At first it brought only surprising amazement and general enthusiasm among the people of its rival enemy. Many felt it served France right for helping America and others felt their status quo had been unjust and oppressive. Fox, the exuberant leader of the Whigs, now fired with new hope for reforms, proclaimed the fall of the Bastille as "the greatest event that has ever happened in the world, and how much the best."[3] The three groups most attracted--the Poets, the Reformers, and the Republicans--hailed it as giving promise to "everlasting joy to France."[4] "The mind of man went a-venturing and youth found its romance in radicalism."[5] Price, voicing the joy of Dissent, long famished for religious liberty, thanked God that he had lived to see this

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1. W. J. Townsend, H. B. Workman, and George Eayrs (eds.), A New History of Methodism, I, pp. 361-2.
2. The French Revolution has been compared to the other two great movements of the world, the rise of Christianity, which taught man that he was a spiritual being, and the Reformation, which proclaimed nothing need stand between the soul and God. Gooch, op. cit., p. 754; and Carpenter, op. cit., p. 1.
3. Cited by Carpenter, op. cit., p. 3. Adam Clarke, who called himself a Whig, shared the optimistic view that had the French been left alone, they would have made a system which would have been the glory of the whole earth. James Everett, Adam Clarke Portrayed, I, p. 323.
4. Wordsworth cited by H. S. Skeats, History of the Free Churches of England from A.D. 1688-A.D. 1851, p. 499; and Maldwyn Edwards, John Wesley and the Eighteenth Century, p. 83.
5. M. H. Adams, Studies in the Literary Backgrounds of English Radicalism, p. 8.

glorious event.[1] Wordsworth expressed the optimism of the day by singing:

> Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive,
> But to be young was very heaven![2]

However, the trumpet of warning was sounded by Burke[3] who, looking across the Channel with the eyes of a prophet, saw only architects of ruin. His instinctive preference for that which had "grown" to that which was "made" caused him to arouse an enthusiasm for the old.[4] Tom Payne countered in the battle of pens with an outspoken attack upon the English Government.[5] Adam Clarke, who claimed to have "never meddled in any party-matters,--in church, in state, or in civil life,"[6] pleaded in the spirit of Burke:

> "Britons, value your privileges, guard your constitution, and protect your king; your constitution and your monarchy are inseparable--they stand or fall together; and public happiness flourishes or fades with them."[7]

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1. Brown, op. cit., pp. 30-1.
2. William Wordsworth, "French Revolution," Lines 4-5, The Poetical Works of Wordsworth, The "Albion" Ed., p. 113.
3. Edward Burke, Reflections on the Revolution in France. In this influential work he emphasizes that he is for liberty, but a "liberty only in the guise of order."
4. Basil Willey, The Eighteenth Century Background, p. 243.
5. Tom Paine, The Rights of Man. In this important work Paine calls England a shapeless and corrupt republic, denies it even has a Constitution, attacks the monarchy and calls Parliament a burlesque of hereditary wisdom and a filth of rotten boroughs. Adam Clarke remarked: ". . .[Tom] Paine had a fine imagination; but he got a twist on politics, and was a fool to meddle with religion." Cited by Everett, op. cit., II, p. 45.
6. Clarke's letter of May 24, 1808, cited by Everett, op. cit., pp. 259-260.
7. Clarke, who was really a "moderate Whig," spoke of the Constitution as being made by God's own hand and the best under the sun. "Origin and End of Civil Government," James Everett (ed.), The Miscellaneous Works of Adam Clarke, VII, pp. 255-6. In this study, The Miscellaneous Works of Adam Clarke (thirteen volumes) will be referred to simply as Works.

Then, with the surprising triumph of the cause of Liberté in 1793, the veil of optimism lifted. The eyes of all England were turned across the Channel to behold "the red fool-fury of the Seine."[1] Ardent sympathy with the French was now followed by widespread reaction. The ruling classes, horrified by this "reign of terror" and haunted by the ambitious Napoleon, recoiled with repressive measures.[2] Everywhere the anti-Jacobin Tories made their influence felt, from the crushing of needed Whig supported reforms, to the hurling of Jacobin charges against the innocent English Sunday School.

Unfortunately, in this generation when England was so grimly determined that her laws and institutions would not change, economic life was changing with unprecedented swiftness.[3] And the laws and institutions of the old day were pitiably inadequate to meet the exigencies of the new. In England the Revolution failed to be a creative force. For instead of advance, there was reaction; instead of reform, bitter suffering.[4] This reaction, coming in the middle of economic change--aggravated by Napoleon's scheme of starving Britain to

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1. A. W. Harrison and et. al., The Methodist Church Its Origin, Divisions and Reunion, pp. 7-8.
2. J. H. Overton, The English Church in the Nineteenth Century (1800-1833), p. 3; and E. R. Taylor, Methodism & Politics 1791-1851, p. 89.
3. W. L. Mathieson, England in Transition 1789-1832, Introduction and Chap. I, "War and Repression, 1789-1802," pp. 1-90.
4. Reform legislation, which came in the third decade of the nineteenth century, brought relief, but it was long overdue. The ideology of the Revolution eventually aided this democratic movement in England, but G. M. Trevelyan suggests that this external force never was as strong as the internal force, the Industrial Revolution, which was "the more lasting and effective cause." British History in the Nineteenth Century

surrender--plunged the industrial masses into such "an abyss of misery" that, even after the peace, "violent revolution, dictated by despair," seemed always imminent.[1]

However, the grimness and danger of these years of war stirred England to its depth and encouraged religion. The lower classes took refuge in the Wesleyan Movement. The upper classes, shaken from their complacency, increasingly accepted Evangelicalism. The Evangelical Party, inspired by Methodism, became influential in the Church and the nation. Everywhere "serious living" was encouraged and a new moral sentiment created.[2] Every great historical crisis, Horton observes, "is both a day of wrath and a time of deliverance, according to the way it is received."[3] That this crisis was used beneficially to bring life to a stagnant age and to bring reforms in a "heyday of unchallenged abuses,"[4] was due to the great religious and humanitarian movements which accompanied Evangelicalism.[5] And concurrently, Romanticism enjoyed its golden age.

C. Evangelical and Romantic Revivals

During this turbulent transitional era--which parallels

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1782-1901, pp. 60-2; and E. A. Payne, The Church Awakes, pp. 11-20.

1. Muir, op. cit., p. 211. After the peace, from 1815-1820, the fear of a revolution at home reached its height. Élie Halévy, A History of the English People 1815-1830, pp. 1-151.
2. G. M. Trevelyan, English Social History, pp. 493-4; and Payne, op. cit., p. 19.
3. Cited by Trevelyan, op. cit.
4. G. M. Trevelyan, History of England, p. 506.
5. K. S. Latourette, A History of the Expansion of Christianity, IV, p. 4.

the ministry of Adam Clarke--when England was a "seething cauldron of trouble,"[1] when social and economic life reached their nadir, the Evangelical[2] and Romantic Revivals reached their zenith. But that there was a silver lining to such dark and ominous clouds, made even darker by the horror of war, was due to the religious leadership of John Wesley whose influence, unlike that of Napoleon, has increased with the years. For thanks to Wesley, says Murray, "the thoughts that created the political revolution of France in 1789 created the religious revolution in England."[3]

The Evangelical and Romantic Movements were not unrelated; both grew out of twin impulses--a new feeling for Nature and a thirst after closer communion with God.[4] Both reacted against the "Augustan Age" of reason, chained with tradition and veneered with artificiality.[5] The first hand to open the window, by which fresh air might be let into this somewhat stuffy

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1. Trevelyan, op. cit., p. 508.
2. The term "Evangelical Revival" is used to describe the movement in England which began in the third decade of the eighteenth century and continued for more than one hundred years. Since Wesley and Methodism were the initiators, the movement is also called the "Wesleyan Revival" and the "Methodist Revival."
3. R. H. Murray, Studies in the English Social and Political Thinkers of the Nineteenth Century, I, p. 131.
4. Gilbert O. Thomas, William Cowper and the Eighteenth Century, Chap. VII, "The Evangelical Revival," pp. 158-192.
5. Theodore Watts-Dunton says that Romanticism was ". . . nothing less than a great revived stirring of the slumbering movement of the soul of man, after a long period of prosaic acceptance in all things, including literature and art." Poetry and the Renascence of Wonder, p. 237. Basil Willey indicates that Evangelicalism was a ". . . reaction against all that the eighteenth century stood for. . . ." The Eighteenth Century Background, p. 182.

atmosphere, was that of John Wesley who, from the time of his conversion, encouraged "enthusiasm."[1] On that May day in 1738 when Wesley wrote in his Journal, "I felt my heart strangely warmed,"[2] Methodism as history knows it was born. And because of the German Pietistic influence upon Wesley, which was one of the underlying elements of Romanticism,[3] there is truth to the claim that Methodism was "born romantically" and itself gave birth "to romantic elements."[4] The interrelation of these movements leads Shepherd to conclude:

> "[that]. . . in so far as Romanticism is closely bound up with a love of liberty, a deeper interest in man, a love of Nature and simple domestic joys, a freer expression of emotion, and an outburst of lyrical poetry, Methodism encouraged it, or was part of the same spirit."[5]

The fervent preaching of John Wesley liberated emotion and the lyrical passion of Charles Wesley made the Methodists "a nest of singing birds."[6] The Wesleys, by bringing a religious revival "brought about a psychological revolution" which, although not the cause of the Romantic movement, made such a deep impression

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1. G. M. Trevelyan says that "enthusiasm," which was "the very essence of Wesley's movement," upset the subdued and rational spirit of the eighteenth century. British History in the Nineteenth Century 1782-1901, pp. 24-5.
2. Nehemiah Curnock (ed.), The Journal of John Wesley, May 24, 1738, I, p. 476.
3. H. A. Beers, History of English Romanticism, Chap. IV, "The Romantic School in Germany," pp. 132-172.
4. F. C. Gill, The Romantic Movement and Methodism, p. 23. In this work Wesley is described as a Romantic. It is more correct to say, however, since he was rooted in his age and was a conservative Tory, that while his general influence and especially that of his movement leaned toward the Romantic, he himself inclined toward the Classical.
5. T. B. Shepherd, Methodism and the Literature of the Eighteenth Century, p. 866. For a discussion of this subject, vide Chap. XI, "The Influence of Methodism on the Romantic Revival and on the Literature of the Age."
6. Gill, op. cit., pp. 15-16.

upon the poets, literature, and life of the day, that it became a forerunning influence.[1]

The warmth of Methodism thawed the "hard crust of apathy and artificiality" in both religion and literature, like winter giving way to spring. The "frosty couplets of Dryden and Pope" were followed by the "warmth and delicacy of Cowper" and the "rare beauty and genius of Blake."[2] The spontaneity of intellect, imagination, and emotion gave rise to a new emphasis upon "Feeling" and a new conception of "Nature."[3] Cowper and Blake, then Burns, Coleridge, Wordsworth, Scott, Southey, Landor, Byron, Keats, and Shelley lifted their voices in "the greatest outburst of inspired song" since the Renaissance. "Wonder, reverence, humbleness," says Muir, "were born again in a reeling world. . . . Even the quiet beauties . . . of nature and the mysteries of life were seen with sharper vision."[4]

However, John Wesley was not concerned with literature, but with life--eternal life. That Methodism, and the Evangelical Revival which grew out of it, contributed to Romanticism was due to the indirect influence of Wesley and his preachers. They aimed, as Whitehead says, "at saving men's souls in the next world, but incidentally gave a new direction to emotions

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1. Shepherd, op. cit., p. 261; and W. E. H. Lecky, History of England in the Eighteenth Century, II, pp. 615-6.
2. Gill, op. cit., pp. 23-4.
3. "Nature" was the key-word of the eighteenth century. In the earlier part, "Nature and Reason" were associated together, but in the latter part of the century, when pure reason was of lesser importance, it was "Nature and Feeling." Willey, op. cit., Preface, p. v and pp. 207-8.
4. Ramsay Muir, A Short History of the British Commonwealth, II, p. 223.

energizing this world."[1] Religiously, the Evangelical Revival was one of the most important events of later Christianity and by far the most important feature of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[2]

The phenomenal success of this "second spiritual Reformation"[3] can be understood best by examining the apathy of the eighteenth century which yearned for quietude following two centuries of religious and political turbulence. Walpole and his feeble successors had for their motto, "quieta non movere."[4] In this era the Church reached its darkest period of history. Rationalists, skeptics, and Deists had so paralyzed the Church's strength that it was left without a message.[5] Christianity appeared, according to Bishop Butler, "to have been found out to be fictitious."[6] And Montesquieu, returning from England said that in higher circles, "everyone laughs if one talks of religion."[7] In this atmosphere unbelief flourished. Drunkenness and immorality became fashionable and crime increased. At this time industry began to create great populations outside the

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1. A. N. Whitehead, Adventures of Ideas, p. 27.
2. Ernest Troeltsch, The Social Teaching of the Christian Church, II, p. 721; and J. H. Overton and Frederic Relton, The English Church from the Accession of George I to the end of the Eighteenth Century (1714-1800), p. 4.
3. H. T. Buckle, History of Civilization, I, pp. 384-5. The Wesleyans were to the Bishops of the eighteenth century what the Reformers were to the Popes in the sixteenth century.
4. Lord John Hervey, Memoirs of the Reign of George the Second, II, p. 66.
5. Leslie Stephen, History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century, II, p. 484; and Willey, op. cit., p. 11.
6. Bishop Butler cited by G. S. Frazer, Methodism, Its History, Teaching and Government, p. 16.
7. Montesquieu cited by J. R. Green, A Short History of the English People, p. 736.

decaying framework of the Establishment, but the Church, instead of rising to meet the expanding needs, "slept and rotted in peace."[1] Thus the National Church was unwilling to ameliorate the wretched conditions of the poor and unable to illuminate the darkness of the age. Nor could help come from Nonconformity, for it had become equally impotent from heterodox teachings and internal disputes. Yet, beneath the religious indifference and shameless licentiousness, Green says, "England remained at heart religious."[2] As in the days of Luther and Calvin, religious instincts craving satisfaction kindled the country for a spiritual awakening. And at this strategic time Methodism gave the needed spiritual spark.

The Evangelical Revival began at Oxford around 1728[3] when a group of students, who decided to seek religion seriously, earned the nickname of "Methodists."[4] But the successful phase

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1. E. R. Taylor, Methodism & Politics 1791-1851, p. 89; and L. E. Elliott-Binns, The Story of England's Church, pp. 1-95.
2. Green, loc. cit.
3. Oxford has given rise to three religious reform movements: the first is bound up with the name of Wycliffe; the second, with Wesley; and the third, with Newman. Vide Yngve Brilioth, The Anglican Revival, p. 29. The second really began with Charles Wesley, but when his brother John returned to Oxford in 1729 as a Fellow, he became the leader of the Oxford Methodists. Shortly after, George Whitefield also joined the group. Thus from this Oxford circle came the three founders of the Evangelical Revival. Vide W. J. Townsend, H. B. Workman, and George Eayrs (eds.), A New History of Methodism, I, Chap. II, "The Oxford Methodists," pp. 136-158.
4. Originally the term, "Methodist," had application to botany and medicine, but gradually it was used to describe one methodical in secular or religious life. It no doubt had various meanings, but when it was used to describe Charles Wesley and his Oxford group--which had also been called "Holy Club," "Godly Club," "Reforming Club," "Bible Moths," "Sacramentarians," "Enthusiasts," and "Supererogation Men,"--it stuck and has survived. Wesley, in his Dictionary published in 1753,

of the Revival did not begin until a decade later.[1] After the conversion experience of the three founders, each went out in his own gifted way to proclaim the Gospel of God's saving power to hearts emotionally and spiritually starved.[2] As the Revival reached the refuse cast aside by the Church, it caught fire almost by spontaneous combustion. Halévy says that the popular movement took the shape of "an outburst of enthusiastic Christianity."[3] Thousands flocked to the fields to hear the impassioned oratory of George Whitefield. Colliers, right from the grimy coal-pits, were moved by this message of love and, as he preached, tears made white channels down their blackened cheeks.

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defined "Methodists" as those who live according to the method laid down in the Bible. In the period covered by this study this broad definition applied to Calvinists, Arminians, and Evangelicals--to all who lived according to Bible Christianity. In 1798 John Newton wrote, "The word methodist is applied to all, who preach and approve the doctrines of the Gospel, if they are not dissenters." Vide his sermon, Motives to Humiliation and Praise, p. 19. However, after the "Methodist Societies" began to separate from the Church, those who were not a part of Wesley's organization, especially the Evangelicals within the Church, sought to be distinguished from them. By the middle of the nineteenth century the term was used to designate the organized body of "Methodists" and not a "Method." Vide: George Smith, History of Wesleyan Methodism, I, Appendix C, p. 695; and R. Acklem, "Causes of the Increase of Methodism and Dissension," The Edinburgh Review or Critical Journal, XI (January, 1808), pp. 341-362.

1. John Wesley gives both dates, 1729 and 1738, as the beginning of the Revival. But it was concerning the latter year, when he and his brother were converted, that he said, "Then it pleased God to kindle a fire which I trust shall never be extinguished." Cited by J. H. Overton, The Evangelical Revival in the Eighteenth Century, p. 21.
2. Evangelicalism brought a change from a rational appeal to the head to an emotional appeal to the heart. The success of this new appeal was aided in no small way by men like Butler, Waterland, Conybeare, and Low who had put Christianity on a firm intellectual foundation. Overton and Relton, op. cit., p. 4.
3. Élie Halévy, A History of the English People in 1815, p. 341; and Stephen, op. cit., p. 424.

And the poetic pen of Charles Wesley put the Evangelical message to music and gave expression to the deep emotions of the people.[1] His sacred hymns were sung in the factories and they echoed in the mines. Among the unchurched masses the fervor and extravagant piety of the Revival had an astonishing appeal and it spread with unbelievable swiftness.

John Wesley revealed his deep compassion for souls by declaring that he looked upon all the world as his parish. As the Industrial Revolution had ignored ecclesiastical boundaries, creating towns where there was no place of worship, so also Wesley's energetic evangelism disregarded parish limits. He went out to save those the Church failed to reach. Through powerful open air preaching, which the Church violently opposed, multitudes were begotten in the Gospel. Since God had blessed the Revival with spiritual children, for whom the Church had no concern, Wesley regarded it as his duty to care for them. So from "the Highways and the Hedges"[2] they were gathered and carefully placed into "Classes" and "Bands" which in turn formed

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1. Charles Wesley was par excellence the sacred poet of the Revival and the great hymn writer of all ages. Between 1738 and 1785 he wrote four thousand, one hundred hymns. Overton, op. cit., pp. 34-7.
2. "Our Societies were formed from those," says Wesley, "who were wandering upon the dark mountains, that belonged to no Christian Church; but were awakened by the preaching of the Methodists, who had pursued them through the wilderness of this world to the Highways and the Hedges--to the Markets and the Fairs--to the Hills and Dales--who set up the Standard of the Cross in the Streets and Lanes of the Cities, in the Villages in Barns, and Farmer's Kitchens. . . ." Cited by Adam Clarke in a letter to Humphrey Sandwith, from Pinner, Middlesex, June 16, 1829. Letter given in full in Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society, XVIII, (1931-1932), pp. 21-9.

"Societies" and "Circuits." Thus his organizational genius gave birth to a Wesleyan family, a great religious community of fellowship known as the "People called Methodists." And during his life, he ever remained the unrivalled patriarch of what he called his "United Societies." Wesley's religious leadership gave to the Evangelical Movement the needed solidarity and increased its effectiveness and influence.

Wesley's goal--to recover primitive Christianity in the land--in a sense was reached,[1] but a theological controversy, also present in the early Church, was revived. For as Chrysostum and Augustine could not see eye to eye, neither could Wesley and Whitefield, and their differences caused them to take divergent paths.[2] However, this only doubled the influence of the Revival, for Whitefield's Calvinism enabled him to reach areas with doctrinal views contrary to Wesley's Arminianism. Wesley took his message of "Free Grace"[3] largely to the lower classes.[4] Whereas

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1. W. E. H. Lecky says the Revival aroused ". . . an enthusiasm which was hardly surpassed in the first days of Christianity." A History of England in the Eighteenth Century, II, p. 82.
2. The "Quinquarticular Controversy" did not break out in full force until after Whitefield's death when Toplady took leadership of the Calvinists and Fletcher defended the Arminian Wesleyans. J. H. Overton and Frederic Relton, The English Church from the Accession of George I to the end of the Eighteenth Century (1714-1800), pp. 173-5. In this controversy, as in the whole Evangelical Movement, even the deepest of thought gave, as Stephen says, ". . . more heat than light--both resorting to 'scripture scales' and ignoring philosophers of the day, such as Hume, Gibbon, or Voltaire and those of past ages." Stephen, op. cit., pp. 423-428.
3. Wesley preached, "The Grace or Love of God, whence cometh our Salvation, is Free in all, and free for all!" Vide his sermon, Free Grace (Fourth Ed.), p. 4.
4. Even the anti-Wesleyan periodical, The Gentlemen's Magazine, admitted that thanks to Wesley, ". . . a sense of decency, morals, and religion, was introduced to the lowest classes of

Whitefield, by becoming the favorite co-worker of the Countess of Huntingdon, who openly avowed herself to be a Methodist, preached to a genteel audience. In branches of Nonconformity sympathetic with his views, Whitefield's influence aided Methodism in reviving the drooping cause of the "old denominations" and giving to its middle classes new spiritual and social values.[1] Also from this very influential circle came the Calvinistic founders of the Evangelical Party which remained within the Church.[2]

The despised Methodist message, preached by men like Romaine, gradually echoed in other parishes of the Establishment. The Evangelical Movement within the Church moved slowly at first; however, with the turn of events in France, it grew more rapidly.[3] When the Church had reached a "low water mark," the Evangelicals, inspired by the Methodists, became the Church's life-giving spring. They formed a sharp contrast to the fox-hunting parsons and the absentee rectors. And the Evangelical Party remained the strongest social, moral, and spiritual force both inside and outside the Church for the first three decades of the nineteenth century.[4] They assumed leadership of the Evangelical Movement

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mankind; the ignorant were instructed; the wretched relieved; and the abandoned reclaimed." "Obituary of Considerable Persons; with Biographical Anecdotes--John Wesley," LXI, Part I (March, 1791), p. 289.

1. Overton, op. cit., p. 153: and Halévy, op. cit., pp. 352-9.
2. It is strange that the Evangelical Movement made its way into the Church through Whitefield and Lady Huntingdon, for they were far less attached to the Church than Charles and John Wesley. Overton and Relton, loc. cit.
3. G. R. Balleine, A History of the Evangelical Party in the Church of England, p. 53; and J. H. Overton, The English Church in the Nineteenth Century (1800-1833), pp. 1-294.
4. V. F. Storr, The Development of English Theology in the Nineteenth Century, p. 63.

and greatly extended its influence and accomplishments in ways Methodism, with its appeal to the lower classes, could never have done. As the gulf between the Evangelicals and Methodists widened after Wesley, the only link between them was the personal friendships of a few leading Methodists like Adam Clarke. He identified himself with the aims and outlook of the Evangelicals, often giving generous personal assistance.[1]

That the influence of the Evangelicals far exceeded their numbers--especially among the wealthy where religion almost became "the thing"[2]--was due to dedicated clergymen and to gifted lay "saints" such as H. More, W. Cowper, R. Raikes and W. Wilberforce.[3] Under the able leadership of Wilberforce, the influential members of the Clapham Sect--with whom Adam Clarke was associated--furnished the financial initiative and parliamentary

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1. Other links between the Methodists and the Evangelicals were T. Coke, T. Thompson, and J. Butterworth, the latter being Clarke's brother-in-law. The Clapham Sect often held their London meeting in the Fleet Street residence of Joseph Butterworth. Butterworth often brought Adam Clarke, who had been responsible for his conversion, into close association with the leading Evangelicals. For ten years Clarke gave invaluable personal assistance to the Oriental department of The British and Foreign Bible Society. Henry Bett, The Spirit of Methodism, p. 219; and Maldwyn Edwards, This Methodism, p. 60.
2. L. E. Binns /Elliott-Binns/, The Evangelical Movement, pp. 43-4.
3. James Stephen says that William Wilberforce ". . . reached a social and political eminence never before attained by any man unaided by place, party, or by the sword." Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography, II, p. 153; and Mary Seeley, The Later Evangelical Fathers, Chap. IV, "William Wilberforce 1759-1833." Wilberforce gave his whole life toward the suppression of the slave trade and his whole self to the reformation of manners of the country. The latter was most effectively done by the influential work of his pen, known as the "Manifesto of the Evangelical Party," A Practical View of the Prevailing Religious Systems of Professed Christians in the Higher and Middle Classes in this Country with Real Christianity.

spearhead for the humanitarian efforts of the Evangelicals.[1]

Although the Evangelicals were individualistic, they acted as one. Their disinterestedness in doctrinal differences[2] and their emphasis upon basic beliefs, described by More as "Bible Christianity,"[3] encouraged an "undenominational temper."[4] Their philanthropic activity united Protestants as never before. Rich Quakers, members of the "old denominations,"[5] masses of Methodists, and even Liberals and Free-Thinkers, joined the Evangelicals in the grand united effort to bring humanitarian reforms.[6] Thus, as Green says, there arose great moral, religious, and philanthropic forces during the time of greatest economic and social neglect.[7] Like a large mountain feeding

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1. For an account of the importance of the Clapham Sect, vide: John Telford, A Sect that Moved the World; and Ernest House, "The Clapham Sect," unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, University of Edinburgh.
2. The Calvinistic Controversy was forgotten. Old dogmatic Calvinism decayed and most Evangelicals became "Moderate Calvinists." Simeon wrote, "I think the great mass of Calvinists are wrong." Cited by William Carus, Life of Simeon, p. 418. In 1822 Wilberforce wrote that he was increasingly ". . . impressed with the unscriptural character of Calvinistic system. . . ." R. I. and Samuel Wilberforce, The Life of W/illia/m Wilberforce, V, p. 162.
3. Hannah More wrote in her diary on July 8, 1802, "How I hate the little narrowing names of Arminian and Calvinist. . . . Bible Christianity is what I love. . . ." Cited by William Roberts, Memoirs of the Life and Correspondence of Mrs. Hannah More, III, p. 196.
4. R. W. Dale, The Old Evangelicalism and the New, pp. 16-17.
5. The "old denominations" included the Independents, the Baptists, and the Presbyterians.
6. Evangelicals were also supported by the Benthamites, but both, being allies of individualism, failed to see the value of legislation in bringing reform and happiness. The former optimistically held the answer to be conversion, each man working out his own salvation; the latter, held that the law should only give freedom for every person to work out his own happiness. Dicey, Law and Opinion in England in the Nineteenth Century, p. 402; and G. M. Trevelyan, English Social History, pp. 493-4.
7. Supra, p. 2.

many springs, the Evangelical Revival gave rise to a series of religious and humanitarian movements, which--by giving relief to the poor, hospitals to the sick, protection to the children, reform to the prisons, freedom to the slaves, education to the illiterate, Bibles to the masses, and missionaries to the heathen--altered the whole course of English history, influenced most of Europe, and affected the life of three other continents.[1]

Historians agree that England was peculiarly fortunate to have had the Evangelical Revival preceding and coinciding with the desperate half century of transition, aggravated as it was by the explosion of revolutionary forces. Among the poor, it acted as a "safety-valve"; among the rich, it served as a philanthropic impulse.[2] Politically, it was a stabilizing counter-influence, giving a conservative balance to the nation.[3] Socially, it was a regenerative and spiritual force, giving a "moral cement" to society.[4] This movement so spread over the empire and permeated every area of English life that a prominent French historian concludes, "It would be difficult to over-

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1. K. S. Latourette, A History of the Expansion of Christianity, IV, pp. 1-16. The work of the Evangelical Revival was extended through Shaftesbury, as well as coadjutors, Michael Sadler and Richard Oastler, who were in the early nineteenth century. ". . . the social conscience of England." J. Ernest Rattenbury, Wesley's Legacy to the World, p. 213.
2. W. E. H. Lecky, A History of England in the Eighteenth Century, III, p. 148; and Elie Halévy, A History of the English People 1830-1841, p. 166.
3. Historians, such as Green, Lecky, and now Halévy, have suggested that the Wesleyan Revival saved England from a revolution like that in France. There is general agreement that if the Wesleyan Revival did not actually prevent a revolution, it certainly softened the impact of it in England and diverted much enthusiasm that would have gone into political rebellion.
4. Halévy, loc. cit.

estimate the part played by the Wesleyan revival."[1]

However great were the cultural, artistic, social, and political influences that overflowed from the Revival, they must be seen as springing from a religious movement which, under the working of the Spirit, transformed the moral and spiritual nature of England as effectively as industrialism had changed its economic and social aspects. The leader of the Revival, John Wesley, must be considered primarily as a religious leader--the greatest, in Lecky's judgment, "since the sixteenth century."[2]

John Wesley believed the Methodist Revival was divinely designed to be a reforming and regenerating force in the Church and in the nation.[3] And Wesley lived long enough to see the leavening influence of his evangelical work. In his closing years, when personal persecution and hostility nearly ceased, he still received opposition to his plan to have the Societies integrated into the Church. This perplexing problem of the relation of Methodism to the Church together with the growing discontent within the Societies, caused Wesley no little anxiety. At this critical time, when the "Father of Methodism"[4] was needed most, Methodism was left "an orphan" to face its severest external attacks and most difficult internal crises.

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1. Élie Halévy, A History of the English People in 1815, p. 372.
2. Lecky, op. cit., p. 140.
3. Thomas Jackson (ed.), The Works of John Wesley, VIII, p. 289. Hereafter in this study this work will be referred to as Works of Wesley.
4. At Wesley's funeral service the word "father" was substituted spontaneously for "soul of our brother" in the reading of the ritual by Mr. Richardson. Robert Southey, The Life of John Wesley (A. Reynold, ed.), p. 342.

II. Crisis of Methodism After Wesley

The death of John Wesley on March 2, 1791, inevitably caused a crisis. The six years that followed were the most crucial years in early Methodism. In fact, the whole "Middle Period" of Wesleyan Methodism, extending from this time to the great disruption of 1849, was one continuous struggle marked by agitation and schism.[1] The death of Wesley meant the loss of the one unifying personality that had kept the individualistic Methodist family of nearly a million homogeneous.[2] And the heterogeneous element, which had troubled even Wesley in his closing years, immediately upon his demise, began to express itself.[3] Had the "genius of Methodism" died at any time there would have been some disunity and problems, but to die just as the French Revolution took its bloody turn was indeed a calamity. For in a reactionary England the anomalous course of Methodism became even more perilous by attacks from without and agitations from within. The gloomy predictions that the Societies would not outlive Wesley seemed possible, for Methodism had come to the crossroads of its existence.[4] What was this numerous family going to make

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1. For a comprehensive study of this "Middle Period," vide: George Smith, History of Wesleyan Methodism, II, The Middle Age; and W. J. Townsend, H. B. Workman, and George Mayrs (eds.), A New History of Methodism, I, Book II, Chap. I, "Wesleyan Methodism--The Middle Period 1791-1849," pp. 379-434.
2. At Wesley's death there were in the world some 136,000 Methodist members and about 800,000 additional adherents. Of these, 72,000 members (71,568 in 1790) and 500,000 followers were in Britain. Ibid., pp. 368-9.
3. Robert Wearmouth, Methodism and the Working-Class Movements of England 1800-1850, p. 14.
4. C. H. Crookshank, History of Methodism in Ireland, II, pp. 36-7.

of the immense heritage left them? How were the orphaned Societies going to solve their crucial problems? For, as Stoughton says:

> "Wesley had laid down principles and established precedents; but it required great wisdom on the part of the successors to carry on the work he had prosperously begun. The system had been sketched, not elaborated, by the master-hand; and a difficult task had to be executed by those who undertook, first the filling up, and then the preservation of the master's picture. Justice has not always been done to /these/ distinguished Methodist preachers."[1]

One of these distinguished preachers, whose importance has not been fully understood, is Adam Clarke. But before studying and evaluating the life and work of Clarke, it is essential to have a knowledge of his period. Having considered the transitional nature of the England in which he lived--an era of great economic, social, political, cultural, and spiritual change--a picture will now be given of the religious body in which Clarke labored. In this survey of Methodism, the legacy of Wesley will be considered together with the problems that the orphaned Societies inherited and the changes which were necessary after Wesley.

A. Wesley's Legacy of Methodism

The importance of John Wesley's legacy rests more upon the genius of his practical work than upon the originality of his speculative thought.[2] It was the influence of his work that made him, along with the elder Pitt, a most effective Englishman of

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1. John Stoughton, Religion in England from 1800 to 1850, I, pp. 36-7.
2. John Wesley is known for his work as an evangelist, organizer, and church leader more than as a philosopher or theologian. W. E. Sangster, The Path to Perfection, p. 22.

his century. Wesley possessed a rare combination of qualities and forces typical of many aspects of English religious life. From his strong Puritan and high Anglican parental traditions he made a river, as it were, in which these two tributaries of English religion are uniquely preserved.[1] This river of Methodism--only a part of the Evangelical flood, but the most important part[2]--had its course and color determined by the opportunism and pragmatism of its founder.[3] The ideas and individualistic personality of John Wesley, through half a century of active, itinerant leadership,[4] influenced the whole of Methodism--its origin, its doctrines, its organization, and its relation to the Church.[5]

Herein lay the fons et origo of the difference of Methodism. For while the Church of England owed its origin to political exigencies, and Puritanism to uncompromising Genevan Protestant ideas, Methodism was the work of one man. That one

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1. The grandparents of John Wesley, John Westley and Samuel Annesley, both were Puritans; whereas, the parents, Samuel Wesley and Susannah Annesley, both had reacted against Nonconformity and had become high Anglicans.
2. A. W. Harrison, et al., The Methodist Church, pp. 9-10.
3. Maximin Piette says that Wesley was a pragmatist before the term was ever used. John Wesley, La Réaction dans l'Evolution du Protestantisme, p. 595.
4. Wesley travelled, it is estimated, over two hundred fifty thousand miles and preached over fifty-two thousand, four hundred times between 1738 and 1791. He also saw through the press 233 original works, one hundred works which he condensed or edited, eight works for which he wrote a preface or notes, and thirty works written conjointly with Charles Wesley. Vide: Richard Green, Works of John and Charles Wesley: A Biography; and Townsend, Workman, and Eayrs (eds.), op. cit., p. 216.
5. The small population and the open nature of the country enabled Wesley personally to establish Methodism before the Industrial growth began. Maldwyn Edwards, John Wesley and the Eighteenth Century, p. 168.

man was a religious genius with unusual vision, with unflagging zeal, and with a strong faith that he was an instrument in the hands of God.[1] Yet, Wesley never intended to establish a separate ecclesiastical body. He believed that God's purpose for himself and for Methodism was "to reform the nation, particularly the Church; and to spread scriptural holiness over the land."[2] Hence Methodism began by meeting the spiritual needs of the people and not with any doctrinaire appeal to tradition or divine law. Its characteristic institutions were originally inspired improvisations which gave to Methodism "that astonishing primitive flexibility which made it a superb instrument for the conversion of England."[3] The opportunist lived, preached, and legislated day by day according to the needs of the people without any fixed plan. At first Wesley talked to people individually. Then, when too many wanted to hear him, he invited them to gather weekly for prayer and discussion. "Thus arose," says the founder, "without any previous design on either side, what afterwards was called A Society a very innocent name, and very common in London. . . ."[4] In fact the whole Methodist system began similarly, for it had "no previous design or plan at all; but every thing arose just as the occasion offered."[5]

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1. E. R. Taylor, Methodism & Politics 1791-1851, p. 22. For a good account of Wesley's relation to the Church, vide Chap. II, "'The Father of Methodism': John Wesley and the Position of Methodism and the Church," pp. 18-53.
2. Works of Wesley, III, p. 299.
3. Gordon Rupp, Thomas Jackson, Methodist Patriarch, p. 41.
4. "Plain Account of the People called Methodists," Works of Wesley, VIII, p. 249.
5. Ibid.

"Methodism came down from heaven, as it was wanted, piece by piece," cried one preacher in the generation after Wesley with exuberant but pardonable exaggeration.[1] For Wesley encouraged the belief that Methodism owed its origin and growth to Divine Providence and that he was called by God to lead in its spread.[2] John Wesley could say of the living tradition of Methodism more truly than the Pope of Rome, "Tradition? I am tradition."[3]

The beliefs of John Wesley became the doctrines of Methodism. This doctrinal position was not striking in new ideas, yet it was without parallel in the history of dogma. Le Pere Piette, a Franciscan friar, has described Wesley's position as la reaction dans l'evolution du Protestantisme--a reaction to certain aspects of Lutheranism, Calvinism, and the Moravian influence in the Anglican Societies.[4] Wesley's High-Church views led him to add to his Protestant ideas certain Catholic elements which he mixed well in the crucible of his practical work and tested by experience. Wesley's doctrinal system was sketched in broad outline by his "master-hand." He was reluctant to give to his Societies any complete doctrinal standard because he did not

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1. Rupp, loc. cit.
2. Minutes of the Methodist Conference of 1766, I, pp. 61-2.
3. Rupp, loc. cit. John Wesley often was denounced as a Pope and it took his entire life to free his movement from the charges of Popery and disloyalty. Vide: "A Review of the Policy, Doctrines, and Morals of the Methodists," The Gentlemen's Magazine, LXI, Part I (March, 1791), pp. 251-2; and J. H. Overton, The Evangelical Revival in the Eighteenth Century, pp. 161-182.
4. Vide John Wesley, La Reaction dans l'Evolution du Protestantisme. In this work by Maximin Piette, the Catholic aspect of Wesley's thought is emphasized. The ways in which Wesley revolted against certain aspects of Protestantism are also indicated.

want to be an innovator. Furthermore, he believed all of his creed could be brought within the meaning of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church. However, the elasticity of these Articles hid from him the magnitude of that reaction in Protestantism which he unconsciously brought about during his life work.[1] Wesley stressed that Methodist doctrines were not bound to any single body, but contained what he felt was the essence of Christianity.[2] Thus he wrote, "The Methodists alone do not insist on your holding this or that opinion; but they think and let think."[3] The catholicity of Wesley enabled his doctrinal legacy to contain an elasticity of creed. Says Taylor:

> "That legacy included a sacramental and High Church element along with a rejection of what he felt to be the spurious claims of Episcopalians. . . an exalted conception of the Bible as the inspired Word of God, together with a habit of interpreting it in the light of a man's Christian experience; an individualism which made the salvation of a man's soul and the holiness of his life his chief end, together with an emphasis upon righteousness in all his dealings with others; justification by faith alone, and rigorous insistence upon the production of the 'Fruits of the Spirit'. All these John Wesley bequeathed to Methodism. . . ."[4]

John Wesley also gave to Methodism a unique organization that, due to his political philosophy, had no place for democracy. It was rejected by Wesley on moral, practical, and theological grounds.[5] Man was too evil and too ignorant "to be

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1. Taylor, op. cit., pp. 35-6.
2. "Character of a Methodist," Works of Wesley, VIII, pp. 340-7.
3. Nehemiah Curnock (ed.), The Journal of John Wesley, May 16, 1788, VII, p. 389.
4. Taylor, op. cit., p. 37.
5. W. J. Warner, The Wesleyan Movement in the Industrial Revolution, pp. 25 and 84-98.

guided by one's own will";[1] he had according to Wesley, "no right at all to be independent, or governed only by himself."[2] Like Hobbes, Wesley gave the Sovereignty a plenary authority independent of the people. He believed that the government was a trust, but a trust from God, not from the people.[3] Hence, Wesley concluded that "there is no power but of God: the powers that be are ordained of God."[4] As a staunch Tory John Wesley not only accepted the rule of aristocratic power of his day, but put it into practice in his own organization. In the whole structure of Methodism--its "Classes," its "Societies," its "Circuits," its "Synods," and its "Conference"--he sacrificed freedom for power. Wesley made no provision for lay representation. He wanted cooperation, but it was to be passive--the people must obey. The "benevolent despot" held the reigns of authority over his "United Societies," making its decisions and laying down its rules. Wesley stationed his lay "Assistants," "Helpers," and "Local Preachers" when and where he pleased. Moreover, in each local Society he appointed every office-holder, from the class-leaders to the trustees. To those who objected to such autocracy, Wesley rejoined:

> "And as it was merely in obedience to the Providence of God, and for the good of the people, that I at first accepted this

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1. Richard Price's view of "freedom," cited by Warner, ibid., pp. 79-81.
2. Works of Wesley, XI, p. 97.
3. Hobbes vested Sovereignty in the King; Wesley put it in the Parliament. Vide: Warner, op. cit., p. 75; and Maldwyn Edwards, After Wesley, pp. 15-16.
4. Works of Wesley, op. cit., pp. 47-8 and 105. Wesley based his political views on the Bible. The Pauline view, based on Romans xiii. 1, was the standard article of Methodist belief.

> power, which I never sought, nay a hundred times laboured to throw off; so it is on the same considerations, not for profit, honour, or pleasure, that I use it at this day."[1]

This power, which he claimed to bear as his burden, Wesley offered to give up to anyone who could do the work as he did. However, Wesley refused to believe that the preachers and people would "submit to any other."[2] Consequently, he maintained his autocratic rule to the end, having no intentions of slackening his grip. A year before his death Wesley wrote:

> "As long as I live the people shall have no share in choosing either stewards or leaders among the Methodists. We have not and never had any such custom. We are no republicans, and never intend to be. It would be better for those that are so minded to go quietly away. I have been uniform both in doctrine and discipline for above these fifty years; and it is a little too late for me to turn into a new path now I am grey-headed."[3]

And before his death Wesley framed a Deed--what has since been called "The Magna Charta of Methodism"--in which he carefully arranged for his power to pass not to the laity, but to the clerical Conference--the "Legal Hundred."[4] This powerful nucleus of the Connexion was forced to make changes in the crisis after Wesley, but Methodism never lost the resemblance of the system sketched by his"master-hand."

The relation of Methodism to the Church of England depended largely upon the connection of John Wesley to the Establishment. Before 1738 Wesley was a High Churchman, but after his

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1. Minutes of the Methodist Conference of 1766, I, p. 61.
2. Ibid., p. 62.
3. Wesley's letter to John Mason, January 13, 1790. John Telford (ed.), The Letters of John Wesley, VIII, pp. 196-7.
4. For the text of this Deed of Declaration made in 1784, vide George Smith, History of Wesleyan Methodism, I, Appendix I, pp. 705-9.

conversion, his Churchmanship became more broad than high. However, some of the earlier High-Church views remained with him in later life and caused not a few inconsistencies. Thus Wesley called the Church, "a mere political institution"; its dogma of "uninterrupted succession" he described as "a fable which no man ever did or can prove."[1] Notwithstanding, however, he strongly urged his followers to remain within the Church, threatening that "when the Methodists leave the Church of England God will leave them."[2] John Wesley, because of his many inconsistencies, has been compared to a boatman on the Thames River. Although having his eyes fixed on St. Paul's Cathedral, every stroke of his oars took himself and Methodism farther away from the Church. By giving the work of evangelism priority, Wesley seemed unable to help himself. "Church or no Church," he concluded, "we must attend to the work of saving souls."[3] Each irregularity, from the ignoring of parish boundaries to the ordaining of men for his work, was a movement of the oar pulling Methodism farther away from the Church. Yet, with every irregular move, Wesley denied being a Dissenter. The answer may be found in two principles that Wesley reconciled in his own mind. These were: "first, I will not separate from the Church; yet, secondly, in cases of

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1. For a discussion of Wesley's Churchmanship, vide J. H. Rigg, The Churchmanship of John Wesley, pp. 1-77. Wesley could find "no trace of a national church in the New Testament." Ibid., p. 77. His views were greatly influenced by reading Lord King's The Primitive Church in 1746.
2. Wesley's statement made in 1787, cited by William Redfern, Modern Developments in Methodism, p. 23.
3. Wesley, cited by Abel Stevens, History of Methodism, I, p. 398.

necessity, I will vary from it."[1] Each "variation" Wesley justified under the pressure of circumstances and the direction of Providence. He insisted that any departure of Methodism from the Church was not caused by the pulling on the oars, but by the rising tide of opposition from unsympathetic English Bishops.[2] To the end Wesley regarded himself as a faithful son of the Church of England. He loved the Establishment, but his work was of more importance than even his Church.

John Wesley, in organizing his converts in the fervor of the Christian life, had so stamped the whole of Methodism with his individualism that his legacy could not easily be assimilated by the National Church of his day. Nor could the Societies, owing their origin, doctrine, and organization to so strong a Churchman as Wesley, be classed with Dissent. The Methodism that Wesley bequeathed was on the borders of Church and Dissent; independent and different from both, yet its sympathy was with the Mother Church. Unconsciously, Wesley had given Methodism a new middle position. And only his commanding influence was able to keep the Methodist Societies bound (though in an ever loosening

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1. Wesley's statement made in a sermon preached at Cork in 1789, quoted in part. Cited by John S. Simon, John Wesley The Last Phase, pp. 319-331.
2. In a letter to Dr. Pretyman Tomline, Bishop of Lincoln, Wesley complained of the opposition shown toward his preachers. At this time they were being punished for not having a license. Thus Wesley wrote on June 26, 1790, "So your Lordship leaves them only this alternative, 'leave the Church or starve.'" Letters of John Wesley, op. cit., pp. 224-5. Wesley's life-long hope was that his "United Societies," like the following of Ignatius Loyola in the Church of Rome, might become an affiliated branch of the Church of England. The frustration of this plan by the bishops gave Wesley his greatest disappointment in life. Rigg, op. cit., pp. 95-103.

tie) to the Church.[1] John Wesley's legacy of Methodism was a unique system which had been roughly sketched from day to day by his "master-hand." However, the picture was left unfinished with not a few unsolved problems.

B. Crucial Problems After Wesley

Methodism had so completely depended upon John Wesley for more than half a century that his death in 1791, with no one to take his place, could not help but create great confusion and crucial problems. Not a few appropriately queried, "Can there be Methodism without Wesley?"[2] In the six troubled years of crisis after Wesley the very survival of the orphaned Societies depended upon the finding of solutions to its inherited problems. The three most pressing questions were: Who would be Wesley's successor? Where would the authority of Methodism rest? and How would the people be given the sacrament?

None of these admitted of easy solution, but the task was made even more formidable by the ambiguous situation in which Wesley's death left Methodism. This subjected it to hostility from without and discord from within. Some of the bitterest attacks came after Wesley's demise, when national reaction to the French Revolution ran high, and when fear and suspicion stalked

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1. John Overton and Frederic Relton, The English Church from the Accession of George I to the end of the Eighteenth Century (1714-1800), p. 6.
2. For a discussion of the varied views of Methodism after Wesley, vide George Smith, History of Wesleyan Methodism, II, pp. 1-8. Smith concludes by saying, ". . . never, in the previous history of the body, were indications of the guiding and sustaining hand of God more apparent, or more remarkable, than at this time."

the land. For in those years of repression the Methodists were mistrusted and denounced as dangerous and seditious.[1] However, an even bigger hindrance to the peaceful progress was the agitation from within arising from the three parties whose views differed over the most vital question--the relation of Methodism to the Church.[2] The "Church Party," the right wing of Methodism, was controlled by wealthy trustees who labored strongly to keep the Connexion in close union with the Church. On the other hand, the "Radical Party," the left wing of Methodism, was dominated by bold enthusiasts who agitated not only for separation, but also for union with Dissent.[3] Between these extremes, there emerged yet a third group, which may be called the "Moderate Party."[4] The Moderate leaders, who represented the middle

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1. J. L. and Barbara Hammond, The Town Labourer, p. 270.
2. Wesley's failure to separate Methodism from the Church created crucial problems. Although Wesley had taken irregular steps in the direction of separation, he refused to make a complete break with the Church. This refusal was due to his High-Church views, the great variety of background and desire among his followers, and his firm belief that separation would only cause more difficult problems. Moreover, he felt it would ultimately lead to a disastrous end to Methodism. Vide A. W. Harrison, The Separation of Methodism from the Church of England, pp. 11 et seqq.
3. These two extreme groups form the bases of the two parties--the extreme Conservatives and the extreme Radicals--which openly clashed in the years after Waterloo. The first advocated a prelatic government with power in the hands of the pastors; whereas, the second pressed for a non-prelatic government with power in the hands of the people. For discussions of this struggle, vide: J. H. S. Kent, "The Struggle between Radicalism and Conservatism in Methodism, 1815-1848," unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Emmanuel College, Cambridge University; and E. R. Taylor, Methodism & Politics 1791-1851.
4. The Moderates rejected the Radical views of those on the left; yet, because of their sympathy with the increasing spiritual needs of the masses and willingness to make necessary changes--even at the risk of further loosening the tie with the Mother Church--they also rejected the High-Church views of those on the right. These Moderates, which included men like Adam

majority of Methodism, searched diligently for a practical plan which would satisfy the crescendo of discontent among the people, yet if possible, keep Methodism related to the Church.[1] As the external opposition forced Methodism to pursue a conservative policy, so also the internal struggle caused the Conference to agree early to follow strictly the plan left by Mr. Wesley. However, this was the essence of ambiguity, for each group sought to interpret Wesley's broad but vague plan according to its own interests.[2] The difficult questions were further confused by personal jealousies among the preachers and strong interests among the trustees.

Of the necessary difficulties arising from the death of John Wesley the most obvious, and the most pressing, was the problem of a successor. This involved the relation between the leader and the other preachers of the Conference. When Wesley realized there was no one man among his coadjutors to take his place, he made legal provision for his supreme power to be bequeathed to the Conference. He also asked this "Legal Hundred" to be considerate of their fellow ministers and not to abuse their power.[3] The preachers, knowing that Wesley was his own

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Clarke, were Methodists first; their primary concern was to preserve the unity and community of Methodism. In the early nineteenth century this group became the Moderate-Conservatives of the Conference and a leading figure was Adam Clarke. After Clarke's death, most of the Moderates joined with the Radicals in the struggle against the extreme Conservatives. In the end the liberal forces of Wesleyanism prevailed.

1. For another threefold division of the Methodists at this time, vide "Report from the Clergy of a District in the Diocese of Lincoln," The British Critic, XV (April, 1800), pp. 409-410.
2. William Myles, A Chronological History of the People Called Methodists, p. 205.
3. Supra, p. 34.

authority both in and out of Conference, greatly feared the rise of another "King in Israel"--one who lacked the wisdom of their benevolent "Father." The removal of Wesley left an empty chair to be filled. Moreover, provision had to be made for an authority to act during the twelve month interval between the conferences. For without this necessary power, Methodism as Adam Clarke clearly saw, would be "like a rope of sand from conference to conference."[1] Something had to be done. Leading preachers throughout the Connexion called separate meetings, William Thompson in Halifax, Adam Clarke in Dublin, and others in various places. According to the "Halifax Circular" two courses were possible: "either to appoint another King in Israel; or to be governed by the Conference Plan, by forming ourselves into Committees."[2] If the first is to be adopted, the circular asked, "Who is the man? What Power is he to be invested with." And if the second course is to be followed, the group took the liberty to suggest that the Conference "chuse a President [and a Secretary] for one Year only, according to the enrolled Deed" and "appoint different Committees which will take in all the Circuits of the three Kingdoms, to manage the Affairs of their respective Districts, from one Conference to another."[3] These and other suggestions were subsequently adopted by the Conference of 1791.

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1. Clarke's MS. letter to G[eorge] Marsden, Methodist Chapel, Burslem, written from Manchester, January 8, 179_ (last number torn from MS.). Collection of MSS., Strong Rooms, City Road.
2. The "Halifax Circular" resulted from the meeting held at Halifax, March 30, 1791, only four weeks after Wesley's death. For the text, vide Smith, op. cit., II, Appendix E, pp. 700-1.
3. Ibid.

The same body also elected the principal mover of the Halifax Meeting, William Thompson, as the first President, and Thomas Coke, as Secretary.[1] Furthermore, it was resolved unanimously "that all the Preachers who are in full connexion" shall enjoy every "privilege that the members of the Conference enjoy."[2] Thus the problem of successor was reasonably settled and the equality of the preachers was vindicated. District Meetings were empowered with authority to act when necessary between the conferences, but the question of the relations between the Conference, District Meetings, Circuits and Societies, and their corresponding rights, remained to be decided.

The second great unresolved issue, and this was implicated in the first, was the question of authority. This problem involved the relation between the ministry and the laity, particularly between the respective power of the Conference and the trustees. The Conference and the District Meetings were composed exclusively of preachers, but in the Circuits and Societies the people had a more important part. These on the local level sought to be represented at the higher level, but the increasing desire for power among the people was countered by an increasing consciousness of power among the pastors. The struggle continued

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1. Thomas Coke and Alexander Mather, both ordained by Wesley, were the logical successors to Wesley, but they were suspected of wanting to establish and to head a Methodist episcopate. Hence, they were rejected in favor of the unordained preacher, William Thompson. The Conference also safeguarded the office of President from having dictatorial power. H. B. Workman, Methodism, p. 124; and Élie Halévy, History of England in 1815, pp. 352-3.
2. This was in accordance with a letter written by Wesley, April 7, 1785. For this letter and Conference action, vide Minutes of the Methodist Conference of 1791, I, pp. 242-3.

within Wesleyan Methodism until the middle of the nineteenth century. However, Wesley was an autocratic ruler who purposely kept power from the people, but the tyranny of the Conference that inherited his authority was more objectionable than his "benevolent despotism."[1] In the years immediately after Wesley, it was not so much the local preachers and class-leaders who agitated against clerical power as the wealthy trustees in whom most of the property of Methodism was vested.[2] While Wesley lived they played their part without serious trouble, but after his death this powerful group, which resented their lack of governing power, desired to strip the preachers of their ecclesiastical titles and authority. They wanted to rule the preachers and the laity.[3] Some discontented and jealous preachers joined these representatives of High-Church lay aristocracy in the attack against the clerical Conference.[4] But such leaders as Adam Clarke, with clear vision for the future, discerned the danger and predicted "that Trusteeism would ruin Methodism if not

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1. Supra, pp. 2-4.
2. Nottingham trustees called the Conference a ". . . self-elected and self-created body." A Brief Statement of the Dispute and Cause of Division amongst Methodists at Nottingham, Sheffield, Leeds, Manchester, etc., cited by Taylor, op. cit., pp. 66-7.
3. Wesley took from the trustees of Bristol the power he had originally given them. On May 12, 1739 he wrote, "[I] . . . took from them their power to control me . . . and took the whole management into my own hands." Thomas Jackson (ed.), Journal of John Wesley, II, pp. 196-7. To the trustees at Trowbridge, Wesley wrote, "I have only one thing in view--to keep all the Methodists in Great Britain one connected people. But this can't be done unless the Conference, not the trustees, appoint all their preachers." Nehemiah Curnock (ed.), Letters of John Wesley, VIII, pp. 205 and 169.
4. Smith, op. cit., pp. 100-1.

powerfully opposed."[1] Adam Clarke and other such Moderates successfully influenced their fellow preachers to turn their ear from the unreasonable demands of the trustees, to the crescendo of dissatisfaction arising from the Methodist masses, especially over their demand for the sacraments.[2] However, the problem of where the authority should rest, with the pastors or with the people, was solved neither in the decade nor in the generation succeeding Wesley. This unresolved problem, which remained a latent difficulty for more than half a century, was the important cause of the agitations and schisms which rent Wesleyan Methodism during the "Middle Period."[3]

The third and most crucial problem was the controversy over the sacraments. This involved the question of the relation between the Societies and the Church of England, over which there

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1. Clarke's MS. letter to G/eorge/ Marsden, written from Manchester, January 8, 179_ (last number of date torn from MS.). In another MS. letter to the same, written from Liverpool, August 30, 1794, Clarke says, ". . . thro/ugh/ God's grace, A/dam/ C/larke/ will never be a trustee- preacher." Collection of MSS., Strong Rooms, City Road.
2. Adam Clarke was only a young man of about thirty years when Wesley died. However, Smith says that he had so raised himself "by his piety, devotedness, and great capacity," that he held "an eminent position" among his fellow preachers. Many joined with Clarke in the determination "to have liberty of conscience" and "to administer the sacrament where the people desired it and to take all consequences." George Smith, History of Wesleyan Methodism, II, pp. 20-1.
3. J. H. S. Kent says, "The chief features of this disharmony were disagreement about the extent to which Methodism ought to be affected by its Anglican background; dissension over church order, and especially over the respective rights and duties of pastors and laymen; friction as to the part which Methodism should play in secular politics; and mutual dislike of one another's methods of evangelism." "The Struggle between Radicalism and Conservatism in Methodism, 1815-1848," unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, 1949, Emmanuel College, Cambridge University, pp. 2-3.

was great diversity of opinion.[1] The strong attachment of Wesley to the Church and his urgent appeal that his followers emulate his example, together with the deep affection and reverence with which he was held, inevitably resulted in a strong desire among the Methodists to remain linked to the Establishment. Hence the administering of the sacraments by the preachers and the holding of services during Church hours were strongly opposed at first by both the preachers and trustees.[2] However, this demand for the ordinances, as Adam Clarke indicates, was a desire of long standing among the majority of Methodists.[3] This desire was further intensified by the Church and Clergy of the day.[4] Irreligious and immoral Clergymen kept many Methodists away from the Church

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1. John Beecham says that "the sacramental question was the original cause of the disturbance" in the Connexion. A Essay on the Constitution of Wesleyan Methodism, pp. 31-5.
2. For an account of this controversy, vide Smith, op. cit., Book IV, Chap. I, "The Sacrament Controversy: Its Origin, Process, and Issue," pp. 9-35.
3. Clarke, considering the problem from a later perspective, says, "I have much reason to believe, that for many years before Mr. Wesley's death, the great majority of our people ardently wished for the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper among themselves; although I believe not one preacher in the Connexion gave any public countenance to them. . . ." Letter to Humphrey Sandwith, written from Pinner, Middlesex, June 16, 1829. This important epistle is printed in full in the Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society, XVIII, 1931, 1932, pp. 21-9. This desire for the sacraments arose spontaneously among those gathered from the world by Methodist preachers.
4. Methodists in many areas found the sanctuaries of the Church either too far away to attend or too small to accommodate the people. For example, in the parish of Marlebone, as late as 1811, the Church seating capacity for a population of 60,000 was 900. The Quarterly Review, V, 1811, p. 365. About the same time Earl Stanhope estimated that in England there were 4,000,000 without means of attending Church. Parliamentary Debates, July 3, 1812, XXIII, p. 888. Cited by Robert Wearmouth, Methodism and the Working-Class Movements of England 1800-1850, p. 18.

and those who did not attend were "insulted and ill used"--often repelled from the Lord's Table.[1] Then, when Wesley died, most of the Evangelical Clergymen whom he had enlisted to preach and administer the sacraments in Methodist Chapels, returned to the Church.[2] Consequently, at the time of Wesley's death, as Beecham says, "The greater part . . . of the Methodist body was, from one cause or another, almost entirely deprived of the Sacrament. . . ."[3] These who longed for the Eucharist also turned to John Wesley. They saw not merely a High Churchman, but a practical opportunist who was willing to take irregular steps when necessary. Thus the ordination of preachers to administer the sacraments in America, Scotland, and especially England was interpreted as supporting their cause. Wesley's permitting of unordained preachers to give the Lord's Supper[4] greatly encouraged the hope among the people "to have all the ordinances

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1. Clarke says, ". . . we were every day insulted and ill used by the Clergy. They hated to see the Methodists at their Communion-Tables--and some even forbade them to come. I had myself . . . received . . . a message from the Rector 'that I had best not come to the Church . . . for if I did and came to the Communion Table, he would expel me from it.'" Clarke's letter of June 16, 1829, loc. cit. Because of their conduct Wesley was forced to conclude: "Soul-damning clergymen lay me under more difficulties than soul-saving laymen." Cited by A. W. Harrison, The Separation of Methodism from the Church of England, p. 13.
2. Wesley had hoped that as the Revival expanded there would be enough sympathetic Evangelical Clergy to shepherd the Methodist flocks. He had hoped that there would be at least enough to supervise given districts by administering the sacraments and overseeing the Itinerant preachers. Because this plan never materialized, the people were left with no satisfactory way of receiving the ordinances. Ibid., pp. 13-15.
3. Beecham, op. cit., p. 31.
4. William Myles, A Chronological History of the People Called Methodists, p. 175; and Smith, op. cit., p. 175.

of God administered to them by the men, who were the instruments of their conversion."[1] And the demand for the sacraments increased as Methodism grew.

The crisis after Wesley, with its crucial problems, was largely caused by the ambiguous situation in which Wesley left Methodism. The new system had been sketched, but not elaborated by his "master-hand." John Wesley, so decisive in so many things, had left his work incomplete.[2] His legacy of Methodism was not a Church, but he had bequeathed the essential material out of which a church could be built if one were wanted.[3] The need for the Societies to become a separate Church increased with the crescendo of agitation among the people for the sacraments. This reached such intensity that decisive steps had to be taken. And the concessions granted by the Conference, especially the Plan of Pacification, changed Methodism.

III. Changes of Methodism After Wesley

In the life of Methodism, as in the life of the nation, change was everywhere at work in the years after John Wesley.

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1. Clarke's letter of June 16, 1829, loc. cit.
2. Kent says, ". . . Wesley probably died still hoping that Providence would prevent what Providence appeared to be encouraging, the creation of an entirely separate Methodist Church in England, and so, for fear of making inevitable what he did not want to happen, he did too little--if, indeed, he could have done enough--to set his followers on a single track into the future." Kent, op. cit., p. 7.
3. Kent indicates, "This material consisted of people who accepted him as their father in the Lord; the specifically Methodist religious forms, such as the class, band, and quarterly meetings; and the embryo of the idea of a Connexion which was contained in the Conference." Ibid.

During the last decade of the eighteenth century, when crucial problems of Methodism demanded immediate solutions, some of the most important changes took place. Amid the conflict and discord, decisive steps were taken which permanently modified Methodism.[1] The most significant step was the Plan of Pacification, for with it Wesleyan Methodism definitely began to move away from the Church. Making the necessary changes, maintaining Connexional unity, and guiding Wesleyan Methodism in its new ecclesiastical status--during transitional and revolutionary years--required distinguished preachers of outstanding ability and wisdom. In this important generation which succeeded Wesley, one of the greatest names in Methodism was that of Adam Clarke.

A. Plan of Pacification: Document of Separation

The primary cause of the disputes which convulsed the orphaned Societies was the administration of the sacraments in Methodist Chapels by Methodist preachers.[2] The majority of the Methodists held this to be their evangelical "Privilege and Right."[3] However, general expression to this deep desire was

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1. This period has been described as "among the obscurest passages in Methodist history." However, since Wesleyan Methodism broke with the Establishment at this time and became a separate Church, this phase of Methodism--instead of being thought of as obscure--should be regarded as strategically important. R. Denny Urlin, John Wesley's Place in Church History, p. 188. In the years after Wesley, says E. R. Taylor, ". . . the character of the Church he founded changed." Methodism & Politics 1791-1851, Preface, pp. ix, x.
2. The many circular letters and pamphlets written at this time show that the controversy over the sacraments was the crucial issue, for its solution involved the critical underlying question of the relation of Methodism to the Establishment. John Beecham, A Essay on the Constitution of Wesleyan Methodism, pp. 32-4.
3. Clarke's letter of June 16, 1829, loc. cit.

largely suppressed voluntarily out of reverence and respect for Wesley who they knew could not live much longer. However, with his death, agitation for the ordinances broke out with overwhelming force. Trustees and most of the preachers strongly opposed this demand for the ordinances because it deviated from what they called "the original Methodist plan."[1] Thus for a long time, as Taylor says:

> ". . . the followers of the man who had brought into English life afresh the practice of constant communion were denied access to it. It was an insupportable position, and, as Wesley was faced with the problem of separation when he contemplated 'field preaching' and the ordination of his Superintendents, so Methodism was faced with the same problem concerning communion and worship during Church hours."[2]

However, many preachers, as they shepherded their flocks, gradually realized the justice of the people's demand for the sacraments and the pressing necessity of their case. Some ministers, whom Wesley had ordained, sought to meet this need on their own. They not only administered the Lord's supper, but also laid their hands upon fellow preachers that they might go and do likewise. Adam Clarke would have been ordained in this way had he not wanted a public ordination.[3] But Clarke's desire was

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1. J. H. Rigg, The Churchmanship of John Wesley, p. 106. The Circular Letter of Benson, Rodda and Vasey, of the High-Church party, confidently asserted that their views had ". . . the approbation of a great majority of the Conference. . . ." "Methodism, and its Relation to the Church and the Nation," The Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine, VIII, Third Series (October, 1829), p. 670. Adam Clarke, summarizing this controversy, said, ". . . it was not our Societies, who held high-church opinions--but the Preachers /and the trustees/. . . ." Letter of June 16, 1829, loc. cit.
2. E. R. Taylor, op. cit., p. 70.
3. John Pawson wrote April 14, 1792: "I had been invited to attend the Manchester District Committee. . . . Mr. Hanby and another, with myself, ordained Messrs. Thomas Taylor, Samuel Bradburn, and George Snowden. . . . Messrs. Robert Roberts, Adam Clarke,

frustrated by the ensuing Conference of 1792 which severely condemned these and future ordinations.[1] Yet on the question of the sacraments, this same body was so divided that it finally resorted to the use of the lot. Adam Clarke was selected; he drew the lot and read, "You shall not give the sacrament this year."[2] During the year, from 1792 to 1793, all of Methodism, apart from London, was deprived of the ordinances. However, agitation so increased throughout the Connexion that by the time of the next Conference, it was evident that the people's demand could be resisted no longer. Accordingly, the Conference of 1793 resolved that in Societies where the members were unanimous in their desire to have the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper administered by their own preachers, permission should be granted.[3] Many of the Societies took immediate advantage of this new privilege[4] and by 1794, ninety-three Societies enjoyed the

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and William Myles were also present. We should have ordained these also, had not they preferred waiting until Conference. Mr. Clarke seemed determined to be ordained, but wishes it to be done publicly." Cited by John S. Stamp, "Memoirs of the Rev. Charles Atmore," The Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine, I, Fourth Series (March, 1845), pp. 214-15. This was as near as Clarke ever came to being ordained, for the position taken by the ensuing Conference was not changed until 1836, four years after Clarke's death.

1. Minutes of the Methodist Conference of 1792, I, p. 270.
2. Ibid., pp. 270-4.
3. In addition to this resolution which passed 86-48, the Conference also decided that being received into full connexion and appointed to administer the ordinances, should be considered as sufficient ordination without the imposition of hands. Gown, cassocks, bands, and the title of "Reverend" were also abandoned. Stamp, op. cit., p. 221.
4. Clarke, writing to his wife from Leeds Conference, says, "It has been determined . . . to keep the Societies from dividing, the Sacrament should be administered to such places, & such only, as have not one dissentient voice. The circuits were then called over to find if there were any such, & strange to

ordinances.[1] This concession helped, but still it was very unsatisfactory in that one individual member in a thousand could prevent the sacrament from being administered to the whole Society. If the concession of 1793 did not satisfy those in favor, it definitely did not satisfy those in opposition. The trustees, realizing how ineffectual they had been in their opposition thus far, decided to oppose the clerical Conference more firmly. They even went so far as to exclude preachers from their chapels.[2] This produced even more violent turmoil and precipitated a climax to the protracted struggle between those who were willing and those who were unwilling to change "original Methodism."[3] It was an open clash primarily between the clerical Conference, which was now pleading the side of the people, and the lay trustees, who were still defending the cause of a few wealthy Churchfolks. And in the clash the issue of Connexional authority was inevitably involved.[4]

The Conference, which met in Manchester on July 27, 1795, was fully conscious that unless some general plan was adopted, Methodism would soon be broken up into a multitude of scattered Dissenting congregations.[5] The preachers so strongly felt the

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tell, thirty-seven such were found in England alone." MS. letter written August 1, 1793. Collection of MSS., Strong Rooms, City Road.

1. Myles, op. cit., p. 226.
2. Trustees of "New Room" and Guinea Street Chapels served a legal notice to H. Moore, warning him that since they had not appointed him, he was not to trespass on their chapel property. For the complete letter, vide Smith, op. cit., Appendix C, pp. 698-9.
3. Urlin, op. cit., pp. 177-183.
4. Jonathan Crowther, The Crisis of Methodism, p. 22.
5. John Pawson wrote in 1794, "This was a year of great strife and contention: circular letters of various kinds were sent throughout the Connexion, and we were in great danger of a

magnitude of their task and the necessity for Divine guidance that they set apart the first day of Conference for fasting and prayer. They then elected a Committee of nine of the most eminent men in the Connexion. Adam Clarke was one of the members of this able group which considered every possible measure that would remove existing grievances and preserve the future unity of Methodism.[1] Finally, this Committee presented to the Conference the great Plan of Pacification which was unanimously passed by the preachers and approved by the assembled trustees.[2] This

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general division taking place among us. . . ." Cited by Thomas Jackson (ed.), The Lives of Early Methodist Preachers, IV, p. 61.

1. In addition to Clarke there were other such reformers as H. Moore, S. Bradburn, and J. Pawson, and such conservatives as J. Benson, A. Mather, and W. Thompson. These, together with the President, J. Bradford, and the Secretary, T. Coke, made up the Committee of nine. Minutes of the Methodist Conference of 1795, I, pp. 339-40. Adam Clarke, usually accurate in minute details, is in error when he says there were only seven men on this Committee. Nevertheless, his letter to Humphrey Sandwith, June 16, 1829, gives certain insights. Clarke says, ". . . there was not one in the whole Committee that did not sacrifice his own feelings and convictions, that more was necessary to calm the disturbed state of our Connexion, than they agreed on, through respect to the other side (the Trustees &c.) who were then a very small minority indeed; for the great bulk of the People were on the other side as the Issue soon proved. And when I came to reflect on the whole case and its circumstances, I am astonished that our Societies were kept so long without division and ruin. . . ." Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society, XVIII, 1931-1932, pp. 21-9.
2. George Smith, History of Wesleyan Methodism, II, pp. 28-31; and James MacDonald, Memoirs of the Rev. Joseph Benson, pp. 274-6. In 1793 Adam Clarke and John Pawson suggested to T. Coke that the sacraments be "administered in every Circuit where a majority of the people desire it." Pawson's letter to Charles Atmore, December 2, 1793, cited by Stamp, op. cit., I, Part I (April, 1845), p. 314. This suggestion was included in the plan which grew out of the Lichfield Meeting called by Coke in April, 1794. For minutes of this meeting, taken by Adam Clarke, vide Smith, op. cit., Appendix G, p. 703. Although the Conference of 1794 rejected Coke's plan, the suggestion of Clarke and Pawson to have the ordinances where

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statesman-like measure made it clear that the preachers were to administer the Lord's Supper, to baptize, to bury the dead, and to hold services in Church hours where the majority of the trustees, stewards, and leaders desired the same. Moreover, the Conference was to maintain the sole power of appointing the preachers. However, the trustees, stewards, and leaders were given the responsibility of seeing that the preachers appointed conducted themselves according to the standard of Methodism.[1]

This Plan of Pacification was the culmination of a series of concessions the Conference had been compelled to make. These reforms arose out of a religious necessity among the people. Summarizing this controversy, Adam Clarke says:

> ". . . it is an utter slander to say, that the Preachers excited the people to clamour for the thing because by it they wished to promote their own honour and interest. I believe not a soul of them ever dreamed of any such a thing. It was only when the cry became almost universal, and the people were in every way in danger of being everywhere scattered and divided, and a party of Rich men, principally Trustees in the Connexion, rose up to prevent any concessions to be made to the people, and it was too evident, that those very men aimed, not only, as they professed, to keep the people to the Church, but to rule them and the Preachers too, that the Preachers in general declared in behalf of the Societies; and then, and not till then, did I argue in their behalf."[2]

Thus instead of promoting change, the preachers resisted, "until the progress of discontent had nearly destroyed the peace and

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a majority wanted them was incorporated into the Plan of Pacification. Therefore, it may be assumed that Adam Clarke played not a small part in the forming of this important measure.

1. For the text of the "Articles of Agreement for General Pacification," vide Minutes of the Methodist Conference of 1795, I, pp. 341-3.
2. Clarke's letter of June 16, 1829, loc. cit.

greatly endangered the unity of the Connexion."[1]

The Plan of Pacification was a momentous decision for Methodism. It not only permanently solved a question of great importance and satisfactorily pacified the majority of its members, but also it became a document of separation.[2] The crucial period from 1791 to 1795 was a most favorable time for Methodism to have been integrated within the Establishment--a union had been suggested by Coke--but "few Anglicans were qualified alike by temperament or influence to bring the two together."[3] However, with the adoption of the new Plan the die was cast. The English Church, which for half a century had been a harbor to Methodism, was gradually abandoned and the vessel was launched upon "the vast and boundless ocean of separation."[4] Thus, what Wesley dreaded and opposed,[5] yet helped most to bring about,

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1. Smith, op. cit., p. 35; and R. Denny Urlin, John Wesley's Place in Church History, pp. 178-9.
2. William Myles, A Chronological History of the People Called Methodists, p. 229; and J. H. Rigg, Jabez Bunting A Great Methodist Leader, p. 37.
3. Charles J. Abbey, The English Church and Its Bishops, 1700-1800, II, pp. 133-6. As the Church's refusal to integrate Methodism into its organization caused Wesley to take irregular steps, so also the continued opposition and intolerance of the Clergy in the years after Wesley compelled the Conference to make changes that paved the way for separation. J. H. Rigg, The Churchmanship of John Wesley, pp. 103-9; and A. W. Harrison, The Separation of Methodism from the Church of England, p. 13. The French Revolution also served to complete the drawing of a distinct line ". . . between those who did and those who did not belong to the Church of England." J. H. Overton and Frederic Relton, The English Church from the Accession of George I to the end of the Eighteenth Century (1714-1800), p. 230.
4. "Considerations on a Separation of the Methodists from the Established Church," p. 27, a pamphlet published in 1795, cited by Abbey, op. cit., pp. 135-6.
5. John Wesley said, ". . . it is by no means expedient for us to separate. . . ." For the twelve reasons which Wesley gave against separation, vide "Reason against Separation from the Church of England," Works of Wesley, XV, pp. 236-8.

took place. However, the Conference had acted according to the spirit of Wesley--even fulfilling his dying prayer.[1] For the Conference never decreed separation from the Church. Separation was effected by the particular Societies distributively and by individual members personally. It was not by the action or suggestion, but only by the permission, of the Conference. By opposing separation, the Conference had followed Wesley's High-Church sentiment, and by permitting it had followed his broader views.

Although many preachers and people desired to remain attached to the Church, the current in the opposite direction became so strong that Methodism was compelled to give to the

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1. John Wesley's dying prayer, that Methodism remain within the Church and separate only when forced to do so, arose from his High-Churchmanship. Thus, shortly before his death, he declared, ". . . I live and die a member of the Church of England; and none who regard my judgment or advice, will ever separate from it." Written December 11, 1789, Works of Wesley, XV, pp. 247-9. His High-Church views lingered, but after his conversion his views broadened enough to allow him to take irregular steps when necessary and to follow Providence regardless of the attitude of the Church. Wesley no doubt failed to realize how irregular he had been during his life. However, the whole sequence of his irregularities--preaching in fields, forming of Societies, enlisting of lay preachers, holding of Conferences, building of chapels, publishing of The Arminian Magazine, writing of Deed of Declaration, ordaining of superintendents, and licensing of chapels and preachers--meant to many that Methodism as Thomas Jackson observed, ". . . grew up by the side of the Church, but was never in it. . . ." For Wesley was never under the bishops and he never allowed any Anglican clerical interference with his Societies. Recollections of My Own Life and Times, p. 447. Thus, in a true sense separation began with Wesley's conversion and he himself "led his people in the course which they have since pursued." But having said this, it is essential to understand that "his object was not division or separation, but revival and re-animation." J. H. Rigg, The Churchmanship of John Wesley, pp. 98-104.

people "all Christian ordinances by their own preachers."[1] The Plan of Pacification inevitably resulted in a gradual separation of Methodism from the Mother Church, which by the time of Clarke's death in 1832, was more or less complete.[2] After 1795 Methodism must be regarded as more than a mere Connexion of "United Societies," for the new Plan had been a great step--greater than had been anticipated--in Methodism's "long and unforeseen gravitation towards Dissent."[3]

B. Wesleyan Methodist Connexion: New Form of Dissent

Methodism, which was a particular way of feeling about religion, about Christ, and about John Wesley, scarcely knew whether it was a small sect or a private Society at the time of Wesley's Death. However, in the crisis that followed significant changes were made. The Plan of Pacification gave to Methodism a new ecclesiastical status. With the emergence of the Wesleyan Methodist Connexion as a separate Church, there appeared on the horizon of English religion a new form of Dissent.[4]

The Plan of 1795 satisfied the moderate Methodists, but in the days of the French Revolution there were not a few Wesleyans with extreme views.[5] The Church Party regarded it as a

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1. Smith, op. cit., p. 683; and Élie Halévy, History of the English People in 1815, pp. 359-360.
2. As late as 1870, however, there were several cases where no service was held during Church hours and some where the sacraments were not administered. W. J. Townsend, H. B. Workman, and George Eayrs (eds.), A New History of Methodism, I, p. 386.
3. E. R. Taylor, Methodism & Politics 1791-1851, p. 71.
4. Halévy, op. cit., pp. 360-1.
5. "Nineteen-twentieths of Methodism agreed to the Plan." Townsend, Workman, and Eayrs (eds.), op. cit., pp. 386-7; and Myles, op. cit., p. 235.

great catastrophe and continued strongly to oppose separation.[1] At the other extreme were those who had drunk deeply of the wine of revolutionary teaching. The Radical Party was dissatisfied with the middle course; they wanted Methodism to go all the way toward Dissent. Alexander Kilham, the articulate leader who followed Rousseau as well as Wesley, labored strenuously for the adoption of a representative government "by" instead of "for" the people.[2] If the views of this "morning star" of liberal Methodism were not historic, they were certainly prophetic. For eventually most of his ideas were integrated into Wesleyanism in the nineteenth century. The Conference of 1796 tried and expelled this arch-malcontent, refusing to go beyond the concessions given in the Plan of Pacification.[3] Kilham soon organized a Methodist New Connexion with about 5,000 members on a more democratic foundation. The Conference of 1797, in a successful effort to reduce the followers of Kilham, made a few more concessions in the "Leeds Regulations."[4] However, this marked the end

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1. Even after 1795 there was still some question as to whether the Church or anti-Church influence would prevail. J. H. Rigg, The Churchmanship of John Wesley, p. 184; and Smith, op. cit., pp. 683-4. In some places, such as Trowbridge--one of the Societies on Clarke's first circuit--the introduction of the sacrament caused serious division. Edward Dyer, Wesleyan Methodism in Trowbridge, pp. 8-9.
2. For an account of this zealous young man, vide John Blackwell, Life of Rev. Alexander Kilham.
3. For an account of Kilham's trial, vide Blackwell, op. cit., Chap. VII.
4. Although the concessions were to the laity, the Conference rejected the plea for lay delegation in the Conference. A lack of clarity in the "Leeds Regulations" caused the extreme Conservatives and Radicals to interpret them according to their own views. This fanned the flames of agitation and increased the struggle between these forces in the first half of the nineteenth century. For the text of the Regulations, vide Minutes of the Conference, I, pp. 390-8.

of reform and for half a century the Conference, which became increasingly Tory and Conservative, refused to change.[1]

The Conference of 1797 also justified its move away from the Church by claiming "for the Methodist Societies a scriptural and ecclesiastical status equal to that of any other Church or denomination."[2] Methodism was definitely on its own, seeking to pioneer a new middle course between the Church and Dissent--one not unrelated to the path Wesley himself unconsciously pursued.[3] Methodism was so strongly influenced by Wesley's High-Churchmanship that although separated from the Mother Church, there was an unwillingness to move all the way toward systematic Dissent.[4] Consequently, the connexional form of government was adopted. This was based upon the distinctive Wesleyan conviction that a true Methodist owed a loyalty to the Connexion that was larger than his affection for the brick Chapel at the end of the street. Methodist ministers were not regarded as servants of the people called by the local congregation, but servants of God, sent out

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1. In the years after 1797, political reaction in England to the events in France caused "Reform" to be looked upon as sinful. Methodism, which became increasingly dominated by the middle class, shared in the general movement toward authoritarianism. Wesleyan pastors developed a high Conservatism and consciousness of authority; they opposed change and reform. The pastors largely supported Jabez Bunting's prelatic views and his "stock-still" policy. Benjamin Gregory, Side Lights on the Conflicts of Methodism, 1827-1852, pp. 158-170.
2. Smith, op. cit., p. 141. Vide Chap. IV, "The Scriptural Character of the Wesleyan Methodist Church."
3. Supra, pp. 34-6. Jonathan Crowther, The Crisis of Methodism, p. 256.
4. John Wesley said, "We are not Dissenters. . . . We are not Seceders. . . ." Minutes of the Methodist Conference, I, pp. 58-9. Methodists after Wesley equally objected to being classified with Dissenters. Thomas Jackson, The Church and The Methodists, pp. 45-6.

by the Conference on a Circuit system. Pastors were called by God; they received from Him their gift of saving souls. Hence the preachers were considered best able to represent the whole body, not in a secular or political sense, but in a spiritual sense as having the best interests of all in view. Supreme power rested in the clerical Conference.[1] Democratic lay representation was discarded as being unscriptural and inapplicable for Wesleyan Methodism.[2] However, as democratic feeling grew in the nineteenth century, there was increasing agitation for lay participation in the supreme bodies of Methodism. But the inflexible, clerical Conference jealously kept the power in its own hands. Most pastors shared the views of the extreme Conservative champion, Jabez Bunting, who held that Methodism was as much opposed to democracy as to sin.[3] Between Waterloo and the middle of the nineteenth century, there was a continuous clash between the extreme Conservatives and Radicals within Wesleyan Methodism. However, the disastrous schisms which resulted from this struggle might have been avoided had there been more leaders like Adam Clarke with moderate views.

John Wesley firmly believed that separation from the Church would bring division and ruin to Methodism. Although right

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1. Joseph Beecham summed up the Conservative position of Methodism when he said, ". . . that the final decision of extraordinary questions is not with the people, but is what it ought to be, --it is pastoral." A Essay on the Constitution of Wesleyan Methodism, p. 111.
2. Cecil Driver says, "When Wesley Died, the organization he had created changed from a benevolent autocracy to an oligarchy which left little place for the participation of the laity." Tory Radical: The Life of Richard Oastler, p. 14.
3. T. P. Bunting, The Life of Jabez Bunting, I, p. 112.

in the first prediction, he was indeed wrong in the second. For after Wesley and after separation, in spite of internal controversies and divisions, Wesleyan Methodism grew as never before. Wesleyan zeal continued to infuse in both the Church and Dissent a new spirit of evangelical religion. In a land pervaded with "practical irreligion,"[1] Methodism proclaimed to the people a free, full, and present salvation with emphasis upon holiness of life. Everything about Wesleyanism--the message, the use of the laity, and the verve and swiftness of the movement--had a charm of freshness that seemed irresistible. During the French Revolution and Napoleonic war, while other religious bodies remained practically stationary, Wesleyan Methodism trebled its membership.[2] But in this era of economic, social, and political revolution, the new middle position of Methodism was greatly misunderstood. This new Protestant body was severely attacked by both the Church and Dissent. Despite their repeated claims of utter loyalty to the King and Constitution, the Methodists were suspected of disloyalty and accused of designing to overthrow the Church and State. Periodicals on both sides "vied with each other in vilifying Methodism as a public evil."[3] Regardless of the unjust slander and opposition, Methodism continued to grow

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1. [Hannah More], An Estimate of the Religion of the Fashionable World, p. 18.
2. In 1789 the membership of Methodism was 56,195, but by 1815 it had soared to 181,709, and by 1850 to 358,277. Vide Minutes of the Methodist Conferences.
3. The Quarterly Review, The Edinburgh Review, and even the Evangelical's periodical, The Christian Observer, as well as others, attacked Methodism. Thomas Jackson, Recollections of My Own Life and Times, pp. 130-1; and Élie Halévy, History of England in 1815, pp. 374-6.

and to maintain its spiritual purpose. Moreover, this body sought to continue its neutral course, following Wesley's "no-politics" rule.[1] However, political neutrality after Wesley became increasingly difficult and with the opposition of the Conference to Radicalism, this neutrality was practically abandoned.[2]

Adam Clarke lived and worked during years of revolutionary change. His active ministry was concurrent not only with the greatest transitional era in the history of England, but also the greatest period of crisis and change in the history of Methodism. After Wesley, outstanding leaders were needed to complete the unfinished sketch of "the master-hand" and to preserve "the master's picture."[3] At this crucial time Adam Clarke emerged into prominence to help the orphaned Societies solve their inherited problems and to give effective leadership. John Wesley, in his last Conference, showed confidence in his "extraordinary" young preacher from Ireland by appointing Clarke to a position of honor and influence.[4] Later, Adam Clarke was chosen three times to

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1. Dissent had so exhausted itself in the ecclesiastical and political struggles of the seventeenth century, that it was no longer a spiritual force in the eighteenth. John Wesley, benefiting from their example and enjoying the freedom they had won, wisely gave to Methodism a "no-politics" rule. E. R. Taylor, Methodism & Politics 1791-1851, p. 29.
2. Driver, op. cit., p. 109.
3. Supra, p. 28.
4. Adam Clarke was sent to Dublin in 1790 by Wesley to settle serious disputes arising from the problem of the relation of Methodism to the Church. As head of this circuit Clarke was considered Wesley's "lord-lieutenant" of all Irish circuits and pastors. Earlier Wesley had observed, "Adam Clarke is doubtless an extraordinary young man and capable of doing much good. . . ." Vide: Letters written June 25, 1789, and April 21, 1787, John Telford (ed.), Letters of John Wesley, VIII, pp. 146-7 and VII, p. 380.

serve as President of the Wesleyan Methodist Conference--the first after Wesley to be so honored.[1] Edwards says:

> "Adam Clarke was the greatest name in Methodism in the generation which succeeded Wesley. He had not the tireless missionary zeal of Coke, not the statesmanship of Jabez Bunting. He had not the sparkling eloquence of Samuel Bradburn nor the theological acumen of Richard Watson, but in combination of gifts he surpassed them all. . . . It was due to him as much as to any man that Methodism passed safely through the troubled years after Wesley's death and became in the nineteenth century a great Church, known and respected by Christians of all communions."[2]

Why was Adam Clarke "the greatest name in Methodism" in the generation after Wesley?[3] Of what did his "combination of gifts" consist? In future chapters his varied abilities as a scholar, preacher, theologian, churchman, and public figure will be considered and evaluated. However, in order to understand Clarke, it has been necessary in this chapter to consider the background of the period in which he lived and the nature of the religious body in which he ministered. In the next chapter a short biographical portrayal will be given of this Irish leader in early Methodism.

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1. Clarke was the youngest to serve as President when elected in 1806 and was elected again in 1814 and in 1822. The last two times both were after the minimum time lapse of seven years, according to the limiting regulation passed by the Conference of 1792. Minutes of the Methodist Conference, I, p. 269.
2. Maldwyn Edwards, Adam Clarke, pp. 44-5.
3. In the year of Clarke's death an unbiased periodical made the following evaluation: "Since the time of the Wesleys, the most celebrated names in the annals of Methodism, are undoubtedly those of Thomas Coke, Samuel Bradburn, and Joseph Benson, till we come to Adam Clarke, who surpassed all his predecessors." "Some Notices of the Life and Writings of the Reverend Adam Clarke, L.L.D., F.A.S.," The Congregational Magazine, XV (November, 1832), p. 643.

CHAPTER II

EMERGENCE OF IRISH LEADER

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Ireland gave to England some of the finest leaders in early Methodism. The most outstanding was Adam Clarke, who came to England in response to a personal invitation extended by John Wesley.[1] After the death of Wesley, Clarke emerged into prominence to help lead Methodism through the years of crisis and change. However, in order to understand and evaluate the work of Clarke, a knowledge of his personal life is essential. Since several comprehensive biographies have been written, in this study it will be necessary only to sketch briefly the emergence of this Irish leader in early Methodism.[2]

I. Early Life in Ireland

A. Parentage and Childhood

Although Adam Clarke came from Ireland, his parents were of English and Scottish descent. His great-great-grandfather, William Clarke, who had come from England in the seventeenth century, was a man of considerable wealth and position. This Quaker gentleman, who possessed much land in Northern Ireland, was given the honor of receiving the Prince of Orange when he came to

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1. C. H. Crookshank, History of Methodism in Ireland, I, pp. 359-360, and II, p. 109; and W. J. Townsend, H. B. Workman, and George Eayrs (eds.), A New History of Methodism, II, p. 456.
2. There have been at least eighteen Memoirs of Clarke that have been published. Vide bibliography and statement by Frank F. Baker in the Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society, XXIII, 1941-1942, p. 157.

Carrickfergus in 1690.[1] Although the property and wealth gradually vanished from the family, still the Clarkes distinguished themselves in various trades and professions.[2] Adam's father, John Clarke, intended by his parents for the Church, received a good classical education. This was followed by studies for the clerical profession at the universities of Edinburgh and Glasgow. He then entered Trinity College, Dublin, to complete the last phase of his preparation for episcopal orders.[3] However, sickness and an early marriage forced him to abandon his clerical studies. Then, catching the current rage for emigration and receiving the golden hope of becoming a professor in one of the universities in the new world, John Clarke decided to leave Ireland. Accordingly, he sold what property he had, bought passage

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1. "Minutes of a Journey through parts of England, Scotland, and Ireland, May, June, July, 1823." MS. Journal in the handwriting of Adam Clarke, pp. 95-6, James Everett Collection of MSS., The Hartley Victoria Methodist College, Manchester.
2. Clarke tells of the loss of his forefathers' estates and riches in a letter to Alexander MacKey, written from Pinner, Middlesex, February 10, 1828. Transcript from the Francis J. Cole Collection of MSS., Ardmara, County of Antrim.
3. George Smith is in error when he says that John Clarke received his Master of Arts degree from Dublin, for it was conferred by Glasgow University. Cf. History of Wesleyan Methodism, I, p. 465 with An Account of the Infancy, Religious and Literary Life of Adam Clarke, LL.D., F.A.S., &c., &c., &c., I, p. 12. The second and third volumes of this important memoir are entitled, An Account of the Religious and Literary Life of Adam Clarke, LL.D., F.A.S., &c., &c., &c. The first volume was written by Clarke himself in the third person; the second and third volumes came from the pen of his youngest daughter, Mary Ann Clarke Smith. The whole was edited by his youngest son, Joseph Butterworth Bulmer Clarke, who also added an Appendix to the third volume. Vide "Preface" and "Introduction," I, pp. v-xviii and "Preface to the Second Volume," II, pp. iii-vi. Since the first volume of this memoir is actually an "Autobiography," it will be so designated hereafter in this study. For the sake of brevity, volumes two and three will be entitled, An Account of Clarke's Life.

and, with his young wife and infant son, boarded the ship for America. However, on the eve of embarkation his father, having arrived from the country, also came aboard. With tears, entreaties, and parental tenderness, he finally persuaded his adventurous son to change his purpose, forfeit his passage, and remain in his native country.[1] John Clarke then sought to obtain a church preferment, but nothing materialized. As a last resort, he gave up the pulpit for the desk of a schoolmaster. Without land or money he took his small family to the county of Londonderry and settled in the small village called Moybeg. Here in the township of Cootinaglugg he began his scholastic profession as a licensed public schoolmaster of the Kilchronaghan parish. In this obscure hamlet, under the very humblest of circumstances, Adam Clarke was born "either in the year 1760 or 1762, most probably the former."[2] Adam's mother, like the mother of Martin Luther, could remember with certainty neither the month nor the year of her son's birth.[3]

The mother of Adam Clarke was a descendant of the McLeans of Mull, one of the western islands of Scotland. She had an unbroken ancestral line which Clarke proudly traced to one of the kings of Scotland in the thirteenth century.[4] She was a

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1. Autobiography, pp. 13-15.
2. Ibid., p. 16.
3. Adam's mother believed her second son was born in 1760, but his father insisted that 1762 was the year. However, since Clarke himself was inclined to the earlier date, 1760 will be used in this thesis as the year of his birth. Vide Appendix A.
4. Clarke made this discovery while searching for some documents in Edinburgh. Vide: Clarke's MS. letter to John Lee, written from Pennicuick, December 22, 1831, Collection of MSS., Strong Rooms, City Road; and G. J. Stevenson, Methodist Worthies, I,

"godly puritanic mother"[1] and Clarke was ever thankful for her religious wisdom. Although raising a large family amid the hardships of poverty, she gave to each child a deep reverence for the Bible, a fear of God, and a respect for the Lord's Day. Moreover, she taught her two sons and five daughters the outstanding passages of Scripture, the important prayers and creeds, and both the Church Catechism and the Shorter Catechism. Concerning this religious training, Clarke says:

> "Thus . . . [we] had the creed of our father, who was a Churchman, and the creed of our mother, who was a Presbyterian; though she was far from being a Calvinist. But although we went occasionally to the Presbyterian meeting, we all felt a decided preference for the Church."[2]

During childhood, Adam Clarke lived at four different villages, all of which were in the same vicinity. At the age of six the Clarke family moved from Moybeg to Maghera; two years later they established residence in the nearby hamlet of Garva.[3] When Adam was twelve the Clarkes moved again, this time to Ballyaherton, in the parish of Agherton. Here, near the town of Coleraine, the family resided until Clarke went to England. It was in the first of these localities that the lad began his

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p. 223. Clarke learned broad Scotch from his mother and ever delighted to dress in the kilt of her clan at least once a year on St. Andrew's Day. James Everett, "Clarkeana," I, p. 62. This unpublished two volume MS. diary, in Everett's own handwriting is full of interesting conversations between himself and Clarke which took place on a trip to the Shetland Isles in 1828. James Everett Collection of MSS., The Hartley Victoria Methodist College, Manchester.

1. Clarke often referred to his mother in these words. James Everett, Adam Clarke Portrayed, I, p. 15.
2. Autobiography, p. 60. Since Clarke wrote his Autobiography in the third person, in this study the first person is substituted when necessary. This has been done in this quotation.
3. This village is also called Grove.

education. The father, who was proud of Adam's unusual physical development, was very anxious for him to excel likewise in learning. But the schoolmaster's hope that his second son would some day be a scholar was shattered at first, for Adam learned very slowly. Even the knowledge of the alphabet was acquired with great difficulty. For this dullness the small lad was unmercifully punished by his father; at school he was insulted, scorned, and called "a grievous dunce."[1] However, after a few difficult years, his ability to learn suddenly changed. In recalling this unique experience Clarke says, "I felt as if something had broken within me: my mind in a moment was all light."[2] Henceforth, especially as he understood the reason behind what he was learning, Adam was able to acquire knowledge with relative ease. Within the venerable walls of the old Agherton Parish Church, Adam Clarke made rapid progress in learning--especially in the Greek and Latin classics--under the able supervision of his father. He developed a love of reading that was intense and unconquerable. As he was ever grateful to his austere mother for her religious training, so also Clarke was always indebted to his stern father for the classical education which prepared him for his life's work.[3]

However, Adam Clarke's education was acquired amid adverse circumstances. Although his father was an excellent scholar, he was so poorly remunerated for his professional labor that he was

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1. Autobiography, p. 30.
2. Ibid., p. 33. Quoted in part.
3. Ibid., pp. 24-26.

forced to keep a farm in order to support his large family. Because he had to spend such long hours at school, most of the farm work was left to his two sons. Adam and his brother, Tracy, learned at an early age to care for the cows, to shear the sheep, to plough the fields, to sow the seed, and to harvest the crops. Although they developed strong bodies doing this hard work, they were hindered in their education in that they could attend school only on alternate days. However, they made the most of their opportunities. At the end of each day the brother who had been privileged to go to school came home and taught the other what he had learned that day. Young Adam's thirst for knowledge caused him to walk for miles even through rain and snow, early in the morning and late at night, in order to borrow a book which would increase his learning. Thus Clarke learned while young the habits of early rising, redemption of time, and persevering industry which were practiced throughout his busy life. He never begrudged the slender means and limited opportunities of his childhood. Instead, he was ever grateful for the hardy manner in which he had been raised and the early responsibilities which he had been given. Clarke was frequently heard to say:

> "My heavenly Father saw that I was likely to meet with many rude blasts in journeying through life, and he prepared me in infancy for the lot his providence destined for me; so that through his mercy I have been enabled to carry a profitable childhood up to hoary hairs."[1]

B. Finding the "Pearl of Great Price"

In early childhood Adam Clarke had a religious experience

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1. Autobiography, p. 24.

which reveals the influence of his home and the seriousness of his disposition. One day when walking hand in hand with his childhood playmate in the green field near his home, the two sat down on a bank and entered into serious conversation. "O, Addy, Addy," said Adam's close friend, "what a dreadful thing is eternity, and, O, how dreadful to be put into hell fire and to be burnt there for ever and ever."[1] The two laddies wept bitterly and, as they were able, begged God to forgive them of their sins. In recalling this early experience, which left a lasting impression, Clarke says:

> "I was then truly and deeply convinced that I was a sinner, and that I was liable to eternal punishment; and that nothing but the mercy of God could save me from it: though I was not so conscious of any other sin as that of disobedience to my parents. . . . Had I had any person to point out the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world, I believe I should then have been found as capable of repentance and faith, (my youth and circumstances considered,) as I ever was afterwards."[2]

Although his mother was a puritanic Presbyterian, who effectively instilled within her children an intense fear of God, she was unable to show her young son the way of salvation. Nor could his father, though a conscientious Churchman, help him find the forgiveness for which his tender heart yearned. This was understandable, for at that time the Presbyterian parsons gave forth a message bordering Socinianism and the Established clergy failed to proclaim justification by faith.[3] In the neighborhood in which he grew up, Clarke says:

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1. Ibid., p. 26. Clarke was about six years of age when he had this experience.
2. Ibid., pp. 26-7.
3. Ibid., pp. 79-81.

". . . there was little even of the form of godliness, and still less of the power. Nor indeed, were the people excited to examine the principles of their own creed, till many years after, when the Methodists came into that country, 'preaching repentance towards God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ.'"[1]

However, during his years of maturity, Adam Clarke says that he was never able to find pleasure in sin. "My mother's reproofs and terrors never left me, till I sought and found the salvation of God."[2] At the age of thirteen young Clarke, who loved music and played a violin, became passionately fond of dancing. For a time this new absorbing interest became a substitute for his love of reading and study. However, he soon came to the conclusion that dancing was "a perverting influence" which drowned the voice of his "instructed conscience."[3] Therefore, he gave up this "dangerous snare" and his love for mental cultivation returned with even greater force.

Shortly after, young Clarke had two nearly fatal accidents which caused him to become increasingly serious about religion and his life vocation. In the first mishap he fell from a horse and struck his back on a pointed stone; those that saw him agreed that he was dead. "Had I not been designed for matters of great and high importance," says Clarke, "it is not likely in the ordinary course of nature I could have survived this accident."[4]

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1. Ibid., p. 27.
2. Clarke, cited by J. W. Etheridge, The Life of the Rev. Adam Clarke, p. 24.
3. Autobiography, pp. 60-7. Because of the moral injury which he felt dancing had caused him in adolescence, Clarke strongly opposed it during the rest of his life. For his views on this branch of "worldly education, which leads from heaven to earth, from things spiritual to things sensual," vide "Thoughts on Dancing," Letter to the Editor of The Arminian Magazine, XV (May, 1792), pp. 264-272.
4. Autobiography, pp. 68-9.

The second event was an even more dramatic escape from death, this time by drowning. This strengthened Clarke's conviction that his life had been providentially spared for a specific purpose.[1] These incidents influenced him in much the same way as John Wesley was affected when he learned that as a child he had been "plucked as a brand from the burning" parsonage at Epworth.[2]

When Adam Clarke was seventeen, John Brettel came from Coleraine to hold the first Methodist meeting in the parish of Agherton. Clarke was among those who crowded into the old barn at Burnside to hear what this serious man with peculiar dress had to say.[3] He was deeply impressed with this part of the preacher's discourse:

> "The Westminister divines have asserted in their Catechism, that no mere man, since the fall, can keep God's commandments: but doth daily break them in thought, word, and deed: but the Scriptures promise us salvation from all our sin; and I must credit them in preference to the Westminster divines."[4]

Clarke went away reasoning with himself, "If the Scriptures say the contrary, certainly I should believe the Scriptures in preference to the catechism."[5] From that time on he studied his Bible for himself and listened to John Brettel, Henry Moore, and other

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1. When bathing his father's mare one morning, young Clarke ventured out beyond the breakers. A large wave plunged him to the bottom; he lost consciousness and ever after firmly believed that he had actually drowned. Evidently another wave brought him to the shore and he began to breathe. Ibid., pp. 69-71. Also Samuel Dunn, The Life of Adam Clarke, Chap. V, "His Perils."
2. Luke Tyreman, The Life and Times of the Rev. John Wesley, I, p. 17.
3. Abel Stevens, The Illustrated History of Methodism, II, pp. 43-4.
4. Brettel, cited by Clarke, Autobiography, pp. 82-3.
5. Ibid.

Methodist Itinerants whenever possible.[1]

However, the Methodist preacher who helped Adam Clarke most to find the "pearl of great price" was Thomas Barber.[2] When Clarke's mother heard this "indefatigable evangelist," she said that his message contained "the doctrine of the Reformers."[3] And his father bore testimony that what he preached was "the genuine doctrine of the Established Church."[4] After this, the Clarke home was always open to Barber and such preachers as came to their area. Through his preaching and counselling, young Clarke, who was about nineteen years of age, became intensely interested in religion. One day Barber asked, "Adam, do you think that God, for Christ's sake, has forgiven you your sins?" He replied, "No, Sir, I have no evidence of this."[5] From that moment Adam Clarke earnestly and perseveringly sought forgiveness of sins and assurance of regeneration. He searched the Scriptures,

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1. Henry Moore says that Clarke followed him to all his appointments, "hungering after the word of life." "The Judgment of the Human Race," The Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine, XI, Third Series (October, 1832), p. 719.
2. Although instrumental in Clarke's conversion, Barber was not regarded too highly by Wesley. In a letter to Thomas Rutherford, November 9, 1779, he wrote, "It is exceeding well that Brother Barber came in the place of Brother Blair. Let him also preach sometimes in Londonderry. God chooses the foolish things to confound the wise. I do not know but God may bless him there more than either you or me." John Telford (ed.), Letters of John Wesley, VI, p. 362.
3. Autobiography, pp. 83-4.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid., p. 86. Also C. H. Crookshank, History of Methodism in Ireland, I, pp. 328-9.

formulated his Creed,[1] attended class-meetings,[2] and prayed continuously. "Nothing could satisfy me," says Clarke, "but a pardon felt in my heart, and registered in my conscience by the light and power of the Holy Spirit."[3] One morning, while working in the field, he became so overcome with spiritual anguish that he fell to the earth on his face, desperately endeavoring to pray. Says Clarke:

> "My agonies were indescribable; I seemed to be for ever separated from God and the glory of His power. Death, in any form, I could have preferred to my present feelings, if that death could have put an end to them."[4]

However, Adam Clarke's extremity was God's opportunity. Feeling strongly the need to pray to Christ, Clarke recalls:

> "I looked up confidently to the Saviour of sinners, my agony subsided, my soul became calm. A glow of happiness seemed to thrill through my whole frame, all guilt and condemnation were gone. I examined my conscience, and found it no longer a register of sins against God. I looked to heaven, and all was sunshine; I searched for my distress, but could not find it. I felt indescribably happy, but could not tell the cause;--a change had taken place within me, of a nature wholly unknown before, and for which I had no name. . . . Shortly after, my friend Mr. Barber came to my father's house: when he departed, I accompanied him a little on the way. When we came in sight of the field that had witnessed

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1. Clarke says, "I now determined to search the Scriptures. . . . By this reading I acquired and fixed my Creed in all its articles. . . though I had not as yet that full confidence of each, which I afterwards acquired." Autobiography, p. 87. First person is used in this quotation in place of the third. For Clarke's early Creed, which he claimed never to have changed, vide pp. 203-208.of this study.
2. In a class-meeting at Coleraine, Clarke was deeply impressed by hearing a neighbor testify: "I was once a slave to sin, but now I am made free by the grace of Christ: I once felt the horrors of a guilty conscience, but now I know and feel that God has blotted out my sin." After the meeting the class-leader pleaded with Adam to give "his whole heart to God." This cut Clarke to the heart and greatly increased his longing for spiritual peace. Ibid., pp. 88-9.
3. Ibid., p. 98. Quoted in part. First person is used in place of third.
4. Ibid., p. 100. First person is used in place of third.

> the agonies of my heart and the breaking of my chains, I told Mr. B/arber/ what had taken place. The man of God took off his hat, and with tears flowing down his cheeks, gave thanks unto God. 'O, Adam,' said he, 'I rejoice in this; I have been daily in expectation that God would shine upon your soul, and bless you with the adoption of his children.' I stared at him, and said within myself, 'O, he thinks surely that I am justified, that God has forgiven me my sins, that I am now his child. O, blessed be God, I believe, I feel I am justified, through the Redemption that is in Jesus,' /sic/ Now, I clearly saw what God had done; and although I had felt the blessing before, and was happy in the possession of it, it was only now that I could call it by its name. Now, I saw and felt, that 'being justified by faith, I had peace with God, through our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom I had received the Atonement.'"[1]

The religious experience of Adam Clarke was a typical Methodist conversion following a general pattern described by William James.[2] He felt a great spiritual need, surrendered himself to Christ, found the "pearl of great price," and received

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1. Ibid., pp. 101-2. First person is used in place of the third.
2. William James concluded that in all religions conversion consists of two parts, an uneasiness and its solution. "1. The uneasiness . . . is a sense that there is something wrong about us as we naturally stand. 2. The solution is a sense that we are saved from the wrongness by making proper connections with the higher powers." The Varieties of Religious Experience, pp. 507-8. Robert Thouless defines conversion as "an outbreak into consciousness of something, such as a system of beliefs, which seemsto have had no period of development in the mind." An Introduction to the Psychology of Religion, p. 188. However, Sydney Dimond, feeling that conversion should be more broadly defined, says, "Conversion denotes 'the process, gradual or sudden, by which a self hitherto divided, and consciously wrong inferior and unhappy, becomes unified and consciously right superior and happy,' /citing James, p. 189/ through the establishment of a right relationship with the object of the religious sentiment. . . . Defined in this way, the experience of conversion in Methodism may be regarded as typical of religious conversion in general, as a normal experience of human nature." The Psychology of the Methodist Revival, pp. 153-4. For Dimond's discussion of Methodist conversion, vide pp. 158-207. Thus it may be said that Clarke had a typical Methodist conversion and, in many ways, it was typical of religious conversions in general.

assurance of forgiveness.[1]

C. The Call to Preach

Adam Clarke was a true son of the Evangelical Revival, for the instrument of his conversion, Thomas Barber, had been saved under the preaching of John Wesley.[2] Moreover, Clarke possessed the zeal of evangelicalism; he sought to share with others the love of God and the true happiness he had found in religion. At home he daily led family prayers and through his influence most of the Clarke family experienced conversion. At school he also was active, leading many of his school-fellows to a knowledge of salvation. So great was his concern for the salvation of his neighbors that he went out to read and to expound the Scriptures in houses and villages not yet reached by Methodist preachers.[3] At Upper Mullihicall, near the place where Clarke had his own membership with the Methodists,[4] he inspired a newly

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1. Clarke's account of his conversion, in which he uses the phrase from Matthew xiii. 46, cited by John Stoughton, Religion in England under Queen Anne and the Georges, 1702-1800, II, p. 177.
2. James Everett, Adam Clarke Portrayed, I, pp. 104-5.
3. Autoblography, pp. 107-118. John M'Conaghy describes in native dialect the kind of influence young Clarke had upon him and others. After an evening preaching meetin', says M'Conaghy, ". . . up comes Adam Clarke, an' he says, 'Don't gang to the public-house noo to drink, but gang hame.' An' he tuck me by the hand an' he says, 'Promise me you won't gang there, but you will gang hame an' pray.' It was sair wark this; my bit o' sweetheart wad expect me, and I tried to pull aff, but I cudna do it, an' I got sae frightened aboot death an' judgment an' sick like things, that I fairly set aff hame, cried to the Lord for mercy, got a wee pickle o' religious comfort, an' hae some o' it till the present." Memorials of a Consecrated Life, pp. 233-4, cited by Crookshank, op. cit., pp. 358-9.
4. Even before his conversion, Barber entered Clarke's name on the class paper at Mullihicall. Moore says that Clarke was received into Methodism during his first year in Londonderry which was 1779. Everett, op. cit., p. 113; and Moore, loc. cit.

formed congregation to build its own place of worship and with his own hands greatly assisted the project.[1]

Meanwhile, as Clarke grew older, the question of his life vocation became a pressing problem. His father, who had been disappointed in his own aspiration for the Clergy, wanted his son to become a minister in the Establishment. This pleased Adam; it suited his love for learning and his religious sentiment. However, the Clarke family was too poor to pay for the necessary education. The medical profession was then suggested, but this was also abandoned for the same reason. Finally, Adam Clarke, who had resigned himself to being a farmer,[2] was apprenticed to a linen merchant in Coleraine.[3] During that year if he did not learn much as an apprentice, he profited greatly as a new convert, with the privilege of hearing powerful Methodist preaching every morning at five o'clock.[4] On Sundays young Adam continued to take part in the work of exhortation in neighboring villages. Many in the Coleraine Society, who recognized his natural ability and educational advantages, encouraged him to enter the Methodist

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1. J. W. Etheridge, The Life of the Rev. Adam Clarke, p. 41.
2. Autobiography, pp. 67-8; and James Everett, "Clarkeana," II, pp. 355-6, James Everett Collection of MSS., The Hartley Victoria Methodist College, Manchester.
3. Francis Bennet, a distant relative of the Clarke family, gave Adam every possible opportunity to take up any one of several trades, but he had little interest in secular vocations. Autobiography, pp. 119-20; and Etheridge, op. cit., p. 42.
4. Clarke, who continued his reading and study at Coleraine, was greatly influenced at this time by reading Baxter's Saints Everlasting and the Journal of David Brainerd. "From the first," says Clarke, "I got a deeper acquaintance with experimental Christianity: and from the second I imbibed the spirit of a Missionary." Autobiography, p. 122; and C. H. Crookshank, History of Methodism in Ireland, I, pp. 355-6.

ministry. More and more Clarke came to share the view of his religious friends that he was not called to the Irish linen trade, but to the service of God. Finally, after eleven months, Clarke left his apprenticeship and returned home, even against the wish of his parents.[1]

However, Adam Clarke hesitated to become a Methodist minister, for he says:

> "I had not as yet got what I deemed a satisfactory call to preach the Gospel; and I was afraid to run before I was sent. As it was now likely I would not be employed in what was termed the regular /Established/ ministry of the word, I judged it the more necessary to have an extraordinary call, to an extraordinary work: and for this I waited[2]. . . for I did not desire the work of the ministry. . . ."

Soon after returning home John Bredin, a Methodist preacher who had taken a special interest in young Clarke at Coleraine, sent for him to come and assist him at Derry for two weeks.[3] Bredin sent him first to New Buildings where he was told to "preach to the people." Clarke, who was then only an exhorter, said that he would do his best; however, Bredin insisted that he "take a text, and preach from it."[4] With great reluctance Adam followed his instructions; he took a text and "unraveled" the word.[5] After

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1. Autobiography, pp. 120-1.
2. Ibid., p. 136.
3. Bredin, who had loaned Clarke books and had greatly encouraged him to enter the ministry, was not esteemed highly by Wesley. On March 12, 1775, he wrote Joseph Benson from Bristol, "I can no more trust John Bredin in the North than in the South of Scotland. I see no way for him but to Ireland. He must return to his loom. I have had complaints from all quarters. He must no longer bring a reproach upon the gospel." John Telford (ed.), Letters of John Wesley, VI, pp. 143-4.
4. Autobiography, pp. 136-7.
5. When Clarke arrived at New Buildings one of his hearers remarked, "You are a young one to unravel the word!" On the spot of Clarke's first sermon a Methodist Chapel was erected

preaching this first sermon on June 19, 1782, Clarke says:

> "I. . . had a strong persuasion in my own mind, that God had called me to preach His Word; and that the verse to which I was directed, when I set out on my journey to Derry,--Ye have not chosen me, but I have chosen you, and ordained you, that ye should go and bring forth fruit &c., was the evidence of the call which God had graciously given me. I felt these words, as no man could feel them, who was not in my circumstances. That I was not mistaken, the issue has most amply proved. I was now sent by God. . . ."[1]

Thus Adam Clarke, possessing "the deepest and most powerful conviction" that he was called to preach, embarked on the "strongly agitated sea" of the Methodist ministry.[2]

II. Education in England

A. Wesley's Invitation to Kingswood

Before Adam Clarke received his call to preach, Bredin had written John Wesley describing the talents of his young Irish candidate for the ministry and urging him to receive Clarke into the Kingswood School near Bristol. Although Wesley indicated in his reply that there was no room at the time, he carefully instructed Bredin to encourage Clarke in his preaching efforts and to have him "read a little Greek and Latin every day."[3] A few months later Bredin received other letters inviting the promising Irish convert to come to Kingswood where he could increase his classical learning and have opportunity to preach.[4] Clarke

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in 1853. James Everett, Adam Clarke Portrayed, I, p. 133; and Crookshank, op. cit., III, p. 447.

1. Autobiography, p. 138.
2. Clarke's letter to Thomas Smith, written from Millbrook, April 20, 1817, An Account of Clarke's Life, II, pp. 348-350.
3. Wesley's letter to John Bredin, written from London, October 19, 1781, Letters of John Wesley, op. cit., VII, p. 86.
4. Wesley's letters to Bredin, written from Manchester, April 6,

felt that Wesley's invitation, which came shortly after receiving his call to the Methodist ministry, was a providential opening. However, his parents did not share their son's view about going to England. Only after a period of violent opposition did they finally give their consent. The father agreed under the condition that after his preparatory education, his son would enter one of the Scottish universities.[1]

Hence Adam Clarke, with only a few coins, a few books, a loaf of bread, and a pound of cheese, boarded a Liverpool trader at Derry and sailed for England on August 17, 1782. As the small boat drifted out, the men on shore--looking at the shabbily dressed lad with the broad triangular hat--exclaimed: "Adam Clarke is a fool to go to England to learn to be a Methodist preacher!"[2] However, this young man, who was "as thin as it was possible for anyone to be who had any portion of health,"[3] was determined to go to England in order to get "an increase of learning, of knowledge, and of piety."[4] A week later he arrived at Kingswood, tired, hungry, and with only three halfpence in his pocket. Nevertheless, he was full of hope when he met the head Master and handed him

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and from Birmingham, July 9, 1782. Ibid., pp. 118-19, and 127-8; Nehemiah Curnock (ed.), Journal of John Wesley, VI, p. 361; and Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society, XIX, 1934-1935, p. 24.

1. P. Garrett, The Substance of a Discourse . . . Occasioned by the Death of the Rev. A. Clarke, p. 5; and Autobiography, pp. 121 and 138-141.
2. Everett, op. cit., p. 138. Present tense is used in place of the past tense.
3. Henry Moore, "The Judgment of the Human Race," The Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine, XI, Third Series (October, 1832), p. 719.
4. Autobiography, pp. 150-1. This was Clarke's reason for going to Kingswood.

Wesley's letter. However, Simpson, who had not been informed of Clarke's coming, said there was no room for him in the school. He advised him to go back to Bristol and to wait there for Wesley. He also informed Clarke, who had come with the belief that Kingswood had a high academic standard, that the school was merely for preachers' children and for preachers unable to read the Bible. All this came as a crushing blow to the young Irish lad in a strange land. With a heart full of distress Clarke answered, "Sir, I cannot go back to Bristol, I have expended all my money, and have nothing to subsist on."[1] After learning that this young Irishman already knew as much as the school had to offer, the head Master advised him to go directly into the Wesleyan Itineracy. However, he finally agreed to allow Clarke to stay in an isolated room in the old chapel until Wesley arrived. During this month he was very ill-treated; he was cold, under fed, and shown little kindness.[2] Although Adam Clarke never benefited from his short stay at Kingswood,[3] his unfortunate experience there gave

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1. Ibid., p. 153.
2. Luke Tyreman says, "Simpson's stupid, imperious wife made bad things worse, by suspecting that the young Irishman might be afflicted with the itch, and by making him rub himself from head to foot with Jackson's ointment." This "infernal ungent," as Clarke called it, caused him to smell "worse than a polecat." The Life and Times of Rev. John Wesley, III, p. 386.
3. The Dictionary of National Biography (ed. by Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee), is in error when it says: "Through the influence of John Wesley he completed his education at Kingswood School, near Bristol." IV, p. 413. Although Clarke learned a great deal during his first month in England, it is hardly correct to assert that he "completed his education" in so short a time. Clarke says that the school had been "a place of unworthy treatment, not to say torment"--"thirty-one days too much." Autobiography, p. 169.

rise to some immediate improvements in the school.[1]

B. Wesley Lays Hands Upon Clarke

When John Wesley arrived in Bristol, he requested that Adam Clarke come to see him at the "New Room" Chapel in the Horsefair. Thomas Rankin, assistant of the circuit, took Clarke up to Wesley's study--located off the impressive lobby over the Chapel--and introduced him to the Founder of Methodism. In recalling this important interview of September 6, 1782, Clarke says:

> "Mr. W/esley/ took me kindly by the hand, and asked me, 'How long since I had left Ireland?' Our conversation was short. He said, 'Well, brother Clarke, do you wish to devote yourself entirely to the work of God?' I answered, 'Sir, I wish to do and be what God pleases!' He then said, 'We want a preacher for Bradford (Wilts;) hold yourself in readiness to go thither; I am going into the country, and will let you know when you shall go.' He then turned to me, laid his hands upon my head, and spent a few moments in praying to God to bless and preserve me, and to give me success in the work to which I was called."[2]

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1. Through Adam Clarke, who described Kingswood as "the worst school he had ever seen"--"perfectly disorganized"--the attention of John Wesley was drawn to its deplorable conditions. At the ensuing Conference of 1783, Wesley said that "at present the school does not in any wise answer the design of its institution, either with regard to religion or learning." He concluded by saying, "It must be mended or ended, for no school is better than the present school." Successful steps were taken to mend the school and to make it an acceptable educational institution. Autobiography, pp. 161-2; and Minutes of the Methodist Conference of 1783, I, p. 166. In 1794 the Conference appointed "Mr. Clarke of Coleraine, father of Adam Clarke," as the head Master of the Kingswood School near Bristol. Thus Adam Clarke, through his father, was able to make additional improvement in the school following Wesley's demise. George Smith, History of Wesleyan Methodism, II, pp. 248-9.
2. Autobiography, p. 165. Words are not italicized in the original. Also vide A Short Guide to John Wesley's Chapel Bristol "The New Room," p. 7. When sending out preachers, Wesley often laid his hands on their heads, but this must be viewed as distinct from the ordinations of 1784 and following. John S. Simon, "Wesley's Ordinations," Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society, IX, 1914-1915, pp. 145-154.

After this experience Clarke says, "I departed, having now received, in addition to my appointment from God to preach His gospel, the only authority I could have from man, in that line in which I was to exercise the Ministry of the Divine Word."[1] Three weeks later, having received Wesley's instruction to replace Edward Rippon, Adam Clarke left Kingswood "without a sigh or a groan" for the Bradford Circuit.[2] With a sense of great unfitness, Clarke went to his first preaching appointment at Trowbridge, only three months after preaching his first sermon.[3] Clarke says that his only purpose in preaching was to seek "the favor of his Maker, and the salvation of souls, and to spend, and be spent in his work."[4]

C. Education in the Saddle

Adam Clarke, contrary to his father's wish and his own original plan, entered the Methodist itinerant ministry before completing his education.[5] He acted upon the advice of Wesley, who had insisted:

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1. Autobiography, p. 165.
2. Ibid., pp. 169-170.
3. Edward Dyer, Wesleyan Methodism in Trowbridge, pp. 5-7.
4. Autobiography, p. 171.
5. Clarke says that in going to England "I had no notion of being a Travelling Preacher; all I had in view was the completion of my education." Cited by James Everett, Adam Clarke Portrayed, I, p. 138. When news of his entering the itinerant ministry reached Clarke's father, it blasted all of the educational hopes and ambitions that he had for his young son. Moore sought to console him by saying that Wesley placed a great honor upon Clarke by "appointing him to a fellowship in the ministry, by his own order, and without the usual preliminary trial." He also told him that "a day would come when he would thank God for what he now deplored." Moore, op. cit., pp. 721-2.

> "You have learning enough for a Preacher of the Gospel; and you will improve therein while you preach, abundantly more than you can do by mere study. By teaching we learn, and the best way."[1]

Says Clarke:

> "I knew that I had the rudiments of literature, a moderate classical taste, and an insatiable thirst for knowledge; especially the knowledge of God and His works: my mind was not highly cultivated, but the soil was broken up, and was, in every respect, improvable."[2]

However, young Clarke did not know that on his first circuit he would have to prepare and deliver twelve sermons a week, besides his regular exhortations, class-meetings, and individual calling. Nor did he realize that his remuneration would be only his room and board, with no allowance for books, clothing, or other essentials.[3] Yet even amid the most adverse circumstances, his "insatiable thirst for knowledge" enabled him to make great improvements in learning. However, it was clearly a case of becoming educated in the saddle. Concerning this experience Clarke says:

> "The practice of reading on horseback is both dangerous . . . and injurious to the sight. . . . Yet what could I do, who had so much to learn, so often to preach, and was every day on horseback? When I came in the evening to my place of residence for the night, I found no means of improvement, and seldom any place in which I could either conveniently study or pray."[4]

Because of this deep determination to learn and to conserve every moment, Clarke--in spite of the handicaps--acquired a vast amount of knowledge during his early appointments.[5]

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1. John Wesley, cited by Moore, ibid.
2. Autobiography, p. 171. First person is used in place of third.
3. Ibid., pp. 171 and 195.
4. Ibid., p. 184. First person is used in place of third.
5. Clarke in order to save time even gave up drinking tea and coffee. "I spent that time," says he, "in reading and study and by this, in the course [of my life] I have saved several

III. Early Years as a Circuit Rider

A. First Circuit of "Little Boy Preacher"

As Adam Clarke walked up to the pulpit of one of the chapels on his first visit round the Bradford Circuit, he overheard one of the older members of the congregation whisper, "Tut, tut! what will Mr. Wesley send us next?"[1] "I was judged," says Clarke, "to be at this time about eighteen; and even small and youthful taken for that age: I was . . . generally denominated the little boy."[2] Although he was the youngest "to travel" in Methodism, his boyish face, his extremely slender body, and his long, flowing red hair accentuated his juvenility. Because of this he was given the nickname, "little boy preacher."[3] Clarke's youth was "a grievous trial" to him, but his commanding voice effectively proclaimed an evangelical message. Says Clarke:

> "Of the plan of salvation I had the most accurate knowledge; and in this respect, my trumpet could not give an uncertain sound. I had received the word from God's mouth, and I gave the people warning from Him. . . . The Bible was my one book; and Prayer my continual exercise. I frequently read it upon my knees; and often watered it with my tears."[4]

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whole years of time." A fellow minister says that he obtained "all his learning by redeeming the time." Autobiography, p. 191. Quoted in part. First person is used in place of third.

1. J. W. Etheridge, The Life of the Rev. Adam Clarke, p. 57.
2. Autobiography, p. 170. First person is used in place of third. It is difficult to understand why Clarke gave eighteen as his age when entering the ministry late in the year of 1782. For if he were born in 1760, the year he claimed to favor, he would have been at least twenty-one. It appears that as he used the earlier year of 1760 to emphasize his old age, so also he used the latest possible date of 1763 to accentuate his youth. Vide Appendix A.
3. Etheridge, op. cit., p. 69; and G. J. Stevenson, Methodist Worthies, I, pp. 266-7.
4. Autobiography, p. 170. First person is used in place of third.

In describing Clarke on his first circuit, Dyer says that "his eloquence was like a torrent, and crowds of hearers followed him through the Circuit."[1] John Wesley was so impressed with Clarke's ministry that, even on the basis of part of a year, he admitted him into the Conference in "full connexion." He was the youngest at that time to be so honored.[2]

B. Evangelical Preacher in Demand

Adam Clarke, especially during his early appointments, was greatly influenced by John Wesley whom he learned to love "as a son loves a father."[3] In his preaching Clarke stressed, as he says, such Wesleyan doctrines as:

> "Repentance;--justification by faith in the sacrificial death of Christ;--the witness of the Spirit in the consciences of true believers;--Christian perfection, or the purification of the soul from all sin in this life;--and the necessity of universal outward holiness. . . ."[4]

His "Journals" show that he not only preached holiness of life as the high calling of the Gospel, but sought himself "to be cleansed from all sin, and filled with God."[5] His personal quest for holiness is revealed in the following letter which he wrote in 1784:

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1. Dyer, loc. cit.
2. Ordinarily preachers were admitted to the Conference only after being members "on trial" for a time. Although Clarke joined the Conference on August 6, 1782, three years before the four year trial period was established, he was never a member of the Conference "on trial." Minutes of the Methodist Conference of 1783, I, pp. 153-161.
3. Etheridge, op. cit., p. 75.
4. Autobiography, pp. 195-6.
5. Ibid. Although these "Journals" were burned by his son after Clarke's death, his Autobiography suggests what they contained.

> "Since I was justified, I have expected and prayed for the inestimable blessing of a heart in all things devoted to God; which, soon after I received pardon, I found to be indispensably necessary. But, meeting with little encouragement, I obtained it not . . . till I came to this kingdom, when you ordered me into the Bradford Circuit. Here the good Lord was pleased to give me a sight of the unspeakable depravity of my heart, and in such a measure that the distress I felt was as painful in sustaining as it would be difficult in describing. . . . I regarded nothing, not even life itself, in comparison with having my heart cleansed from all sin; and began to seek it with full purpose of soul. Thus I continued till December, 1782, when . . . while wrestling in prayer, and endeavouring, self-desperately, to believe, I found a change wrought in my soul which I endeavoured through grace to maintain, amidst grievous temptations. . . . But to this day I am in doubt respecting the work in my own soul, not being able with propriety either to affirm that it is (fully) done, or to deny it as undone."[1]

However, the assuring counsel of Wesley enabled Clarke "to affirm" his own experience of heart purity and ever after that, holiness was the high standard of his life and the central theme of his preaching.[2]

The early Methodist circuit riders, in contrast to "the settled habits of the established clergy," were kept on the move.[3] They were changed every two or three years, given heavy preaching duties, and often subjected to untold hardships. In Clarke's

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1. Clarke's letter to John Wesley, written from Norwich, 1784. Cited without month and day by Etheridge, op. cit., pp. 415-16.
2. In 1784 Clarke made a covenant of consecration to the service of God. In it he says, "And now, great God . . . I beseech Thee for Jesus' sake to purify my deceitful heart, and to sanctify me throughout body, soul, and spirit . . . and take me, soul and body, with all I have, and all I am, to be Thine in time and to all eternity." Cited by Samuel Dunn, The Life of Adam Clarke, pp. 233-4.
3. "Indeed the locomotiveness of the preacher among the Methodists forms a striking . . . contrast to the settled habits of the established clergy." [Robert Southey], "An Account of the Infancy, Religious and Literary Life of Adam Clarke, LL.D., F.A.S., &c.," Article VI, The Quarterly Review, LI (March, June, 1834), pp. 130-1.

first four years of itineracy, he was appointed to four different circuits. After the year at Bradford, where he travelled in Wiltshire, Somerset, and Dorset counties, he was sent east in 1783 to the Norwich Circuit which included the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk. The next year Clarke was moved back west to the East Cornwall (St. Austell) Circuit, and in 1785 he was appointed to the nearby Plymouth Circuit that covered part of Cornwall and most of Devon counties.[1] On these four circuits, which together had about one hundred fifteen preaching points, Clarke preached over two thousand sermons, many of them in the open air to hostile crowds. A lack of horses often forced him to strap the saddlebags on his own shoulders and to trudge for two hundred fifty miles a month through dust, mud, and snow. Moreover, the accommodations were so inadequate that he was often hungry during the day and cold through the night.[2] Because of fatigue, malnutrition, and exposure Clarke became severely ill on several occasions. Nevertheless, he says:

> "But the prosperity of Methodism made every thing pleasant; for the toil . . . was compensated by a blessed ingathering of sinners to Christ, and a general renewing of the face of the country."[3]

In East Cornwall, where a great revival broke out under his effective ministry, Clarke gained a reputation of being a great preacher.[4] This circuit pleaded for his return, but Wesley

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1. For the appointments of Clarke, vide Appendix B.
2. Autobiography, pp. 171-231; and James Everett, Adam Clarke Portrayed, I, pp. 176-189.
3. Autobiography, p. 219.
4. G. R. Balleine said, "At one time it looked as though Cornwall would become a strong Evangelical centre, but there were not not enough clergy . . . and many of the converts of the Revival

needed him to heal a secession at Plymouth Dock. Clarke not only quieted the storm, but in a single year the membership of the Plymouth Circuit was nearly doubled.[1]

Although Adam Clarke was an evangelical preacher in demand, in 1786 John Wesley sent him as a missionary to the Channel (Norman) Islands, perhaps to prepare him for a future work in France.[2] His knowledge of French and his earnest, energetic, and effective ministry, caused Wesley to choose him to assist his close friend, Robert Carr Brackenbury, in this new Methodist mission.[3] Here Clarke remained for three years, successfully preaching the Gospel and establishing Methodism in new areas--sometimes amid violent opposition which threatened his

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passed into the ranks of the Methodists." Clarke was among those who assisted in the effective spread of Methodism in this area. A History of the Evangelical Party in the Church of England, p. 97; and Autobiography, pp. 218-228.

1. Ibid., p. 229, et seq.
2. Matthieu Lelièvre is of the opinion that when Wesley sent two of his best helpers, Brackenbury and Clarke, to the Channel Islands where French was spoken, he had France ultimately in view. Although neither were sent to France, the Methodist Church in that country was "an offspring of the Channel Islands Methodism." "French Methodism, I. The Mission (1791-1852)," The Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine, CXXIX, from the beginning (May, 1906), pp. 340-7.
3. A preacher on Clarke's first circuit accused him of studying the classical languages out of pride and a desire to appear superior to his fellow preachers. Consequently Clarke, who possessed a scrupulous conscience, vowed never to "meddle with Greek or Latin as long as he lived." As a substitute he studied French. He kept this vow until he went to the islands. Then, receiving Wesley's wise advice--never "to forget any thing he had ever learned"--he abandoned this rash decision. Clarke returned to the classical languages in 1786 with an even greater zeal and to these he added Hebrew and Syriac. Autobiography, pp. 183-191. Mary Ann Clarke Smith says that Brackenbury requested Wesley to send Clarke, "the earnest, energetic preacher in the Plymouth circuit," and he agreeably complied. Raithby Hall, pp. 37-8.

life.[1] In 1787 Clarke introduced Methodism to the people on the Isle of Alderney. In describing this undertaking to Wesley, Clarke says:

> ". . . an effectual door is opened in that Island for the reception of the everlasting Gospel, and [I] am convinced I did not mistake the call of the Lord. One thing I believe greatly contributed to the good that may have been done:-- viz. a day of fasting and prayer, which I got our Societies both in town and country to observe."[2]

John Wesley, always pleased to hear of the spread of Methodism, wrote in reply that praise should be given to God "on account of Alderney. There is a seed which shall not easily be rooted up."[3]

C. Marriage Amid Opposition

Trowbridge was the first preaching place on Adam Clarke's first circuit and, since the people there received him so warmly, he always felt a close attachment to them. However, his frequent visits to Trowbridge were made not only to see his many friends, but to talk to certain special ones. For, as Clarke confesses:

> "There were in the society of this place, several young women, who were among the most sensible and pious in the Methodists' connexion, particularly the Miss Cookes; Mary, Elizabeth, and Frances. . . . With these young ladies I occasionally corresponded, especially with the second, ever since I had been in that circuit."[4]

However, Clarke's interest soon shifted from Elizabeth to Mary and the correspondence, which was "chiefly on matters of religious

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1. Samuel Drew, The Life of the Rev. Thomas Coke, p. 152; and Autobiography, pp. 253-275.
2. Clarke's letter to John Wesley, written from Guernsey, March 16, 1787. Ibid., p. 272.
3. Wesley's letter to Adam Clarke, written from London, March 17, 1788, John Telford (ed.), Letters of John Wesley, VIII, pp. 46-7.
4. Autobiography, p. 240.

experience," became more personal and intimate.[1] Mary Cooke's father, a prosperous clothier in the town, had died earlier when Mary was in her teens. Being the oldest of six children, she shared the responsibility of the family and thus became the close companion of her mother. Mary, according to Clarke, was "well educated, of a fine natural disposition, deep piety, and sound judgment." She was esteemed highly both by her family and her friends.[2] When her strong-willed mother learned of Adam's proposal to her favorite daughter, she strongly opposed their getting married. Although liking young Clarke as a person, she objected vigorously to having her daughter subjected "to the destructive hardships in the itinerant life of a Methodist preacher."[3] At first, John Wesley, an intimate friend of the Cooke family, also sided with the opposition. He even "threatened to put Mr. C/larke/ out of the Connexion if he married Miss C/ooke/ without her mother's approbation!"[4] However, evidencing his usual determination, Clarke succeeded in changing Wesley's mind. Moreover, Adam even sought his help in gaining the consent of

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1. Ibid. Mary Cooke, unlike her two younger sisters who had been converted under Wesley, had not heard the Gospel in the Methodist preaching-house before listening to Adam Clarke. She was struck with the "simplicity, clearness, and fervency of his exhortations." Shortly after, she had a conversion experience, joined the Methodist Society, and was greatly helped in her spiritual growth through her correspondence with John Wesley and Adam Clarke. Vide: Mrs. Adam Clarke, pp. 10-26; Letters of John Wesley, op. cit., VII, pp. 292-3, 298, 303-4, 318, 341, 357, 378, and VIII, p. 28; Autobiography, pp. 299-327; and Works, XII, pp. 408-459.
2. Autobiography, p. 261.
3. Mrs. Adam Clarke, pp. 4-5; and Autobiography, p. 262.
4. Ibid. Also vide James Everett, "Clarkeana," II, pp. 240-1, James Everett Collection of MSS., The Hartley Victoria Methodist College, Manchester.

Mary's mother. Later, Wesley gave this encouraging advice to Clarke, who was then recovering from a serious illness: "Wait patiently, at least till your health be restored; then strange revolutions may happen, unexpected things may take place, to make your way more easy."[1] For Clarke, the "unexpected" did take place in the spring of 1788.[2] Describing this matrimonial event to Brackenbury, Clarke writes:

> "When I came to Trowbridge, I found everything perfectly quiet. On the 17th /of April/, without the smallest opposition or impediment of any kind, we were married in Trowbridge /parish/ church. On its consummation, some of those who had formerly been our principal opponents, acknowledged themselves our most hearty friends, nor was there a dissonant voice as far as I could learn, Mrs. C/ooke/'s excepted. . . ."[3]

"Few connexions of this kind," says Clarke, "were ever more opposed; and few, if any, were ever more happy."[4] Adam and Mary believed that "God had joined them together, and no storm or difficulty in life was able to put them asunder."[5]

After the wedding Clarke returned to the Channel Islands with his young bride and, for the rest of his life, she remained his faithful companion and willing helper. She also became the mother of twelve children, but only three sons and three

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1. Vide: Letters of John Wesley, op. cit., VII, pp. 384-5; and Wesley's letter, cited in Mrs. Adam Clarke, pp. 41-2.
2. Clarke wrote Wesley, June 2, 1788, "This happy closure of my affair under God I owe to your kind interposition." Wesley replied June 26th, "So you stole a match! Mrs. Cooke's not opposing did, indeed, remove the grand hindrance." Letters of John Wesley, op. cit., VIII, pp. 67-8.
3. Letter written from Mon Plaisir, May 5, 1788, cited by Samuel Dunn, The Life of Adam Clarke, pp. 95-6. Though not openly opposing the marriage, the mother refused to bless it, and for eleven years neither Adam nor Mary were invited to her home.
4. Autobiography, p. 262.
5. Ibid.

daughters reached maturity.[1] Through sorrow, toil, hardships, and frequent periods of separation, they remained happily married, maintaining an exemplary Christian home.[2]

IV. Extensive Urban Ministry

A. Important Urban Appointments

In the smaller circuits Adam Clarke proved himself to be an energetic, effective, and popular preacher. Recognizing his ability and success, Wesley informed his newly married Methodist Itinerant in the Channel Islands that at the next Conference "your sphere of action will be enlarged."[3] In July, 1789, the month of the fall of the Bastille across the Channel, young Clarke was appointed to Bristol, one of the most important circuits in Methodism.[4] Thus, from the time Europe began to heave in the throes of revolutionary upheaval, Clarke was given important appointments in large and thickly populated urban areas. At the ensuing Conference, the last attended by John Wesley, Clarke was sent to quiet the troubled Dublin Circuit, torn with disputes.

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1. Ibid., p. 263. The children that lived were named John, Theodoret, Anna Maria, Eliza, Mary Ann, and Joseph. An Account of Clarke's Life, II, p. 409.
2. Mary Clarke's MS. letter to her husband, Adam Clarke, written from Broom Grove, August 23, 1812, Collection of MSS., Strong Rooms, City Road.
3. Wesley's letter to Adam Clarke, written from London, November 5, 1788, Letters of John Wesley, op. cit., VIII, pp. 101-2.
4. Minutes of the Methodist Conference of 1789, I, pp. 209 and 218. Wesley wanted the Clarkes close to him in his closing years. In a letter from Bristol, March 9, 1789, Wesley wrote, "Dear Adam, If I should live to see you another Conference, I should be glad to have Sister Clarke and you here rather than at most other places, because I spend more time here myself than at any other place except London." Letters of John Wesley, op. cit., p. 124.

Etheridge observes:

> "This was a trust which reflected great honour on him, and showed the strong confidence entertained by Mr. Wesley and the preachers in his talents, prudence, and fidelity; for the English preacher who held that station, was looked upon as 'the general assistant;' that is Mr. Wesley's representative or commissary over all the Irish Circuits. The critical state of the Society, moreover, required a man of ability and sagacity."[1]

During that winter in Dublin the Clarke family was forced to move into a newly constructed parsonage while the construction materials were still wet. This resulted in the tragic death of one of their children and a very severe illness for Clarke. In England, where it had been reported that Adam Clarke had died, one preacher actually had preached his funeral sermon.[2]

After the death of Wesley in 1791, Clarke was appointed to the Manchester Circuit where he successfully recovered from his illness by using the healing waters of Buxton. Here for the first time he had the opportunity of working with the most distinguished preachers of Methodism. During the two years on this circuit he learned much from Bradburn and Benson, men of extraordinary ability.[3] Moreover, Clarke had the enjoyable privilege in 1793 of being sent with John Pawson, who was then President of the Conference, to Liverpool where they worked harmoniously together.[4] On this circuit, while walking home from a preaching

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1. Etheridge, The Life of the Rev. Adam Clarke, p. 124.
2. C. H. Crookshank, History of Methodism in Ireland, III, p. 32; and Wesley's letter to Mary Clarke, written from London, January 18, 1791, Letters of John Wesley, op. cit., pp. 255-6.
3. Autobiography, pp. 283-290.
4. John Pawson describes Clarke as "a man of considerable learning, of extraordinary ministerial abilities, and one that I found much union with." Thomas Jackson (ed.), The Lives of Early Methodist Preachers, IV, p. 60.

service one night, Clarke was nearly killed when some Roman Catholic offenders hurled a stone which cut through his hat and made a deep wound in his head. Fortunately he was treated immediately by his brother, a doctor in Liverpool, who happened to be accompanying Adam at the time.[1]

In 1795 Adam Clarke, who had been emerging into prominence and was recognized generally as a leading Methodist preacher, was sent to London. This was a very important appointment, for London was the most important circuit in the Connexion, having more than four thousand members. Here the many challenges and opportunities of the vast city, with its many cultural advantages which Clarke ever appreciated, opened a new era in his useful life. In this circuit he served his generation from the pulpit and future generations from the press. However, Clarke never allowed his literary work to interfere with his circuit ministry, as is indicated in his "Journal." The fact that he walked seven thousand miles while performing his duties during his three years in London is proof of his diligence as a pastor.[2] In 1798 Clarke was moved back to Bristol for a second time. There was also a great demand for his being returned to other circuits of the Connexion, hence his reappointments to Liverpool in 1801 and to Manchester in 1803. Then the Conference of 1805 sent Clarke back to London, where for the next ten years--the busiest and most fruitful years of his life--he was appointed to various metropolitan

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1. An Account of Clarke's Life, II, pp. 12-15.
2. Ibid., pp. 16-17. Also, G. J. Stevenson, Methodist Worthies, I, p. 289.

circuits.[1] In this decade Adam Clarke not only served Methodism in various capacities as a preacher, circuit superintendent, district chairman, and Conference president, but also made significant contributions outside Wesleyanism. Besides publishing several important volumes, he contributed regularly to leading periodicals, gave invaluable assistance to The British and Foreign Bible Society, and edited a new edition of Rymer's Foedera for the Board of Commissioners appointed by His Majesty, King George III, on the Public Records of the Kingdom of Great Britain.[2] At this time, The Christian Observer indicates:

> "Dr. Clarke . . . found himself in a vortex of occupations, from which he never wholly emerged; his life from this period having become a scene of such unremitting and exhausting labour as few men could or would have endured for a single year."[3]

B. Recognition as a Leader

In his closing years, John Wesley recognized in young Clarke the qualities of a leader. After visiting Dublin in 1789,

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1. For the various appointments of Clarke, vide Appendix B.
2. Infra, pp. 322-8.
3. "Review of Life of Dr. Adam Clarke," The Christian Observer, XXXIII (December, 1833), p. 791. The severe demands upon Clarke caused him to conclude in 1815, "I must hide my head in the country, or it will shortly be hidden in the grave." He soon left London and bought an estate near Liverpool which he named "Millbrook." Here for the next eight years, though helping in neighboring circuits, he gave much of his time and strength to his magnum opus, the Commentary on the whole Bible. Desiring to be closer to his children and to London, he established his final residence in 1824 in a large country home at Eastcott near Pinner, which he called, "Haydon Hall." Here, until his death eight years later, he continued his literary work, assisted nearby circuits, and preached frequently for special occasions to large congregations throughout the Connexion. An Account of Clarke's Life, II, pp. 323-9, and III, pp. 73-6.

where he found a Society of nearly a thousand members torn with disputes, Wesley realized he must send some able minister to bring peace to this circuit. For this difficult task, Wesley says, "I know none more proper than Adam Clarke and his wife."[1] After the death of the "Father" of Methodism, the Conference recognized Clarke as a leader; he was appointed to the largest and most important circuits. And his effective leadership greatly helped the orphaned Societies to pass safely through the troubled years of crisis which followed the death of Wesley. Because of his immense popularity as a preacher and his effective circuit ministry, Adam Clarke was elected by his fellow preachers in 1806 to serve as President of the Conference.[2] Although he refused to accept this "unwished for promotion" at first, he finally acquiesced, believing it to be another responsibility God had given him.[3] For, having arisen from a poor, obscure Irish lad to the highest office of Methodism, and having been spared miraculously several times--both in adolescence and adulthood--Clarke firmly believed that his life had been divinely guided and protected. Says Clarke:

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1. Wesley's letter to Clarke written near Dublin, June 25, 1789, Letters of John Wesley, op. cit., VIII, pp. 146-7.
2. Perhaps Clarke's re-election to the presidency in 1814 and 1822 was due to his fame as a writer and a scholar, but in 1806 he had published only a few volumes. W. J. Townsend, H. B. Workman, and George Eayrs (eds.), A New History of Methodism, I, p. 391; and Henry Moore, "The Judgment of the Human Race," The Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine, XI, Third Series (October, 1832), p. 723.
3. "If you, my dear Husband, trembled at being hoisted on the table /as President/, I trembled no less in reading the account of your unwished for promotion." Mary Clarke's MS. letter to Adam Clarke, written from London, July 30, 1806, Collection of MSS., Strong Rooms, City Road.

> "My own life is a maze of Providence & I dare not now touch it--The past is a confused cloud, & in the present, I know scarcely whether I do not dream."[1]

However, it was not a dream, for Adam Clarke had emerged as one of the outstanding leaders of early Methodism.[2] Moreover, he was greatly respected in other denominations, being accepted in every circle of society--even by Royalty--and honored by the greatest institutions of the land.[3]

Having considered the general background of the period of Adam Clarke and the conditions of Methodism after John Wesley in the first chapter, and having sketched briefly the emergence of the Irish leader in this chapter, the various aspects of his leadership will now be studied. Thus, in future chapters, Clarke's work as a scholar, as a preacher, as a theologian, as a churchman, and as a public figure will be considered and evaluated. Attention will first be given to his scholarship, especially as it relates to his study of the Bible.

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1. Clarke's letter to Alexander MacKey, written from Pinner, Middlesex, February 10, 1828. Transcript from the Francis J. Cole Collection of MSS., Ardmara, County of Antrim.
2. H. B. Workman says that the four leaders of Methodism after Wesley were Adam Clarke, Richard Watson, Robert Newton, and Jabez Bunting. Methodism, p. 98. But the latter two, and even Watson, did not come into prominence until after the first decade of the nineteenth century. Whereas Clarke, although very young, emerged as a leader--along with Coke, Mather, Benson, Bradburn, and others--immediately after Wesley's demise.
3. Etheridge, op. cit., pp. 348-358. Infra, Chap. VII, "Public Life of Irish Leader."

CHAPTER III

STUDENT OF THE BIBLE

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STUDENT OF THE BIBLE

Adam Clarke may have been known as an effective preacher, an independent theologian, and a moderate churchman to early Methodists, but his wider recognition rests upon his Biblical scholarship. It was because of his assiduous study of the Bible that his reputation spread to other denominations, to other countries, and to other generations. To the world Adam Clarke is known for his magnum opus, his Commentary on the Holy Bible.[1]

I. Reverence for the Bible

A. Source of True Wisdom

In early childhood Adam Clarke received from his austere, Scottish mother an intense reverence for the Holy Scriptures. As a boy he was required to learn many selected passages.[2] However,

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1. Adam Clarke, The Holy Bible, containing the Old and New Testaments: the Text carefully printed from the most correct copies of the present Authorised Translation, including the Marginal Readings and Parallel Texts. With a Commentary and Critical Notes: designed as a help to a better understanding of the Sacred Writings. The first edition was printed with hand set type on heavy hand made paper in eight quarto volumes, bound with dark blue leather and embossed with gold. This very imposing set weighed no less than fifty-nine pounds. Later editions were published on lighter paper, usually in six volumes. Throughout this study, this work will be entitled simply, Commentary; the revised edition of 1857 will be the work cited unless otherwise stated.
2. "She taught me," says Clarke, "such reverence for the Bible, that if I had it in my hand even for the purpose of studying a chapter in order to say it as a lesson, and had been disposed with my classfellows to sing, whistle a tune, or be facetious, I dared not do either while the book was open in my hands. In such cases I always shut it and laid it down beside me." Autobiography, p. 58.

it was not until his conversion experience that he really began to study the Bible for himself. This private study greatly increased when he received the call of God to preach.

Shortly after receiving this call young Clarke, in response to an invitation from John Wesley, went to England. At first he was filled with the hope of receiving a formal education, but instead of letting him enter an educational institution, Wesley immediately sent him out into the active itinerant work. And it was here on his first circuit that Adam Clarke, fresh from the Emerald Isle, became conscious of his need to know the Bible. He felt God could only be known and be made known through a knowledge of His Word, but before he could make the Bible meaningful to others, he must first understand it himself. Hence the Irish lad, realizing his intense personal and parishional need, resolved to become a serious Biblical student. Recalling this important freshman year in the ministry, he says, "The Bible was my one book; and Prayer my continual exercise. I frequently read it upon my knees; and often watered it with my tears."[1] Amid the indescribable hardships of the Methodist itinerant life, without the advantage of a formal education, Adam Clarke persevered in carrying out this resolution. The contents of his worn saddle bag revealed the remarkable progress which he was able to make in his studies, for in it were various versions of the Bible in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew.[2]

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1. Ibid., p. 170. First person is used in place of third.
2. Clarke's "Travelling Library," according to James Everett, contained Leusden's Greek Testament, with the Latin Version of Montani, the Hebrew Bible, copies of Horace and Virgil, and a small copy of the English Prayer Book. "Thus equipped, with

More and more the Bible became for Adam Clarke the *fons et origo* of all true wisdom. Throughout his life he sought to limit his intensely curious mind to that which elucidated the Sacred Text. Thus Clarke says:

> "Being convinced that the Bible was the source whence all the principles of *true wisdom*, wherever found in the world, had been derived, my *desire* to comprehend adequately its great design, and to penetrate the meaning of all its parts, led me to *separate myself* from every pursuit that did not lead, at least indirectly, to the accomplishment of this end; and while *seeking and intermeddling with* different branches of human knowledge, as my limited means would permit, I put each study under contribution to the object of my pursuit, endeavouring to make every thing subservient to the information of my own mind, that, as far as Divine Providence might think proper to employ me, I might be better qualified to instruct others."[1]

That Biblical knowledge was his primary pursuit is evidenced by the selection of books for his library. For it contained few volumes of Puritan writers or of other divines. Each book and manuscript was carefully chosen in order that his useful library might form "one vast commentary on the sacred book."[2] Clarke maintained, along with Martin Luther, that to understand, to believe, and to live the Bible provided an endless supply of reflection and a more profitable source of wisdom. Throughout life the Bible ever remained the one Book which Clarke "hugged to his heart,"[3] the one he read again and again. God's Word was the one basis of his doctrines, the one source of his preaching and, as he frequently

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his ink bottle, which he carried thousands of miles, suspended by a black ribbon round his neck . . . he was rarely unemployed." *Adam Clarke Portrayed*, III, pp. 433-4.

1. "General Preface," *Commentary*, I, p. 14; and "The Original Prospectus of Dr. Clarke's Commentary," *Works*, XI, p. 466.
2. J. W. Etheridge, *The Life of the Rev. Adam Clarke*, pp. 283-5.
3. Everett, *op. cit.*, p. 20. The past tense is used in place of the present.

stressed, the one hope for all mankind. He shared with Wesley and other Evangelicals--and with Baxter and other Puritans a century earlier--the fervent belief that the Bible was the Book of books and the Authority of authorities.[1] A knowledge of it was the key to an effective, evangelical ministry; an understanding of it, the key to an active, spiritual laity. This conviction that the Bible was the source of all true wisdom, together with the compelling urge to preach, to translate, and to interpret for as many people as possible, motivated Adam Clarke to almost unbelievable accomplishments as a student of the Bible.

B. Revelation from God

The intense love for the Sacred Writings which Adam Clarke manifested during his life grew out of his "thorough conviction" that the Bible was God's revelation to man.[2] He regarded the Sacred Text as being literally God's Word; its writers were plenarily inspired. The thoroughness with which he believed this may be seen in these words of introduction to his Commentary:

> "I have purposely avoided the question concerning the authenticity of the Sacred Writings in general. On a thorough conviction, I assume the fact, that they are a divine record,
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1. J. T. Inskip, Evangelical Influence in English Life, p. 41; and James Stephen, Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography, II, p. 2.
2. Adam Clarke believed that "from the time in which it had pleased God to begin to reveal his will to man, there had been such an uninterrupted succession of additional Revelations till the whole of the Sacred Canon was completed; and such constant reference made to this Revelation by learned men . . . in all ages, that it was impossible that any part could be lost, or any added, without the fact being noticed by some of those who were interested in its destruction or preservation." This thesis he sought to prove in his work, A Concise View of The Succession of Sacred Literature, I, Preface, pp. iii-iv.

> a revelation from God. This has been so amply proved that the Christian cause has had a complete triumph. I consider, therefore, the question to be for ever at rest."[1]

Clarke was a Biblicist who believed that everything which appeared in the Bible was factual. Moreover, he was always ready to defend and to prove each fact of Scripture. This may be seen in the following comment on Joshua's commanding of the sun to stand still:

> "It is vain to cry out and say, 'Such a cessation of motion in one planet, could not take place without disordering the motions of all the rest.' This I deny; and those who speak it neither know the scripture nor the power of God; therefore they do greatly err. That the Day was preternaturally lengthened is a scripture fact. That it was so by a miracle, is asserted . . . whether we know the modus operandi or not."[2]

However, Clarke did admit that there were both mistakes in the Bible and variance among the textual manuscripts. Such errors he attributed to its copiers who, in his opinion, were not Divinely inspired as the original writers.[3] Yet, he was quick to assert that all such errors--omissions or additions--did not make one iota of difference in "faith or morals."[4] At this time Clarke was considered in England to be a Biblical critic of a sort, but his views certainly were mild in comparison with those of

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1. "An Introduction to the Four Gospels, and the Acts of the Apostles," Commentary, V, pp. i-ii.
2. Commentary, note on Joshua x. 12, II, there are no page numbers given in the first edition. This note, in Clarke's own handwriting, appears in the margin of his personal copy, the correction of which was not completed until January 9, 1832. This valuable eight volume set, Adam Clarke's personal copy, was given to the "Wesley Collection," Strong Rooms, City Road, by Major L. E. Clarke, great-grandson of the commentator, in February, 1934. Vide: L. E. Clarke's MS. letters to Mr. Barton, written from Ballynolan, Kildimo County, Limerick, Eire, February 8 and 16, 1934, Collection of MSS., Strong Rooms, City Road.
3. Commentary, note on II Samuel xxiv. 9, II, p. 1269.
4. Adam Clarke, A Succinct Account of Polyglott Bibles, pp. 81-2.

contemporary German scholars on the Continent.[1] In this respect Clarke reflected his age. For skepticism across the Channel, since it was interpreted to be a leading cause of the French Revolution, forced the British thinkers to become conservative. Hence, in reactionary England--before the dawn of a Coleridge--the traditional beliefs and creeds were accepted by sheer faith, even though the Christian life was not lived.

It was into this fertile soil that the Evangelicals sowed the Word so effectively. The Bible was their infallible authority; the preaching, the translating, and the interpreting of it was of primary importance. With this emphasis upon the Bible, Adam Clarke whole-heartedly concurred. After Wesley, this Irish Itinerant was one of the few Methodists who actually worked with the Evangelicals. At this time the conservative Biblical interpreters were in vogue. The commentaries of Thomas Scott, Adam Clarke, and others were eagerly received in all circles of society. This hunger for the interpretation of God's Word motivated men like Clarke to produce, amid numerous other time-consuming tasks, an almost unbelievable quantity and quality of expositional notes.

II. Thirst for Knowledge

Adam Clarke had such "an insatiable thirst for knowledge"[2]

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1. Clarke was neither sympathetic nor very familiar with the German critics and theologians. "Review of the Life of Dr. Adam Clarke," The Christian Observer, XXXIII (December, 1833), p. 792; and J. H. S. Kent, "The Struggle between Radicalism and Conservatism in Methodism, 1815-1848," unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, 1949, Emmanuel College, Cambridge University, p. 79.
2. Autobiography, p. 171.

that his life may best be described as one continuous quest for learning. This quest centered in "the knowledge of God and His works,"[1] especially the Bible; however, he had many other interests. Clarke so valued all learning that he early chose this proverb as his motto for life: "Through desire a man, having separated himself, seeketh and intermeddleth with all wisdom."[2] Throughout life this diligent learner zealously sought to "intermeddle with all wisdom" and to make his acquired knowledge useful to others.

A. Diligent Learner

Adam Clarke was ever grateful for the desire to learn and the knowledge of the Greek and Latin Classics which he had received from his father. Recalling his early years in Northern Ireland, Clarke says:

> "My love of reading was intense and unconquerable. To gratify this passion, and a passion it was in me, I would undergo any privations, and submit to any kind of hardship."[3]

As Clarke grew older, and as his passion for learning increased, he necessarily endured severe privations and hardships in order to educate himself in the saddle and to acquire learning as an active Itinerant Preacher.[4] Says Dunn:

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1. Ibid.
2. Proverbs xviii. 1, The Holy Bible, Authorized King James Version.
3. Autobiography, p. 42.
4. Supra, pp. 82-83. The following principle, which Clarke followed in life was given later to his son, Joseph Butterworth Clarke: "Enter radically into everything you attempt to learn and never, never be contented with superficial knowledge in anything." Cited in Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society, XXIV (1943-1944), pp. 116-117.

> "Indeed when we think of the multitude of books which he read, the manuscripts which he examined, the numerous languages he acquired, the vast stores of knowledge he accumulated, the tens of thousands of miles he travelled, the sermons he preached, the sick he visited, the public business he promoted, the private interviews he granted, the innumerable letters he wrote, and the many volumes which he published /and in all, frequently impaired by ill health/, we are astonished at the unwearied industry and matchless energy that he displayed."[1]

Adam Clarke, in his intensely active and productive life, was greatly influenced by the example of John Wesley.[2] For Clarke saw in Wesley one who not only laid down systematic rules for others, but one who lived a disciplined and active life himself.[3] The Founder of Methodism gave as his first rule of "an Helper":

> "Be diligent. Never be unemployed a moment. Never be triflingly employed. Never while away time: neither spend any more time at any place than is strictly necessary."[4]

As a "Helper" Clarke not only obeyed this rule, but made it his guiding principle for life. That he was a disciple of whom the master was not ashamed, may be seen in Wesley's fear that young Adam would not do too little, but too much.[5] For, as Clarke's

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1. Samuel Dunn, The Life of Adam Clarke, pp. 104-5.
2. Supra, p. 29; Abel Stevens, The Illustrated History of Methodism, II, p. 48; and Henry Moore, "The Judgment of the Human Race," The Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine, XI, Third Series (October, 1832), p. 723.
3. Samuel Johnson bears witness to the habits of his contemporary by saying, "John Wesley's conversation is good, but he is never at leisure. He is always obliged to go at a certain hour. This is very disagreeable to a man who loves to fold his legs and have out his talk, as I do." James Boswell, Life of Samuel Johnson, II, pp. 567-8.
4. "Q/uestion/ 26. What are the rules of an Helper?" Large Minutes, cited by Samuel Warren, A Digest of the Laws and Regulations of the Wesleyan Methodists, p. 22-3. Cf. Works, XII, pp. 143-4.
5. John Wesley's letter to Adam Clarke, written from London, February 9, 1791, contained this advice for the energetic Dublin preacher: "Do little at a time, that you may do more." This was the last letter Clarke received from Wesley, for he died less than a month later. John Telford (ed.), Letters of John

own son later testifies:

> "His personal habits were those of unintermitted industry, unincumbered by busy haste, and directed by the exactest order; what he had to do was performed at once and to the best of his power. . . . I never once saw my father idle. . . .
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> "My Father's mind never rested still upon its acquirements; 'onward,' was its motto, while perseverance and method enabled him to overcome every obstacle and difficulty. Knowledge was his grand pursuit through life, and into almost every branch of it he more or less enquired; knowing that each particle of information was useful to a man who had to instruct others. . . ."[1]

Adam Clarke was a son of the industrial age; work and time were all-important. As Wesley drove from the Societies all those found guilty of idleness as "a thief,"[2] so also Clarke drove from himself every pleasure which robbed him of time and caused idleness.[3] Hence, he sacrificed sleep for the profit of early hours of study.[4] He gave up the habit of drinking tea and coffee and usually refused dinner parties in order to save, as he calculated, "several whole years of time" for "self-improvement."[5] He was very punctual at his appointments, unwilling to waste time waiting for others.[6] He also was very fortunate to have an

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Wesley, VIII, p. 261.

1. Joseph B. B. Clarke, "Appendix," a succinct biography of his father, An Account of Clarke's Life, III, pp. 469-470.
2. Works of Wesley, XII, pp. 128-9.
3. "The grand secret," says Clarke, "is to save time. Spend none needlessly . . . have as often as possible a book in your hand." Cited by Dunn, op. cit., pp. 104-105; and Autobiography, p. 85.
4. Clarke usually arose in the morning at four to study; by doing so he was able to have eighteen hours for work. James Everett, "Clarkeana," I, pp. 21-2, James Everett Collection of MSS., The Hartley Victoria Methodist College, Manchester; and An Account of Clarke's Life, II, p. 29.
5. Autobiography, p. 191; and An Account of Clarke's Life, II, pp. 29-30 and III, p. 425.
6. Clarke, while serving the Committee of The British and Foreign Bible Society, "once entered the place of meeting and, finding no other members present at the appointed time, left a note: 'I have been here, no one came, I am gone forth.'" Cited by

understanding wife who, desirous of giving her husband as much uninterrupted time for study as possible, greatly assisted him by receiving calls at the door and making visits among the sick.[1] During an exceedingly active life, he indeed practiced his motto--"be diligent, lose no time."[2]

Adam Clarke, with his indomitable will and amazingly energetic mind, was unusually successful in his quest for learning. His vast stores of knowledge were acquired "in comparative poverty, without a friendly guide, amidst the cares of a family, and the pastoral and pulpit duties of a Methodist Circuit."[3] He did not have the tutors, the large libraries, and the leisure which most scholars enjoyed, yet his quantity of learning and usefulness rivalled that of any in Oxford or Cambridge.[4] Clarke's learning, which he claimed came all from industry,[5] centered around the Bible; however, there were few fields with which he was unfamiliar.[6] He enjoyed a reputation, for which he was

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Dunn, op. cit., p. 194.

1. /Anonymous/, Mrs. Adam Clarke, p. 113.
2. Clarke's letter to his son, Joseph Butterworth Clarke, cited without date in An Account of Clarke's Life, II, p. 88.
3. "Dr. Adam Clarke," The Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine, Fifth Series, IV (April, 1858), pp. 297-8.
4. James Dixon, Recollections of Dr. Adam Clarke, p. 22.
5. Clarke once asserted, "I am sure that, whatever I am, I have made myself by downright industry." Cited by William France, Job's Great Confession, p. 37.
6. Clarke's active interests included such varied fields as: etymology, literature, history, chronology, antiquity, geography, nature, natural philosophy, occultism, mythology, astronomy, alchemy, chemistry, medicine, minerology, meteorology, conchology, and numismatics. Moreover, he showed ability as a typographer, watch-maker, shoe-maker, agriculturist, and a sportsman. Clarke put into practice his Asiatic proverb: "Partial knowledge is better than total ignorance: he, therefore, who cannot understand everything, should learn what he can." "A Letter to a Preacher, on His Entrance into the Work of the Ministry," Works, XII, p. 188. "The old adage of 'Too many

understandably proud,[1] of being "a living library."[2]

As Clarke received larger urban appointments, he took full advantage of his access to libraries and other increased opportunities for learning. He enjoyed an ever widening circle of literary friends in such cities as Liverpool, Manchester, Bristol, and London. In these metropolitan areas, especially London, Clarke acquired valuable books for his library.[3] Each volume obtained was carefully selected, because he purchased to know and to use as well as to possess.[4] In the course of a very busy life, Clarke collected over ten thousand printed books,[5] nearly one thousand rare manuscripts,[6] and many objects of antiquity for his private

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irons in the fire,'" asserts Clarke, "contains an abominable lie. You cannot have too many--poker, tong, and all, keep them all going!" Cited by J. W. Etheridge, The Life of the Rev. Adam Clarke, pp. 282-3.

1. Usually very modest, Clarke--not unlike many self-educated men--makes this boast of his self-attained learning: "If there be still many branches of truth . . . which I have not discovered, it is because they cannot be known in this state of being. . . ." The Doctrine of Salvation by Faith, Preface, p. iv. First person is used in place of the third.
2. Matthew Richey, A Discourse Occasioned by the Death of the Rev. Adam Clarke, pp. 13-14.
3. Thinking that he might be sent again to some remote place where he would not have access to a good library, Clarke gathered the nucleus of his library during his first appointment in London, 1795-1798. An Account of Clarke's Life, II, pp. 30-1.
4. James Everett, Adam Clarke Portrayed, I, pp. 77-8.
5. Etheridge, op. cit., p. 283. The printed books of Clarke's library alone brought three thousand two hundred pounds when sold in one of the largest London marts. One copy of the Biblica Sacra Polyglott sold for fifty-seven pounds and fifteen shillings. "Library of Dr. Adam Clarke," The Gentlemen's Magazine, CIII, Part I (April, 1833), p. 352. For a more complete description of Clarke's library, vide Everett, op. cit., III, pp. 450-456.
6. For an account of those European, Hebrew, Persian, Arabic, Syriac, Singalese, Pali, and Burman Manuscripts as well as objects of antiquity, vide J. B. B. Clarke's 326 page volume, A Historical and Descriptive Catalogue of the European and Asiatic Manuscripts in the Library of the Late Dr. Adam Clarke. For Clarke's own appraisal of his collection, "the best in the

library.[1] That this Methodist preacher, even amid his adverse circumstances, was able to acquire such a library is further proof of his indomitable energy.[2] Few of his contemporaries, if any, surpassed Clarke's successful ability to accumulate knowledge.

B. Useful Author

The grand purpose of Adam Clarke's life-long quest for learning was his deep desire to share his knowledge with others. For it was his conviction that:

> "The love of books is only praiseworthy when it is cultivated from a wish to study them carefully, to distinguish error from truth, and to use them not merely for our own sakes, but for the benefit of society."[3]

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possession of any poor man in the Nation," vide his letter to Miss Sarah Wesley, written from City Road, May 29, 1807. Transcript from the Frank Baker Collection of MSS.

1. "Some Notices of the Life and Writings of the Reverend Adam Clarke," The Congregational Magazine, New Series, IX (December, 1832), p. 26.
2. Clarke's library was acquired through not a little sacrifice, diligence, and knowledge of books on his part, but he also was assisted by donations from friends. Sometimes he was forced to sell books at a loss in order to buy bread for his family, nevertheless, he continued to collect book values. For example, a first edition of Erasmus' Greek Testament--which he purchased from a London bookseller one morning before breakfast for a shilling--brought more than ten pounds at the sale. Everett, op. cit., III, pp. 452-6. His greatest help came from a good Methodist friend, William Baynes, a leading theological bookseller in London. Baynes supplied Clarke with books in exchange for his writing of works for publication. Later, when in London, Clarke was given first choice of books Baynes purchased on the Continent in exchange for his appraisal of them for re-sale. Vide Clarke's page of accounts in his own handwriting, noting receipt of books worth fifty-six pounds, "for the com/ple/ting of Bib/liographical/ Dict/ionar/y, Bib/liographical/ Miscellany, and Succession of Sacred Literature." No date indicated. Collection of Adam Clarke MSS., Strong Rooms, City Road; and his MS. letters to W. Baynes, written from Cornwall, March 18, 1801, and Liverpool, December 15, 1802, Department of MSS., The British Museum.
3. Adam Clarke, The Bibliographical Miscellany, II, p. 147.

From the beginning of his active Itinerant ministry, Clarke was indefatigably diligent in his study of the Bible--and the related sciences and arts--in order to fulfill conscientiously his extraordinary call "to explain, defend, and apply the Word of God."[1] Although never dreaming of becoming an author,[2] Clarke so studied during his early Itinerant years that he unconsciously prepared himself for his later literary pursuits.[3] By the beginning of the nineteenth century this most learned and active Methodist preacher was being recognized also as an industrious author.[4] Realizing he was able to share his knowledge with the public effectively with the pen, he gave himself to this new task with his usual ardor. While Clarke was primarily a preacher of the Gospel, his many useful literary works caused Overton to conclude correctly that "it is as an author that he is best known."[5]

Clarke wrote from such an abundant background of learning that his writings are greatly varied, yet nearly all are instructive and useful. Most of his work was issued to the public in separate publications; however, he also contributed to several

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1. "A Letter to a Preacher, on His Entrance into the Work of the Ministry," op. cit., pp. 187 and 141.
2. "For my own part," writes Clarke to his fiancée, "I am well assured I shall never make an author: were there no other reasons, my ideas flow too quick for the slow process of black upon white. The thought, therefore, I entirely relinquish." Letter to Mary Cooke, written from Guernsey, January 23, 1787, Autobiography, pp. 302-303.
3. In his early study and attempts at writing, Clarke received much encouragement from John Wesley, for it was his conviction that "if a Preacher be not willing to study six hours a day, he had better go back to his trade." "Importance of Studying the Hebrew Scriptures," The Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine, XXII, Third Series (October, 1843), p. 812.
4. J. H. Overton, The Evangelical Revival in the Eighteenth Century, p. 43.
5. Ibid.

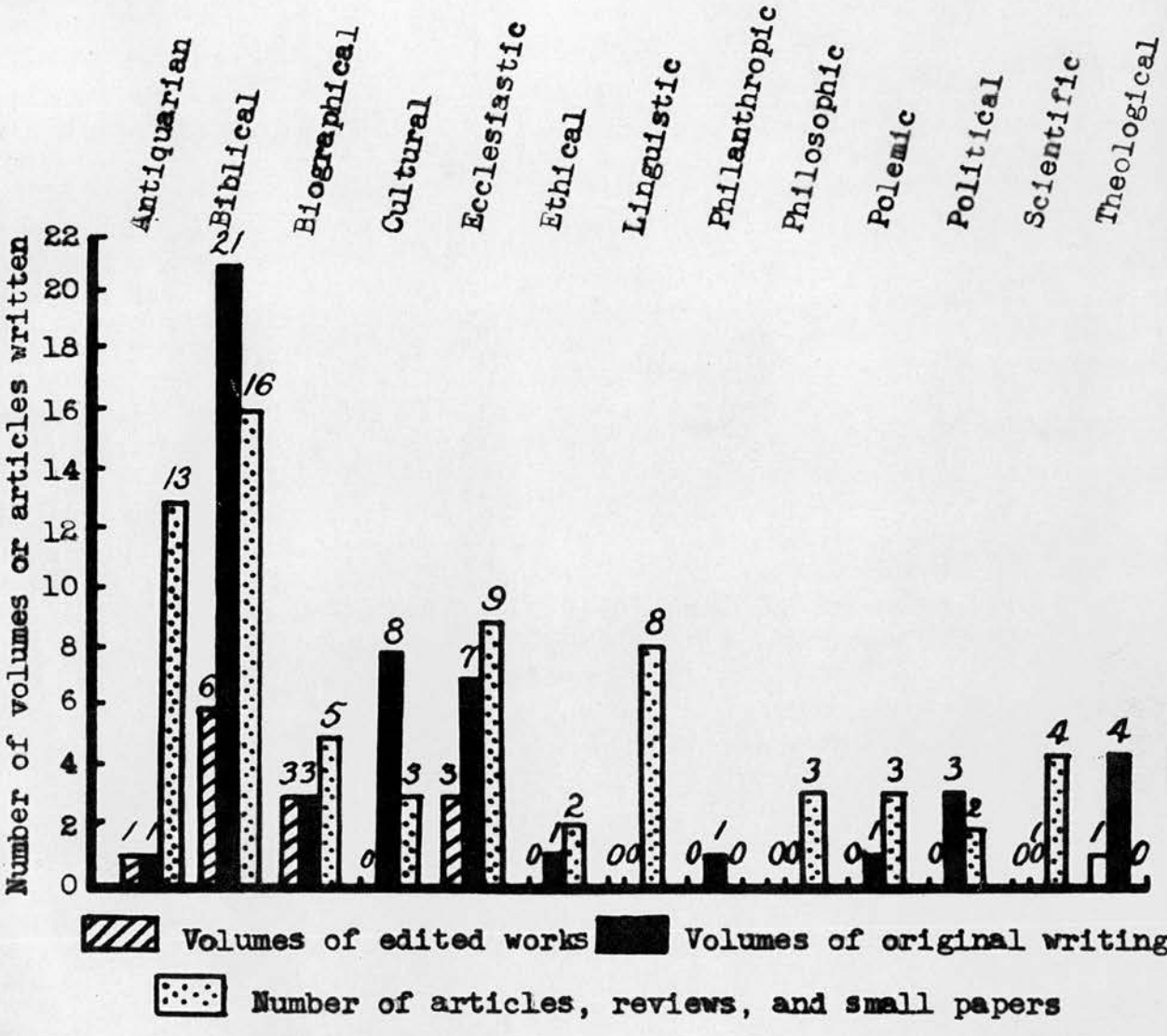

FIGURE 1

RELATIVE QUANTITY OF EDITED WORKS, ORIGINAL WRITINGS, AND SMALLER ARTICLES, REVIEWS, AND PAPERS WRITTEN BY ADAM CLARKE ON VARIOUS SUBJECTS[1]

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1. For the titles of the smaller articles, reviews and papers, vide Detached Pieces, Works, X, XI, and XII. For the titles of other smaller writings, together with the titles of original works and edited volumes, vide the Bibliography of this study.

contemporary London journals.[1] His field of writing, as indicated in Figure 1, page 112, was primarily Biblical research, criticism and exposition, but he also wrote on other subjects.[2] Figure 1 also indicates a close parallel in subject matter among his original writings, edited works, and miscellaneous articles. However, in the journals he was able to give attention to the writing of criticisms of oriental grammars, et cetera, and to papers on antiquity.

Adam Clarke excelled in literary projects in which he was able to use his great powers of accumulation and research. Such was the requirement of his first important undertaking, A Bibliographical Dictionary, containing a chronological account, alphabetically arranged, of the important books published in the oriental languages up to the nineteenth century. This six-volume work, published between 1803 and 1804, was supplemented two years later by The Bibliographical Miscellany in two volumes. In reviewing this first major work of Clarke's pen, which brought him

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1. Clarke contributed mainly to The Arminian Magazine (re-named The Methodist Magazine in 1798 and The Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine in 1822), The Eclectic Review, and occasionally to The Christian Observer, The Christian Advocate, and The Classical Journal. James Everett gathered most of these separate writings (many were anonymously written) and printed them in three volumes entitled, Detached Pieces. These form volumes X, XI, and XII of The Miscellaneous Works of Adam Clarke which Everett also edited. Supra, p. 11. In reviewing Vol. X, The Eclectic Review wrote, "[Many articles]. . . are reprinted from the first series of our own journal, to which Dr. Clarke was a frequent and very valuable contributor; and their intrinsic excellence and permanent interest fully entitle them to such a distinction." II, New Series (August, 1837), p. 231.
2. Clarke, like Wesley, was interested in many areas of knowledge, such as unusual phenomenon in Nature; hence his article, "An Account of the Miraculous Growth of a Woman's Hair," Works, XI, pp. 297-9.

into literary prominence, The British Critic had this word of praise:

> "We have viewed it, from the first, with favourable eyes, rejoiced to see a design, of such obvious utility, undertaken by a person who appears to have brought to the task both the zeal and the diligence indispensable to the due execution of it. . . .
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> "The editor and principal compiler, who is personally unknown to us, is said to be Mr. Adam Clarke. . . . /He/ appears to be well versed in Hebrew, with a knowledge of oriental literature in general. . . . /and possesses a/ skill in the Latin and Greek languages. . . ."[1]

In giving this information on classical and Biblical subjects to the public, Clarke personally examined most of the works which he described.[2] This was followed by an even more useful production in 1807, A Concise View of the Succession of Sacred Literature, with a chronological arrangement of authors and their works up to 1445 A.D.[3] Here he sought to make his readers, especially his fellow ministers, acquainted with ecclesiastical antiquity by giving a brief account of the life and work of each important author. In this work Clarke indicates that it was necessary in most cases "to examine every page, that a true synopsis of the Author's opinions might be laid before the Reader."[4] By putting the substance of many volumes of different languages into a few pages of accessible English, he gave to the public, as Lord Teignmouth says, "a Work of real utility."[5] Clarke also performed a very

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1. "A Bibliographical Dictionary," Article VIII, XXIX (January to June, 1807), pp. 541-2.
2. George Smith, History of Wesleyan Methodism, II, pp. 660-1.
3. Adam Clarke wrote only the first part of Vol. I, but his son, J. B. B. Clarke, completed the two volume work in 1830-2.
4. Adam Clarke, A Concise View of the Succession of Sacred Literature, I, Preface, pp. i-v.
5. Lord Teignmouth's letter to Adam Clarke, written from Broadstairs, Kent, November 14, 1807, cited in An Account of Clarke's Life, II, p. 154. The Eclectic Review wrote: "The . . . able

useful service by translating and enlarging four scarce and valuable works by Sturm, Fleury, Harmer, and Shuckford.[1]

Meanwhile, as he was writing and editing such time-consuming volumes, in addition to his demanding itinerant duties, Adam Clarke was working for the Committee of The British and Foreign Bible Society.[2] Moreover, all the while he was busily engaged in writing the notes of his Commentary and, in addition, was editing the official documents for the British Government.[3] It is no wonder that his biographers are baffled as to how he was able to accomplish so much. Nor is it surprising to find Clarke at this time asking himself, "Is there any such fool as I am alive? My life is incessant labour and anxiety."[4] Later, in the last decade of his life, he wrote at the request of the Conference, the Memoirs of the Wesley Family. In this work he was not a little hindered in obtaining the needed documents. Nevertheless, it is considered to be one of the most valuable accounts of the family at Epworth. It contains an abundance of facts "almost invariably accurate."[5] His last literary effort was to put into print four

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and skillful manner in which they are arranged and displayed, cannot fail of receiving the approbation of every intelligent and liberal critic." Article V, V, Third Series (January to June, 1831), pp. 162-3.

1. Clarke completed the work by Christopher C. Sturm, Reflections on the Works of God in Nature and Providence, four volumes, in 1801; Claude Fleury, The Manners of the Ancient Israelites, in 1805; Thomas Harmer, Observations on Various Passages of Scriptures, four volumes, in 1808; and Samuel Shuckford, Sacred and Profane History of the World Connected, four volumes, also in 1808.
2. Infra, pp. 319-322.
3. Infra, pp. 322-8.
4. Adam Clarke, cited by J. W. Etheridge, The Life of the Rev. Adam Clarke, p. 240.
5. Abel Stevens, The Illustrated History of Methodism, II, p. 49, and T. B. Shepherd, Methodism in the Literature of the Eighteenth Century, p. 273.

volumes of his sermons.[1] Clarke also had gathered materials for another large work, A Biblical Dictionary. This was the type of work in which he would have excelled, but he only "laid the foundation" for it.[2] Likewise his life was too short to write--though he was frequently urged to do so--his Theological Institutes and even a History of England.[3]

However, one who studies the life of Adam Clarke is so astonished by his many literary accomplishments--especially in view of the distracting demands upon his time--that what he was unable to do is a matter of little importance. He indeed followed the advice which he gave to others:

> "Pray much, read much, write much. Have always some essay, dissertation, &c. upon the anvil; and be sure you finish whatever you undertake."[4]

Whatever the Irish Itinerant felt to be his duty to attempt, he surmounted all obstacles in order to bring it to completion. "He wielded an ascendancy over circumstances," says Richey, "which would have frustrated the designs of a mind of less ardour and firmness."[5] He wrote, as he preached, from his abundant heart and

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1. These sermons were published under the title, Discourses on Various Subjects Relative to the Being and Attributes of God; they are included in volumes V, VI, VII, and VIII of The Miscellaneous Works of Adam Clarke.
2. Adam Clarke, cited by /John M. Hare/, The Life and Labours of Adam Clarke (Second Ed.), p. 388.
3. That Clarke had too much work planned, ever to complete it during his life, may be seen in his letter to John Smith, written from Millbrook with only about ten years yet to labor (no date on letter): "Were I to live for thirty or forty years to come, I have work now furnished for every minute of that time." Cited in part in An Account of Clarke's Life, III, p. 7.
4. "A Letter to a Preacher, on His Entrance into the Work of the Ministry," Works, XII, p. 184.
5. Matthew Richey, A Discourse Occasioned by the Death of the Rev. Adam Clarke, pp. 14-15. Quoted in part.

exuberant mind. His knowledge was vast, but he was never very careful "to prune and dress the produce" of his thought.[1] His style was rapid and unstudied. Like Wesley, he sacrificed ornamentation for plainness and intelligibility--the desire to shine, for the wish to be useful. Yet, he lacked the smoothness and precision of Wesley. Clarke's arrangement of words and punctuation are loose, revealing the speed with which he wrote. The redeeming qualities of his racy style consist in its pregnancy, force, vigor, and the sterling quality and plentifulness of his vocabulary.

He wrote for the general public, but since he was a Methodist, his literary efforts helped to improve the standard of denominational literature.[2] For, as Everett says:

> "It was Adam Clarke who gave a spring and a tone to the literature of the Wesleyan body about 1800; and the body has been on the increase ever since. He did for literature what Watson did for the pulpit of Methodism--placed it on a more respectable basis."[3]

He was regarded by many outside the denomination as the "only really learned man"[4] in the Methodist body, certainly the only one who "enjoyed an European reputation."[5] Clarke was indeed, as Hall observes, an "ocean of learning,"[6] one of the few encyclopedic scholars of his age.

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1. David M'Nicoll, True Greatness, pp. 56-7.
2. Clarke firmly held that "as mere knowledge is of no use to the soul, while possessed without religion; so religion is discredited, while professed without knowledge." "Letter to a Preacher," op. cit., p. 188.
3. /James Everett/, Wesleyan Takings, pp. 101-102.
4. John Hunt, Religious Thought in England in the Nineteenth Century, p. 86.
5. H. T. Buckle, History of Civilization in England, I, p. 385.
6. Robert Hall, cited by M. L. Edwards, Adam Clarke, p. 45.

Yet, as Stevens correctly concludes:

> "His knowledge was not only multifarious but accurate, though not profound; for his intelligence was more extensive than his intellect was powerful. He was a philosopher in the etymological sense of the word, but not in its received sense; for, though vast in his acquirements, he was deficient in the faculty which classifies knowledge and assimilates it into intellectual power."[1]

Thus Adam Clarke was more of an accumulator than an assimilator of learning. His intellect was more extensive than intensive; it was more distinguished for its quantity than its quality. Herein lay the strength and the weakness of his many, perhaps too many writings.

However, no one will deny that in his numerous printed works Clarke proved himself a master in sharing his knowledge and making it useful to others. Concerning this unusual ability, his son proudly concludes:

> ". . . greater critical scholars than he there have been, and many, possibly, more deeply versed in the various departments of learning and science, but I believe that there never was an individual who could use to such purpose all the stores which he possessed: what he understood, that also he could apply; there was not an unfruitful seed in his mind; and he possessed an astonishing power of gathering together rays of light from the whole circuit of his knowledge, and pouring them, in one bright beam, upon any point which he wished to illustrate or explain. . . ."[2]

And "all the treasures which his unparalleled industry had accumulated"[3] were most abundantly shared and most ably employed in his exposition of the Bible.

III. Commentary on the Bible

The most voluminous of Adam Clarke's numerous literary

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1. Stevens, op. cit., pp. 44 and 48-9.
2. J. B. B. Clarke, "Appendix," included in An Account of Clarke's Life, III, pp. 470-1.
3. Samuel Dunn, The Life of Adam Clarke, p. 155.

attainments, and the only work of enduring importance, is his Commentary on the Holy Bible. For, as Newness says:

> ". . . with the exception of the memoirs, narratives, and translations, the published volumes of Dr. Clarke are just so many detached parts of his great Commentary."[1]

Completing this Herculean task was understandably a project of a life-time; however, in Biblical research and exposition Clarke was at his best. The quality of this monumental work earned him from Spurgeon the title, "prince among commentators."[2]

A. Qualified for the Task

Adam Clarke was well qualified to write a commentary. For, in addition to his scholastic and linguistic abilities, he had a "strong faith of heart" and "a resolute will."[3] He possessed (perhaps as much as any man) the seven gifts which, according to Saint Augustine, the true expositor of Scriptures must possess--timor, pietas, scientia, fortitudo, consilium, purgatio cordis, and sapientia.[4] His reverence for God's Word and deep desire to understand Divine Truth were developed early in life. As a lad, Clarke says:

> "I often read the Bible on my knees. When I came to a passage I did not fully understand, I said, 'Lord, here is thy Book, it is given for the salvation of man; it can be no salvation to him, unless he understand it; thou hast the key of this text, unlock it to me:' and praying thus, I generally received such light as was satisfactory to myself."[5]

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1. T. M. Newness, Memoirs of the Life of the Rev. Adam Clarke, p. 357.
2. Infra, p. 145.
3. J. W. Etheridge, The Life of the Rev. Adam Clarke, p. 320.
4. "Reverence, piety, science, fortitude, prudence, cleanness of heart and heavenly wisdom." Augustine, De Doctrina Christos, II, p. 7, cited by Etheridge, loc. cit.
5. Clarke, cited by James Everett, Adam Clarke Portrayed, I, p. 115.

This attitude of humility in interpreting Scripture he maintained throughout life.

Clarke also felt a need, as has been indicated, to acquaint himself with the classics, with the Church fathers, with oriental languages and literature, and with the sciences and arts.[1] By acquiring such a broad background of learning, he unconsciously prepared himself for his later task of explaining Scripture.

Although becoming a competent scholar in many fields, it was his unusual linguistic ability that pre-eminently qualified him to be a commentator. Some biographers claim that he knew as many as twenty languages, but it was with the tongues of the East that he really excelled.[2] So proficient was his oriental learning that his services were eagerly sought by The Eclectic Review and other leading journals,[3] The British and Foreign Bible Society,[4] and the British Government.[5] This Methodist preacher began his linguistic study early in his itinerant ministry with the study of Hebrew, the beginning of which he ever attributed to

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1. Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee (eds.), Dictionary of National Biography, IV, p. 413.
2. "The Life of the Late Dr. Adam Clarke," The Congregational Magazine, XI, New Series (December, 1834), p. 736; and M. L. Edwards, Adam Clarke, p. 31.
3. Clarke's services, from the very first, were especially sought by one of the chief managers of The Eclectic Review, Samuel Greatheed. After the first issue of the Review he writes: "On you we rely for Eastern criticisms, and these may perhaps occupy as much of your time as you can comfortably afford us." Vide: Greatheed's letters to Adam Clarke, written from Newport-Pagnell, November 7, 1804, and the earlier one, London, October 6, 1804. Cited in An Account of Clarke's Life, II, pp. 75-80.
4. Infra, pp. 319-322.
5. Infra, pp. 322-8.

providence. For soon after arriving in England, the Irish lad found a half guinea at the Richmond School. With this he purchased Bagley's Hebrew Grammar, learned the language and began to read and to take notes on the Hebrew Bible. Later, recalling this event, Clarke insists:

> "Had I not got that Grammar I probably should never have turned my mind to Hebrew learning; and most certainly had never written a Commentary on Divine Revelation! Behold how great matter a little fire kindleth!"[1]

Moreover, he received Kennicott's Hebrew Bible while on the Plymouth Circuit and Walton's Polyglott Bible through similar providential means.[2] Says Clarke:

> "In obtaining . . . these works, I saw the hand of God, and this became a powerful inducement to me, to give all diligence to acquire, and fidelity to use that knowledge which came to me through means utterly out of my own reach, and so distinctly marked to my apprehension by the especial Providence of God."[3]

During the three years in which young Adam served the Jersey circuit, 1786-1789, he gave himself incessantly to the learning of Chaldee, Syriac, Samaritan, and other oriental languages. So severe was his self-imposed schedule of linguistic and Biblical study that his health began to fail. His fiancée, Mary Cooke, immediately wrote, asking, "Why will you involve yourself in a course of application to study which is more than the mind of any

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1. Autobiography, pp. 163-4.
2. Kennicott was an Anglican Hebrew scholar who, in preparing his Hebrew Bible, collated more than six hundred Hebrew and sixteen Samaritan copies. The pioneer work of this Oxford man, a Fellow of Exeter, Canon of Christ Church, and Radcliffe Librarian, gave Clarke his first knowledge of Biblical criticism. John Stoughton, History of Religion in England, VI, pp. 201-202; and Autobiography, p. 232.
3. Ibid., pp. 257-8. First person is used in place of the third.

one man is capable of learning without injury?"[1] Clarke, who seemed to have a driving compulsion for Biblical research, replied:

> ". . . shall I make any open confession to you, and thereby subject myself to your censure? I would just say, I yet pursue my old, and have made some additions to my former plan. /The/. . . Septuagint I cannot persuade myself to relinquish; how can I, seeing my esteem for it rather increases: the writing of occasional notes I must continue, though perhaps none will think them worth reading but myself."[2]

These first notes resulting from his study of oriental languages, formed the beginning of Clarke's later Commentary, although he never dreamed of writing such a work at that time.

However, while making great strides as a student of the Bible, Adam Clarke never neglected his work as a Methodist Itinerant. When he was appointed to the Bristol circuit in 1789, Henry Moore made these observations concerning his conscientious colleague:

> "I found he had been a hard student, and had made considerable progress, especially in oriental literature. His library alarmed me. . . . I said, 'Brother Clarke, you have got a choice collection of books, but what will you do with them? As a Methodist Preacher, you cannot give them that attention they demand.' He smiled, and said, 'I will try.' I found he had been trying indeed. . . . Our common work at that time was to travel two and three hundred miles in a month, preach generally fifteen times in a week, and attend to various other duties. . . . But I found my friend had not neglected this high calling. His discourse 'seldom smelled of the lamp,' and he was zealous for the Lord."[3]

The fact is that young Clarke, in order to fulfill effectively his

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1. Mary Cooke's letter to Adam Clarke, written from Trowbridge, 1787, cited without date in anonymous biography, Mrs. Adam Clarke, pp. 45-6.
2. Clarke's letter to Mary Cooke, written from Mon Plaisir, November 25, 1787, Autobiography, pp. 318-321.
3. Henry Moore, "The Judgment of the Human Race," The Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine, XI, Third Series (October, 1832), pp. 722-3.

extraordinary call to the Methodist ministry, had already become an assiduous student of the Bible. The fruits of these early years of study and the practical wisdom gained from his many years in the ministry were both invaluable as he applied himself to the exposition of Scripture.[1] As one of his admirers, James Everett, says:

> "His extensive knowledge . . . of oriental literature and usages; his taste for all that was curious and scientific, his spirit of intelligent enquiry, which led to obtaining an insight into subjects which would escape the observation of most persons; his general philosophic knowledge; and above all, his familiarity with the varied character of men . . . all combined to constitute him an able commentator upon a book which required the above qualifications for its proper elucidation."[2]

B. Project of a Lifetime

Adam Clarke's Commentary on the Holy Bible was indeed a project of a lifetime, for it consumed some forty-seven years of unremitting labor.[3] The groundwork for this magnum opus, as has

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1. Clarke sometimes used his ministerial experiences to illustrate Scripture as may be seen in his note on Luke iv. 30. Here he uses his own experience at St. Aubin, Jersey, but gives it an anonymous setting of a missionary in a "strange land." Cf. Commentary, V, p. 412 with Autobiography, pp. 264-272.
2. James Everett, Adam Clarke Portrayed, III, p. 4.
3. Adam Clarke, shortly after completing the Commentary, made this statement: "I have laboured alone for twenty-five years previously to the work being sent to the press [1785-1810], and fifteen years have been employed in bringing it through the press [1810-1825]; so that nearly forty years of life have been consumed." Cited by Etheridge, op. cit., p. 325. However, this was not the end for, during the last five years of his life, Clarke was engaged in making corrections for a new edition. At the close of his exposition on Genesis, volume I of Clarke's personal copy of the Commentary--which is a part of the Adam Clarke Collection of MSS., Strong Rooms, City Road--these words appear: "Finished the correction of this Part, April 6, 1827. A. Clarke." At the conclusion of his comments on Revelation, volume VIII, this note is written: "Finished

been indicated, really began the day Wesley sent him out to preach to the "People called Methodists" as one of his Itinerant Helpers. For it was then that young Adam, realizing his great need of understanding the Scriptures--which he had been called upon so suddenly to expound--decided to become a diligent student of the Bible. Although this early examination of the Old and New Testaments was solely for his own edification, in a few years Clarke began to record the fruits of this study. However, that these early notes should form the beginning of a later commentary never seemed to enter his mind. For, as he says, "I could not then hope that anything I wrote could be of sufficient importance to engage the attention or promote the welfare of the public."[1] So severe was this self-disciplined study that amid his heavy itinerant duties, his health became impaired. As a result he was forced to give up most of his Biblical research for several years. Notwithstanding, however, when he was able to return to his studies, he proceeded with even greater enthusiasm than before.

Hence it was soon after the death of John Wesley that Adam Clarke consciously began to prepare a commentary of his own. These were the crisis years of early Methodism when the Wesleyans were moving away from the Mother Church.[2] The Bible-loving "People

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correcting for a New Edition, Jan/uar/y 9th, 1832. Adam Clarke." Thus, since he wrote down his first notes on the Bible in 1785 and was still making corrections for a new edition in 1832, his Commentary more or less engaged forty-seven years of his life. The other major work of the period by Thomas Scott was completed in less than four and one-half years.

1. "The Original Prospectus of Dr. Clarke's Commentary," Works, XI, pp. 466-7.
2. Supra, pp. 27 et seqq.

called Methodists,"[1] in this crucial period of their history, were greatly in need of a good commentary of their own. For the only Wesleyan work available was the Notes on the Old and New Testament written by their venerable Founder. While this work was highly esteemed, it was, in the words of Clarke, "meagre and unsatisfactory."[2] Determined to meet this need and to satisfy a public demand for Biblical exposition, Clarke immediately set to work on his plan which began with a literal translation of the whole of the Old Testament. In doing this, he says:

> ". . . I collated every verse where I was apprehensive of any difficulty with the Chaldee, Syriac, Arabic, and Persian, and the AEthiopic in the Polyglott translation . . . and I did this with a constant reference to the Various Readings collected by Houbigant, H. Michaelis, Kennicott, and De Rossi, and to the best editions of the Septuagint and Vulgate. . . .
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> "Nor have I been satisfied with these collections of various readings; I have examined and collated several ancient Hebrew MSS., which preceding scholars had never seen, with many ancient MSS. of the Vulgate equally unknown to biblical critics."[3]

Likewise, in translating the New Testament, Clarke indicates:

> "/I compared/ . . . the whole with all the ancient Versions, and the most important of the modern; collating all with the various readings collected by Stephens, Courcel, Fell, Gherard of Maestricht, Bengel, Mill, Wetstein, and Griesbach; actually

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1. The early "Methodists" at Oxford were also nicknamed "Bible Moths." Wesley had so insisted upon the study of the Bible that his followers were "not merely a Bible-reading but a Bible-studying, often a Bible-searching people." W. J. Townsend, H. B. Workman, and George Eayrs (eds.), A New History of Methodism, I, p. 393.
2. "General Preface," Commentary, I, p. 10. The six volume Commentary of Thomas Coke, begun in 1798, was not completed until 1807. The five volume work of Joseph Benson, begun in 1809 was not finished until 1818. J. W. Etheridge, The Life of the Rev. Thomas Coke, pp. 331-2; and James MacDonald, Memoirs of the Rev. Joseph Benson, p. 482.
3. "Conclusion," Commentary, IV, p. 3477.

> examining many MSS., either cursorily or not at all examined by them . . . illustrating the whole by quotations from ancient authors, rabbinical, Grecian, Roman, and Asiatic. . . ."[1]

Such a plan was necessarily time-consuming, but it enabled him to become thoroughly familiar with the Scriptures and to accumulate an immense number of notes and observations. Moreover, he derived great pleasure in examining and illustrating the Bible. This task was one for which he felt he had been providentially qualified and called by God to perform.[2] On May 1, 1798, Adam Clarke began to prepare his Commentary for publication, beginning with the Gospels. In this work he originally planned to risk the hazard of presenting to the public a new translation; however, since it had to be authorized by law, and there was strong prejudice against altering the text, he decided to use the Authorized Version of the Holy Bible. Nevertheless, he proceeded to incorporate his own translation into the notes when he considered it beneficial.[3] During the Conference of 1799 an announcement of this work was printed. This stated that the "New Testament was in a state of forwardness for the press, and would be published with all convenient speed."[4] However, more than a decade passed

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1. Ibid.
2. "If God has given me a talent for anything," asserted Clarke as he began the Commentary, "it is for explaining the Scriptures." Cited by Everett, op. cit., II, pp. 47-8 and III, p. 7.
3. Clarke was qualified to make a new translation. "On the Standard Text of the English Bible," The Christian Observer, XXXIV (June, 1834), pp. 362-9. The pattern which Clarke used on each page (and there were 5731 pages in the Revised 1857 Edition) was to print the verses of the text being considered at the top, together with the appropriate date of the events in the upper corner. Below this, the marginal readings and parallel texts were listed and the rest of the page contained notes and comments.
4. George Smith, History of Wesleyan Methodism, II, pp. 655-8.

before the first volume was actually published.

What were the reasons for this long delay? Several explanations may be given, but two come from Clarke himself. In a letter to a friend he writes: "I have been obliged to put off the printing of my comm/entar/y partly thro/ugh/ a disorder in my Eyes, and partly thro/ugh/ the extraordinary dearth of Paper."[1] A more important reason for the delay was the announcement of a similar work by a fellow Wesleyan, Thomas Coke, with whom Clarke seemed reluctant to compete.[2] Eventually, however, he became convinced that his plan was different and, encouraged by his many friends to get his work into print, Clarke finally submitted his first volume for publication.[3] Meanwhile, because of his many

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1. Clarke's MS. letter to Geo/rge/ Marsden, Meth/odist/ Chapel, Macclesfield, written from Bristol, April 8, 1800, Collection of MSS., Strong Rooms, City Road.
2. Adam Clarke waited for Coke's work because he thought that it might supercede the necessity of his own. Yet, when Clarke did decide to publish his Commentary, he indicates in a letter to Benson, that he waited until it could be said, "'Dr. C/oke/ cannot lose a single Subscriber by Br/other/ Clarke's Work.'" Learning that Benson was also preparing a commentary, Clarke wrote: "I gave way when Dr. C/oke/ assumed this ground--I shall be much more disposed to do so to you." Clarke's MS. letter to Joseph Benson, written some years after 1803. (Date and place of writing torn from letter; paper is water marked 1803, but was written later than this.) Collection of MSS., Strong Rooms, City Road. Also, vide Works, op. cit., p. 469.
3. Samuel Dunn and others indicate that Clarke, who wanted his Commentary to come from the Methodist press, purposely delayed in its publication. He was in hopes that the Book Committee of the Connexion, which had refused to accept the copy even as a gift, would change its decision. The Life of Adam Clarke, p. 226. It is a known fact that although Clarke was indeed loyal to the Connexion, he was not in complete agreement with the views of some of its influential leaders. Moreover, it should be noted that although the Conference in 1798 specifically requested Coke, and in 1809, Benson, to write commentaries, never was Clarke--who was perhaps the most qualified--requested to do so. After Clarke's Commentary was published it became very popular among the Methodists, but it never received the official sanction of either the Book Committee or the

accumulated notes on all the Scriptural books, he was induced by his friends to change his original plan and to prepare "a perpetual comment on every book in the Bible."[1] Thus Clarke, instead of beginning with the interpretation of the Gospels as advertized, began with an exposition of the Pentateuch. And the initial

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Conference. However, Thomas Jackson indicates that when Clarke offered the copyright of the revised edition to the Connexion, the Book-Steward was willing and anxious to purchase it if his objectional views were omitted. For the sake of having it in Wesleyan hands, Clarke indicated a willingness to do this, but his liberal friends urged an immediate sale. Thomas Jackson, Recollections of My Own Life and Times, pp. 358-9. At this time when he was said to have been thinking of omitting his controversial comments--indeed a difficult task for Clarke who never changed his views--he was given an attractive offer of two thousand pounds. Following the advice of James Everett and others, who were less devoted to the Connexion, he sold the copyright to William Tegg and Company. This publisher not only purchased the Commentary, but also his Miscellaneous Works for seven hundred fifty pounds and paid Everett three hundred fifty pounds for editing them. James Everett, "Methodism As It Is," I, pp. 116-117. In doing this Everett seemed to feel he was getting even with the Book-Room for offering Clarke only four hundred pounds for his Commentary when it had given Richard Watson two thousand pounds for only part of his Works. Later, Richard Chew wrote: "The doctor [Clarke] owed nothing to the ruling party in the Conference and had no admiration of its policy. He knew his Commentary could live without the Book-Room and his opinions were not at the beck of the book committee." James Everett: A Biography, p. 235. Also, vide: Clarke's MS. letter to James Everett, Market Street, Manchester, (place and date of writing missing, no stamp or water mark); and Mrs. Mary Clarke's MS. letter to James Everett, Market Street, Manchester, written September 10, 1831, from Eastcott. Collection of MSS., Strong Rooms, City Road.

1. Clarke's original plan was to publish a commentary in two quarto volumes, not trying to cover all the books of the Bible. Although he changed his plans at the request of his friends and began the publication with the Old Testament, after completing his notes on the Book of Judges he decided to complete his work on the New Testament. For, as he says, "[I]. . . wished simply to add the four Gospels and Acts of the Apostles to the five Books of Moses and the Books of Joshua and Judges; as these two parcels of divine revelation, carefully illustrated, would give a full view of the origin and final settlement of the church of the Old Covenant, and the commencement and completion of that of the New." "Conclusion," Commentary, IV, p. 3477, and Smith, loc. cit.

volume was published in 1810 by his brother-in-law, Joseph Butterworth.[1] The significant role of this prominent London bookseller, in keeping Clarke to the task of exposition and seeing the whole of the Commentary through the press, has never been fully appreciated. Nevertheless, Clarke acknowledges that it was Butterworth who, "by repeated importunities at last constrained me to commit them [notes] to the press."[2]

Just as eleven years elapsed between the first announcement and the first published volume, so fifteen more years passed before the eighth and final volume issued from the press. However, this is understandable when one considers the many other projects which competed for Clarke's time.[3] How dispirited he became, while writing his notes amid increasing pressures of other responsibilities, may be seen in his letter to Butterworth:

> "I am oppressed with labour of every kind; looking at what is still before me, I feel no encouragement in reference to the Commentary. I had many grievous knots to untie . . . and where shall be the end of this extending work? . . . I must work alone, and endeavour to make every part perfect so far as I go."[4]

This trait of perfectionism, which was likewise a factor in the initial delay of the publication of the first volume, caused Clarke

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1. Supra, p. 23.
2. Adam Clarke's letter to the Right Honorable Charles Abbot, Speaker of the House of Commons, written September 14, 1810, cited in An Account of Clarke's Life, II, pp. 218-219.
3. "Any that had less of a mule's disposition than I," wrote Clarke during this period, "would have abandoned it in settled dislike." Cited by Dunn, op. cit., p. 187.
4. Clarke's letter to Joseph Butterworth, cited without date or place of writing by James Everett, Adam Clarke Portrayed, III, p. 83; and letter to David M'Nicoll, written November 1, 1812, transcript from the Lamplough Collection of MSS., Strong Rooms, City Road.

not a little anxiety as he sought to complete his task.[1] Finally in 1815, when he gave up the duties of his second presidential year, he also decided to surrender his many duties in London and to move North. Although he had enjoyed the cultural advantages of the metropolis for more than a decade, he wrote at this time:

> "/I must/ . . . leave this distracting city, and get out of the way even of a turnpike-road, that I may get as much out of every passing hour as I can. I ought to have no work at present but the Commentary; for none can comprehend the trouble, and often anguish, which the writing of these notes costs me; and what adds to the perplexity is the multitude of little things to which almost incessantly my attention is demanded. . . . I must hide my head in the country, or it will shortly be hidden in the grave."[2]

In the autumn of 1815 Clarke purchased an estate at Millbrook, near Liverpool. Here, apart from preaching on Sundays and for special occasions during the week, he was able to spend most of the time writing his notes. Yet, even in this semi-retirement he had great difficulty in completing his monumental task. After five years of continuous toil, he frankly admits in a letter to his persistent publisher:

> ". . . the Commentary is still a dead-weight upon my mind, and I cannot plod at it as formerly: my health gets soon impaired by close sitting, and my eyes get soon weary."[3]

When he had completed the Book of Job twelve months later he wrote: "I have no spirit to begin any more of the Commentary. Such a work, done on my plan, requires more than the life of any human

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1. Karen Horney, Neurosis and Human Growth, The Struggle Toward Self-Realization, vide Chap. XIII, "Neurotic Disturbances in Work," pp. 309-332, especially p. 315.
2. Clarke, cited by J. W. Etheridge, The Life of the Rev. Adam Clarke, p. 248.
3. Clarke's letter to Joseph Butterworth, written from Liverpool, August 21, 1820, cited by Everett, op. cit., pp. 237-9.

being."[1]

Nevertheless, with another change of residence in 1824 back to the environs of London, to be closer to his children, Clarke seems to have received new courage to complete his magnum opus. Here at Haydon Hall, the name of his newly acquired home at Eastcott, he worked diligently. His grandson, who was living with him at the time, writes:

> "I see now that familiar figure, with silvery hair, ruddy countenance, and massive brow, bending over a desk . . . surrounded by ponderous tomes, in a room called the study, looking out on a beautiful lawn, and adjoining the still more spacious library, which contained most of the books and manuscripts of which he had so large a unique collection."[2]

As he neared the end, he became greatly concerned with his eyes, saying:

> ". . . it is impossible that they can last; all winter I have written several hours before day, & several after night; under this they have failed--but I want to get the Commentary done. I have got to the end of the sixth of the 12 Minor Prophets; so I have six more to do. . . . You see then that I am fully in sight of Land."[3]

Finally, on March 28, 1825,[4] Adam Clarke invited his youngest son

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1. Clarke's letter to Mr. and Mrs. Brookes, cited without date or place of writing by Everett, op. cit., pp. 256-7. After having completed the New Testament, Clarke says, "I was induced, though with great reluctance, to recommence the Old." However, writing notes on the remaining books of the Old Testament--especially the prophets--Clarke found extremely difficult. In the last decade of his life he much preferred to promote the cause of evangelism and missions than to continue to be chained with the bondage of literary toil. "Conclusion," Commentary, IV, p. 3477.
2. Adam Clarke Rowley, "Reminiscences of Dr. Adam Clarke at the Time of His Finishing His Commentary," The Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine, IV (May, 1882), p. 399.
3. Clarke's letter to James Hook, Esquire, St. Marys, Africa, written from Eastcott, March 6, 1825, transcript from the James Everett Collection of MSS., The Hartley Victoria Methodist College, Manchester.
4. After completing the notes on Malachi, Clarke wrote: "I have this day completed this Commentary . . . which, when I began,

into the library and, pointing to his study table which had been cleared of all its books and folios, said:

> "This, Joseph, is the happiest period I have enjoyed for years: I have put the last hand to my Comment; I have written the last word of the work: I have put away the chains that would remind me of my bondage; and there (pointing to the steps of his library-ladder) have I returned the deep thanks of a grateful soul to God who has shewn me such great and continued kindness. . . ."[1]

Looking back over his life-project, Clarke wrote in the "Conclusion" to the Commentary:

> "Thus, through the merciful help of God, my labour in this field terminates; a labour, which were it yet to commence, with the knowledge I now have of its difficulty, and my, in other respects, inadequate means, millions, even of the gold of Ophir, and all the honours that can come from man, could not induce me to undertake. Now that it is finished, I regret not the labour; I have had the testimony of many learned, pious, and judicious friends relative to the execution and usefulness of the work."[2]

Although Clarke became very discouraged at times, as he sought to bring his extensive work to completion, he was able to state with not a little pride:

> "In this ardous labour I have had no assistants; not even a single week's help from an amanuensis;[3] no person to look
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> . . . . . .
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> I never expected to live long enough to finish. May it be the means of securing glory to God in the highest, and peace and good will among men upon earth! Amen, Amen. Adam Clarke. Heydon /Haydon/ Hall, Middlesex, Monday, March 28, A.D. 1825." Commentary, IV, p. 3451.

1. Clarke, cited in An Account of Clarke's Life, III, p. 116.
2. This "Conclusion" appended to the notes on the Old Testament is dated, Eastcott, April 17, 1826, Commentary, IV, pp. 3476-8.
3. Clarke probably is referring here to Thomas Coke's use of Samuel Drew's literary assistance to complete his commentary. For being the means of Drew's conversion and ever a close personal friend, Clarke well knew how Drew had written and edited parts of this work although he never was given recognition. J. W. Etheridge says, "It was well known that Mr. Drew was his /Coke's/ amaneunsis. . . . It would have . . . been much better, in justice to himself, as well as to his companion, to state either in the title-page or preface of each publication that it had passed under the editorial care of Mr. Drew." The Life of the Rev. Thomas Coke, p. 335.

> for common-places, or refer to an ancient author; to find out the place and transcribe a passage of Greek, Latin, or any other language, which my memory had generally recalled, or to verify a quotation; the help excepted which I received in the chronological department from my nephew."[1]

This work is not only the effort of a single man, but of a man with singular individuality, as is evidenced throughout the Commentary even in its modus operandi.

C. "Prince Among Commentators"

Before making an evaluation of the Commentary, it is essential to understand Adam Clarke's purpose and plan of procedure. Here, as in all his labor, he wanted to be useful; his comments were "designed as a help to a better understanding of the sacred writings."[2] Thus, he says:

> "I had at first designed to introduce a larger portion of criticism on the sacred text accompanied by illustrations from ancient authors; but after having made many collections of this kind . . . I was induced to throw almost the whole of them aside, for . . . having designed my Notes not for learned, but for comparatively simple people, or those whose avocations prevent them from entering deeply into subjects of this kind, I thought it best to bring every thing as much as possible, within their reach, and their study, rather to be useful, than to appear learned."[3]

Most English commentaries up to this time tended to be either critical without being popular, or popular without being critical.

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1. Commentary, loc. cit. Although Clarke does not give recognition here to the invaluable assistance of his wife, he frequently praised her elsewhere for her encouragement and help. Many an evening Mary would go over the notes that her husband had written during the day or would read aloud to him from some desirable work in order to save his eyes. [Anonymous], Mrs. Adam Clarke, pp. 174-5 and 193-4.
2. Supra, p. 99.
3. Adam Clarke, Advertisement [of the Commentary], a pamphlet without date, Collection of MSS., Strong Rooms, City Road.

Clarke, desiring to be practical, sought to produce an exposition which combined the advantages of both.[1] He "wanted to make every thing plain"[2] so that there would be "no insurmountable difficulty in the sacred word"[3] and that the full meaning of the doctrines could be easily understood. However, his primary purpose was always evangelical. For, in the writing of the Commentary, he says:

> "[I wanted] . . . to assist my fellow-labourers in the vineyard to lead men to HIM who is the fountain of all excellence, goodness, truth, and happiness; to magnify his law and make it honourable; to show the wonderful provision made in his GOSPEL for the recovery and salvation of a sinful world; to prove that GOD'S great design is to make his creatures happy; and that such a salvation as it becomes God to give, and such as man needs to receive, is within the grasp of every human soul."[4]

At the end of this life-long task Clarke asserted that he had "aimed at nothing, throughout the whole, but the glory of God and the good of men."[5]

In the interpretation of Scripture Clarke sought to be as original and independent as possible. His plan of procedure was to free himself both from his own prejudicial views and the influence of other commentators. Thus, as he began the task, Clarke says, "I sat down with a heart as free from bias and sectarian feeling as possible."[6] However, his moderate-conservative

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1. J. W. Etheridge, The Life of the Rev. Adam Clarke, pp. 319-320.
2. "General Preface," Commentary, I, p. 15.
3. James Everett, Adam Clarke Portrayed, III, p. 5.
4. Commentary, loc. cit.
5. "Conclusion," Commentary, IV, p. 3477-8.
6. Commentary, loc. cit. Also vide Clarke's letter to His Royal Highness, Duke of Sussex, written November 8, 1822, cited by William Jones, Memoirs of the Life, Ministry, and Writings of The Rev. Adam Clarke, pp. 410-412.

position and his Wesleyan-Arminian views were so strong that his interpretations were colored unconsciously by them.[1] That Clarke was unable to free himself from theological beliefs which were so much a part of his own thinking is not at all surprising. However, in the second part of his plan--the writing of interpretations independent of the views of others--he was more successful. He began by personally seeking to find the literal and spiritual meaning of every word and phrase of the Bible, rather than merely depending upon what other expositors had written, as was too frequently the habit of less original English commentators. For instance, a contemporary Wesleyan, Thomas Coke, plagiarized almost the entire commentary written by William Dodd; another, Joseph Benson, merely expanded the Notes of John Wesley.[2] In

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1. Clarke admits that in his Commentary he defended the Word against the attacks of "free-thinkers and infidels." Furthermore, he states that he not only wrote notes on the orthodox doctrines as he came to them in the Bible, but "supported /them/ by arguments, many of them new, applied in such a way as has not been done before in any similar or theological work." Commentary, loc. cit.
2. Clarke's estimate of Coke and his work is revealed in this statement which James Everett has recorded in his unpublished MS. notes: "Dr. Coke employed his Missionaries to write Dodd's notes on loose sheets of paper, to prevent the printer from knowing to whom the matter belonged, and to give it the appearance of an original work. . . . Dr. Coke had a very little mind, and but little in it except what was brought to it. Still I regret having inserted what I did, in the General Preface, as to the general character of the work." "Clarkeana," II, p. 193, the James Everett Collection of MSS., The Hartley Victoria Methodist College, Manchester. In this preface Clarke had written that Dr. Coke's work ". . . is, in the main, a reprint of the work of Dr. Dodd, with several retrenchments, and some additional reflections." Next to these words, in the margin of his personal copy corrected for a revised edition, Clarke wrote, "But Dr. Coke should have acknowledged whence he collected his materials: but on this point he is totally silent. This is without exception the grossest piece of Plagiarism the Republic of Letters has ever witnessed." The first sentence appeared in the revised edition, but the last, because it was

order to explain many passages by himself, Clarke found it necessary to acquire a general knowledge of many fields. Hence, he personally sought to "intermeddle with all wisdom."[1] He possessed a genius for accumulating Biblical knowledge. He obtained his learning not only from scholars, but from all people.[2] Jewish acquaintances helped him to understand Hebrew life; missionary friends in the East provided him with fresh insights into Oriental customs.[3] Yet, while gathering information from every available source, Clarke knew how to combine it with his own ideas so as to color the whole with his own individuality. Herein lay the strength and weakness of his ability as a commentator.

For, while Clarke's desire to have an independent

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crossed out, never got into print. Nevertheless, it reveals plainly how Clarke felt toward the work of his Wesleyan colleague. "General Preface," Commentary, I, pp. xii-xiii, Clarke's personal copy of the first edition, Strong Rooms, City Road. On the other hand, Clarke regarded Benson quite highly, for his commentary had some originality. George Smith, History of Wesleyan Methodism, II, p. 655.

1. Supra, pp. 105 et segq.
2. Clarke wrote in his "Journal," which he kept on his trip to Ireland, April 8 to May 21, 1831: "My old maxim seldom fails me, to make it a point to learn something from every person with whom I am called at any time to associate." "Anecdotes of various persons together with Observations and Reflections on men and things," pp. 73-4, MS. Notebook in the James Everett Collection of MSS., The Hartley Victoria Methodist College, Manchester.
3. Clarke's correspondence in general was so enormous that Everett, who edited his works, says that he could "furnish two or three volumes of epistolary correspondence, on every variety of subject." Everett, op. cit., p. 321. Also vide: Clarke's correspondence with Mary Freeman Shepherd, An Account of Clarke's Life, II, pp. 231-247; and letter to one of his missionary friends, Robert Newstead, written April, 1820. "If my friends in the East knew," wrote the commentator, ". . . of what use they [letters] are to me in my Biblical researches, they would think that they had not employed their time uselessly. . . ." Cited by [John M. Hare], Life and Labours of Adam Clarke (Second Ed.), pp. 193-4.

interpretation is in itself commendable, at times his novelty shows a lack of discrimination and calm reflection. His ample stores of knowledge appear to have tempted him to spend so much effort amassing facts and evidence that he had little time for "reflection and logical induction."[1] A notable example of this weakness may be seen in his interpretation of Genesis, chapter three, verse one:

> "Now the serpent was more subtle than any beast of the field which the Lord God had made. And he said unto the woman, Yea, hath God said, Ye shall not eat of every tree of the garden?"[2]

In his comment Clarke asks, "Who was the serpent? of what kind? In what way did he seduce the first happy pair?"[3] In the exposition of this passage he reaches this conclusion:

> "No person can suppose that any of the snake or serpent kind can be intended here. . . . /The root meaning of/ נחש nachash signifies to view attentively, to acquire knowledge or experience by attentive observation; so נחשתי nichashti, Gen/esis/ xxx. 27: I have learned by experience; and this seems to be its most general meaning in the Bible. The original word is by the Septuagint translated οφις, a serpent, not because this was its fixed determinate meaning in the sacred writings, but because it was the best that occurred to the translators. . . .
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> ". . . God did not qualify this creature with speech for the occasion, and it is not intimated that there was any other agent that did it; on the contrary, the text intimates that speech and reason were natural to the nachash. . . . Nor can I find that the serpentine genus are remarkable for intelligence. . . . All these things considered, we are obliged to seek for some other word to designate the nachash in the text, than the word serpent, which on every view of the subject appears to me inefficient and inapplicable. We have seen . . . that khana, akhnas, and khanoos, signify /in Arabic/ a

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1. "An Account of the Infancy, Religious and Literary Life, of Adam Clarke, LL. D.," The Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle, XI, New Series (September, 1833), p. 398.
2. The Holy Bible, Authorized King James Version.
3. Commentary, note on Genesis iii. 1, I, pp. 50-3.

> a creature of the ape or satyrus kind. We have seen that the meaning of the root is, he lay hid, seduced, slunk away, &c.; and that khanas means the devil, as the inspirer of evil, and seducer from God and truth. . . . It therefore appears to me that a creature of the ape or ouran outang kind is here intended; and that Satan made use of this creature as the most proper instrument for the accomplishment of his murderous purposes against the life and soul of man. Under this creature he lay hid, and by this creature he seduced our first parents, and drew off or slunk away from every eye but the eye of God. Such a creature answers to every part of the description in the text. . . .
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> "Should any person who may read this note object against my conclusions, because apparently derived from an Arabic word . . . he may then take up the Hebrew root only, which signifies to gaze, to view attentively, pry into, inquire narrowly, &c., and consider the passage that appears to compare the nachash to the babbler, Eccles/iastes/ x. 11, and he will soon find, if he have any acquaintance with creatures of this genus, that for earnest, attentive watching, looking, &c., and for chattering or babbling, they have no fellows in the animal world. . . .
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> "I have spent the longer time on this subject, 1. Because it is exceedingly obscure; 2. Because no interpretation hitherto given of it has afforded me the smallest satisfaction; 3. Because I think the above mode of accounting for every part of the whole transaction is consistent and satisfactory, and in my opinion removes embarrassments, and solves the chief difficulties. . . ."[1]

In another interpretation, Luke, chapter one, verse thirty-five, Clarke rejects the orthodox doctrine of "the eternal Sonship of Christ."[2] Thus it is with some justice that one of his critics

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1. Ibid. Much was published on this subject, but the most important writings were: John Bellamy, The Ophion: or the Theology of the Serpent, and the Unity of God; the commentator's own, "Reply to Various Critiques on the First Part of Dr. A. Clarke's Hebrew Bible," The Classical Journal, III, No. VI (June, 1811), pp. 423-444; and D. G. Wait, A Defence of a Critique on the Hebrew Word "Nachash." William Gesenius indicates that נָחָשׁ should be translated "serpent," because the word is derived from the root נָחַשׁ, meaning "to hiss." Samuel P. Tregelles (trans.), Gesenius's Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon to the Old Testament Scriptures, pp. DXLIVDXLV and CCCCXXXVI.
2. Commentary, note on Luke i. 35, V, pp. 375-6. For a discussion of Clarke's heterodox views, infra, pp. 238-250.

concludes:

> "His learning appears frequently as if diverted from its proper and legitimate use; and employed not to discover the meaning of the writer, but to accommodate his sense to the preconceived views of the expositor. . . . A fondness for new hypotheses and conjectural interpretation; a disposition to divert as widely as practicable from the opinions of his predecessors; and to regard novelty as excellence, plainly discovers itself."[1]

While his speculative peculiarities showed some evidence of indiscretion, an even greater weakness was his inability to focus his attention and energy on the important task of Biblical exegesis. For, when he was writing the Commentary, Clarke--in addition to his extensive labor as a Methodist preacher--became involved in several time-consuming projects. In particular, during eleven of the years when he was working the hardest on his notes, he rather unwisely took on the arduous assignment of revising and supplementing Rymer's Foedera.[2] True, it was indeed a distinctive honor for any Wesleyan to be called upon by the British Government to edit its official state papers, but eleven years of such secular research interferred not a little with the promptness and quality of his Commentary.[3] Had he given this time

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1. "Some Notices of the Life and Writings of the Reverend Adam Clarke, LL.D.," The Congregational Magazine, IX, New Series (December, 1832), pp. 745-6.
2. Infra, pp. 322-328.
3. In the "Statement of the Progress made by the Sub-Commissioners, in pursuance of the orders of His Majesty's Commissioners on the Public Records, from 1st Dec/ember/ 1810 to 1st Jan/uar/y 1811," there appears this information which indicates how the project competed for his time: "Dr. Clarke . . . states that he has not permitted his other avocations to interfere with his attention to this work, but has been ever since last March, when the Plan for it was laid down, fully employed upon it, as well as his assistants. . . ." "Minute Book of the Proceedings of the Record Commission, 1806-1819," IV, p. 377. Also vide James Everett, "Clarkeana," I, pp. 21-2, James Everett Collection of MSS., The Hartley Victoria Methodist College, Manchester.

to elucidating the prophetic books and other parts of the Bible which he hastened to complete,[1] the whole of the work might have been on the same high level which he showed evidence of achieving in the Pentateuch and in the Gospels. Thus, had his studies and literary efforts been less general, or as M'Nicoll says:

> ". . . had he concentrated his talents, his time, and his native powers of thinking, so as to originate and perfect some great work in one department of theology, he would most likely have excelled himself."[2]

However, from the kind of work that did come from his pen, Clarke appears to have been more of an editor or encyclopedic scholar than a deep thinker. He was better at making an analysis than giving a synthesis.[3]

Regardless of Clarke's limitations and eccentricities, his independence and individuality enabled him to give his notes a distinctive originality; this is the finest aspect of his work. For example, while the general view was that the final state of Judas Iscariot was eternal damnation, Clarke asks, "Can any hope

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1. That Clarke knew his work was inferior, toward the close of his Commentary, is revealed in the following admission: ". . . there are many parts which will never sell for more than their price as waste paper. . . . /I must/ make provision for the Loss that might be sustained on those odd parts, that would not sell at half price, or almost any price, because, of the uninteresting nature of the Subject. . . ." Letter to Jos/eph/ Butterworth, Jr., written from Pinner, Middlesex, December 18, 1827, transcript from the W. L. Watkinson Collection of MSS., John Wesley's Chapel, Bristol.
2. Since Clarke did not originally plan to write notes on all the books of the Bible, it is only natural that he should excel in the parts which interested him most. David M'Nicoll, True Greatness, pp. 66-8; Everett, op. cit., II, p. 313; and Clarke's letter to Joseph Butterworth, Jr., December 18, 1827, loc. cit.
3. Samuel Dunn, The Life of Adam Clarke, p. 205.

be formed that he died within the reach of mercy?"[1] He answers this question affirmatively in his Commentary:

> "I. It must be allowed that his crime was one of the most inexcusable ever committed by man: nevertheless, it has some alleviations. 1. It is possible that he did not think his Master could be hurt by the Jews. 2. When he found that he did not use his power to extricate himself from their hands, he deeply relented that he had betrayed him. 3. He gave every evidence of the sincerity of his repentance, by going openly to the Jewish rulers: (1.) Confessing his own guilt; (2.) asserting the innocence of Christ; (3.) returning the money which he had received from them; and then, (4.) the genuineness of his regret was proved by its being the cause of his death.
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> "But, II. Judas might have acted a much worse part than he did: 1. By persisting in his wickedness. 2. By slandering the character of our Lord both to the Jewish rulers and to the Romans; and, had he done so, his testimony would have been credited, and our Lord would then have been put to death as a malefactor, on the testimony of one of his own disciples; and thus the character of Christ and his gospel must have suffered extremely in the sight of the world, and these very circumstances would have been pleaded against the authenticity of the Christian religion by every infidel in all succeeding ages. And, 3. had he persisted in his evil way, he might have lighted such a flame of persecution against the infant cause of Christianity as must, without the intervention of God, have ended in its total destruction: now, he neither did, nor endeavoured to do, any of these things. In other cases these would be powerful pleadings.
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> "Judas was indisputably a bad man; but he might have been worse: we may plainly see that there were depths of wickedness to which he might have proceeded, and which were prevented by his repentance. Thus things appear to stand previously to his end. But is there any room for hope in his death? In answer to this it must be understood, 1. That there is presumptive evidence that he did not destroy himself; and, 2. that his repentance was sincere. If so, was it not possible for the mercy of God to extend even to his case? It did so to the murderers of the Son of God; and they were certainly worse men (strange as this assertion may appear) than Judas. Even he gave them the fullest proof of Christ's innocence: their buying the field with the money Judas threw down was the full proof of it; and yet, with every convincing evidence before them, they crucified our Lord. They excited Judas to betray his Master and crucified him when they had got him into their power; and therefore St. Stephen calls them both

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1. Commentary, note on Acts 1. 25, V, pp. 711-713. Quoted in part.

> the betrayers and murderers of that Just One, Acts vii. 52: in these respects they were more deeply criminal than Judas himself; yet even to those very betrayers and murderers Peter preaches repentance, with the promise of remission of sins, and the gift of the Holy Ghost, Acts iii. 12-26. If, then, these were within the reach of mercy, and we are informed that a great company of the priests became obedient to the faith, Acts vi. 7, then certainly Judas was not in such a state as precluded the possibility of his salvation. Surely the blood of the covenant could wash out even his stain, as it did that more deeply engrained one of the other betrayers and murderers of the Lord Jesus."[1]

However, to several influential Wesleyans in the Conference, it was precisely Clarke's originality and individuality which they found most objectionable. This was particularly true with respect to his denial of "the eternal Sonship of Christ."[2] Thus his Commentary was regarded by the Conference as heterodoxy.[3] Nevertheless Clarke, maintaining an admirable dignity amid opposition, wrote:

> "I quarrel with no man. . . . I propose my own views of truth in as simple a manner as I can; but never in a controversial way. . . . If my understanding and conscience oblige me at any time to dissent from commonly received modes of thinking and speaking, I ever do it with hesitancy, and not seldom with pain. I must follow such light as I have, or sin against my

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1. Ibid. Cf. note on Matthew xxvii. 5, Commentary, V, pp. 282-3.
2. Infra, pp. 239-240.
3. David M'Nicoll, in drawing up a biography of the character of Adam Clarke for the Minutes of the Conference, had two copies rejected and the third was accepted only because it excluded any mention of Clarke's Commentary. /Hare/, op. cit., p. 413. After considering this controversy between the Conference and Clarke, John Hunt concludes: "Dr. Adam Clarke, their /Methodism's/ only learned man, was their only heretic. He was supposed to have shown a Pelagian tendency. . . ." Religious Thought in England in the Nineteenth Century, p. 86. For a discussion of Clarke's heterodox views, infra, pp. 238-250. In addition to his denial of the "eternal Sonship," Clarke incurred great reproach by using Taylor's "Key to the Epistle to the Romans." John Taylor of Norwick was regarded generally as an Arian and had been opposed by John Wesley himself. Commentary, V, pp. 957-994.

conscience. . . ."[1]

The truth is that Clarke, while not without error, held that the doctrines of the Bible should be subject to reason; hence, he wished to think and let think. For, as he says, "I crave the same liberty to judge for myself that I give to others,--to which every man has an indispensable right."[2] Because of the way in which he was opposed by the ruling party of the Methodist Conference for his independent views, there is some truth to the conclusion reached by Drew: "Clarke is an eagle that, in the towering flight, cannot be overtaken by birds of an inferior order, and must therefore be shot."[3]

Nevertheless, in spite of the weaknesses of Clarke's Commentary, it had a freshness which made it exceedingly popular both among the Methodist people and those of other denominations.[4] He was able to say:

> "It has been admitted into the very highest ranks of society, and has lodged in the cottages of the poor. It has been the means of doing good to the simple of heart; and the . . . learned and the philosopher . . . have not consulted its pages in vain."[5]

The fact that it contained human error certainly did not impair its

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1. Clarke's letter to John Smith, Sunderland, written from Millbrook around 1826, cited without date in An Account of Clarke's Life, III, pp. 7-9. Also, vide conversation with the Evangelical, William Jay of Bath, cited by Everett, op. cit., III, p. 14.
2. Adam Clarke, cited by Dunn, op. cit., p. 194.
3. Samuel Drew, cited in "Lives of Clarke, Watson and Drew," The Eclectic Review, XVI, Third Series (October, 1836), p. 416.
4. This was one of the very few Wesleyan works which circulated widely beyond the denomination. What James Everett wrote was true: "Look into the Book-cases of members of other Christian denominations, and it is rare indeed with the exception of Dr. Clarke's Notes on the Bible to meet with a single volume of Methodist extraction." "Methodism As It Is," I, p. 181.
5. "Conclusion," Commentary, IV, p. 3478.

usefulness especially among the rustic readers. For, as one Derbyshire Local Preacher said, when twitted by a compeer for laying out his hard-earned, hard-saved pounds for such an expensive work:

> "Why, thou seest now, Adam Clarke was a man after all; and so he made blunders; but he were a very great man; and so he made--I see--very great blunders!"[1]

The originality and usefulness of Clarke's Commentary enabled it to have a wider circulation than any other similar contemporary work, with the possible exception of that of Thomas Scott.[2] Moreover, because of the many editions of the work in America (and it is still being published and used widely in the United States) its total circulation rivals that of any other similar work by a single author.[3] The expositions of Coke, Benson, and Watson, while receiving the support of the ruling party of the Conference, lacked the depth of scholarship which has given the work of Clarke its lasting prominence.[4] Charles Spurgeon, though

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1. "The New Edition of Dr. Adam Clarke's Commentary," The Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine, IV (May, 1882), pp. 397-8.
2. While Clarke's notes had a greater circulation than any other Wesleyan work (including those of Coke, Benson, Watson, and later writers such as Joseph Sutcliffe), the Commentary by Scott, the Anglical Evangelical, was so popular that "37,000 complete sets sold in his lifetime." By the middle of the nineteenth century, this work in which he sought to speak plainly and intelligibly to persons of ordinary capacity," went through six editions with an estimated 75,000 sets being published. G. R. Balleine, A History of the Evangelical Party in the Church of England, pp. 117-120; and Mary Seely, The Later Evangelical Fathers, Chap. V, "Thomas Scott 1747-1821," pp. 123-157.
3. For a discussion of the many editions and an estimate of the total number of sets which have been printed, vide Appendix D.
4. John Stoughton says, "Richard Watson had not the learning of Adam Clarke, but intellectually he was far superior." Religion in England from 1800 to 1850, II, p. 326. However, this is doubtful, for the intellectual ability of Coke, Benson, and even Watson, as evidenced from a study of their respective works, was over-rated by the influential members of the Connexion.

having different theological views, correctly asserts that the Wesleyans "have no reason to be ashamed of him, for he takes rank among the chief of expositors."[1] In his judgment "Adam Clarke stands, notwithstanding his peculiarities, a prince among commentators."[2]

Therefore, in the early nineteenth century, at the very time when Methodist preachers and people were being looked down upon for their lack of learning, it was the Wesleyans--more than any other denomination--who led in Biblical exposition. And it was the Commentary of Adam Clarke which was "the most learned of English expositions."[3]

In this early period of Wesleyan Methodism when Thomas Coke was busy promoting foreign missions, while Richard Watson was being lauded for his gifted pulpit oratory, and when Jabez Bunting was perfecting his churchmanship, Adam Clarke was being recognized--both within and without the Connexion--for his scholarly work in Biblical exegesis.[4] Thus it was as a student of the Bible--more

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1. Charles Spurgeon, Commenting and Commentaries, pp. 9-10. While Clarke had those in the Connexion who strongly opposed him, there were many, such as James Everett, who enthusiastically stood behind him. Upon completion of his Commentary, Everett sent a ninety line poetic effusion to Clarke, the four concluding lines of which were:

   Whilst living, thy praise is in records above,
   And dying, thy page shall thy monument prove;
   And this shall survive, which thy hands thus have reared,
   When marbles and columns have all disappeared.

   Cited by Richard Chew, James Everett: A Biography, pp. 230-231.
2. Spurgeon, loc. cit.
3. Ibid., p. 37; and Henry Bett, "The Alleged Illiteracy of the Early Methodist Preachers," Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society, XV (1926), pp. 85-92.
4. H. B. Workman, Methodism, p. 98; and George Smith, History of Wesleyan Methodism, II, pp. 651-9.

than in any other way--that Clarke gave leadership to Wesleyan Methodism, and his efforts lifted the literary reputation of the Connexion. Yet, the fact must not be forgotten that Clarke became the scholar he was because he was first a preacher of the Gospel. Attention will now be given to his work as a Wesleyan Itinerant preacher.

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CHAPTER IV

PREACHER OF THE GOSPEL

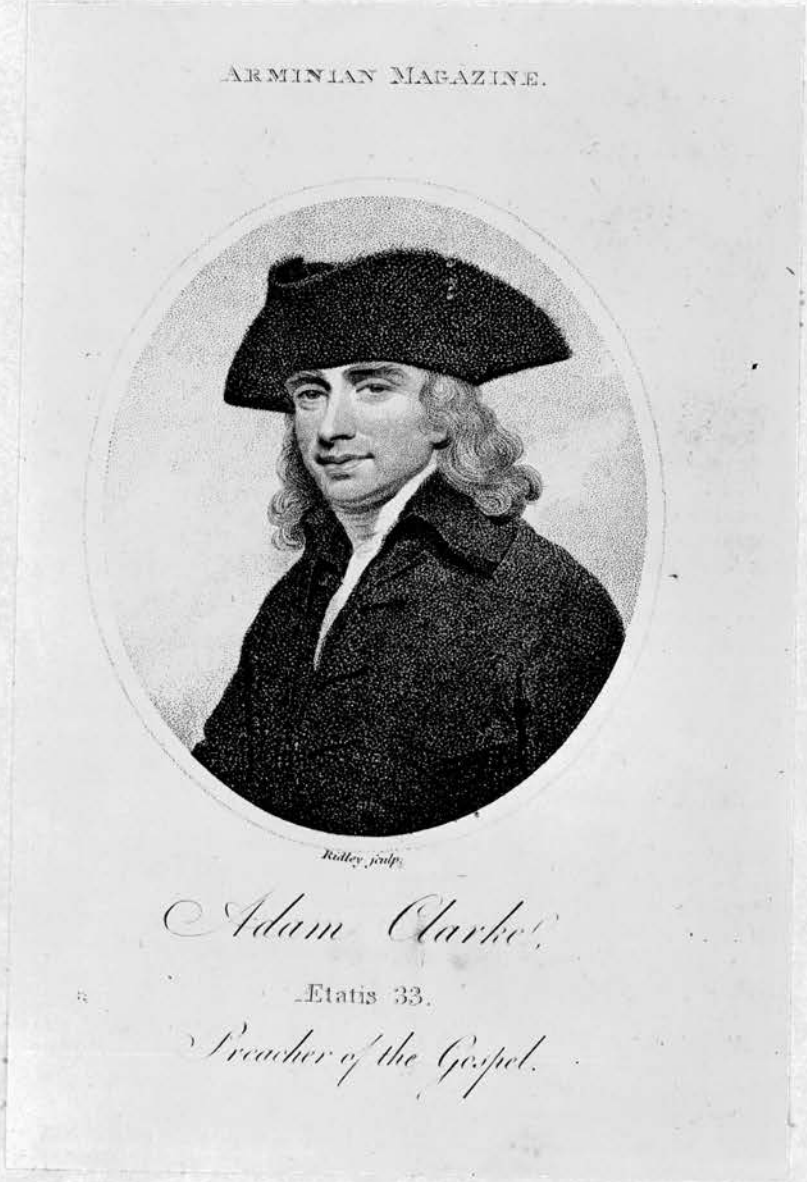

Illustration 2.

SECOND PUBLISHED PORTRAIT OF

"ADAM CLARKE, AETATIS 33, PREACHER OF THE GOSPEL,"

BY RIDLEY (THE ARMINIAN MAGAZINE, 1795)

CHAPTER IV

PREACHER OF THE GOSPEL

Adam Clarke is best known today as a Biblical scholar; however, the early Methodists who knew him personally, agree that "he reached his highest excellence in the pulpit."[1] So great was his popularity as a preacher that, even before his fame spread as an author, he was given the highest place of honor in Wesleyan Methodism, being elected President of the Conference in 1806. Clarke was a child of the Wesleyan Revival; his Biblical sermons were all evangelical. His method and manner of preaching enabled him to be known as an effective preacher of the Gospel.

I. Child of the Wesleyan Revival

A. "Ambassador of God"[2]

Adam Clarke believed that the preachers of the Wesleyan Revival were raised up by special providence to be ambassadors of

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1. W. L. Watkinson, "Album of Letters and Portraits," p. 113, W. L. Watkinson Collection of MSS., John Wesley's Chapel, Bristol. Benjamin Gregory says, ". . . Dr. Adam Clarke, who ranked amongst the greatest scholars . . . [was] far mightier with the voice than with the pen, a greater preacher than expositor by many bright degrees, and yet nobler still as a man of stainless honour and a faithful man of God." Side Lights on the Conflicts of Methodism, 1827-1852, pp. 49-50. Also vide: W. J. Townsend, H. B. Workman, and George Eayrs (eds.), A New History of Methodism, I, p. 391; and John Stoughton, Religion in England under Queen Anne and the Georges, 1702-1800, II, pp. 176-7.
2. One of the most useful of Clarke's minor publications was "A Letter to a Preacher, on His Entrance into the Work of the Ministry," Works, XII, pp. 137-216. Hereafter in this study, this work will be referred to as, "Letter to a Preacher." This open letter that was first published in 1800 passed through several editions and had a large circulation both in Great Britain and America.

God.[1] "These men," he observed, "all testified that they had an extraordinary call, to do an extraordinary work, by extraordinary assistance."[2] The "extraordinary work" to which they were called was to preach to all "that conversion comes as a sudden personal assurance of salvation, bringing new birth and dominion over sin."[3] This revivalist doctrine delivered by Wesley and his associates, had a transforming power as it was proclaimed throughout Great Britain in the eighteenth century.[4] So effective was the Wesleyan Revival that Clarke had reason to conclude that God had blessed the Methodist preachers and given them "extraordinary assistance."[5] Moreover, this conviction was strengthened by his own personal experience of "salvation from all our sin,"[6] which he had received as an Irish lad under the influence of Wesley's convert, Thomas Barber.[7] Thus, in a very real sense, Adam Clarke was a child of the Wesleyan Revival.

Consequently, when Clarke, who had been intended for the Established clergy, received his call of God to be a preacher among the people called Methodists, he made certain that it was an "extraordinary call." For he ever maintained that to be an Anglican clergyman one needed only an "ordinary call" for its "ordinary work," but to become a Methodist preacher it was necessary to

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1. "Adam Clarke," The Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine, IV, Fifth Series (April, 1858), pp. 289-302.
2. "Letter to a Preacher," op. cit., p. 142.
3. G. M. Trevelyan, History of England, p. 520.
4. Supra, pp. 12 et seqq.
5. "Letter to a Preacher," op. cit., p. 142.
6. This was the theme of the first sermon that Clarke heard from a Methodist preacher. Autobiography, p. 82.
7. Supra, pp. 72 et seqq.

receive an "extraordinary call" to "God's extraordinary work."[1]

This view is clearly stated in his "Letter to a Preacher":

> "You are either among these ordinary or extraordinary messengers; and you have either an ordinary or extraordinary call. But as you belong not, as a Christian Minister, to any established form of religion in the land, you are an extraordinary messenger, or no minister at all; and you have either an extraordinary call, or you have no call whatever."[2]

Clarke himself believed that he had been "commissioned by God Almighty" to the "most important work in the universe."[3] In describing his call, he says:

> "I felt, indescribably felt, that I was called by the great Head of the church to preach; the world I saw lying in the wicked one; & at the peril of my soul, I must not refuse to do what I could to pluck the brands out of the burning. I felt the power of the apostle's words, I Cor/inthians/ ix. 16: 'For though I preach the gospel, I have nothing to glory of, for necessity is laid upon me; yea, woe is unto me, if I preach not the gospel.'"[4]

Thus Clarke, desiring but lacking "any kind of episcopal orders,"[5]

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1. "Letter to a Preacher," op. cit., pp. 139-143.
2. Ibid., p. 141.
3. Ibid., p. 139.
4. Clarke's MS. letter to George Wilkinson, written from Eastcott, January 27, 1826, Collection of MSS., Strong Rooms, City Road.
5. Clarke, like Wesley, always considered himself to be "a thorough member of the Church of England"; however, unlike Wesley, he did not enjoy an episcopal ordination. "I should have greatly preferred the hands of the bishop;" says Clarke, "but not having gone through the regular courses, I could not claim it." Although lacking the authority of ordination, he steadfastly refused to be ordained as a dissenter. For he ever insisted, "I . . . have not a particle of dissenter in me," and for that reason, "I could not, to screen myself from persecution, ever qualify under the Act of Toleration." The closest Clarke ever came to being ordained by fellow Wesleyans was in the year after Wesley's death. Supra, pp. 48-9. However, fearing separation from the Church, the Conference of 1792 passed a rule forbidding the "laying on of hands" and this rule was not altered until four years after Clarke's demise. Nevertheless, being admitted into "full connexion" by the Conference gave the travelling preachers the full rights of apostolic ordination and, after 1818, they even were permitted to use the title of "Reverend." Clarke, while refusing to be called "Reverend," never hesitated to exercise his rights of

yet convinced that his call had emanated from special providence, went out under the direction of Wesley as a preacher of the Gospel.

However, since it was John Wesley who laid his hands upon Clarke when he sent him out as his "Helper," what human authority that he could claim came from Wesley himself.[1] Therefore, it is understandable that Clarke, in his preaching as in all his work, was influenced greatly by his "Father" in the Gospel.[2] In his early years of itineracy, he profited from the conversations and epistolary correspondence with the venerable Wesley,[3] for he "valued him more than he did any archangel of

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administering the sacraments to the people. After being a Methodist "Lay Preacher" (as he technically considered himself) for a half-century, Clarke could say, as he did in 1825: ". . . so here I am, without holy orders, without pretended holy orders, /as dissenters/, and without pretending to holy orders, preaching according to my power /given by God/ the unsearchable riches of Christ. . . ." Vide: Clarke's letters to George Wilkinson, loc. cit.; and to Archdeacon Wrangham (for whom Clarke's youngest son was then Curate), the first written from Eastcott, August 17, 1825, cited in An Account of Clarke's Life, III, pp. 108-110, and the latter written from Haydon Hall, October 6, 1826, Works, XII, pp. 490-1. For a general discussion of this subject, vide: John S. Simon, "Wesley's Ordinations," Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society, IX (1914 and 1915), pp. 145-154; F. E. Brigden's note on the use of the title, "Reverend," in the Preface of the Wesley Historical Society's publication, An Index to the Memoirs, Obituary Notices, and Recent Deaths . . . as contained in The Arminian Magazine, 1778-1797; The Methodist Magazine, 1798-1821; and The Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine, 1822-1839, p. iv; and Townsend, Workman, and Eayrs (eds.), op. cit., pp. 405-6.

1. Supra, pp. 81 et seqq.
2. Clarke also was influenced in his ministry by the life and writings of Richard Baxter whom he regarded as "in the highest order of the divines of the seventeenth century." Vide: the Preface of Richard Baxter's Christian Directory, abridged by Adam Clarke; and Knowledge and Love Compared, with a Life and Character of the Author, by Dr. Adam Clarke.
3. Wesley frequently would write such reassuring words as: "You do well in insisting upon full and present salvation, whether

God."[1] In turn, Clarke pleased Wesley, for he fulfilled his standard of a "Gospel minister, in the full, Scriptural sense of the word."[2] Wesley asserted emphatically:

> "He . . . that does preach the whole Gospel, even justification and sanctification, preparatory to glory. He that does not put asunder what God has joined, but publishes alike, 'Christ dying for us, and Christ living in us.' He that constantly applies all this to the hearts of the hearers, being willing to spend and be spent for them; having himself the mind which was in Christ, and steadily walking as Christ also walked; he, and he alone, can with propriety be termed, a Gospel minister."[3]

After the death of the Founder of Methodism, Clarke sought to carry on Wesley's unfinished work. Throughout his half-century of itinerant preaching "he shared his spirit, prosecuted his aims, and followed his methods, making conversion and sanctification of men's souls the great objects of preaching."[4]

Although Clarke's primary purpose as an "ambassador of God" was evangelical, he also sought to combine learning with piety and zeal. He sought, perhaps more than any other Wesleyan in the generation after Wesley, to raise the standard of Methodist preaching. He insisted that Christ's apostles were first His disciples; "men must be first taught of God before they can be

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men will bear or forbear." "When God is for us, who can be against us?" Letters to Adam Clarke, the first written from London, February 3, 1786, and the latter from Near London, January 3, 1787, John Telford (ed.), Letters of John Wesley, VII, pp. 314 and 362.

1. Letter to a friend, cited without name or date in Works, II, pp. 316-317. The past tense is used in place of the present.
2. "Thoughts Concerning Gospel Ministers," Works of Wesley (First American Ed.), VI, pp. 199-200.
3. Ibid.
4. Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee (eds.), Dictionary of National Biography, IV, p. 413.

sent of God."[1] To those who said, "Methodists undervalue and cry down all human learning,"[2] he emphatically answered:

> "This is not true: there is no religious people in the land that value it more, nor indeed is there any under greater obligation to it than they are: the learning of their Founder was as necessary, under God, to the revival and support of true religion in the land, as his zeal and piety were. The great body of the Methodists love learning; and when they find it in their preachers, associated with humility and piety, they praise God for the double benefit and profit by both."[3]

Clarke found that in his generation the Methodist congregations were "far more intelligent than they formerly were."[4] Hence, in his "Letter to a Preacher," he writes:

> "But that which passed formerly in the day-break of our revival, will not pass now. The people are more enlightened: they have grown up in religious knowledge under our ministry; and they now require stronger nourishment. By earnest application to God by prayer, and diligent cultivation of our minds, we should keep the distance before them we had in the beginning: we have formerly fed babes in knowledge, we must now minister to young men and fathers. Therefore, we should be, in the most extensive manner, stewards of the mysteries of Christ, and patriarchs in knowledge."[5]

The knowledge that Clarke had in mind was not the kind which puffs up, but "true knowledge which ever keeps its possessor humble; because it alone shows him how much is to be known, and how little he has learned."[6] Clarke's advice to younger preachers was "read much," for, as he says:

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1. Sermon XL, "St. Peter's Character of the Dispersed Among the Gentiles," Works, VII, p. 341.
2. Autobiography, p. 191.
3. Ibid. Also, vide Henry Bett's article, "The Alleged Illiteracy of the Early Methodist Preachers," Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society, XV (1926), pp. 85-92.
4. "Letter to a Preacher," Works, XII, pp. 190-1.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid., p. 188.

> "No man can fully explain the Bible, who has not a general acquaintance with the most important sciences and arts. . . . Illiterate piety may be useful in exhorting sinners to return to God, and pointing out, in a general way, the path that leads to God by Christ; but it certainly cannot, without immediate inspiration, explain and apply the deep things of God."[1]

Thus, in an age when not a few of the Evangelical and Wesleyan ministers shared the opinion, "Graecum nôsse suspectum fuerit; Hebraico proprie haereticum,"[2] Clarke neither neglected his own study of the Bible in the original languages, nor refrained from stressing its benefits to others.[3] With unwearied industry Clarke ever sought to acquire as much Biblical knowledge as possible, making it all "subservient to the more effective execution of his ministerial office."[4]

B. Evangelical Message

The message which Adam Clarke brought to his hearers, those dying in sin for whom he felt accountable,[5] "was always evangelical."[6] For, he strongly believed that:

> "The only preaching worth anything, in God's account . . . is that which labors to convict and convince the sinner of his

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1. Ibid., p. 185.
2. ". . . if a man understood Greek he was suspected; if he knew Hebrew he was considered a heretic. . . ." Cited in "Some Notices of the Life and Writings of the Reverend Adam Clarke, LL.D., F.A.S.," The Congregational Magazine, XV (November, 1832), pp. 644-5.
3. "Letter to a Preacher," op. cit., pp. 185-6.
4. J. B. B. Clarke, "Appendix," An Account of Clarke's Life, III, p. 471.
5. Sermon IV, "God's Willingness to Save All Men," Works, V, pp. 106-8.
6. "Discourses on various Subjects relative to the Being and Attributes of God, and his Works in Creation, Providence, and Grace" (a review of Clarke's first volume of sermons), The Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine, VII, Third Series (October, 1828), p. 685.

> sin, to bring him into contrition for it, to convert him from it; to lead him to the blood of the covenant that his conscience may be purged from its guilt,--to the spirit of judgment and burning, that he may be purified from its infection,--and then to build him up on this most holy faith by causing him to pray in the Holy Ghost, and keep himself in the love of God, looking for the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ unto eternal life. . . ."[1]

That Clarke's purpose and message were decidedly evangelical, may be seen in this advice given to junior preachers: "Labor to bring sinners to God; should you by it bring yourself to the grave."[2] He was speaking from experience. For, as a Methodist Itinerant who travelled widely, stressing experimental salvation, he was nearly brought to the grave on several occasions.[3] In addition to suffering from a fall from his horse and from exposure to the weather--once almost freezing to death in the snow--he was sometimes openly attacked by mobs.[4] He received one blow on the head by a stone which was nearly fatal.[5] Even amid such hardships and persecution, Clarke considered preaching Christ[6] not a "burden of the Lord," but a "privilege" and a "pleasure."[7] What was all-important to Clarke in preaching was, as he says, to "save my own soul and those who hear me."[8]

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1. Clarke's letter to Thomas Smith, written from Manchester, March 29, 1823, cited in An Account of Clarke's Life, III, pp. 36-8.
2. Ibid.
3. Supra, pp. 86 et seqq.
4. Vide Autobiography, pp. 223-4, 219, 278, 268-270, and 264-8.
5. /Anonymous/, Mrs. Adam Clarke, p. 105.
6. That Christ was ever the central message of Clarke's preaching is illustrated in his conclusion to Sermon XXXV, "The Christian Prophet and His Work," in which he says that "Christ, and him crucified, is the grand subject of evangelical preaching; and that nothing but his gospel ever was, or will be the power of God to the salvation of a lost world." Works, VII, p. 192.
7. Clarke's letter to Robert C. Brackenbury, written from Les Terres, January 3, 1787, cited by Samuel Dunn, The Life of Adam Clarke, p. 33.
8. Ibid.

However, on the whole, Clarke labored in an age when people wanted to hear evangelical preaching. Crowds flocked to the Methodist chapels and to other churches to hear the Gospel.[1] Those who especially wanted to hear the Wesleyan message effectively proclaimed were never disappointed when Clarke was in the pulpit. His preaching was motivated by a deep conviction that if "the doctrine of salvation from all sin" were continually preached, the revival of religion among the Methodists would "never terminate."[2] "The order of the great work of salvation," which Clarke emphasized was:

> ". . .--first, Conviction of sin;--second, Contrition for sin;--third, Faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, as having been delivered for our offences, and risen for our justification; --fourth, Justification or pardon of all past sin, through faith in his blood, accompanied ordinarily with the testimony of his Spirit in our hearts, that our sins are forgiven us; --fifth, Sanctification or holiness, which is progressive, as a growing up into Jesus Christ, our Living Head, in all things; and may be instantaneous, as God can, and, often does, empty the soul of all sin, 'in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye;' and then having sowed in the seeds of righteousness, they have a free and unmolested vegetation;--sixth, Perseverance in the state of sanctification--believing, hoping, watching, working, in order to stand in this state of salvation, receiving hourly a deeper impression of the seal of God;--seventh, Glorification is the result; for he who is faithful unto death, shall obtain the crown of life."[3]

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1. "Discourses on various Subjects relative to the Being and Attributes of God, and his Works in Creation, Providence, and Grace," The Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine, VII, Third Series (October, 1828), pp. 673-5.
2. Clarke was of the opinion that the Puritans in the seventeenth century failed to perpetuate a revival of religion because they did not emphasize the need to "grow in every grace of the Spirit"--consequently "religious feelings and zeal became inactive." He also believed John Wesley was wrong in his conclusion that the revival among the Methodists would last for only thirty or forty years. Sermon LXIII, "God's love in Jesus Christ, Considered in Its Objects, Its Freeness, and Saving Results," Works, VIII, pp. 395-6.
3. Clarke's letter to Hornby, Rector of Winwick, written from Millbrook, March 19, 1821, cited without recipient's first name in An Account of Clarke's Life, II, pp. 381-5.

Clarke, who used not a little argument in his discourses,[1] reasoned that "without conviction of sin" there could be "no contrition; without contrition, no faith that justifies; without faith, no justification, no sanctification; without sanctification, no glorification."[2] These Wesleyan doctrines he found to be both true to reason and to experience. "There is," he asserts, "not a flaw in them."[3]

Although Clarke preached doctrines peculiar to Methodism, his sermons were not based upon human creeds or "bodies of divinity."[4] Instead, almost without exception, all were Biblical expositions or interpretations.[5] Sharing with the Evangelicals their view of "the Infallibility of the Bible,"[6] he faithfully studied and proclaimed its message of salvation. His favorite

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1. In Sermon LI, "The Necessity of Christ's Atonement," Clarke says, "I confess I am given a great deal to reasoning." Works, VIII, pp. 140 and 149. Quoted in part.
2. Letter to Hornby, loc. cit.
3. Sermon XLVIII, "The Gift of a Saviour the Fulfilment of Prophecy," Works, VIII, p. 89. Clarke believed that by constant hammering of the doctrines of Methodism, he could "out-congregation" all of his contemporaries. T. M. Newness, Memoirs of The Life of the Rev. Adam Clarke, p. 382; and David M'Nicoll, True Greatness, p. 62.
4. For Clarke's opinion of "systems and bodies of divinity," which he considered to be "good for nothing," vide his letter to Wears, written from Pinner, Middlesex, February 12, 1825, cited without first name of recipient in Works, VIII, pp. 241-4.
5. In the sixty-eight discourses and outlines found in his Works which he classified as sermons, only one is not an exposition of a Biblical text or passage. The exception is Sermon XIX, "The Traveller's Prayer," which is based on the Liturgy of the Church of England, the Third Collect for Grace. This discourse he himself admitted was "most certainly of a singular kind." Works, VI, pp. 38 et seqq. Clarke regarded the Liturgy of the Church of England as "next to the Bible." Clarke's MS. letter to Jo/sep/h Entwistle, written from Dublin, July 4, 1811. Collection of MSS., Strong Rooms, City Road.
6. J. T. Inskip, Evangelical Influence in English Life, p. 41.

theme, woven into the fabric of every sermon, was the love of God for sinful man.[1] God's love was the source of salvation; it was the basis of human happiness. For, he reasoned, only out of love did God give His Son, Jesus Christ, to die that all men might receive forgiveness through faith.[2] Man, originally created in the image of God, can find his former happiness--which was lost in the fall--only as his divine fellowship is restored.[3] The grand source of true happiness, for which all men seek, is to love God with all their hearts. This love enables men to obey His commandments and to do His will.[4] This surrender of self to God results in holy living and the first fruits of holiness is love, that is, loving one's neighbor as one's self. Thus, only as men "live in the love of God,"[5] Clarke concluded, can they become and remain really happy.[6] This evangelical message he proclaimed in an effective method and manner.

II. Method and Manner of Preaching

Adam Clarke was so intent upon "doing good" and "saving

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1. This theme is especially stressed in Sermons XXXII and LII, both having the same title, "The Love of God to a Lost World," Works, VI, pp. 426-473, and VIII, pp. 166-183; and also in Sermon L, "The Love of God to Man," VIII, pp. 115-136.
2. Sermon XX, "Death Unavoidable," Works, VI, pp. 90-5.
3. Sermon XLII, "True Happiness, and the Way to Attain It," Works, VII, pp. 415-440.
4. Sermon XVII, "On the Decalogue, or Ten Commandments," Works, V, p. 405.
5. Sermon XLVII, "Confidence in God, and Its Reward," Works, VIII, p. 83.
6. Clarke believed that "holiness and happiness" went together; they were "as inseparable as sin and misery." Sermon VI, "Experimental Religion, and Its Fruits," Works, V, p. 139.

souls"[1] that his method and manner of preaching were spontaneous and unstudied. Yet, not a little of the original freshness of his sermons was lost between the occasion of their being preached and the time of their being written down.[2] His hearers agree that there was a vast difference between his written and spoken homilies.[3] In the discourses prepared for the press Clarke was the student sitting in his study, carefully writing and perfecting his arguments for posterity. On the other hand, in the oral messages he was the evangelist standing in the pulpit, fervently appealing to the hearts of his hearers and exhorting them as though he would never address them again. Thus, as Everett observes:

> ". . . [when in the pulpit] he was so completely transformed from the student into the preacher, that he seemed to combine two persons in one, leaving the one in the study, and bringing the other into the house of God, full of holy fervour, simplicity, and heavenly wisdom. In this consisted the charm of his ministry as a learned man, and in this was to be found the advantage of his hearers."[4]

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1. P. Garrett, The Substance of a Discourse . . . Occasioned by the Death of A. Clarke, p. 25.
2. Clarke was unable to write down his thoughts with the same spontaneity in which they were given in the pulpit. The truth is that he never was enthused about writing out sermons already preached and he refused to put them on paper before entering the pulpit. Clarke's MS. letter to his sons, J[ohn] and T[heodoret] Clarke, written from Millbrook, December 30, 1820, W. L. Watkinson Collection of MSS., John Wesley's Chapel, Bristol.
3. This difference is discernable by comparing the first forty-six discourses prepared for the press with the last eighteen recorded from oral delivery. Cf. Works, V, p. 1 to VIII, p. 68 with VIII, pp. 69-411. Also vide James Everett, Adam Clarke Portrayed, III, pp. 53 et seqq.
4. James Everett, "General Preface, Embodying Remarks on the Character, Writings, &c., of Dr. Adam Clarke," Works, V, pp. xi-xlii. In this introduction to Clarke's Sermons the editor, James Everett, clearly indicates the difference between the written and spoken discourses. In the Wesleyan Takings much of this same material is given in pp. 77 et seqq., which is

A. Mastery of the Text: Homiletic Preparation

The key to Clarke's method and manner of preaching was his general knowledge of the Bible and his mastery of the text. His Biblical learning came by reading "regularly and constantly,"[1] a habit he early acquired by following the advice given by John Wesley.[2] In mastering the text Clarke sought to understand the meaning of each word and the significance of the whole passage in the light of its larger context. Although he says that in his thousands of sermons not "one single sentence"[3] was known before delivery, he prepared his mind so thoroughly that in the pulpit he was able to expound a Biblical passage with great clarity and effectiveness. To those who might think this system a sign of indolence, Clarke indicates:

> ". . . I did not enter the pulpit, or take my text till I was satisfied I understood the subject, and could properly explain and reason upon it. According to the fable in my favorite AEsop, I whipped the horses, and set my shoulders to the wheel, and then called upon Hercules, and was sure to obtain his help."[4]

This Divine assistance, which he believed would come only after study and meditation, Clarke ever considered to be a most important part of homiletic preparation. To a colleague he writes:

. . . . . .

additional evidence that this anonymous work came from the pen of James Everett.

1. Wesley's advice was: "Read the most useful books, and that regularly and constantly. Steadily spend all the morning in this employ, or, at least, five hours in four-and-twenty." "Minutes of Several Conversations Between The Rev. Mr. Wesley and Others; from the Year 1744 to the Year 1789" (this tract is usually known as the Large Minutes), Works of Wesley (First American Ed.), V, pp. 222-3.
2. Joseph Dawson (ed.), John Wesley on Preaching, p. 131.
3. Autobiography, p. 134.
4. Ibid.

> "I cannot make a sermon before I go into the pulpit, therefore I am obliged to hang nakedly on the arm and wisdom of the Lord. Yet I read a good deal . . . and strive to study; but these things I know will be of no avail, either to myself or the people, if they are unsealed by the Holy Ghost. A preacher who depends on his collections, divisions, and articulations, is highly despicable in the sight of God; and the lazy Potto who neglects to improve himself under the gracious influence of the Holy Spirit, and then fathers his ignorance and absurdities on its teachings, is a blasphemer against the Trinity. O how few escape one or the other of these perils."[1]

To guard against these two extremes, Clarke was careful to follow this advice which he gave to others:

> "Get a thorough knowledge of your subject: understand your text in all its connexions and bearings, and then go into the pulpit depending on the Spirit of God to give you power to explain and illustrate to the people those general and particular views which you have already taken of your subject, and which you conscientiously believe to be correct and according to the word of God. But get nothing by heart to speak there, else even your memory will contribute to keep you in perpetual bondage. No man was ever a successful preacher who did not discuss his subject from his own judgment and experience. . . . Go into the pulpit with your understanding full of light, and your heart full of God, and His Holy Spirit will help you; and then you will find a wonderful assemblage of ideas coming to your assistance; and you will feel the benefit of the doctrine of association, of which the reciters and memory men can make no use."[2]

In his earlier ministry such preparation took not a little time, but as his Biblical knowledge increased, he was able to expound a passage on short notice.[3] Once at the end of an impressive discourse delivered at Bristol, when queried by an admirer as to the cost of his preparatory labor for such a sermon, he casually

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1. Clarke's letter to Robert C. Brackenbury, written June 15, 1790, cited without place of writing by Samuel Dunn, The Life of Adam Clarke, pp. 209-210.
2. Ibid. Also vide "Letter to a Preacher," Works, XII, pp. 158 et seqq.
3. Clarke's abundance of Biblical knowledge is revealed in Sermon XXXI, "Divine Revelation," which was preached at Lerwick, Zetland Isles, July 2, 1826. In a "Postscript" to this sermon that was published separately in 1827 he says: "I had no authorities then at hand, and I have consulted none since. . . ." Works, VI, p. 424.

replied, "It cost just half an hour."[1]

Clarke believed that another important part of homiletics was the selection of texts. In choosing them he followed three rules which he commended to others: (1) "Never take a text which you do not fully understand"; (2) "Never take a text which out of its proper connexion can mean nothing"; and, (3) "Seldom take a very short text."[2] Clarke objected to any method of textual selection which resulted in the mutilation and destruction of the true meaning of God's Word. As for himself, he usually chose a long text, averaging about three verses.[3] He preferred a passage which summed up the thoughts of a book or the doctrines of a writer. Such a text, in his opinion, was Colossians, chapter one, verses twenty-seven and twenty-eight:

> "27. 'To whom God would make known what is the riches of the glory of this mystery among the Gentiles; which is CHRIST IN YOU, THE HOPE OF GLORY.
> 28. 'WHOM WE PREACH, warning every man, and teaching every man in wisdom; that we may present every man PERFECT IN CHRIST JESUS.'"[4]

Clarke thought that these two verses contained the essence of the Apostle Paul's views on preaching and his principle doctrines. From this passage he preached a sermon entitled, "The Sum and Substance of St. Paul's Preaching."[5]

. . . . . .

1. Clarke, cited by Dunn, op. cit., p. 216.
2. These are three of Clarke's seven rules in "Letter to a Preacher," op. cit., pp. 150-7.
3. Each of the 225 texts, used as a basis for the study in Fig. 2 on page 166, averages 2.9 verses in length. For the exact Biblical location of these texts, vide Appendix C.
4. The Holy Bible, Authorized King James Version, as cited by Clarke with some words capitalized for emphasis, Works, VII, p. 258.
5. Under this title Clarke published the sermon separately in 1827, but in his Works it is the same as Sermon XXXVIII, "Apostolic Preaching," Works, VII, pp. 258-293.

What added most to the freshness of Clarke's preaching was the great variety of his texts. For while the itinerant system gave preachers an excuse to repeat their sermons, Clarke rarely used the same text and if so, his discourses always were different.[1] How was this preacher of the Gospel, who during his first eighteen years preached six thousand, six hundred fifteen sermons, able to achieve this diversity?[2] The secret lay in following this advice which he gave to new preachers entering the ministry:

> "Read the book of God. Read it regularly through, at least once in the year; and take down in order every text you think you have light sufficient to preach from. By these means you will ever be acquiring new subjects and be preserved from the curse of harping on the same string in all the circuits where you preach."[3]

In his own reading of the lessons of the day from the Old Testament, the Gospels, and the Epistles, Clarke recorded the verses which commended themselves to his notice as good texts. These he carefully wrote down in an oblong volume labelled, "Text-Book for

. . . . . .

1. Clarke, unlike others, refused to follow the example of such a notable preacher as George Whitefield whose sermons, according to one observer, would only reach "highest perfection at the fortieth repetition." G. T. Warner and C. H. K. Martin, The Groundwork of British History, p. 497. Of the sixty-four sermons included in Clarke's Works, only two texts, John iii. 16 and Matthew vi. 33-4, are used as the bases of two sermons. Cf. Works, VI, pp. 426-473 with VIII, pp. 166-183; and VIII, pp. 58-68 with pp. 184-207. Mr. Buttress, of Spitalfields, a travelling companion who walked with Clarke for more than seven thousand miles on the London Circuit, between the years of 1795 and 1798, gave this testimony: "'. . . though preaching at widely distant places, he never preached the same sermon twice, excepting on one occasion, at my particular request.'" J. B. B. Clarke, "Appendix," An Account of Clarke's Life, III, p. 472.
2. Ibid.
3. "Letter to a Preacher," op. cit., p. 184.

every day of the year."[1] This plan involved a great deal of labor and close attention, yet, as he says, "It amply rewarded me; for by adopting it, I was never without a text on any day during the year."[2] His sermons for Sunday were almost always on some portion of the lesson of the day outlined by the Established Church.[3] Such a method of choosing texts enabled him to have great variety of subject matter in his preaching. However, a study of 225 of his selected texts, as shown in Figure 2 on page 166, indicates that most of his sermons were based upon the Gospels and the Epistles as were those of John Wesley. Two-thirds of Clarke's texts were taken from the New Testament, one-half selected equally from the four Gospels and the writings of Saint Paul.

B. Expositor of God's Word: Homiletic Style and Structure

If the written sermons of Adam Clarke do not reveal the manner of his delivery, they do show that his style of preaching was expository. He deeply believed that a minister was "God's messenger, and the expositor of his word."[4] Consequently, Clarke

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1. For a sample page from one of Clarke's "Text-Book for every day of the year. 1796. From June 21st to August 30th, inclusive," vide James Everett, Adam Clarke Portrayed, III, pp. 57-60.
2. Clarke, cited by James Everett in his "General Preface" to Clarke's Sermons, Works, V, pp. xxvi-xxvii. Quoted in part. First person is used in place of the third.
3. Vide: the introductions to Sermon XII, "Life, Death, and Immortality," and Sermon XIV, "The Different Methods which God Has Used to Bring Men to the Knowledge of Himself," Works, V, pp. 252 and 311-312; John Telford, Wesley's Chapel and Wesley's House, pp. 40-41; and An Account of Clarke's Life, III, p. 233.
4. "Directions for Reading the Bible," Works, XI, p. 430.

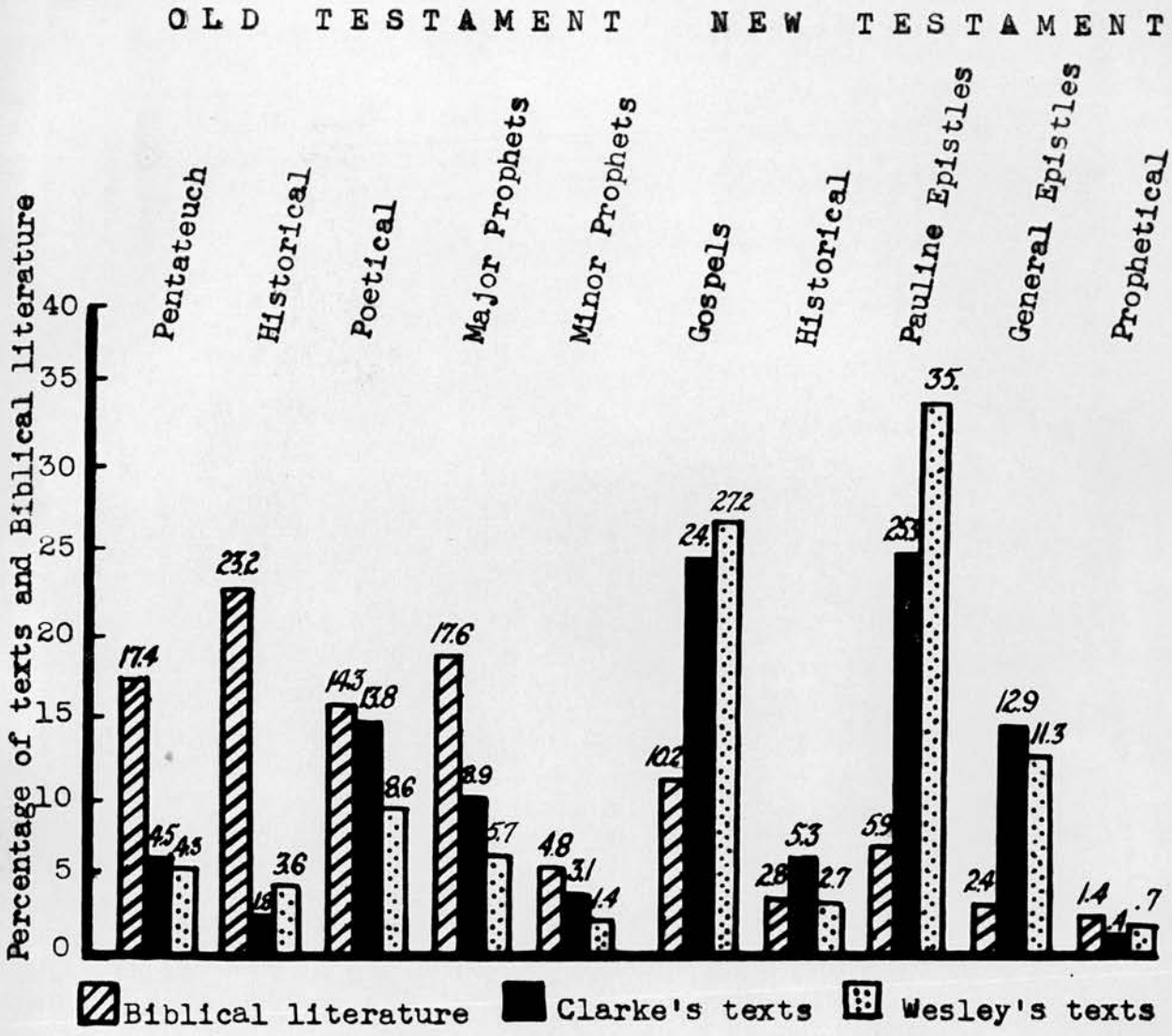

FIGURE 2

COMPARISON BETWEEN THE PERCENTAGE OF TEXTS[1] SELECTED BY ADAM CLARKE AND JOHN WESLEY FROM EACH DIVISION IN RELATION TO THE AMOUNT OF LITERATURE CONTAINED IN EACH DIVISION OF THE BIBLE

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1. This study is based upon the pages of literature found in each division of The Holy Bible, Revised Standard Version; the 140 sermons of John Wesley included in Works of Wesley (First American Ed.), I and II; and the 225 texts that Adam Clarke selected as the basis of expository sermons. For the exact Biblical references of Clarke's texts, vide Appendix C.

preached the Bible and used it as his single authority. For he held it to be "the book made by God; the only book that is without blemish or error--the book that contains the TRUTH, the whole TRUTH, and nothing but the TRUTH."[1] In his "Letter to a Preacher" Clarke indicates that he used the expository method because from his reading of Nehemiah, chapter eight, verse eight, he had concluded that it was the "only proper mode of preaching."[2] This verse states: "So they read in the book, in the law of God, distinctly; and gave the sense, and caused them to understand the reading."[3] If this method of "expounding the text"[4] was needed after the Babylonian Captivity, Clarke had six reasons why it was even more necessary in his generation:

> "First, Because the sacred writings, as they came from God, are shut up in languages no longer vernacular. Secondly, Ninety-nine out of a hundred know nothing of these languages. Thirdly, Provincial customs and fashions are mentioned in these writings, which must be understood, or the force and meaning of many texts cannot be comprehended. Fourthly, Sacred things are illustrated by arts and sciences, of which the mass of the people are as ignorant as they are of the original tongues. Fifthly, There is a depth in the word of God, which cannot be fathomed except either by divine inspiration, which no idler has reason to expect; or by deep study and research, for which the majority of the people have no time. Sixthly, The people trust in general to the piety, learning, and abilities of their ministers; and maintain them as persons capable of instructing them in all the deep things of God. . . ."[5]

By using his knowledge of the Bible, which he had acquired in study and in writing the Commentary, he was able to give even the

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1. Sermon XIV, "The Different Methods which God Has Used to Bring Men to the Knowledge of Himself," Works, V, p. 321.
2. "Letter to a Preacher," Works, XII, pp. 163 et seqq.
3. The Holy Bible, Authorized King James Version.
4. "Letter to a Preacher," op. cit., p. 164.
5. Ibid., pp. 165-6.

most ordinary discourse "a rich expository character."[1]

While Clarke always sought to instruct his hearers by expounding the Word of God, he also preached to convince them of its truths; consequently, his discourses were also argumentative. At a time when in Methodism it was fashionable to say, "we have nothing to do with reasoning in religion,"[2] he hesitated not to use a logical presentation. For, like the Founder of Methodism, Clarke held reason to be the safeguard against enthusiasm.[3] Moreover, the writings of Saint Paul--from which he, like Wesley, took many of his sermons[4]--more or less required a logical homiletic approach. Frequently Clarke would lay down premises or propositions and then in his discourse draw consequences or conclusions from them. He employed a great deal of argument as he sought to prove the truth of important doctrines. To illustrate, in the midst of his sermon on "The Necessity of Christ's Atonement," Clarke pauses to assert:

> "Here is my argument:--God has, by the evidence of these Scriptures, required the incarnation and death of Jesus Christ. From what has been already argued then, I say, this requisition must have been perfectly wise, or else God would not have required it: it must have been perfectly proper, as a part of the mighty work of God: it must have been absolutely necessary, because the work could not be complete without such a thing being devised and executed: it must have been just, because he can do nothing that is unrighteous: it must have been good, because he is the fountain of benevolence.
>
> "My brethren, if I mistake not, here is an argument
>
> . . . . . .

1. J. W. Etheridge, The Life of the Rev. Adam Clarke, p. 153.
2. Sermon LX, "The Encouragement and Condescending Entreaty of God to Sinners," Works, VIII, pp. 309-310.
3. Cf. Clarke's Sermon LX, loc. cit., with John Wesley's treatise, "A Plain Account of Christian Perfection," Works of Wesley (First American Ed.), p. 521.
4. Vide Fig. 2, p. 166 of this study.

> stronger than the pillars of heaven itself, that God did require the death of Jesus Christ for the salvation of a ruined world; that he required it, because it was wise, and proper, and necessary, and infinitely just; and that he requires it, because his reasons were infinitely good. Now, I know not a flaw in this argument; I believe there is not a man under heaven can find one."[1]

As for the sermon itself, Clarke believed that the most difficult part was the introduction.[2] In his written discourses, he shows evidence of being aware that an effective introduction must be "brief," "interesting," and "arresting."[3] When the sermon was mainly exposition, he usually began by presenting the context of the passage to be expounded. When he planned on using a great deal of argument, he frequently would set forth several propositions in the introduction which he intended to develop. However, in not a few instances he did both, for many of his sermons are a combination of exposition and argumentation. This method was the characteristic way in which Clarke preached. Sometimes he would give the outline of his address in the introduction, but this practice was mainly employed in sermons prepared for the press.[4]

In the body of the sermon, Clarke was more careful to use

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1. Sermon LI, "The Necessity of Christ's Atonement," Works, VIII, p. 149.
2. Clarke's MS. letter written from Liverpool, August 30, 1793, to "My very d/ea/r B/rothe/r," last page with name of addressee is missing. Collection of MSS., Strong Rooms, City Road.
3. W. E. Sangster, The Craft of the Sermon, pp. 124-7.
4. Of the forty-six sermons Clarke prepared for the press, more than one-half (56.6 per cent) of the introductions have the outline given; whereas, in the eighteen included by the editor which were delivered by Clarke orally, the outline is neither given in the introduction nor is it always discernable in the body of the discourse. Cf. Works, V, VI, VII, and VIII, pp. 1-68 with VIII, pp. 69-411.

an outline when writing in the study than when preaching in the pulpit. The number of divisions in the structure of his sermons, both in those prepared for the press and those given orally, varied according to the needs of the passage being expounded. He strongly deprecated the practice of "sermonizers" who blindly used "three heads and a conclusion."[1] Yet, a study of Clarke's own sermons, as given in Figure 3 on page 171, shows that most of his outlines (32.9 per cent) had three divisions in their structure. Typical of Clarke's method of outlining expository sermons was the structure of his sermon, based upon the text already considered, Colossians, chapter one, verses twenty-seven and twenty-eight.[2] From this passage Clarke took occasion to show:

> "I. What was the sum and substance of the apostles preaching: 'Christ in you the hope of glory.'
>
> "II. What was the manner or way in which he preached: 'Warning every man, and teaching every man in all wisdom.'
>
> "III. What was the end for which he thus preached: 'That he might present every man perfect in Christ Jesus.'"[3]

When using an outline, Clarke never felt obliged to give equal emphasis to each of its divisions. For example, only about one-third of the body of this sermon was used to present both the first and second points of the above outline; whereas, in discussing the third, because it involved his favorite Wesleyan doctrine

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1. "Letter to a Preacher," op. cit., p. 162. Clarke would have agreed thoroughly with Sangster's poignant comment: "Truth does not run all the while in one pattern." Sangster, op. cit., p. 54.
2. Supra, p. 163.
3. Sermon XXXVIII, "Apostolic Preaching," Works, VII, p. 263.

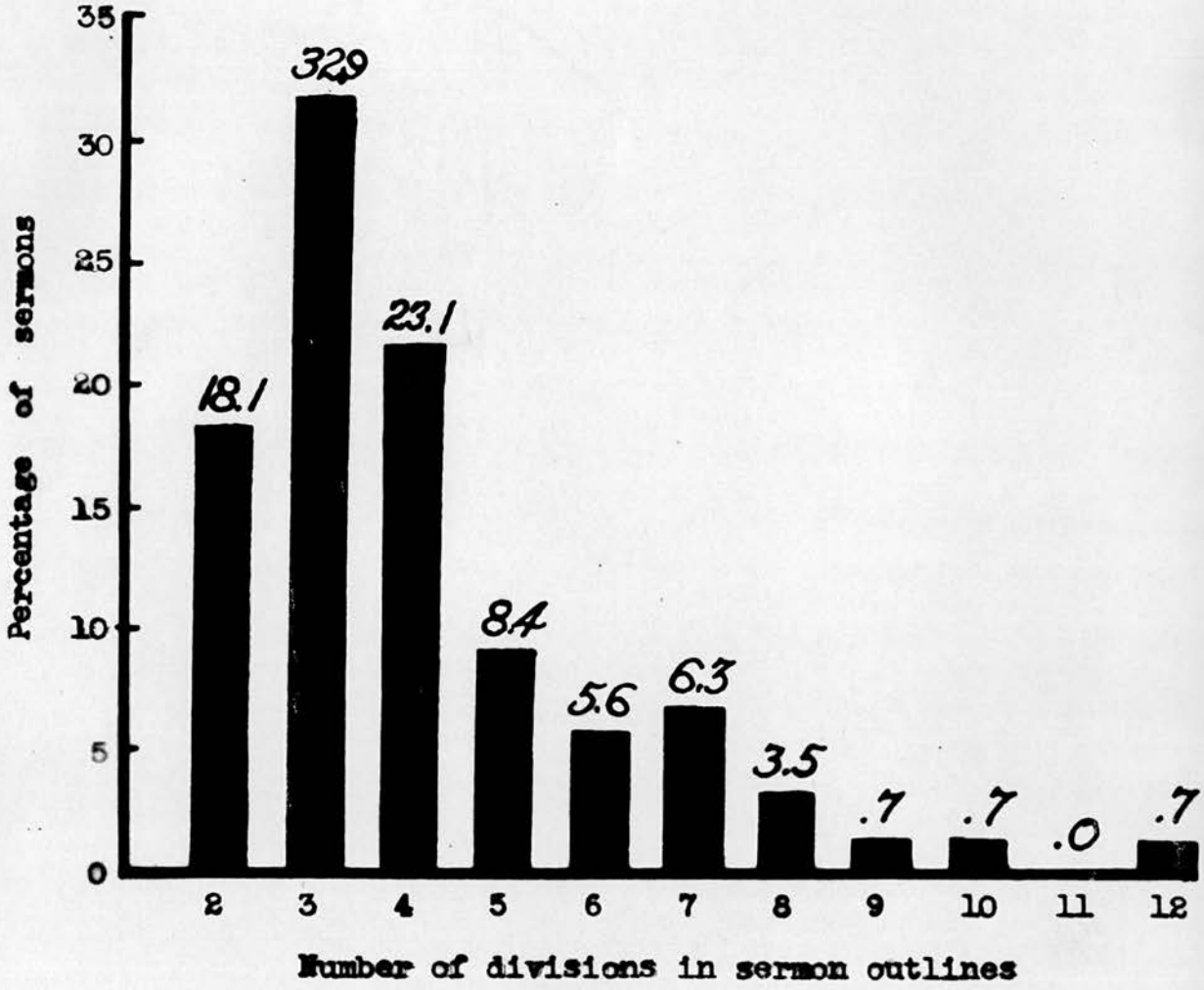

FIGURE 3

NUMBER OF DIVISIONS IN THE OUTLINES OF ADAM CLARKE'S SERMONS[1]

. . . . . .

1. This study is based upon 143 sermons and outlines included in Adam Clarke's Works, V, VI, VII, and VIII; and in his MS. "Book of Sermon Notes," containing outlines and word studies. Collection of MSS., Strong Rooms, City Road.

of Christian perfection, he devoted two-thirds of the whole discourse to argue the truth of this part of the text.[1] In his oral discourses, Clarke was more interested in being fruitful and useful than in appearing eloquent or polished. Thus, he opposed the use of any homiletic structure which impaired the exposition of the text. He gave this advice to younger preachers:

> "Be sure to have the matter of your text well arranged in your mimd /mind/ before you come into the pulpit, that you may not be confused while speaking. But beware of too much dividing and subdividing . . . that which is ominously called the skeleton, i.e., a system of mere bones, is in general but ill clothed with muscles, worse strung with nerves, and often without the breath either of a spiritual or intellectual life. By this mode of preaching the word of God is not explained; from it scarcely anything can be learned but the preacher's creed, and his ingenuity to press a text into his service."[2]

Although Clarke rarely announced the outline of his homilies, he always preached from a plan which existed in his own mind. His outlines, which he unfolded by degrees, were "loose, free, easy, and yet not careless."[3] Sometimes at the conclusion of a discourse, as West observes, "he would recapitulate the main points, so as to show the harmony of all he had said."[4] How he planned his sermons for the pulpit, when he did prepare anything on paper, is illustrated by the copy of his outline of a sermon based upon the text, Isaiah, chapter nine, verse six, appearing on pages 173 and 174.

For Clarke the most important part of the sermon was the

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1. Ibid., pp. 258-293.
2. "Letter to a Preacher," op. cit., pp. 161-2.
3. /James Everett/, Wesleyan Takings, pp. 69-70.
4. R. A. West, Sketches of Wesleyan Preachers, p. 230.

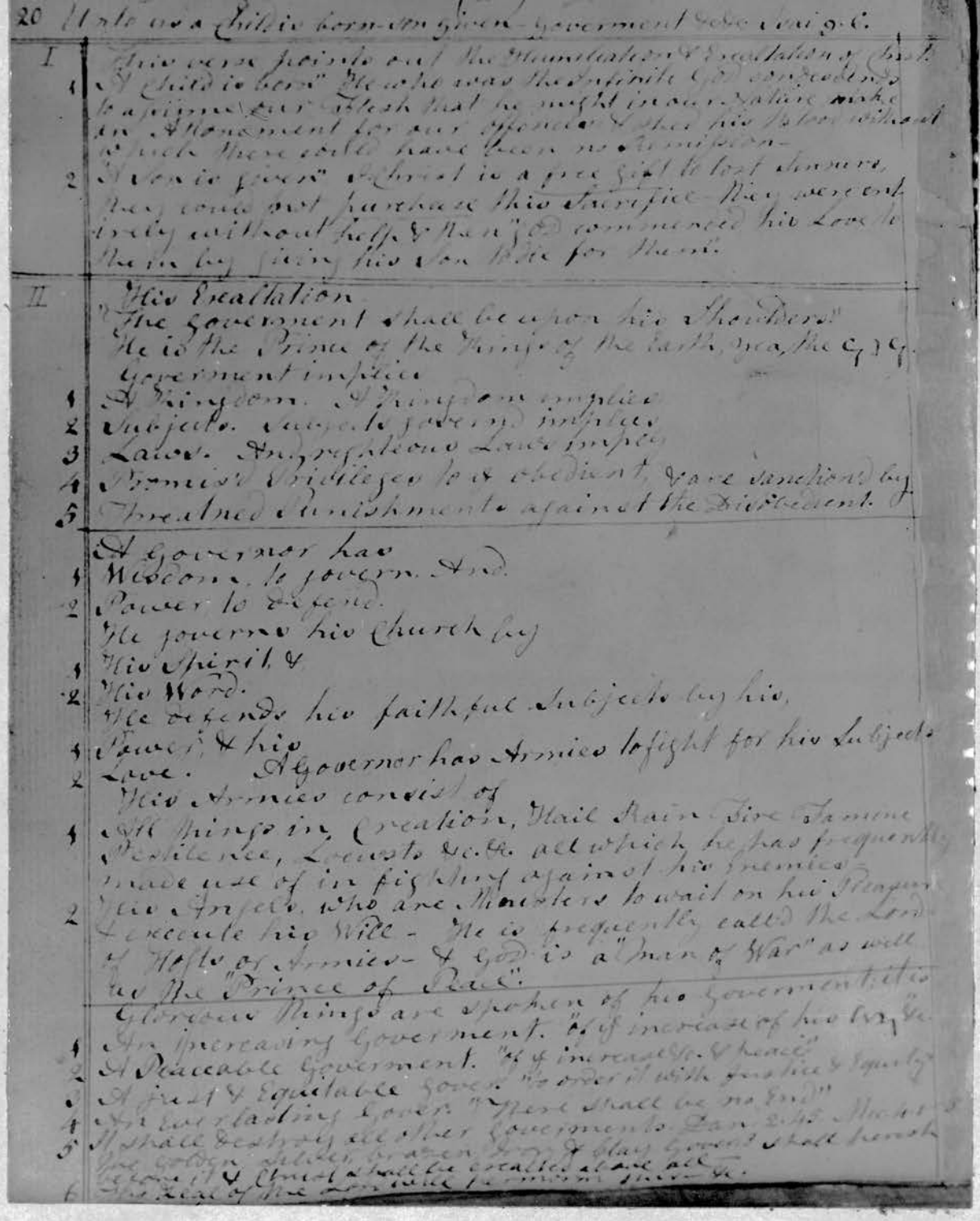
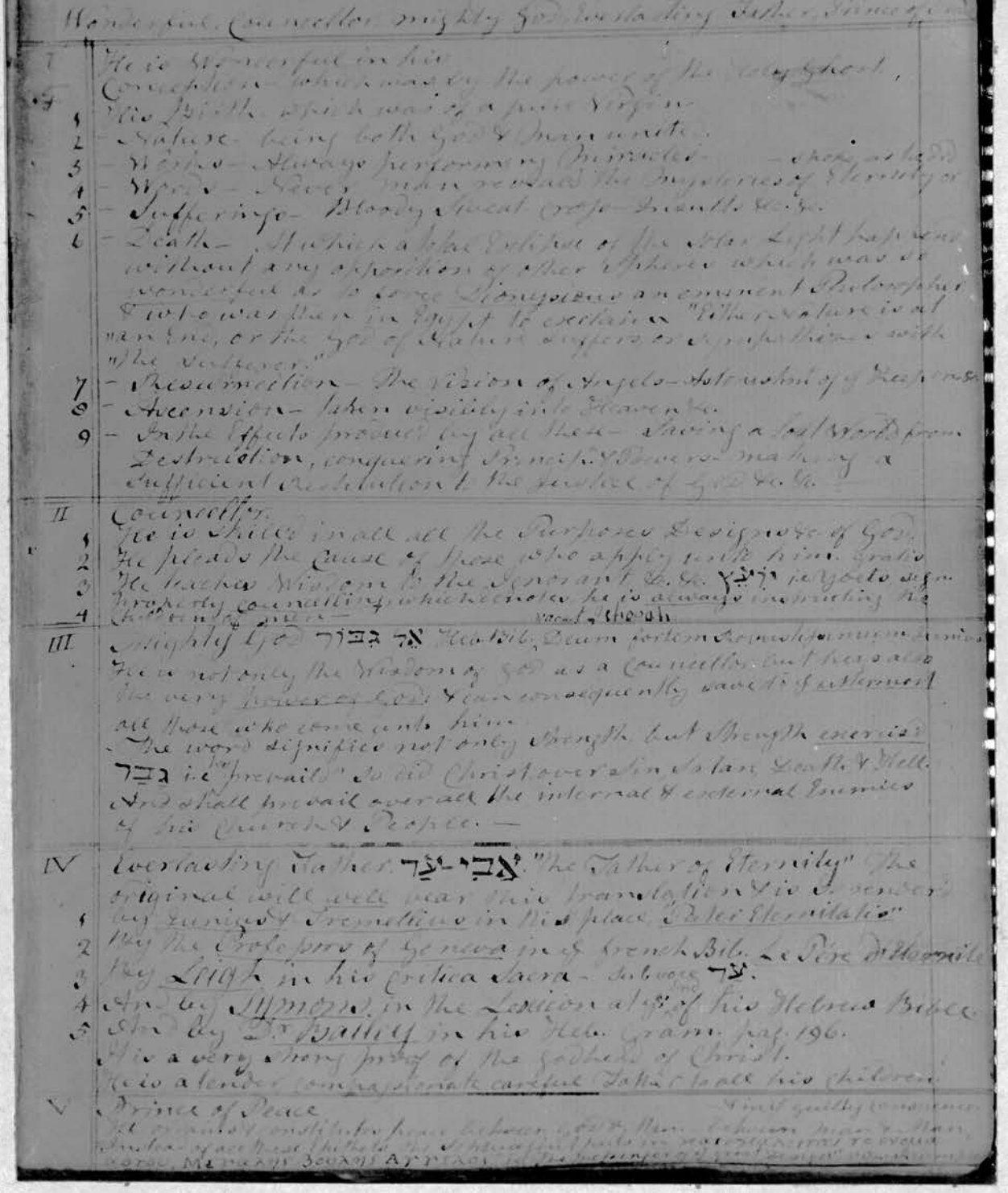


Illustration 3.

CLARKE'S PREPARATORY STUDY AND HOMILETIC STRUCTURE[1]

. . . . . .

1. This representative homiletic study is on the text, Isaiah ix. 6. It is a copy of two pages from his MS. "Book of Sermon Notes," containing outlines and word studies, pp. 22-3. Collection of MSS., Strong Rooms, City Road.



Wonderful Counsellor mighty God everlasting Father Prince of

I
1 He is Wonderful in his
Conception — which was by the power of the Holy Ghost,
2 His Birth — which was of a pure Virgin
1 Nature — being both God & Man united.
2 Works — Always performing Miracles — even as he did
3 Words — Never man revealed the mysteries of Heavenly
4 Wisdom
5 Sufferings — Bloody sweat cross — death &c.
6 Death — Nature in a blaze Political & the Stars Light has ceased
without any apparition of other Planets which was so
conceived as to cause Longinus a eminent Philosopher
& Follower than in Egypt to exclaim "The Creature is at
an End, or the God of Nature suffers or Sympathizes with
"the sufferer."
7 Resurrection — The Vision of Angels — Astonishment of Keepers
8 Ascension — Taken visibly into Heaven &c.
9 In the Effects produced by all these — having a total Work from
Destruction, conquering Principalities & Powers — making a
sufficient Restitution to the Justice of God &c. &c.

II
Counsellor.
1 He is Skilled in all the Purposes & Designs of God.
2 He pleads the Cause of those who apply unto him. Gratis
3 He makes Wise men & the Ignorant &c. &c. יועץ is yoke as
properly connecting which denotes he is always connecting the
4 Children of men — Head & Heart

III
Mighty God אֵל גִּבּוֹר Heb. Deum fortem Consultorum omnium
He is not only the Wisdom of God as a Counsellor but has also
the very Power of God & consequently saved & ransomed
all those who come unto him
The word signifies not only Strength but Strength exercised
גָּבַר i.e. "prevailed" so did Christ over sin & Satan Death & Hell.
And shall prevail over all the internal & external Enemies
of his Church & People. —

IV
Everlasting Father אֲבִי־עַד "the Father of Eternity" The
original will well bear this translation & is rendered
by Junius & Tremellius in their place "Pater Eternitatis"
2 By the Septuagint & Vulgate
3 By Luther in his Critica Sacra — & by עַד.
4 And by Symmachus in the Lexicon at the End of his Hebrew Bible
5 And by Dr. Gill in his New Gram. pag. 196.
He is a very strong proof of the Godhead of Christ.
He is a tender Compassionate careful Father to all his children.

V
Prince of Peace
He reconciles & unites to himself & them — Jehovah Jesus — Man & Father
Author of all Peace & Holiness in & through him & by him alone
Peace. Messiah 3 Zech. 9 Ephes. 2

Illustration 3.

CLARKE'S PREPARATORY STUDY AND HOMILETIC STRUCTURE

(Continued)

conclusion. Here he was at his best, for he excelled in applying the truths he expounded. If the sermon had been mainly expository, he would often climax his evangelical message by a hortatory appeal to the heart and will. In the conclusions Clarke usually pressed for a decision either to accept Christ as the means of salvation or to remain steadfast and to grow in the Christian life. The following exhortation for steadfastness reveals the intensity of his appeal:

> ". . .'Stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ has made you free.' Run the race that is set before you, looking unto Jesus?/!/ Remember that 'the just shall live by faith.' You obey no longer than you love; you love no longer than you believe; you believe no longer than you are looking unto Jesus. Look at him in his sacrificial character, discerning the end for which he was offered up. Look at him in his mediatorial office, and consider the prevalence of his intercession. Look at him in the meekness and gentleness of his carriage, and endeavour to imitate him. Look at him in his benevolence, charity, and mercy, and strive to bear his likeness. Look at him in the universal excellence of his conduct, and follow him. Look at him as the fountain of your life and the source of all your blessings, and continue to derive fresh supplies from his fulness; for without him you can do nothing. Thus shall you live by faith; be preserved in his salvation; be able 'to bear all things--believe all things--hope all things--endure all things;' for you shall have the charity that never faileth."[1]

However, if the discourse had been largely argumentative, he would often stress the need of accepting his reasoning by appealing to the mind. Thus, in the close of his discourse on Colossians, chapter one, verses twenty-seven and twenty-eight (already considered[2]), Clarke concludes his reasoning in support of the doctrine of Christian perfection by saying:

. . . . . .

1. Sermon VII, "Saint Paul's Glorying; or, The Gospel of Christ the Power of God unto Salvation," Works, V, pp. 160-1.
2. Supra, pp. 163 and 170.

"The truth is, no doctrine of God stands upon the knowledge, experience, faithfulness, or unfaithfulness of man: it stands on the veracity of God who gave it. If there were not a man to be found . . . whose heart was purified from all unrighteousness; and who loved God and man with all his regenerated powers; yet the doctrine of Christian perfection would still be true; for Christ was manifested that he might destroy the work of the devil; and his blood cleanseth from all unrighteousness. . . .

"It is not the profession of a doctrine that establishes its truth; it is the truth of God, from which it has proceeded. Man's experience may illustrate it; but it is God's truth that confirms it.

"In all cases of this nature, we must for ever cease from man, implicitly credit God's testimony, and look to him in and through whom all the promises of God are Yea, and Amen.

"I conclude from the whole, and trust I have satisfactorily proved it, that as Christ among and in the people, the hope of glory, was the sum and substance of the apostle's preaching; so, their redemption from ALL sin, its power, guilt, and contamination, even in this life, was the grand, the only end at which he aimed in all his ministry; and that to labour to present every man perfect in Christ Jesus, is at once, the duty and glory of every Christian preacher."[1]

In many conclusions, as in the whole of the sermon, he appealed both to the mind and the will.

C. "Mighty in the Pulpit": Homiletic Delivery

Although his written discourses were above the level of eighteenth century sermons--described by Stephen as "dull, duller, dullest"[2]--Adam Clarke would never have been known to posterity merely by the sermons he prepared for the press. Yet, as has been indicated, those who heard him preach agree that he was

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1. Sermon XXXVIII, "Apostolic Preaching," Works, VII, pp. 292-3.
2. Leslie Stephen, History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century, p. 337.

"mighty in the pulpit."[1] The difference lay in the fact that, as Etheridge says, "He wrote as a divine,[2] but preached as an apostle."[3]

Clarke was not particularly striking in his physical appearance, except that his figure was rather tall (about six feet), and in later years, a little robust.[4] So simple and modest was the demeanor of this ruddy-complexioned, silver-haired Irish Itinerant, who refused to wear the traditional black clerical costume,[5] that upon entering the pulpit he looked like "some well-meaning countryman occasionally filling the place of a preacher."[6] However, when Clarke (who always retained a slight Irish accent) began to expound the Scripture, those who had

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1. Thornley Smith, "Memoir of the Rev. Adam Clarke," a short biography included in the first volume of his Revised Edition of Clarke's Commentary, p. viii.
2. A study of the content of Clarke's Sermons in his Works, V-VIII, reveals that about one-half (48.3 per cent) deal with theological subjects. The other half may be categorized as follows: experimental (20 per cent), ethical (16.7 per cent), relating to the Christian ministry (8.3 per cent), and miscellaneous subjects (6.7 per cent). J. W. Etheridge, The Life of the Rev. Adam Clarke, pp. 302-4.
3. Ibid., p. 151. In judging Clarke's preaching from his written sermons, it is well to consider the conclusion of J. H. Overton. It is unfair to take the printed sermons of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as a true measure of pulpit eloquence, for, he asserts: "Everybody knows how a sermon which is most effective when delivered orally may be very flat and disappointing when read in cold blood. This is especially the case with sermons chiefly addressed to the feelings as those of the Evangelicals mostly were." The English Church in the Nineteenth Century (1800-1833), p. 138.
4. J. B. B. Clarke, "Appendix," An Account of Clarke's Life, III, pp. 468-9.
5. Autobiography, p. 148; T. P. Bunting, The Life of Jabez Bunting, II, p. 102; and Thomas Jackson, Recollections of My Own Life and Times (B. Frankland, ed.), p. 156.
6. P. Garrett, The Substance of a Discourse . . . Occasioned by the Death of the Rev. A. Clarke, p. 14.

never heard him before soon knew that this was "the great D/octo/r Clarke."[1] His voice, "though not round and melodious, was strong and clear";[2] his enunciation was unusually distinct. In the pulpit he stood erect, scarcely moving his broad-shouldered body or his arms and hands. His face was solemn and under his large bushy eyebrows were small, brilliant, gray eyes which were very penetrating. His inability to manage the tones of his voice tended at times to make the first half of his hour-long sermons[3] a little monotonous, especially as he explained the text, gave meanings of words, or reasoned to prove some point of doctrine. However, as he proceeded to the more experimental and practical emphases in the latter part of his discourses, the expression on his face kindled and his actions livened. When his great heart began to stir his able mind, he became "overwhelming."[4] "I have

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1. Ibid. His reddish hair began turning gray at the early age of twenty-five, so that when he was only thirty-five his hair, almost completely white, gave him a look of venerableness at the prime of life. James Everett, Adam Clarke Portrayed, II, p. 69.
2. Ibid., p. 61.
3. Clarke learned to limit his preaching to about an hour, but in his early ministry the length of his sermons was a matter of no small concern for Wesley. In a letter written to Clarke January 3, 1787, Wesley advises him to "take care not to speak too loud or too long. Never exceed an hour at a time." In a letter written to Robert Brackenbury, February 16, 1787, Wesley requested him to "enforce my advice to Adam Clarke, 'Not to speak too long or too loud.' He must be reminded of this again and again, otherwise his usefulness, if not his life, will soon be at an end." Cited in Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society, XXVIII (1951-1952), p. 68. Also, vide: Wesley's letters to Clarke, March 26, 1787, and to John King, April 21, 1787, John Telford (ed.), Letters of John Wesley, VII, pp. 377 and 380; and Works, XII, pp. 430-1 and 447. An hour sermon at this time was not considered too long, for as Bernard Martin says, "popular preachers could spin out a sermon to several hours, and remain popular." John Newton: A Biography, p. 210.
4. James Dixon, Recollections of Dr. Adam Clarke, p. 18.

seen a congregation," says Dixon, "in one of our large chapels literally subdued by the power and force of his declamation."[1]

What were some of the distinctive features of Clarke's preaching? In the first place, his energetic evangelism was marked by his characteristic originality. For, as his son says:

> "His manner and method of preaching were totally different from those of others, he was no copyist himself, and his peculiarities were of such a nature that none but a mind like his own could imitate them, for they did not consist in bodily gesture or rhetorical art, because he held those things in contempt. . . ."[2]

He did not hesitate in his preaching, as in his Commentary, to go to great length in explaining the meanings of words. He believed this was the best way to "attain to the knowledge of the things of God."[3] In an average discourse he would spend at least one-tenth of the whole and sometimes as much as one-half of the earlier part, analyzing and explaining the meanings of important terms.[4] Another feature, in keeping with his instructive method, was his extensive use of interrogatives. In one sermon given orally, he used no less than forty-three questions.[5] On a single page where are recorded thirteen questions, eight are given consecutively.[6] In the earlier part of his discourse they served a didactic purpose; in the latter part, they strengthened his

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1. Ibid.
2. J. B. B. Clarke, op. cit., p. 473; and "Letter to a Preacher," Works, XII, p. 168.
3. J. B. B. Clarke, op. cit., p. 207.
4. Based upon a study of his Sermons, Works, V-VIII. In Sermon X, "The Wisdom That Is From Above," nearly three-fourths of the address contains explanations of the meaning of the word, "wisdom." Works, V, pp. 214-224.
5. Sermon LIV, "The Miracles of Christ, The Proof of His Divinity," one of the eighteen sermons which was recorded from oral delivery, Works, VIII, pp. 208-225.
6. Ibid., p. 219.

hortatory appeal. Perhaps one of the most characteristic features of Clarke's preaching was his numerous references to other parts of the Bible. While he seldom illustrated his discourses from either literature or life, "he loved to roam"[1] throughout the Scriptures, quoting appropriate verses relating to the text being expounded. In one of his written sermons, there are seventy-five such references to other verses in the Bible.[2]

However, Clarke was "mighty in the pulpit" more because of his positive message and manner than because of any originality or learning. While many "Croakers"[3] were using "hell and destruction for a constant text,"[4] he stressed love and salvation. For says he:

> "From long experience I can testify, that preaching the love of Christ who bought us, is of more avail to convert sinners, comfort the distressed, and build up believers in their most holy faith, than all the fire of hell."[5]

To his own son, who had been ordained by the Archbishop of York and was taking up his work as a Curate, Clarke gives this advice:

> "Above all things, preach the truth in unction; preach it without harshness, preach it in the love of it: shew the people how much God loves them, and how ready He every moment is to make them holy and happy."[6]

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1. Everett, op. cit., II, p. 107.
2. Sermon XXX, "The Corruption that is in the World through Lust," Works, VI, pp. 354-386.
3. "Croakers" was Wesley's term for preachers who presented only a negative message of fear. Cited by Clarke in "Letter to a Preacher," Works, XII, p. 149.
4. Sermon XXXV, "The Christian Prophet and His Work," Works, VII, p. 189. Benson, Clarke once said,". . . makes the promises of the gospel so hot . . . that a man can scarcely hold them in his hand." Cited by Everett, op. cit., p. 21.
5. Sermon XXXV, loc. cit.
6. Ibid.

His hearers testify that his preaching neither smoked of the terror from "the place of torment,"[1] nor "smelled of the lamp"[2] of his study. He neither used imagination, nor stimulated enthusiasm. Clarke presented a positive, Christ-centered evangelical message and in the delivering of it he prayed for and enjoyed "the unction of the Holy One."[3] While other preachers relied upon their oratory and ingenuity, Clarke combined fine speaking with a dependence upon the Holy Spirit. Because of the "high degree of unction"[4] that attended Clarke's preaching, Beaumont says that the Methodists considered the hearing of one of his sermons "a feast--a positive spiritual banquet."[5] He was a man of deep devotion and prayer who knew that salvation only became effectual to his hearers as "the energy of the Holy Spirit"[6] accompanied the preaching of the Gospel.

Adam Clarke was mightiest in the pulpit as he applied the truths of his expository sermons. For, as France says:

> "Wherever the D[octo]r might travel in the argumentative part of his discourses, he was sure to come right at the conclusion. His applications were always sure to be understood and felt by all his numerous hearers, for they were always plain and powerful."[7]

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1. Henry Moore, "The Judgment of the Human Race," The Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine, XI, Third Series (October, 1832), pp. 722-3.
2. According to John Anderson, "Dr. Clarke was largely gifted with the unction of the Holy One. It constituted the great charm . . . the grand secret of his wonderful success. . . ." The Faithful Minister of Christ, p. 24.
3. "The Unction of the Holy One," a letter to the editor from "Alpha," The Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine, XVIII, Third Series (May, 1839), p. 385.
4. Joseph Beaumont, A Funeral Address . . . of the Late Rev. Adam Clarke, LL. D., pp. 38-9.
5. Ibid.
6. Sermons XLIII, "The High Commission," and XXXV, "The Christian Prophet and His Work," Works, VII, pp. 470 and 191.
7. William France, Job's Great Confession, p. 35.

Because of his maxim, "The sermon that does good is . . . good,"[1] he always put his "whole strength of body and soul"[2] into his preaching. Yet, it was in his hortative conclusions that he concentrated his pulpit energy. Here the urgency of his appeal stemmed from a deep sense of his "awful task" and responsibility to sinners which he ever had when behind the sacred desk.[3] Like Baxter and other Puritans, Clarke preached as a dying man to dying men. With his extemporaneous delivery, a method he shared perhaps more with Evangelicals than with Methodists,[4] he was able to adapt his message to his hearers. Then, in the spirit of Pascal, he appealed directly to their hearts and wills.[5] With an emphasis upon experimental and personal salvation, perhaps second only to that of Wesley himself, Clarke expected and received

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1. Adam Clarke, "The Useful Sermon," cited by J. W. Etheridge, The Life of the Rev. Adam Clarke, p. 418.
2. Clarke says, "He who preaches the Gospel as he ought, must do it with his whole strength of body and soul. . . . /For if he gives anything less/ sinners are left as he found them." Autobiography, p. 277.
3. "Letter to a Preacher," Works, XII, p. 139; and An Account of Clarke's Life, III, p. 473.
4. The Evangelicals turned to extempore preaching in reaction to the "lifeless performances" of their fellow clergymen. For too many fit Crabbe's vivid description: "Fiddling and fishing were his arts; at times / He alter'd sermons, and he aimed at rhymes." Cited by Bernard Martin, John Newton, A Biography, pp. 208-9. Also vide John Stoughton, The Church in the Georgian Era (VI of History of Religion in England), pp. 210-211. In an age when most Wesleyans, like Bunting and Newton, were memoriter preachers, Clarke--with the exception of Watson--was about the only notable preacher who did not commit any words to memory. Dixon, op. cit., p. 17; and Maldwyn Edwards, Adam Clarke, pp. 25-8.
5. Clarke's stress upon the importance of reaching the heart of his hearers was not unlike Pascal's emphasis on "correspondence" between mind and heart. Cf. H. F. Stewart, Pascal's Pensées with an English Translation, Brief Notes and Introduction, pp. 491-3, with Sermon XXXV, op. cit., p. 191.

visible fruits for his labor.[1] In his effective applications Clarke closely followed this advice, which he gave to others:

> "'. . . strip the sinner of every subterfuge and excuse, that conviction may lead him to repentance. To produce this effect, leave your proofs and divisions behind you; address yourself to the conscience in powerful interrogatives; repeat nothing that you have before said, you have now to produce a new effect, and must use a new language. Employ the utmost energy of your soul to show them that happiness is to be found nowhere but in God. What should I say more? Forget method, forget art itself. Lift up your soul in affectionate prayer to God: become the intercessor of your auditory that the multitude which withstood your menaces, may be constrained to yield to the effusions of your love.' So preach and pray, that your congregation may be made better, or purpose to become better, in consequence of your labour."[2]

III. Effective "Gospel Minister"

John Wesley, who defined a "Gospel Minister" as one who preached "Christ dying for us, and Christ living in us,"[3] asserted that a minister's "special work" was to care for "all the flock."[4] To become a Wesleyan preacher of the Gospel it was necessary for one not only to feel "called of God to preach,"[5] but also to give "sufficient proof" by demonstrating these "three marks": (1) knowing God, (2) having gifts, and (3) bearing

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1. Review of volume II of Clarke's Sermons, The Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine, XV, Third Series (December, 1836), p. 931; and Works, V, p. 130, VI, p. 195, and VIII, pp. 403 and 432-3.
2. Clarke, citing a "great foreign orator" in his "Letter to a Preacher," Works, XII, p. 167. The thought here is so much a part of Clarke's own emphasis that, in effect, it was his own advice.
3. "Thoughts Concerning Gospel Ministers," Works of Wesley (First American Ed.), VI, pp. 199-200.
4. Part of the answer to "Q/uestion/ 13. How can we farther assist those under our care?" "Minutes of Several Conversations between the Rev. Mr. Wesley and Others; from the year 1744 to the year 1789" (commonly called the Large Minutes), Works of Wesley (First American Ed.), V, pp. 213-217.
5. Ibid.

fruit.[1] Adam Clarke not only gave "sufficient proof" of his being a "Gospel minister," but also proved that he was an effective pastor with a shepherd's heart.

A. Heart of a Shepherd

The kind of pastor Clarke sought to be is revealed in his remarks on the parable of the good shepherd written in his Commentary.[2] Here he says that one "mark of a good pastor is that he is well acquainted with his flock."[3] It was his sincere interest in people that enabled him to care for "all the flock" with the "love and affection"[4] of a shepherd.[5]

As a pastor Clarke was particularly effective in giving understanding assistance to the poor, encouraging counsel to the sick, and consoling sympathy to the bereaved.[6] Having been raised in poverty, he was able to show kindness and to give help to those of humble means. "To shew them that I am disposed to

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1. Summary of answer to "Question 50. How shall we try those who think they are moved by the Holy Ghost to preach?" Ibid., p. 230.
2. Commentary, John x. 1-6, V, pp. 610-612.
3. In his comment on John x. 2-4 Clarke writes: "Observe here the marks, qualities, and duties of a good pastor. . . ." The following are selected phrases summarizing the six marks of a good pastor which he gives: (1) ". . . he has a lawful entrance into the ministry by the internal call of Christ," (2) "--his labour is crowned with success," (3) "he speaks so as to instruct," (4) given above, (5) "he leads the flock," and (6) "he gives them a good example." Ibid.
4. Clarke's letter to J. B. B. Clarke, written from Haydon Hall, November 10, 1826, cited in An Account of Clarke's Life, III, pp. 154-6.
5. Clarke's letters to J. Raby, written from Millbrook, February 4, 1823, Works, XIII, pp. 156-9; and to Alexander MacKey, written from London, August 21, 1824. Transcript from the Francis J. Cole Collection of MSS., Ardmara, County of Antrim.
6. Sermon XXXV, "The Christian Prophet and His Work," Works, VII, pp. 169 and 187 et seqq.; and An Account of Clarke's Life, III, pp. 471-2.

feel at home with them," says the Irish Itinerant, "I always eat with the people"--even if the fare be only "potatoes and salt."[1] In such a case, when he departed, he would "slip a piece of silver into the hand of one of the children, which would supply the family with his favourite vegetable for a week."[2] His benevolence was shown practically in his generous efforts to build chapels for the poor[3] and to give underprivileged children educational opportunities.[4] His "sympathetic heart"[5] also enabled him to be a useful "spiritual visitor"[6] among the sick. In addition to his helpful counsel, he always prayed for them. In some instances, as in the case of John Sewell of Yarmouth--whose physician had given him only one chance in a million to recover from his malady--Clarke's prevailing prayer resulted in healing.[7] Moreover, having suffered the loss of his parents and six of his own children, Clarke knew how to comfort those in sorrow. Thus to a friend bereft of her husband, Clarke writes:

> "On the present afflicting occasion . . . I am well aware, my dear sister, that words of consolation in such a case as yours can avail nothing,--grief like yours can be alleviated by God alone. . . . God condescended to make me a messenger of peace and consolation to your late dear husband; and how much I loved him, you, and every branch of your family, it is impossible for me to tell. . . . If it be now impossible for me to comfort you, it is as impossible for me not to sympathize with you; and it would be a severe tax upon my feelings, to be deprived of the privilege of telling you so. Since we

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1. Clarke, cited by James Everett, Adam Clarke Portrayed, II, pp. 143-4. Quoted in part.
2. Ibid.
3. "Remarks on the Chapel Fund," Works, XII, pp. 335 et seqq.
4. Infra, pp. 287-294.
5. James Dixon, Recollections of Adam Clarke, p. 14.
6. J. B. B. Clarke, op. cit., p. 471; and Everett, op. cit., pp. 250 et seqq.
7. Samuel Dunn, The Life of Adam Clarke, p. 120.

> heard of your distress, we have had rest neither day nor night; but all we could do, was to offer up incessant prayers for you; which we have done with all the fervour in our power. But the good, the merciful God, needs no entreaty to come in to your assistance;--He is the fountain of endless love. . . . God does all things well; and never willingly afflicts the children of men. . . . The good providence of God will be doubly employed in your behalf; for he is ever most solicitous for those who are the most defenceless and destitute. . . . 'Thy Maker is thy husband!' and He is thy husband's GOD and FATHER. Then my sister, if you cannot as yet rejoice, you can submit to his will, and confide in his mercy. . . ."[1]

As a pastor Clarke was always anxious to meet the needs of the people, and for this reason he strongly promoted the Wesleyan system of class-meetings.[2] Classes he ever considered, as did Horace Mann in the middle of the nineteenth century, "the very life of Methodism."[3] It was also Clarke's compassion for his flock that, in the years of crisis after Wesley, forced him--even against his own Church views--to give the Lord's Supper to those deprived of the sacrament.[4] That he was effective in meeting the spiritual and physical needs of the people is evidenced by his numerous re-appointments to important circuits where the people urgently pleaded for his return.[5]

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1. Clarke's letter to Mrs. Arthur of Bristol, written from Manchester, April 7, 1805, cited by Everett, op. cit., pp. 168-171. Also, vide Clarke's letter to Mrs. Bulmer, cited by Anna Maria (Clarke) Rowley, "Memoir of the Late Mrs. Agnes Bulmer," The Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine, XIX, Third Series (October, 1840), p. 805.
2. In missionary correspondence to Samuel Dunn who was serving in the Shetlands, Clarke says, "Form classes wherever you can. Preaching without this will answer very little end. . . ." Letter written from Millbrook, Prescott, January 21, 1823, cited in part in Works, XIII, pp. 156-8.
3. Census of Religious Worship, Parliamentary Papers, 1852-3. Mann, cited by Robert F. Wearmouth, Methodism and the Working-Class Movements of England 1800-1850, p. 23.
4. Supra, pp. 47 et seqq.
5. Vide Appendix B.

B. Fruitful Evangelist in Demand

Adam Clarke's positive evangelical message, his original style of presentation, and his effective pastoral work made him a preacher of the Gospel who was greatly in demand. The "active stripling,"[1] who had been invited to come to England by Wesley, became popular very early in his ministry. So packed were the Methodist chapels of East Cornwall that, on not a few occasions, he was forced to enter by the windows and to be borne along, says Drew, "by the hands and heads [of the people], till, without touching the floor, he was safely landed in the pulpit."[2] When the chapels could no longer contain the thousands that flocked to hear him, he preached to them, like Wesley, in the open air--sometimes under pelting rain and in deep snow.[3] Here, where the people had respect for learning "he set us a thinking and reasoning," says Drew, "because he thought and reasoned with us himself."[4] Such popularity caused him to be much in demand. Because of his numerous double and triple appointments, few travelling preachers at this time had a more limited range of circuits.[5] In 1815, for reasons of health and literary pursuits,

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1. Samuel Drew's description of Clarke, who came to St. Austell in 1784. J. H. Drew, The Life, Character, and Literary Labours, of Samuel Drew, pp. 71-2.
2. Ibid. Also vide Clarke's letter to Eliza Cook [Cooke], written from Port Isaac, February 20, 1785, cited in Works, XII, pp. 421-3.
3. Autobiography, p. 219.
4. Samuel Drew, cited by J. H. Drew, loc. cit.
5. Apart from his early years of ministry, in which he was stationed at seven different circuits in eight years, the appointments during his last forty-two years of ministry were all on circuits (or in the areas) of only four important cities: Liverpool and Manchester in the North, and Bristol and London in the South. Vide Appendix B.

Clarke moved from London to his Millbrook residence near Liverpool, an estate purchased for him by his friends.[1] While his name continued to appear on the Minutes until his death, the circuit duties of his last eighteen appointments, after his semi-retirement, were limited mainly to preaching. However, being free to travel throughout the Connexion, Clarke--because of his increasing popularity and unequalled ability to raise collections--was called upon continually to preach and make charity appeals to the largest congregations of early Methodism. He was especially in demand as a speaker for anniversary days, chapel openings, and other special occasions.[2] An idea of the vast number of people who came to hear Clarke, whose reputation spread even more with the completion of his Commentary, may be seen in this letter to his "dear Mary":

> "I preached this morning at the old /Bradford/ chapel. It was not a congregation, nor an assembly, nor a concourse, nor a crowd; but a tremendous torrent of human beings, produced

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1. /John M. Hare/, Life and Labours of Adam Clarke (Second Ed.), p. 174.
2. James Everett says that Clarke, in his later years, "rarely preached without a collection being made at the close of the service." Editorial note in Clarke's Works, VIII, pp. 205-6. Although Clarke had an increasing dislike for charity appeals in his later years, from his large congregations "collections were secured which no other man could raise." He strongly believed that Methodists had "a key to let Christ in, and to let money out." Wesleyan Takings, p. 67; Adam Clarke Portrayed, II, p. 133; and /Hare/, op. cit., p. 302. In comparing Clarke's letter to M/ary/ A/nn (Clarke)/ Smith, written from Weston, super Mare, August 14, 1832, cited in Works, XIII, pp. 462-5, with the original MS. in the Major L. E. Clarke Collection of MSS., Ballynolan, County of Limerick (L. E. Clarke is the great-grandson and only living descendant of Adam Clarke), the following sentence, which indicates his collection raising ability, is omitted: "And this /collection at Frome on the 12th of August/ was by four times, the largest collection, ever made in that place for any purpose, from its foundation!"

> by a conflux from all the thirty-two points of the compass of this town and its vicinity. I thought preaching would have been impossible; and so it would, had it not been for Mr. Dawson, who got into the grave-yard, and carried off 1000 of the people [and preached to them himself]. . . .
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> "Leeds comes next . . . and I almost dread the human billows, the mountain-swell of thousands that will be there."[1]

To the end of his life, following his maxim "better wear out than rust out,"[2] he remained active in his promotion of Methodism and his preaching of the "pure gospel of Christ."[3] In the lines of Walker:

> With power Divine large numbers he address'd,
> And thousands by his words were saved and blest![4]

Adam Clarke was "an evangelist in the apostolic sense";[5] his primary purpose was ever "to save souls."[6] His glowing evangelicalism resulted in revivals at St. Austell,[7] Dublin,[8] Liverpool,[9] and other circuits. While being a promoter of

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1. Clarke's letter to Mary Clarke, written from Bradford, Yorkshire, September 4, 1825, cited in An Account of Clarke's Life, III, pp. 96-8.
2. Ibid., p. 307.
3. Clarke's letter to Mrs. Wilkinson, written from Eastcott, Easter Tuesday, 1829, Works, XII, pp. 503-5; and MS. letter to Matilda Brooke (later Mrs. Joseph Clarke), written from Worcester, August 13, 1830, Major L. E. Clarke Collection of MSS., Ballynolan, County of Limerick. In the latter he writes in a postscript: "On Monday 16, please God I shall set off for my own place 'Haydon Hall, n[ea]r Pinner, Middlesex' [his residence near London for the last eight years of his life] having been absent from my family for about two months." Thus, while being one of the few Methodist preachers who owned his own home, he was often away on preaching engagements even after his semi-retirement in 1815.
4. Last lines of a tribute to Clarke penned by John Walker, cited by Samuel Dunn, Life of Adam Clarke, p. 110.
5. J. O. A. Clarke, The Wesley Memorial Volume, pp. 437-8; and Works, VIII, p. 341.
6. "Letter to a Preacher," Works, XII, p. 148.
7. Autobiography, pp. 218 et seqq.
8. R. Lee Cole, A History of Methodism in Dublin, p. 81.
9. Clarke's MS. letter to G[eorge] Marsden, written from Manchester, January 8, 179[3 or 4]. The last number of the date is missing,

revivals--he was the only leader in early Methodism to recognize any value in the work of the visiting American camp-meeting revivalist, Lorenzo Dow[1]--Clarke was opposed to extravagance. Describing the situation at Manchester, he writes:

> "I like a good shaking, and long hearty 'Amens' among the people: but there seems too much of it here: and many, I am afraid, do not distinguish between sense and sound; between tornadoes of natural passion, and the meltings of religious affection. . . ."[2]

Yet, he disliked the other extreme even more. For at Bristol, where he was able to make "no great stir,"[3] he complained that the people "would hardly catch heat, [even] if the world were on fire."[4] According to Clarke, the best method to avoid "formality and spiritual sleep,"[5] was the Wesleyan Itinerant Plan itself. "I pity," says he, "the clergy of the Church. I pity more the dissenters who are anti-apostolically bound to any one congregation."[6] "A minister to be successful in gaining souls to God," he asserts, "must become itinerant."[7] Because of the frequent moving of the itinerants from circuit to circuit Clarke, as

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but would have been either 1793 or 1794; these were the years Clarke was stationed there during this revival. Collection of MSS., Strong Rooms, City Road.

1. C. C. Sellers, Lorenzo Dow The Bearer of the Word, Chap. VIII; and W. J. Townsend, H. B. Workman, and George Eayrs (eds.), A New History of Methodism, I, pp. 563-7.
2. Clarke's letter, cited without date or name of recipient by Dunn, op. cit., p. 220.
3. Clarke's MS. letter to Geo[rge] Marsden, written from Bristol, April 8, 1800, Collection of MSS., Strong Rooms, City Road.
4. Ibid.
5. Clarke's letter to Mrs. Wilkinson, written Easter Tuesday, 1829, loc. cit.
6. Clarke's letter to T[homas] Smith, written from Pinner, March 24, 1828, cited in Works, XII, pp. 526-7.
7. Clarke's letter to T[homas] Smith, written from Eastcott, New Year's Day, 1829, cited in Works, XII, pp. 527-8. Quoted in part.

others, was in a real sense an evangelist. And if an evangelist, he was also a missionary.[1] His missionary zeal, which characterized the whole of his ministry, is revealed in a letter to Dunn who was stationed in the Shetland Islands.[2] Writes Clarke:

> "I still feel the spirit of a missionary; and if I did not, I would not feel the spirit of a minister of Christ; and were there none other, even at this age of hoary decrepitude, I would volunteer my little services to the last; teach . . . in Ceylon; or enter the peninsula of India, to bear the seed basket after those extraordinary servants of the Most High, Carey, Marshman, Ward, and their fellows . . . and add my testimony concerning Him who, by the grace of God, tasted death for every man. . . ."[3]

"When I rec/eive/d my commission," he wrote only twelve days before his death, "these words were contained in it. 'I have ordained you that you should go, & bring forth fruit; & that your fruit should remain.'"[4] In order to bring forth fruit this Irish Itinerant shunned all controversial subjects in the pulpit, especially politics--even during the revolutionary years.[5] Instead of feeding his flock this "chaff,"[6] he presented a positive, evangelical message and the fervor, zeal, and

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1. After being stationed by Wesley in the Norman Isles (Channel Islands) from 1786 to 1789, Clarke always considered himself a missionary. He ever promoted colonial missions and exercised the zeal of a missionary in his own preaching. Vide: Appendix B; "A Short Account of the Introduction of the Gospel into the British Isles," Works, XIII, pp. 36 et seqq; and other references in Works, V, pp. 343-4, VI, p. 155, VII, pp. 403, 441, 457, 476 et seqq., and VIII, pp. 54-7 and 163.
2. In his later years Clarke was appointed by the Conference to superintend and to raise funds for the Methodist missionary work in the Zetland Isles (Shetland Islands). Infra, pp. 280-287. Also vide letter to Samuel Dunn, written from London, December 4, 1823, cited in Works, XIII, pp. 192-4.
3. Clarke, cited by Samuel Dunn, The Life of Adam Clarke, p. 109.
4. Clarke's MS. letter to M/ary/ A/nne/ Smith, written August 14, 1832, loc. cit.
5. William Jones, Memoirs of The Life, Ministry, and Writings of The Rev. Adam Clarke, pp. 254-262.
6. "Letter to a Preacher," op. cit., pp. 166-8.

"unction" with which he preached brought results. On the Bradford and Plymouth Circuits the membership was doubled.[1] A study of all of Clarke's appointments during his half-century of ministry reveals that on the circuits where he preached there was a total gain of six thousand, eight hundred forty members.[2] Among the converts of Adam Clarke's ministry were three important laymen: Thomas Geake, Samuel Drew, and Joseph Butterworth.[3] Geake of St. Germains became a local preacher who was "useful in spreading the religion of Christ."[4] Of greater importance was Drew, the shoemaker of St. Austell who became an active lay preacher and writer.[5] This "Cornish Metaphysician" wrote such original writings as Remarks upon Paine's Age of Reason, and the Essay on the Immateriality and Immortality of the Soul.[6] Moreover, not a little of what was published under the name of Thomas Coke was in fact the writing of Drew, who for several years was employed as Coke's amanuensis.[7] Drew, who greatly

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1. Minutes of the Methodist Conferences, I (1744-1798), pp. 149, 163, 176, and 188; and Autobiography, pp. 178 et seqq.
2. Because of the heavy losses of membership during some of the years of controversy after Wesley, there also was a total loss of one thousand, nine hundred fifty members in the circuits where Clarke was stationed during his fifty years of ministry. Nevertheless, this would still mean a total net gain of four thousand, eight hundred ninety members. Vide Appendix B.
3. Autobiography, pp. 219 and 263. Clarke also was instrumental in getting men to enter the ministry. An example is George Marsden, who was elected President of the Conference in 1821 and 1831. In writing to him Clarke says, "I shall have abundant reason to thank God that I ever was an Instrument of sending you out into the good work." Letter written from London, November 18, 1795. Transcript from the Frank Baker Collection of MSS.
4. George Smith, History of Wesleyan Methodism, II, pp. 275-8.
5. Jacob H. Drew, The Life, Character, and Literary Labours, of Samuel Drew, pp. 71-2.
6. These were published in 1799 and 1802 respectively.
7. Supra, p. 132.

admired Clarke's individualism, also became an original thinker and "was among the laity what Dr. Clarke was among the itinerants."[1] However, Clarke's most influential convert was his own brother-in-law, Butterworth, a wealthy London law-bookseller. He became a most important layman in early Methodism.[2] As a Member of Parliament, first from Coventry and later from Dover, he became associated with Wilberforce, Thornton, Teignmouth, Buxton, and other influential parliamentarians and wealthy philanthropists.[3] He frequently represented the interests of Methodism before Parliament, especially its colonial missions for, as treasurer of the Wesleyan Missionary Society for many years, he was acutely aware of its needs. As a well known member of the "Clapham Sect,"[4] "honest Butterworth" (as Wilberforce called him) did much to inform influential Evangelicals of the true position of Methodism at a time when this new form of dissent was greatly misunderstood and suspicioned by the government.[5] With Hannah More and other members of "the party of the Saints," as they were called in derision, Butterworth participated in their great social and philanthropical movements.[6] For nearly thirty years this man of piety served as class-leader of the Great Queen-street Chapel.

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1. Townsend, Workman, and Eayrs, op. cit., p. 394.
2. Abel Stevens, The History of the Religious Movement in the Eighteenth Century Called Methodism, II, pp. 80-1.
3. Ralph M. Spoor, Illustrated Hand-Book to City Road Chapel, pp. 26-7.
4. "The Clapham Sect," in the words of Élie Halévy, "was a group of laymen linked with Evangelical clergy, with the world of politics and business in which they themselves belonged." A History of the English People in 1815, pp. 380-1.
5. Supra, pp. 55 et seqq.
6. M. G. Jones, Hannah More, p. 95.

He exercised an influence throughout the whole of London and was a generous patron of every Methodist charity.[1]

After John Wesley, when what was said in the pulpit determined the actions of the people,[2] Methodism was fortunate to have a "son in the gospel"[3] like Adam Clarke. The instructive and expository sermons of this leading preacher in early Methodism were indeed useful; his strong evangelical and practical exhortations were unusually fruitful.[4] He was especially appreciated by the new middle class that was arising in Wesleyan Methodism.[5] He was admired by all "as a noble specimen of a Methodist Preacher."[6] His leadership in the pulpit, his example of diligence and learning, together with his numerous writings, did much to raise the level of preaching during the critical period after Wesley when homiletic improvement was most urgent. Moreover, his unexcelled ability to raise money cleared many chapels of

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1. Benjamin Gregory, Autobiographical Recollections, p. 379.
2. Maldwyn Edwards, After Wesley, p. 23.
3. Clarke concluded his epitaph to John Wesley which he wrote on the window of his study on September 18, 1792, in the building adjoining the Oldham Street Chapel, Manchester: ". . . As a small token of continued filial respect, / This inscription / Is humbly dedicated to the memory of the above / By his affectionate son in the gospel." For the complete tribute vide: Works, II, pp. 317-318; and J. Wilkinson's "Album" containing Jos/ep/h Fowler's MS. letter to Mrs. Wilkinson, with transcript of Clarke's epitaph, written from Leeds, September, 1834. Collection of MSS., Strong Rooms, City Road.
4. W. E. Sangster asserts: "The expositor of the written word must be a teacher." Clarke was a teacher-preacher whose ability to instruct was surpassed only by his ability to exhort. The Craft of the Sermon, p. 100; and Samuel Dunn, The Life of Adam Clarke, p. 220.
5. "Some Notices of the Life and Writings of the Reverend Adam Clarke," The Congregational Magazine, XV (November, 1832), pp. 641-3.
6. Tribute to Clarke given by Thomas Jackson, Recollections of My Own Life and Times (B. Frankland, ed.), p. 156.

indebtedness, enabled many more places of worship to be erected, and enlarged the financial resources of Wesleyan Missions and organizations of charity.[1] Yet, being the "literary leviathan" that he was among the Wesleyans, and holding the irregular views that he did,[2] it is understandable that he should have some who opposed him. Apart from his few odd theological opinions, which he rarely presented in the pulpit,[3] he was criticized, with some justice, for bringing too much argument and learning into the pulpit. Despite these weaknesses, and his sacrificing of preaching energy for literary and secular pursuits,[4] Clarke was an unusually popular and fruitful preacher of the Gospel. The Annual Conference which met the year after Clarke's demise, while not mentioning his Commentary, published the following tribute in the Minutes, describing "his half-century of service to God, his Church and mankind":

> "No man in any age of the church was ever known for so long a period to have attracted larger audiences; no herald of salvation ever sounded forth his messages with greater faithfulness or fervour . . . and few Ministers of the Gospel, in modern times, have been more honoured by the extraordinary unction of the Holy Spirit in their ministration /and more fruit for their labor/."[5]

Adam Clarke is known today because of his Biblical

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1. Joseph Beaumont, A Funeral Address . . . of the Late Rev. Adam Clarke, LL. D., p. 40.
2. Infra, pp. 238-250.
3. Clarke, in his Commentary, asserted that "nachash" means an "ape," but in a sermon used the traditional interpretation of a "serpent." Cf. Commentary, note on Genesis iii. 1, I, p. 56, with Sermon XLIII, "The High Commission," Works, VII, p. 443; and supra, pp. 137-8.
4. Infra, pp. 322-8.
5. "Adam Clarke, LL. D.," Minutes of the Methodist Conference, VII (1831-1835), pp. 223-4.

scholarship and learning, but he was known during his life as an effective pastor and preacher. In early Methodism he rose to his highest in the pulpit and there exercised his greatest influence and leadership. Yet, he ever attributed the success that he had to the Wesleyan doctrines which he faithfully proclaimed. What were the Wesleyan doctrines which he emphasized and the irregular views which he held? The theological thought of this church leader in early Methodism will now be considered.

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CHAPTER V

THEOLOGIAN AMONG THE WESLEYANS

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While Adam Clarke today is best known as a Biblical scholar, and in early Methodism as an effective preacher, he was also an important theologian among the Wesleyans. Many of his writings, particularly the printed sermons and the Commentary, were of a theological nature.[1] Moreover, because of his early ability as a theologian, he was appointed by the Conference of 1806--along with Coke and Benson--to draw up a "Digest of Methodist Doctrine" to be used by the Connexion.[2] In his writing, as in his preaching, Clarke was ever faithful to the Wesleyan doctrines--except for the eternal Sonship of Christ. This he held to be a "spurious doctrine."[3] The heterodox opinion of so eminent a person on so important a subject resulted in no small Connexional controversy. Consequently, "something like a stigma rests upon his name as a [Wesleyan] theologian."[4] Nevertheless, his strong evangelical spirit and soteriological emphasis are among the leading reasons why early Methodism has come to be known as "Arminianism on fire."[5]

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1. Almost one-half (48.3 per cent) of the sixty sermons in Clarke's Works are on theological subjects. Supra, p. 177. His Commentary contains many summaries of theological subjects, especially in such doctrinal books as Romans and Galatians, V, pp. 957-1137, and VI, pp. 1357-1405.
2. Minutes of the Methodist Conferences, II (1799-1807), pp. 349-350.
3. Infra, pp. 238-250.
4. T. M. Newness, Memoirs of the Life of the Rev. Adam Clarke, pp. 320-330. Quoted in part.
5. A common description of the early Methodists used by G. P. Fisher, History of Christian Doctrine, p. 342.

I. Early Religious Creed: Influences

A. Early Theological Influences

The religious knowledge which Adam Clarke received during his maturing years was influenced by both the Nonconformity of his mother and the Anglicanism of his father.[1] His Scottish mother had a strong Presbyterian heritage, yet the catechetical training which she gave her children was only mildly Calvinistic. The preaching which he heard at the nearby "Meeting House" had a similar emphasis, for the minister held an infralapsarian position. While receiving maternal encouragement to attend the Nonconformist services, young Adam preferred to worship in the Established Church. In comparing the two he observed even as a boy that the former did not emphasize the atonement of Christ. He heard the Scottish Presbyterian minister say, in the dialect of his native land:

> "Suppose ye had a frien, wham ye dearly liked, wi' wham ye had lived and convers'd, and to wham ye had been laid under muckle obligation; suppose again, this frien dee, but before his death to appoint or requeast, that ye shald eat a bit o' breed, and drink a drap o' wine, in remembrance of his frienship, wad ye no dit, and in dae'ing sa, wad ye na fin' great pleasur?"[2]

Moreover, when Clarke was personally seeking forgiveness and salvation, some of his closest dissenting friends warned him against praying to Christ, for in so doing he would be "guilty of idolatry."[3] This illustrates how extensively the influence of

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1. Supra, pp. 63 et seqq.
2. Clarke's recollection of the words of his boyhood minister, cited by James Everett, Adam Clarke Portrayed, I, p. 39.
3. Autobiography, pp. 91-2.

Socinianism and Arianism had permeated English, Welsh, and Irish Nonconformity in the eighteenth century. So liberal were the Presbyterian Churches that, by the end of the century, they were mostly Unitarian in belief.[1] Such Nonconformist influences not only caused Clarke to accept the doctrines of the Establishment, but "to caution men strongly against the Arian and Socinian errors."[2] Moreover, his enthusiastic acceptance of Arminian theology, particularly the doctrine that Christ's death was a sufficient atonement for all men, caused him ever to oppose Calvinism. He especially objected to its sovereign unconditional reprobation[3] and Antinomian views.[4]

Clarke's early preference for the Establishment, a heritage received from his father, increased with the years. The clergyman of the local parish was not guilty of preaching heresy as was the dissenting minister. However, as Clarke says:

> ". . . on the doctrine of justification by faith, or the way in which a sinner is to be reconciled to God, he was either not very clear, or was never explicit."[5]

The message of this Irish rector was typical of the limited Gospel being proclaimed by the British clergymen at this time. For the political battle between the Establishment and Dissent during

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1. Élie Halévy, A History of the English People in 1815, p. 405.
2. Autobiography, p. 92.
3. Ibid., p. 214. Also Clarke's letter to Joseph Hughes written October 22, 1810, cited by William Jones, Memoirs of The Life, Ministry, and Writings of The Rev. Adam Clarke, pp. 355-7.
4. Clarke concluding his Note on Romans, Chap. iii., says, "He who lives not in the due performance of every Christian duty, whatever faith he may profess, is either a vile hypocrite, or a scandalous Antinomian." Commentary, V, pp. 1026-7; also, I Corinthians iii. 15, VI, p. 1163, Hebrews iii. 1, VI, pp. 1727-8, and James v., VI, p. 1862.
5. Autobiography, p. 80.

the seventeenth century, and the numerous controversies within the Church in the eighteenth century had left the clergy powerless as an evangelical force.[1] Moreover, the so-called "orthodox theologians," while upholding traditional doctrines, generally ignored the importance of "Justification by Faith in the Lutheran sense."[2] Speculative reason also asserted itself against the traditional view of revelation. Sermons were mere logical demonstrations with no appeal to the heart; anything approaching "enthusiasm" was avoided at all costs.[3] Meanwhile, as the clergy polished their logical essays, the moral and spiritual level of the neglected masses reached a new low.[4]

However, there were a few clergymen of the eighteenth century who realized that what the common man needed and wanted was not abstract argument, but experimental religion. John Wesley especially believed that others should enjoy a religious experience as he had, and to have their hearts "strangely warmed."[5] As Wesley and his associates went out with their evangelical message, they appealed to the hearts and wills of those in need of salvation. The influence of the Methodist Revival spread throughout

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1. The early part of the eighteenth century witnessed the Bangorian, Non-Juror, Jacobite, Trinitarian, Arian, and Deistic controversies. J. H. Overton and Frederic Relton, The English Church from the Accession of George I to the end of the Eighteenth Century (1714-1800) (VII of A History of the English Church, ed. by W. R. W. Stephens and William Hunt), Chap. I.
2. John Stoughton, The Church in the Georgian Era (VI of History of Religion in England), pp. 204-5.
3. Basil Willey, The Eighteenth Century Background, pp. 2-3; and V. F. Storr, The Development of English Theology in the Nineteenth Century, pp. 40-2.
4. Supra, pp. 13 et seqq.
5. Supra, p. 15.

Great Britain; the cold rationalism of the earlier part of the century gave way to a warm evangelicalism. While not making any new contribution to theology, the Methodists and Evangelicals restored emotion to its proper place in religion.[1] The Wesleyan preachers were not strong theologians, but their clear presentation of the doctrines of the Church brought results.[2] The evangelical flame spread to Ireland and when the first Methodist Itinerant visited the parish of Agherton, young Adam was among those who crowded into an old barn to hear him preach. Clarke always remembered how Wesley's convert, John Brettel, asserted that "the Scriptures promise us salvation from all our sin."[3]

B. Formation of Scriptural Creed

After listening to his first Wesleyan sermon in 1777, Adam Clarke sought to hear every Methodist preacher who came within walking distance of his home. He was greatly impressed by the way these Itinerants appealed to the Bible as their authority in preaching salvation for all men and from all sin. Lacking the assurance of his own forgiveness, Clarke recalls:

> "I . . . determined to search the Scriptures to see whether these things were so; and as I had never yet read the New Testament regularly through, I began that work; and, with deep attention and earnest prayer, read over the whole from beginning to end; spending in this employment almost every leisure moment. With this diligence the merciful God was well pleased, for he shed light both upon my heart, and upon my book. It was indeed a new book to me. . . . By this reading I acquired and fixed my Creed in all its articles, not one of

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1. Storr, loc. cit.; and Umphrey Lee, Historical Background of Early Methodist Enthusiasm, p. 148.
2. J. H. Overton, The Evangelical Revival in the Eighteenth Century, p. 182.
3. Supra, p. 71.

> which I ever after found reason to change, though I had not as yet that full confidence of each, which I afterwards acquired. At this time I had read none of the writings of the Methodists; and from them I never learned that creed, which, on after examination, I found to be precisely the same with theirs. I could say, 'I have not received my creed from man, nor by man.' I learned it--(without consulting bodies of divinity, human creeds, confessions of faith, or such like,)--from the fountain head of truth, the Oracles of the living God."[1]

Although Clarke claimed that his early religious creed came not "from man," but from his own study of the Bible, his interpretation was unconsciously colored by his early theological influences. His experience with Nonconformity caused him to examine skeptically the eternal Sonship of Christ.[2] Moreover, his preference for the preaching of the Established Clergy,[3] especially the Methodist preachers who were then related to the Church, caused him to be Arminian in his theological thought. He also was not a little influenced by the "steady voice of reason,"[4] an emphasis in keeping with the eighteenth century and not out of harmony with that of Jacobus Arminius himself.[5]

The Scriptural Creed which Adam Clarke formed, even before receiving his call to preach, had the following thirty-two articles:

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1. Autobiography, p. 87. First person is used in place of third.
2. Vide Article X of Clarke's Creed. Infra, pp. 204-205.
3. How much Clarke was influenced through the years by the views of the Establishment may be seen in his letter written to the Right Honorable Charles Abbot, Speaker of the House of Commons, September 14, 1810. Referring to the notes contained in his Commentary he asserts, ". . . I am sure they are in perfect consonance with the Doctrines of the Church of England . . . which I most conscientiously acknowledge as constituting the true Christian Creed. . . ." Cited in An Account of Clarke's Life, II, pp. 218-19.
4. Autobiography, pp. 171-2.
5. James Nichols (trans.), The Works of James Arminius, I, pp. 523-4, and 601-2.

"I. That there is but one uncreated, unoriginated, infinite, and eternal Being;--the Creator, Preserver, and Governor of all things.

"II. There is in this Infinite Essence a Plurality of what we commonly call Persons; not separately subsisting, but essentially belonging to the Deity or Godhead; which Persons are generally termed Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; or, God, the Logos, and the Holy Spirit, which are usually designated the Trinity: which term, though not found in the Scriptures, seems properly enough applied; as we repeatedly read of these Three, and never of more persons in the Godhead.

"III. The Sacred Scriptures or Holy Books, which constitute the Old and New Testaments, contain a full revelation of the will of God, in reference to man; and are alone sufficient for every thing relative to the faith and practice of a Christian, and were given by the inspiration of God.

"IV. Man was created in righteousness and true holiness, without any moral imperfection, or any kind of propensity to sin; but free to stand or fall, according to the use of the powers and faculties he received from his Creator.

"V. He fell from this state, became morally corrupt in his nature, and transmitted his moral defilement to all his posterity.

"VI. To counteract the evil principle in the heart of man, and bring him into a salvable state, God, from His infinite love, formed the purpose of redeeming him from his lost estate, by the Incarnation, in the fulness of time, of Jesus Christ; and, in the interim, sent His Holy Spirit to enlighten, strive with, and convince, men of sin, righteousness, and judgment.

"VII. In due time this Divine Person, called the Logos, Word, Saviour, &c., &c., did become incarnate; sojourned among men, teaching the purest truth, and working the most stupendous and beneficent miracles.

"VIII. The above Person is really and properly God: was foretold as such, by the Prophets: described as such, by the Evangelists and Apostles; and proved to be such, by His miracles; and has assigned to Him by the inspired writers in general, every attribute essential to the Deity; being One with Him who is called God, Jehovah, Lord, &c.

"IX. He is also a perfect Man, in consequence of His Incarnation; and in that Man, or Manhood, dwelt all the fulness of the Godhead bodily: so that His nature is twofold--Divine and Human, or God manifested in the flesh.

"X. His Human Nature was begotten of the blessed Virgin

Mary, through the creative energy of the Holy Ghost: but His Divine Nature, because God, infinite and eternal, is uncreated, underived, and unbegotten; and which, were it otherwise, He could not be God in any proper sense of the word: but He is most explicitly declared to be God in the Holy Scriptures; and therefore the doctrine of the Eternal Sonship, must necessarily be false. . . .

"XI. As He took upon Him the nature of man, and died in that nature; therefore, He died for the whole human race, without respect of persons: equally for all and every man.

"XII. On the third day after His crucifixion, and burial, He rose from the dead; and after shewing Himself many days to His disciples and others, He ascended into heaven, where, as God manifested in the Flesh, He is, and shall continue to be, the Mediator of the human race, till the consummation of all things.

"XIII. There is no salvation, but through Him; and throughout the Scriptures His Passion and Death, are considered as Sacrificial: pardon of sin and final salvation being obtained by the alone shedding of His blood.

"XIV. No human being, since the fall, either has, or can have, merit or worthiness of, or by, himself; and therefore, has nothing to claim from God, but in the way of His mercy through Christ: therefore, pardon and every other blessing, promised in the Gospel, have been purchased by His Sacrificial Death; and are given to men, not on the account of anything they have done or suffered; or can do or suffer; but for His sake, or through His meritorious passion and death, alone.

"XV. These blessings are received by faith; because they are not of works nor of suffering.

"XVI. The power to believe, or grace of faith, is the free gift of God, without which no man can believe: but the act of faith, or actually believing, is the act of the soul under that power: this power is withheld from no man; but, like all other gifts of God, it may be slighted, not used, or misused, in consequence of which is that declaration, He that believeth shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned.

"XVII. Justification, or the pardon of sin, is an instantaneous act of God's mercy in behalf of a penitent sinner, trusting only in the merits of Jesus Christ: and this act is absolute in reference to all past sin, all being forgiven where any is forgiven: gradual pardon, or progressive justification, being unscriptural and absurd.

"XVIII. The souls of all believers may be purified from

all sin in this life; and a man may live under the continual influence of the grace of Christ, so as not to sin against God. All sinful tempers and evil propensities being destroyed, and his heart constantly filled with pure love both to God and man; and, as love is the principle of obedience, he who loves God with all his heart, soul, mind, and strength, and his neighbour as himself, is incapable of doing wrong to either.

"XIX. Unless a believer live and walk in the spirit of obedience, he will fall from the grace of God, and forfeit all his Christian privileges and rights; and, although he may be restored to the favor and image of his Maker from which he had fallen, yet it is possible that he may continue under the influence of this fall, and perish everlastingly.

"XX. The whole period of human life is a state of probation, in every point of which a sinner may repent, and turn to God: and in every point of it, a believer may give way to sin, and fall from grace: and this possibility of rising or falling is essential to a state of trial or probation.

"XXI. All the promises and threatenings of the Sacred Writings, as they regard man in reference to his being here and hereafter, are conditional; and it is on this ground alone that the Holy Scriptures can be consistently interpreted or rightly understood.

"XXII. Man is a free agent, never being impelled by any necessitating influence, either to do good, or evil: but has the continual power to choose the life or the death that are set before him; on which ground he is an accountable being, and answerable for his own actions: and on this ground also he is alone capable of being rewarded or punished.

"XXIII. The free will of man is a necessary constituent of his rational soul; without which he must be a mere machine,--either the sport of blind chance, or the mere patient of an irresistible necessity; and consequently, not accountable for any acts which were predetermined, and to which he was irresistibly compelled.

"XXIV. Every human being has this freedom of will, with a sufficiency of light and power to direct its operations: but this powerful light is not inherent in any man's nature, but is graciously bestowed by Him who is The true Light which lighteneth every man that cometh into the world.

"XXV. Jesus Christ has made by His one offering upon the Cross, a sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and atonement for the sins of the whole world; and His gracious Spirit strives with, and enlightens, all men; thus putting them into a salvable state: therefore, every human soul may be saved if it be not his own fault.

"XXVI. Jesus Christ has instituted, and commanded to be perpetuated, in His Church, two sacraments only:--1. BAPTISM, sprinkling, washing with, or immersion in, water, in the name of the Holy and Ever-blessed Trinity, as a sign of the cleansing or regenerating influence of the Holy Spirit, by which influence a death unto sin and a new birth unto righteousness, are produced: and 2. The EUCHARIST, or Lord's Supper, as commemorating the sacrificial death of Christ. And he instituted the first to be once only administered to the same person, for the above purpose, and as a rite of initiation into the visible church: and the second, that by its frequent administration all believers may be kept in mind, of the foundation on which their salvation is built, and receive grace to enable them to adorn the doctrine of God their Saviour in all things.

"XXVII. The soul is immaterial and immortal, and can subsist independently of the body.

"XXVIII. There will be a general Resurrection of the dead; both of the just and the unjust; when the souls of both shall be re-united to their respective bodies; both of which will be immortal and live eternally.

"XXIX. There will be a general Judgment; after which all shall be punished or rewarded, according to the deeds done in the body; and the wicked shall be sent to hell, and the righteous taken to heaven.

"XXX. These states of rewards and punishments shall have no end, for as much as the time of trial or probation shall then be for ever terminated; and the succeeding state must necessarily be fixed and unalterable.

"XXXI. The origin of human salvation is found in the infinite philanthropy of God; and, on this principle, the unconditional reprobation of any soul is absolutely impossible.

"XXXII. God has no secret will, in reference to man, which is contrary to His revealed will,--as this would shew Him to be an insincere Being,--professing benevolence to all, while He secretly purposed that that benevolence should be extended only to a few; a doctrine which appears blasphemous as it respects God,--and subversive of all moral good as it regards man, and totally at variance with the infinite rectitude of the Divine Nature."[1]

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1. Autobiography, pp. 172-6. While Clarke indicates that these articles were settled upon in his youth, they were written in their present form and included in his Autobiography about a decade before his death. Clarke's letter to John Clarke,

The views expressed in these articles of religion reveal both the early theological influences and the original thinking of Clarke during his youth. The importance of this early Scriptural Creed--"no article of which he afterwards saw occasion to change"--[1] cannot be overemphasized. For while he later added a few articles, such as the doctrine of assurance, this creed ever remained the essence of his theological thought.

II. Theological Thought: Soteriology

Adam Clarke's primary emphasis in his theological thought, as in his preaching, was upon God's plan of salvation.[2] For, like Wesley, he had a small interest in the abstract scholasticism of theology, but a large concern in its practical soteriology.[3] Clarke was indeed in the main stream of evangelical Wesleyan theology by stressing the love of God as the source of salvation, the death of Christ as the means of salvation, and the witness of the Holy Spirit as the assurance of salvation. The Divine soteriological purpose, according to Clarke, was to enable all mankind--alienated from the Creator after the fall--to enjoy a

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written from Liverpool, June 15, 1819, cited in Autobiography, Preface, pp. vii-viii. Compare this creed with "Principles Which, on Carefully Reading and Studying the Sacred Writings, I Think I Find Unequivocally Revealed There," Commentary, VI, pp. 2128-9; and "Clavis Biblica; or A Compendium of Scriptural Knowledge," Works, XII, pp. 123-136. Henceforth in this thesis, this article in Clarke's Commentary will be entitled "Principles."

1. Ibid., p. 171. Clarke's own words given in the third person instead of the first.
2. Sermons XLII, "True Happiness, and the Way to Attain It," and XLIII, "The High Commission," Works, VII, pp. 435 and 441.
3. Henry Bett, The Spirit of Methodism, Chap. V, "The Theological Contribution."

completely restored fellowship with God through repentance and faith in Jesus Christ.[1] Only as man enjoys perfect communion with God, Clarke reasoned, can he be happy. Hence the necessity for holiness which, in his view, was a life lived in perfect love to God and man.[2] Perfect love (Christian perfection) prepared man in the present state of probation for an eternity with God--the end of salvation.

A. Bible: Revelation of Salvation

The Bible, which contained God's revelation of salvation, was Adam Clarke's constant and ultimate source of authority.[3] He, like Wesley, was "homo unius libri."[4] However, while holding to the infallibility of God's Word and to the importance of revelation, Clarke also placed a considerable stress upon reason. That he was not a little influenced by the rationalistic emphasis of his time may be seen in the following statement:

> "The SACRED WRITINGS are a system of pure unsophisticated reason proceeding from the immaculate mind of God; in many places, it is true, vastly elevated beyond what the reason of man could have devised or found out, but in no case contrary to human reason. They are addressed, not to the passions, but to the reason of man; every command is urged with reasons of obedience, and every promise and threatening founded on

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1. Autobiography, p. 107.
2. "We cannot conceive," says Clarke, "that any intelligent being can be happy, unless he is holy." Sermon LXIII, "God's Love in Jesus Christ, Considered in Its Objects, Its Freeness, and Saving Results," Works, VIII, pp. 372-3.
3. Sermon XIV, "The Different Methods Which God Has Used to Bring Men to the Knowledge of Himself," Works, V, pp. 311-345; and "Clavis Biblica; or A Compendium of Scriptural Knowledge," Works, XII, pp. 119-122 and 132.
4. "A man of one book." Vide "Mr. Wesley's Preface to the Sermons," Works of Wesley (First American Ed.), I, p. xix.

> the most evident reason and propriety. The whole, therefore, are to be rationally understood, and rationally interpreted. He who would discharge reason from this, its noblest province, is a friend in his heart to the antichristian maxim, 'Ignorance is the mother of devotion.' Revelation and reason go hand in hand: faith is the servant of the former, and the friend of the latter, while the Spirit of God, which gave the revelation, improves and exalts reason, and gives energy and effect to faith."[1]

Clarke ever asserted that "the doctrine which cannot stand the test of rational investigation cannot be true."[2] Because the Scriptural doctrines all were "doctrines of eternal reason,"[3] he concluded that they were revealed only because they all were rational.

As Clarke applied the doctrines of salvation found in the Bible,[4] he observed that they also were true to human experience. They were effective in the redemption of man. Thus the pragmatic test of human experience became for him, as for Wesley, another basis of authority. Says Clarke:

> "Those who decry experimental religion show that they have no religion; for what is not proved by experiment, is only hypothesis, and therefore cannot be practical: even their own creed, though sound in itself, may be hypothesis to themselves, for they have not proved whether it be true or false: they believe in God, without knowing that he is their Father: in Christ, without feeling him as their Saviour; in the Holy Spirit, without experiencing him as their Sanctifier; for they have never looked to him to bear witness with their spirits, that they are the sons and daughters of the Lord Almighty."[5]

Thus Clarke's theology, like that of Wesley, was intensely

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1. "Principles," Commentary, VI, pp. 2128-9.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Sermon XIV, "The Different Methods Which God Has Used to Bring Men to the Knowledge of Himself," Works, V, pp. 330 et seqq.
5. Sermon Outline V, "Divine and Saving Knowledge," Works, VIII, pp. 431-2.

empirical. In true Wesleyan tradition, "Scripture, reason and experience"[1] were the bases of his authority.

B. God: Source of Salvation

The theology of Adam Clarke began and ended with God, "the Fountain of all happiness."[2] The plan of salvation, Clarke insists:

> ". . . [came] from God, the Fountain of wisdom, truth, holiness, and goodness; and if this be its origin, it must be wise, true, holy, and beneficent; and all its operations vindicate its claim to a heavenly origin."[3]

He had little time for philosophical speculation about the Divine Being, but repeatedly stressed God's redeeming love and saving grace. His metaphysical thought consisted mainly in a priori and a posteriori arguments demonstrating the existence of God.[4] Creation, nature, and providence were sufficient proofs of a Supreme Being--One who was sovereign, yet personal.[5]

In the Godhead, Clarke asserted, there exists a "Trinity

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1. Vide note written Thursday, 17 December, 1772, "An Extract of the Rev. Mr. John Wesley's Journal from September 2, 1770, to September 12, 1773," Works of Wesley, op. cit., IV, p. 388.
2. Sermon XVII, "On the Decalogue, or Ten Commandments," Works, V, p. 397.
3. Sermon VII, "Saint Paul's Glorying; or, The Gospel of Christ the Power of God Unto Salvation," Works, V, p. 148.
4. Commentary, Hebrews xi. 6, VI, pp. 1794-1800; and Sermons I, "On the Being and Attributes of God," VI, "Experimental Religion, and Its Fruits," and XXIX, "Some Observations on the Being and Providence of a God," Works, V, pp. 1-39, 121-140, and VI, pp. 323-353.
5. Commentary, Note on Romans, Chap. 1, V, pp. 995-1007; Sermons I, op. cit., XIV, "The Different Methods Which God Has Used to Bring Men to the Knowledge of Himself," XLI, "Saint Paul's Metaphysics; or The Invisible Things of God Made Known by the Visible Works of Creation," Works, V, pp. 15 et seqq., VII, pp. 367-414; and Autobiography, p. 110.

of persons"[1]--Father, Son, and Holy Spirit--"and these Three are One."[2] He defined the "incomprehensible JEHOVAH"[3] as "an infinite, eternal, almighty, and benevolent Spirit. One who has all wisdom to plan--all power to execute--and all benevolence to direct everything to the best end."[4] While he admitted that the attributes of God were "all incomprehensible,"[5] he still believed that from observation and experience it was possible to "know them."[6] And, he adds, "I have a prospect of knowing them better, in proportion as I employ my faculties under the sanctifying influences of the Spirit of God."[7] Hence, he sought to learn as much as possible concerning both the natural and moral attributes of God. Clarke's primary concern was with His ethical character. A knowledge of God's unity,[8] omnipotence,[9] omnipresence,[10] omniscience,[11]

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1. Autobiography, pp. 211-213; and "Erasmus and the Shepherd," Clarke's letter to the Editor of The Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine, written from Haydon Hall, June 22, 1830, III, Fourth Series (December, 1847), pp. 1179-1180.
2. Clarke's letter to Mary Cooke written from Les Terres, December 24, 1786, Autobiography, pp. 299-301; and Commentary, Note on John Chap. 1, V, pp. 529-548.
3. Sermon XLI, op. cit., p. 398.
4. Sermon XL, "St. Peter's Character of the Dispersed Among the Gentiles," Works, VII, p. 363.
5. Sermon L, "The Love of God to Man," Works, VIII, pp. 119-120.
6. Ibid. Quoted in part.
7. Ibid.
8. Commentary, Deuteronomy vi. 4, I, pp. 766-7.
9. Ibid., Joshua x. 12, II, pp. 939-943; and Sermon XIX, "The Traveller's Prayer," Works, VI, pp. 46-7.
10. Sermon XVIII, "The Lord's Prayer," op. cit., pp. 15-16.
11. Clarke closely associated God's foreknowledge and providence with omniscience. Vide: Sermons XXXIX, "The Operations of Providence and Grace, Calculated to Inspire Confidence and Gratitude," and XLVI, "The Doctrine of Providence," Works, VII, p. 311, and VIII, pp. 58-60. So strongly did Clarke emphasize the Arminian principle of man's free will and so strongly did he oppose the Calvinistic emphasis upon God's absolute determinism, that he erred by limiting God's foreknowledge. "I conclude that God," writes Clarke, "although

wisdom,[1] and immutability was important; however, he was more concerned with His holiness, righteousness, justice, mercy, and love.[2] For, as he reasons:

> ". . . the question, What must I do to be saved? must have remained eternally unanswered, if God, in his boundless mercy, in connexion with all his attributes, had not found a plan, in which all his perfections can harmonize, and his justice appear as prominent as his grace."[3]

While indicating that God "peculiarly exercised"[4] the two attributes of justice and mercy in initiating the great plan of salvation, Clarke firmly believed that "the foundation and cause of all his acts towards the whole human race"[5] was "the love of God to man."[6] This love, he asserts, "is the pure, righteous, and benevolent principle by which God ever acts in all his dispensations to man, and in all his operations in man."[7] In describing the love of God, his favorite subject, Clarke writes:

> "It is an overflowing and ever-running fountain--the stream from it is both large and deep: it is ever swelling, and ever diffusing itself, so as to spread itself over the whole earth, and reach every human being; as the poet says:--
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> . . . . . .

omniscient, is not obliged, in consequence of this, to know all that he can know; no more than he is obliged, because he is omnipotent, to do all that he can do." Cf. Commentary, Acts ii. 23, and Note on Chap. ii, V, pp. 720 and 726-7, and Sermon XLVI, op. cit., pp. 63 et seqq., with Gill Timms, "Remarks on the Foreknowledge of God suggested by passages in Dr. Clarke's Commentary on the New Testament," The Eclectic Review, XIV, New Series (November, 1820), pp. 382-7.

1. Sermon X, "The Wisdom That Is From Above," Works, V, pp. 214-224.
2. Sermon XXXIX, op. cit., pp. 302-4; and Commentary, Romans iii. 20-6, V, pp. 1017-1020.
3. Sermon XXXIV, "Salvation by Faith," Works, VII, p. 153. Quoted in part.
4. Ibid., p. 158.
5. Sermon XIV, op. cit., pp. 330-331.
6. Ibid.
7. Sermon VI, op. cit., pp. 126-7.

'Its streams the whole creation reach,
So plenteous is the store;
Enough for all, enough for each,
Enough for evermore.'"[1]

Thus, for Clarke God's "sovereign love"[2] was "the sum and substance" of all "the religion of the Bible."[3] With such a strong emphasis upon the love of God he, like Wesley, completely denied the vigorous predestination of scholastic Calvinism.[4] The essence of Clarke's theology of love is found in the Gospel by Saint John, chapter three, verse sixteen:

> "For God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life."[5]

The following exposition of this verse, given in his Commentary, is a summary of Clarke's soteriological thought as based upon God's "philanthropy":[6]

> "First, The World was in a ruinous, condemned state, about to perish everlastingly; and was utterly without power to rescue itself from destruction.
>
> "Secondly, That God, through the impulse of his eternal love, provided for rescue and salvation, by giving his Son to die for it.

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1. Sermon XXXIX, op. cit., p. 321.
2. Sermon XX, "Death Unavoidable," Works, VI, p. 90.
3. Ibid.
4. Clarke wrote this comment on Matthew vii. 11: "What a picture is here given of the /love and/ goodness of God! Reader, ask thy soul, could this heavenly Father reprobate to unconditional eternal damnation any creature he has made? He who can believe that he has, may believe anything: but still GOD IS LOVE." Commentary, V, p. 100. Clarke admits that he was influential against "the horrid doctrine of unconditional reprobation" by reading the "Mr. Wesley's Philosophy." Vide: "Predestination Calmly Considered," Works of Wesley (First American Ed.), VI, pp. 40 et seqq.; /John M. Hare/, The Life and Labours of Adam Clarke (Second Ed.), p. 59; and Autobiography, p. 214.
5. The Holy Bible, Authorized King James Version.
6. Sermon XLVI, op. cit., p. 62.

"Thirdly, That the sacrifice of Jesus was the only means by which the redemption of man could be effected, and that it is absolutely sufficient to accomplish the gracious design: for it would have been inconsistent with the wisdom of God, to have appointed a sacrifice greater in itself, or less in its merit, than what the urgent necessities of the case required.

"Fourthly, That sin must be an indescribable evil, when it required no less a sacrifice, to make atonement for it, than God manifested in the flesh.

"Fifthly, That no man is saved through this sacrifice, but he who believes, i.e. who credits what God has spoken concerning Christ, his sacrifice, the end for which it was offered, and the way in which it is to be applied in order to become effectual.

"Sixthly, That those who believe receive a double benefit: 1. They are exempted from eternal perdition--that they may not perish. 2. They are brought to eternal glory--that they may have everlasting life. These two benefits point out tacitly the state of man:--he is guilty, and therefore exposed to punishment: he is impure, and therefore unfit for glory.

"They point out also the two grand operations of grace, by which the salvation of man is effected. 1. Justification, by which the guilt of sin is removed and consequently the person is no longer obnoxious to perdition. 2. Sanctification, or the purification of his nature, by which he is properly fitted for the kingdom of glory."[1]

C. Man: Need of Salvation

The redemptive love of God was manifested to humanity in direct proportion to man's great need of salvation. This need, according to Clarke, was twofold, for man suffered from the guilt of sin after the fall and from the depravity or power of sin. "Man," he asserts, "is not what he originally was."[2] For he was created in the image of God, and as "the stream must resemble the spring,"[3] so man was originally "holy, just, wise, good, and

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1. Commentary, V, p. 552.
2. Sermon LVI, "Probation and Temptation," Works, VIII, p. 242.
3. Commentary, Genesis i. 26, I, pp. 40-41.

perfect."[1] Clarke believed:

> ". . . that God made man from the principle of love, that he might make him happy with himself, and endued him with powers capable of receiving that happiness; and that while he lived in this state of union with his Maker, he was necessarily happy; and happy beyond anything we can conceive or describe."[2]

One of man's "powers" was the "freedom of choice,"[3] a faculty given by God that man "might be a free rewardable or punishable moral agent."[4] With this free will, when his love and obedience to God were put to the test, man yielded to the temptation of the evil one. He asserted his will against the will of his Creator. Thus, reasons Clarke:

> "To love God is to be happy; to obey God is to continue in his love. Man, ceasing to be obedient, did not continue in this love, and consequently lost his happiness.
>
> "But this was not the only evil that his transgression entailed upon him; he fell into condemnation, because he had broken this law. When a law is broken, not only all the privileges it confers on the obedient are lost . . . but he is condemned as a transgressor, to suffer the penalty due to his sin. And in a case of this kind . . . the penalty is an everlasting separation from the presence of God, and the glory of his power."[5]

Moreover, the effects of the fall, the guilt and power of sin, were passed on to posterity.[6] "All are born," observes Clarke, "with a sinful nature; and the seeds of this evil soon

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1. Ibid. Also Sermon XII, "Life, Death, and Immortality," Works, V, pp. 262 et seqq.
2. Sermon LXIII, "God's Love in Jesus Christ, Considered in Its Objects, Its Freeness, and Saving Results," Works, VIII, pp. 374 et seqq.
3. Sermon XI, "Genuine Happiness the Privilege of the Christian in This Life," Works, V, pp. 237 et seqq.
4. Ibid.
5. Sermon IX, "Life, the Gift of the Gospel; The Law, the Ministration of Death," Works, V, pp. 197 et seqq.
6. Sermon XXII, "Acquaintance with God, and the Benefits Which Result From It," Works, VI, pp. 129 et seqq.; and "Clavis Biblica; or, A Compendium of Scriptural Knowledge," Works, XII, p. 126.

vegetate, and bring forth corresponding fruits."[1] Thus, he reasons:

> "That man is a fallen, sinful being, cannot be denied; that he has that carnal mind which is enmity against God, requires no proof. He is despicable and mean, yet proud and arrogant. He is sinful and wicked, yet presumptive of merit, and expectant of endless felicity. His moral weakness is such that he cannot resist sin; and yet he acts and boasts as if he had all power, and could bruise down Satan under his own feet. In a word, he is ignorant and proud, sinful and wicked, an enemy to himself, an enemy to his species, and an enemy to God."[2]

The strong doctrine of man's original sin that Clarke held was not a mere theological theory, but a fact based upon empirical evidence.[3] There was nothing Pelagian, Semi-Pelagian, or Deistic in his Arminian thinking at this point.[4] In fact, according to Clarke, it was the very wickedness of man, his great need of salvation that caused God to send His Son to earth as the means of salvation. Man was so sinful that he was not even able to have faith to respond to God's redeeming love and grace.[5] Thus, Clarke could say with Wesley, without theological contradiction, "you can do nothing to save yourself," and yet, "you must work out your own salvation."[6]

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1. Commentary, Romans v. 12, V, pp. 1031-3.
2. Sermons VII, "Saint Paul's Glorying; or, The Gospel of Christ the Power of God Unto Salvation," and XXX, "The Corruption That Is in the World Through Lust," Works, V, pp. 148-9, and VI, pp. 360 et seqq.
3. Commentary, Genesis iii. 7, I, pp. 53-5.
4. "Dr. Adam Clarke," The Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine, IV, Fifth Series (April, 1858), pp. 299-300.
5. Clarke's MS. letter to J. Rogers, written from Millbrook, July 2, 1818, Lamplough Collection of MSS., Strong Rooms, City Road.
6. Wesley, cited by R. W. Butner and R. E. Chiles (eds.), A Compend of Wesley's Theology, p. 109.

D. Jesus Christ: Means of Salvation

At the very heart of Adam Clarke's theology were the person and work of Jesus Christ; herein lay the Divine means of man's salvation.[1] The manifestation of God's love in sending "his only-begotten Son"[2] was the very basis of his soteriology, as it always was the central emphasis in his preaching.[3] Faith in the atoning work of Christ was for him, as for Wesley, "the sole condition" of salvation.[4] To those with spiritual needs this evangelical message was extended:

Ye thirsty for God,
To Jesus, give ear,
And take, through his blood,
A Power to draw near;
His kind invitation
Ye sinners embrace,
Accepting salvation,
Salvation by grace.[5]

Clarke so stressed the work of Jesus Christ that he gave little consideration to His person. When he did discuss the Son, his heterodox opinions concerning the eternal Sonship sometimes found expression.[6] Yet, he ever held an orthodox view of the

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1. Sermon XXXII, "The Love of God to a Lost World," Works, VI, pp. 446 et seqq.
2. Ibid.
3. Supra, pp. 153 et seqq.
4. "A Farther Appeal to Men of Reason and Religion," Works of Wesley (First American Ed.), V, pp. 34 et seqq.
5. John Wesley, Collection of Hymns for the Use of the People Called Methodists, With a New Supplement (1877 Ed.), p. 5. This was the hymn which Clarke had the Methodist congregation at Westbury sing just before he preached his last sermon on August 19, 1832. The appropriateness of this hymn was surpassed only by the text of his sermon: "This is a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptation, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners." I Timothy i. 15, The Holy Bible, Authorized King James Version. H. R. Griffith's letter to Richard Smith, cited without date, Works, XIII, pp. 465-7.
6. Infra, pp. 238-250.

Deity of Christ and of His equality with the other Persons of the Trinity.[1] Although Christ proceeded from the Father, Clarke held that He was still of "the same essence with the Father."[2] And while of the same essence, "he is a distinct person from the Father; as the splendour of the sun, though of the same essence, is distinct from the sun itself, though each is essential to each other."[3] As the Father is uncreated and eternal so is Christ, for "the proceeding splendour must necessarily be co-existent with the inherent splendour."[4] Thus, Clarke concludes:

> "As GOD, he created all things, governs all, worked the most stupendous miracles; is omniscient, omnipresent, and is the Judge as well as the Maker of the whole human race. As MAN, he laboured, fainted, hungered, was thirsty; ate, drank, slept, suffered, and died. As God and man, combined in one person, he suffered for man; died for man; rose again for man. . . ."[5]

Of primary importance in Clarke's theological thought was the work of Christ, particularly His atonement for sin. After his own adolescent conversion, when he learned by experience how Arianism and Socinianism minimized the atonement, he stressed the sacrificial death of Christ. It was through the merit of Christ's death that he personally received forgiveness and justification by faith.[6] Looking back upon his earlier years, Clarke says:

> "It was a strong article in my creed that the Passion and Death of Christ were held out through the whole of the New

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1. "Clavis Biblica; or, A Compendium of Scriptural Knowledge," Works, XII, p. 125.
2. Commentary, Hebrews i. 2,3, VI, pp. 1702-4.
3. Ibid. Quoted in part.
4. Ibid.
5. Sermon XXXII, op. cit., p. 449. The first two sentences of this quotation are given in reverse order from that of the original.
6. Autobiography, pp. 90-3.

> Testament as sacrificial and expiatory; and that His Death was a sufficient ransom, sacrifice, and atonement for the sin of the world: for He, by the grace of God, had tasted death for every man."[1]

He believed that the passion and death of Christ were necessary as an atonement made to divine justice in behalf of man and that it was "through the merit of that great sacrifice that God forgives sin."[2] Clarke, holding a governmental theory of Atonement, went beyond Grotius[3] by asserting that Christ through death paid the grand "redemptive-price"[4] in order to "liberate" man who was a slave to sin.[5] Says Clarke:

> "Jesus Christ, as man, could suffer and die; as God, he was incapable of either: but it was necessary that his human nature should suffer in order to make an atonement; and it was necessary that his deity should be united with that humanity in order to make its suffering of infinite value, that thereby a suitable atonement might be made for the sins of the world.
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> "It was also necessary that this Redeemer should be infinitely divine and perfect; as the end of his great undertaking was not only to purchase pardon for a world of offenders, but to merit eternal happiness for mankind. Now an infinite happiness cannot be purchased by any price less than that which is infinite in value; and infinity of merit can only result from a nature that is infinitely divine or perfect."[6]

With this view of the atonement it is understandable that

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1. Ibid. The first person is used in place of the third.
2. Commentary, Note on Romans, Chap. iii, V, p. 1020. Past tense is used in place of the present.
3. The author and chief exponent of the governmental theory was Hugo Grotius (1583-1645), a distinguished Dutch jurist. Charles Hodge, Systematic Theology, III, pp. 188-190.
4. Sermon XLVIII, "The Gift of a Saviour the Fulfilment of Prophecy," Works, VIII, pp. 88 et seqq.
5. Ibid.
6. "Clavis Biblica; or, A Compendium of Scriptural Knowledge," op. cit., pp. 126-7.

Clarke, like Wesley, enthusiastically supported the doctrine of general redemption.[1] Neither could see any Scriptural basis for the view of limited atonement as found in (what Clarke called) "abominable Calvinism."[2] How could Christ have died only for the elect? For, says Clarke:

> ". . . Jesus has taken upon him the nature of man; and in human nature he made expiation for the sins of that nature: consequently, all those whose nature he shared, have a right to the merit of his death. All those who partake of human nature have a right to apply to God, in virtue of that, for remission of sins."[3]

Thus, he concludes:

> ". . . as by the grace of God, he tasted death for every man, so there is merit sufficient in his death to redeem every soul; but as God has promised the forgiveness of sins, and final salvation, only to them who believe, &c. only such are finally benefited by the sacrifice."[4]

The atonement of Christ was of primary importance, because in Clarke's soteriology it was the sole basis of salvation. It was the means for both justification by faith from the guilt of sin, and of sanctification of the believer from the power of

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1. Clarke in advising one of his missionaries in the Shetlands says, "Proclaim loudly to the poor sinners, that Jesus Christ tasted death for every man; and that his blood cleanses from all unrighteousness. This is the doctrine God will own. What has the wretched stuff of C/alvi/n done for the world? Produced a spurious Christianity, and left the people in their sins." Letter to Samuel Dunn, written from Millbrook, Prescott, May 18, 1823, Works, XIII, pp. 175-6.
2. Cf. Clarke's MS. letter to John Stonehouse, written from Manchester, March 4, 1800, Collection of MSS., Strong Rooms, City Road; and letter to H. S. Boyd, written from London, June 7, 1815, Works, XII, pp. 471-2, with Wesley's treatise, "Predestination Calmly Considered," Works of Wesley (First American Ed.), VI, pp. 38-9.
3. "A Fragment in Favour of General Redemption," Works, VIII, pp. 439-440.
4. Clarke's letter to H. S. Boyd, written from London, July 8, 1815, Works, XII, pp. 473-4.

sin.[1] However, while stressing the importance of repentance and faith as essential for justification, he insists that man could do nothing to save himself--all "must come to God through Christ, to be saved by free grace, and mere mercy alone."[2] Says Clarke:

> "You . . . /cannot/ by any good work, merit salvation, because you cannot work without the power of God; and what has been wrought by God's power, HE alone has the merit of,--not man. In the same way as you cannot purchase the goods of a merchant, by giving him, in exchange, other goods of his own."[3]

So emphatically did Clarke oppose the doctrine of salvation by works that he even asserts that no human effort--whether it be obeying God's law, believing the Church's creed, discharging benevolent religious and social duties, or even partaking of the sacraments of the Church (particularly baptism)--can avail "either to justify or sanctify."[4] Only Christ can regenerate man by purging his guilt and cleansing his heart.[5] Because of an ever-present fear of detracting from the merit of Christ's death, Clarke refused to support "the unscriptural doctrine of the imputed righteousness of Christ."[6] He also refrained from using the "puzzling" term of "imputed faith," insisting that it was

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1. Outline VI, "Salvation by Grace, Through Faith," Works, VIII, pp. 436-8.
2. "Clavis Biblica; or, A Compendium of Scriptural Knowledge," Works, XII, pp. 129-130; and Sermon LXI, "The True Circumcision," Works, VIII, p. 339.
3. Ibid.
4. Sermon XXV, "Christ Crucified, A Stumbling-Block to the Jews, and Foolishness to the Greeks," Works, VI, pp. 233-4.
5. Ibid.
6. Cf. Clarke's letter to Samuel Dunn, written from Millbrook, Prescott, January 21, 1823, Works, XIII, pp. 154-6; and Commentary, Note on Romans, Chap. iv, V, pp. 1026-7; with "An Extract of the Rev. Mr. John Wesley's Journal," December 30, 1767, Works of Wesley (First American Ed.), IV, p. 264.

"what faith receives, its Object," which was important.[1] Thus, to an inquiring friend, he points out that the all-important thing is to believe:

> "That Jesus Christ . . . died for our offences, and rose again for our justification: therefore it is not the faith that justifies, but the death of Christ, considered as our atonement for sin. In other words, Christ, by his sufferings and death, has purchased pardon for you. Believe this. Believe that this is a sufficient ransom-price, satisfaction, and oblation for your sins, and as such take and present it before God; and on this account, for this sake or through the merit or worth of this sacrifice, God will blot out all your sins."[2]

The doctrine of "justification by faith" was, in the opinion of Clarke, "one of the grandest displays of the mercy of God to mankind. It is so very plain that all may comprehend it; and so free that all may attain it."[3]

Clarke's emphasis upon what Christ had done for man was surpassed only by his stress upon what He was able to do in man. He excelled in applying God's plan of salvation to the heart.[4] Salvation of the heart was the very crux of Clarke's evangelical emphasis as a preacher and as a theologian. He cautions:

> "On considering this glorious scheme of salvation, there is great danger, lest, while we stand amazed at what was done FOR US, we neglect what must be done IN US. Guilt in the conscience and sin in the heart ruin the man. Pardon in the conscience and Christ in the heart save the soul. Christ has done much to save us, and the way of salvation is made plain; but, unless he justify our conscience from dead works, and purify our hearts from all sin, his passion and death will profit us nothing."[5]

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1. Clarke's letter to W. Vipond, written from Manchester, June 30, 1805, cited in The Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine, XXIII, Third Series (January, 1844) pp. 113-114.
2. Ibid.
3. Commentary, loc. cit.
4. Supra, pp. 181-183.
5. Commentary, Note on Romans, Chap. iii, V, p. 1020.

Herein lay the importance of repentance and faith. For, as he says:

> ". . . he who does not repent and forsake sin cannot be justified, and he who is not justified cannot be sanctified, and he who is not sanctified cannot be glorified."[1]

The distinction between the work done for man and in man was to Clarke the important distinction between two of his most emphasized doctrines--justification and sanctification. "JUSTIFICATION, or the pardon of sin," he explains, "comes through what Christ has done FOR man"; whereas, "SANCTIFICATION, or the purification of the soul from all unrighteousness," was "what Christ's Spirit does IN man."[2] In the first, man's guilt and condemnation for sin is removed; in the second, his impure and depraved nature (original sin) is washed and cleansed and he is made a partaker of the divine nature. The first prevents man from eternal separation from God; the second prepares him for everlasting life with God.[3] These double benefits, Clarke emphasizes, are to be received through faith in Jesus Christ, the grand means of salvation. The assurance of these blessings, which bring peace and happiness in this life and hope and glory in the future life, comes through the witness of the Holy Spirit.[4]

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1. "Clavis Biblica; or, A Compendium of Scriptural Knowledge," loc. cit. Clarke stressed that true repentance, the first step in salvation, came as a result of deep "conviction of sin" and "contrition for sin." "Repentance and Faith," The Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine, VIII, Third Series (November, 1829), pp. 734-5.
2. Sermons XXX, "The Corruption That Is in the World Through Lust," and XXXII, "The Love of God to a Lost World," Works, VI, pp. 381 and 469.
3. Sermon XXII, ibid., pp. 468-473.
4. Sermon XL, "St. Peter's Character of the Dispersed Among the Gentiles," Works, VII, pp. 357 et seqq.; and Commentary, Romans v. 1, V, pp. 1027-8.

E. Holy Spirit: Assurance of Salvation

The Holy Spirit as the instrument of God's love had a significant place in the soteriological emphasis of Adam Clarke's theology. The Spirit was active in convicting the sinner of his sin and in assuring the believer of his salvation. So important was the communicative work of the Holy Spirit between God and man that His person, like the person of Christ, received little consideration by the Irish theologian. Yet, he held the orthodox view that the Holy Spirit, called frequently the Spirit of God and the Spirit of Christ, was one of the three persons of the Holy Trinity.[1]

The redemptive purpose of the Holy Spirit, in the words of Clarke:

> ". . . [was] to awaken the consciences of men; convince them of sin, righteousness, and judgment; apply the promise of pardon to the consciences of penitent sinners; and when they have freely accepted Christ crucified for their Saviour, then to testify with their spirits that God, for Christ's sake, has blotted out all the past; and thus, being justified freely through the redemption that is in Christ, having an entrance into the holiest by his blood, and by the Spirit being purified from all unrighteousness, the carnal mind totally destroyed, and the whole image of God restamped upon the soul, they may be fully qualified for, and at last received into, an eternal state of glory and happiness.
>
> "Justification comes through what Christ has done FOR man.
>
> "Sanctification comes through what Christ's Spirit does IN man."[2]

Thus in the two important doctrines stressed by Methodism,

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1. "Clavis Biblica; or, A Compendium of Scriptural Knowledge," Works, XII, p. 125.
2. Sermon XXX, loc. cit.; and Commentary, Note on Romans, Chap. v, V, pp. 1036-7.

assurance and sanctification, the Holy Spirit played an essential and active part.[1]

Although the doctrine of assurance, or "Witness of the Spirit,"[2] was conspicuously absent from Clarke's early religious creed, he gave it a prominent place in his writing as in his preaching.[3] As a lad in Ireland, it was the first Methodist doctrine to engage his attention. He later admits:

> "For a considerable time I doubted it: at last, I thought it might be the privilege of some of the peculiar favourites of God, but that it was not necessary to the salvation of any man. After reading the N/ew/ Test/ament/ seriously, I plainly saw that the Gospel afforded no exclusive privileges to any man or number of men."[4]

Moreover, Clarke's emphasis upon the "Witness of the Spirit"--in good Wesleyan tradition--was based upon the authority of experience.[5] In his youth he personally had sought and

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1. Clarke asserts that the "Witness of the Spirit" and entire sanctification ". . . are Doctrines that must stand or fall with Methodism. Where they are earnestly and faithfully preached, great good is done: where they are not preached or beaten out like gold-leaf . . . not only no good is done, but much hurt is done." Clarke's MS. letter to John Stonehouse, written from Bristol, March 4, 1800, Collection of MSS., Strong Rooms, City Road.
2. Ibid.
3. Supra, pp. 204-8. For Clarke's emphasis upon assurance in his preaching, vide: Sermons XI, XXIX, XXXII, XL, L, LXIV, and Outline II, Works, V, pp. 248 et seqq., VI, pp. 352 and 470, VII, p. 358, VIII, pp. 122, 395, and 416.
4. Clarke's MS. letter to Stonehouse, loc. cit.
5. Cf. Clarke's letter to Hornby, written from Millbrook, March 18, 1821, cited in An Account of Clarke's Life, II, pp. 381-5, with Wesley's "Sermons." In Sermon X, "The Witness of the Spirit," Wesley asserts that the very doctrine of assurance is itself an experience. He says, ". . . the testimony of the Spirit is an inward impression on the soul, whereby the Spirit of God directly witnesses to my spirit /conscience/, that I am a child of God; that Jesus Christ has loved me, and given himself for me; and that all my sins are blotted out, and I, even I, am reconciled to God." Works of Wesley (First American Ed.), I, p. 87.

obtained the Spirit's assurance of forgiveness. In his own experience the witness came as he received pardon.[1] Thus he testifies:

> "Immediately . . . I clearly knew that I was a child of God; the Spirit of God bore this witness with my conscience, and I could no more have doubted it, than I could have doubted of the reality of his existence or the identity of his person."[2]

The peace and happiness which Clarke felt as he received the Spirit's witness--blessings he ever held to be the "first-fruits" of assurance[3]-may be expressed best in these lines which he often quoted:

> I rode on the sky, freely justified I,
> Nor envied Elijah his seat;
> My heart mounted higher, in a chariot of fire,
> And the moon it was under my feet.[4]

He also found the doctrine of assurance to be empirically true in his ministry. To an Anglican friend, Clarke writes:

> "Perhaps I might with the strictest truth say that, during the forty years I have been in the ministry, I have met with at least forty thousand, who have had a clear and full evidence, that 'God, for Christ's sake, had forgiven them of their sins,' 'the Spirit himself bearing witness with their spirits, that they were sons and daughters of God.'"[5]

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1. Clarke says, "I have viewed the subject on every side, and am thoroughly persuaded that the knowledge of salvation by the remission of Sin, is almost, if not altogether, necessarily connected with the pardon itself." Clarke's MS. letter to Geo/rge/ Marsden, written from Liverpool, August 30, 1794, Collection of MSS., Strong Rooms, City Road.
2. Autobiography, pp. 103 et seqq. First person is used in place of the third.
3. Sermon XL, "St. Peter's Character of the Dispersed Among the Gentiles," Works, VII, p. 357; and Commentary, Romans v. 1, V, p. 1027.
4. Hymn cited by Clarke in Sermon XI, "Genuine Happiness the Privilege of the Christian in This Life," Works, V, p. 248.
5. Clarke's letter to Hornby, Rector of Winwick, written from Millbrook, March 19, 1821, cited in An Account of Clarke's Life, II, pp. 381-5.

However, Clarke was careful not to confuse "the knowledge of salvation by remission of sins, with final perseverance."[1] He held that the Spirit's witness in the conscience of the believer had nothing to do with "future possession."[2] For, as he says:

> ". . . the truly believing soul has now the witness in itself; and his retaining it depends on his faithfulness to the light and grace received. If he gives way to any known sin, he loses this witness, and must come to God through Christ as he came at first, in order to get the guilt of the transgression pardoned, and the light of God's countenance restored. For, the justification any soul receives, is not in reference to his future pardon of sin, since God declares his righteousness 'for the remission of sins that are past.' And no man can retain his evidence of his acceptance with God, longer than he has that 'faith which worketh by love.' The present is a state of probation: in such a state a man may rise, fall, or recover; with this the doctrine of the 'Witness of the Spirit', has nothing to do. When a man is justified, all his past sins are forgiven him; but this grace reaches not on to any sin that may be committed in any following moment."[3]

Yet, while the first fruit of the Spirit, assurance, had little to do with "future possession," the second fruit of the Spirit, sanctification, had much to do with the future life of the believer. For those who claimed to have the "Witness of the Spirit" in their hearts were taught that they must show evidence of the fruits of the Spirit in their lives. And to be able to manifest the fruits of the Spirit, believers were urged by Clarke, as by Wesley,[4] to be sanctified by the Holy Spirit. By enjoying

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. "A Farther Appeal to Men of Reason and Religion," "Minutes of Some Late Conversations between the Rev. Messrs. Wesley and Others," and "An Answer to the Rev. Mr. Church's Remarks on the Rev. Mr. John Wesley's Last Journal," Works of Wesley, op. cit., V, pp. 34 et seqq., 201, 208, and 275-6.

the experience of full salvation (Christian perfection) Clarke believed that it was possible to live in perfect love toward God and man in the present state of probation and thus prepare oneself for the future state of glorification--eternity with God.[1]

F. Christian Perfection: Fulness of Salvation

The most emphasized doctrine in Adam Clarke's soteriological system was Christian perfection. It was an experience of full salvation also known as sanctification, purification, or holiness.[2] This experience was a work of the Holy Spirit whereby the justified received deliverance from the power of sin through faith in Christ.[3] He held this "pearl of great price" to be a doctrine which was "the glory of Methodism" and "the essence of the Gospel."[4] Writing to John Wesley in 1789, Clarke prophecies that:

> "When this doctrine, shall cease to be preached among us, our glory will depart from us; God will cast us off, and choose to Himself another people. May one of your dying charges to the preachers be, 'While you have breath, maintain that the blood of Jesus cleanses here from all sin!'"[5]

He supported "the doctrine of salvation from all sin in this life"[6] perhaps more than any other early Methodist, apart from Wesley himself. Again, the reason for this theological emphasis may be traced to an experience in early life. For, as he later writes:

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1. Clarke's letter to Hornby, op. cit., pp. 383-4.
2. James Everett, Adam Clarke Portrayed, II, p. 153.
3. Autobiography, pp. 195-6.
4. Clarke's letter to John Wesley, written from Jersey, January 13, cited by Samuel Dunn, The Life of Adam Clarke, p. 66.
5. Ibid.
6. Sermon XXXVIII, "Apostolic Preaching," Works, VII, p. 289.

> ". . . I can tell by sad experience, that the withholding it from me (after I was justified) was in effect, robbing me of the royal bounty of heaven, and of causing me to go often mourning my unclean and desperately wicked heart; when, if I had been properly encouraged, and rightly directed, I might have gone up at once; and through the strength of Jesus's conquering arm found my enemies subdued, and my soul established in possession of the Good Land. . . ."[1]

It was not until after entering the Methodist ministry, until receiving instructional help from Wesley himself, that Clarke personally experienced the fulness of salvation.[2]

Adam Clarke, like John Wesley, described Christian perfection in terms of perfect love, that is, loving God with one's whole being and loving one's neighbor as oneself.[3] So important was this twofold emphasis upon love in Clarke's thinking that the whole of his theology could be summarized "under the two grand heads, love to God, and love to man."[4] According to his interpretation of Scripture, man was perfect (and thus happy) only as he loved God "with all his heart, soul, mind, and strength, and his neighbour as himself."[5] Yet he was first to admit that, after the fall, man was unable to manifest this love--"the end for which God made him."[6] For man's love is motivated by God's prior love,

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1. Clarke's letter to Eliza Cook/e/, written from Stratton, November 13, 1783, Works, XII, pp. 408-410.
2. Clarke's letter to John Wesley, written from Norwich, 1784, cited without month and day by J. W. Etheridge, The Life of the Rev. Adam Clarke, pp. 416-417; and Dunn, op. cit., pp. 234-5.
3. Cf. Sermon XL, op. cit., pp. 358 et seqq., with "A Plain Account of Christian Perfection," Works of Wesley, op. cit., VI, pp. 496 et seqq.
4. /John M. Hare/, The Life and Labours of Adam Clarke (Second Ed.), p. 327.
5. Sermon XXXVIII, op. cit., pp. 278-9; and Commentary, Matthew xxii. 38-9, and Colossians i. 27-8, V, pp. 225-7, and VI, pp. 1514-1516.
6. Sermon XXVIII, loc. cit.

the love which was the source of His plan of salvation. Thus, Clarke reasons:

> "We see therefore that the whole design of God was to restore man to his image, and raise him from ruins of his fall; in a word, to make him perfect; to blot out all his sins, purify his soul, and fill him with holiness; so that no unholy temper, evil desire, or impure affection or passion, should either lodge or have any being within him; this and this only is true religion, or Christian perfection; and a less salvation than this would be dishonourable to the sacrifice of Christ, and the operation of the Holy Ghost, and would be as unworthy of the appellation of Christianity as it would be of that of holiness or perfection."[1]

Clarke often wished for "a better name"[2] to describe this important work of grace, for he knew well how many misunderstood what the Wesleyans meant by Christian perfection. He, like Fletcher,[3] sought to clarify the meaning of the doctrine and to caution the opposition "not to confound Christian with angelic perfection."[4] Regardless of the weakness of the name, Clarke insisted that what Jesus meant by "be ye therefore perfect," and what Paul had in mind by "every man perfect in Christ Jesus"[5] was:

> ". . . pardon of all transgression, and the removal of the

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1. Ibid., p. 282.
2. Ibid., p. 283.
3. The Calvinistic Controversy began in 1739 when George Whitefield broke with John and Charles Wesley. However the full force of the "Quinquarticular Controversy" (a later name) did not break out until the latter part of the eighteenth century. Augustus Toplady and John Fletcher were, respectively, the champions of the doctrines of predestination and perfection. John H. Overton and Frederic Relton, The English Church from the Accession of George I to the end of the Eighteenth Century (1714-1800), pp. 173-5. For Fletcher's views, which greatly influenced the thinking of Clarke, vide The Works of the Rev. John Fletcher, containing An Appeal to Matter and Fact of Common Sense, and The First, Second and Third Checks to Antinomianism.
4. Clarke's letter to Cook/e/, loc. cit; and Sermon XXXVIII, "Apostolic Preaching," Works, VII, pp. 283 et seqq.
5. Matthew v. 48, and Colossians i. 28, The Holy Bible, Authorized King James Version. Quoted in part.

> whole body of sin and death; for this must take place before we can be like him, and see him as he is, in the effulgence of his own glory. This fitness then to appear before God, and thorough preparation for eternal glory, is what I plead for, pray for, and heartily recommend to all true believers, under the name of Christian perfection."[1]

"Men may dispute as they please about Christian perfection, but without it no soul shall see God."[2] Because Clarke found this doctrine to be present "in our Bibles, and in our liturgy, and in our homilies, and everywhere,"[3] it could not be "too strongly insisted upon."[4] Moreover, this experience involved not only Christian growth in this life, but also preparation for future glory.

Clarke, like Wesley, described Christian perfection as a continuous process, "carried on by the Divine Spirit"[5] beginning with justification.[6] In the experience of justification, a repentant sinner who has faith in Christ is pardoned of his sin and guilt.[7] However, Clarke explains, "what Christ has done for us . . . is in reference to what he is to do in us."[8] For while justification preserves the sinner from the punishment of perdition, this initial work of grace in no way prepares the believer for eternal glory. Herein lay the importance of sanctification,

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1. Sermon XXXVIII, loc. cit.
2. Commentary, Colossians 1. 27-8, VI, pp. 1514-1516.
3. Sermon LXIV, "The Doctrine of Repentance," Works, VIII, pp. 394-6.
4. Ibid.
5. Sermon X, "The Wisdom That Is From Above," Works, V, p. 216.
6. Cf. Sermon XXXII, "The Love of God to a Lost World," Works, VI, pp. 467-473, with Wesley's "A Plain Account of Christian Perfection," loc. cit.
7. Sermon XXXII, op. cit., pp. 469-470.
8. Sermon LVII, "Promises to the Man Who Has Set His Love Upon God," Works, VIII, pp. 260-1. Quoted in part.

a separate work of grace in God's plan of salvation. For Clarke maintained that this experience of spiritual growth, beginning at the time of justification, was a process which was only complete as the believer received "the forgiveness of all sin, and purification from all unrighteousness,"[1] and was "made a partaker of the divine nature."[2] Hence, to Clarke the only "passport to heaven" was "Christ in the heart,"[3] for with an "indwelling Christ," there could be no "indwelling sin."[4] He believed it was possible not only for man to be cleansed from all sin in this life but also to be so filled with the Holy Spirit and to love God so perfectly as to live without sin. But he understood sin to mean, as Wesley had defined it, "a voluntary transgression of a known law."[5] Such a definition made allowances for human ignorance, mistakes, infirmities, and other involuntary transgressions.

While Clarke considered sanctification to be an event in time, beyond this experience was the progressive need of growth "in every grace of the Spirit."[6] He thought of Christian perfection or holiness as a continuous experience, never complete, but always subject to development. For, says he:

> "As there is no end to the merits of Christ incarnated and crucified, no bounds to the mercy and love of God, no let

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1. Sermon XV, "The Hope of the Gospel Through the Resurrection of Christ," Works, V, p. 353.
2. Sermon XXXII, loc. cit.
3. Sermon XXX, "The Corruption That Is in the World Through Lust," Works, VI, p. 383.
4. Commentary, Colossians i. 27-8, loc. cit.
5. "A Plain Account of Christian Perfection," Works of Wesley (First American Ed.), VI, p. 501.
6. Sermon LXIV, "The Doctrine of Repentance," Works, VIII, pp. 395-6.

> nor hinderance to the almighty energy and sanctifying influence of the Holy Spirit, no limits to the improvability of the human soul; so there can be no bounds to the saving influence which God will dispense to the heart of every genuine believer."[1]

He held that a Christian must ever be "athirst for all the fulness of God,"[2] continuously growing in grace through "faith and prayer."[3] Growth is necessary for Christians because, as he says, "if they do not grow in grace, they will lose their grace; for all the graces that God gives he gives more to increase."[4] Hence, he was firmly convinced that any "hope of perseverance"[5] could come only by abiding in Christ.

Clarke stressed that the fruits of the experience of Christian perfection were love and happiness. Love to God and love to man were the essence of "the religion of the Bible."[6] The key to happy living was holy living, for to him the two were "joined in eternal union by the Lord."[7] Experimental, full salvation not only manifested itself in the practical fruits of love and happiness in this life, but also prepared the believer for

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1. Sermon XIII, "The Family of God, and Its Privileges," Works, V, p. 295.
2. Clarke's letter to Hindson, written from Near Pinner, Middlesex, March 29, 1827, Works, XIII, pp. 325-6.
3. Sermon LVIII, "The Christian Race," Works, VIII, p. 282.
4. Sermon LXIV, loc. cit.
5. Cf. Sermon XLIX, "The Doctrine of Holiness," Works, VIII, pp. 113 et seqq., with Wesley's "A Plain Account of Christian Perfection," op. cit., pp. 519 et seqq. In a letter to Clarke, written from London, November 26, 1789, Wesley emphasized that "to retain the grace of God is much more difficult than to gain it. Hardly one in three does this." John Telford (ed.), Letters of John Wesley, VIII, p. 188.
6. Sermon VI, "Experimental Religion, and Its Fruits," Works, V, pp. 126-7.
7. Sermons XXXV, "The Christian Prophet and His Work," and LXIII, "God's Love in Jesus Christ, Considered in Its Objects, Its Freeness, and Saving Results," Works, VII, p. 188, and VIII, p. 372.

future glory.[1]

G. Eschatology: End of Salvation

The ultimate end of the Divine plan of salvation was, in the thinking of Adam Clarke, the preparation of man for life with God. While showing not a little reserve when considering the speculative aspects of eschatology,[2] there was no hesitation when stressing the need of experiencing full salvation in this life as the necessary preparation for eternity.[3] Clarke asks:

> "Should we not live in order to die? Should we not die in order to be judged? And should we not live and die so as to live again to all eternity, not with Satan and his angels, but with God and his Saints?"[4]

But if we are "to live usefully" and "to die safely," there is an "absolute necessity for prayer, that we may receive mercy and grace."[5] He emphasized that only the pure in heart shall see God. This explains the urgency in his soteriological thought, not only for the justification of the sinner, but also for the sanctification of the believer.

"The whole period of human life" was, to Clarke, "a state of probation, in every part of which a sinner may repent and turn to God, and in every part of it a believer may give way to sin and fall from grace."[6] In this "state of probation" man possessed

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1. Outline V, "Divine and Saving Knowledge," Works, VIII, pp. 431-2.
2. James Everett, Adam Clarke Portrayed, II, p. 317.
3. Sermon XII, "Life, Death, and Immortality," Works, V, pp. 252-270.
4. Commentary, Note on First Thessalonians, Chap. v, VI, p. 1554.
5. Sermon XVIII, "The Lord's Prayer," Works, VI, p. 7.
6. "Principles," Commentary, VI, pp. 2128-9. Quoted in part.

a free will "to do evil or good," to choose "life or death."[1] Because of this freedom, Clarke maintained that man was wholly "answerable for his own actions."[2] Moreover, in view of the great plan of salvation which God had revealed, sinners were without excuse.[3] Hence, he looked upon the coming judgment as a time when sinners and believers would be justly punished and rewarded.

However, before this day of justice could occur, Clarke believed that death was necessary in order to separate the soul, which was "immortal," from the body, which was "perishable."[4] He believed that at death the souls of men went to hell ("hades"), a place where the souls of those who die "without God have a foretaste of the punishment they are to endure after the day of judgment; and where those who die in the divine favour enjoy a foretaste of their future blessedness."[5] At an unknown future time, according to Clarke's interpretation of Scripture, Christ "shall descend from heaven to the mid region . . . somewhere within the earth's atmosphere" and there He will establish His judgment throne.[6] At this time there will be a general resurrection of both the just and the unjust; "the souls of both shall be reunited to their respective bodies. "Hades" will give up its "spirits" and the earth and sea its "bodies."[7] The bodies of both the dead

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid.
3. Commentary, Notes on Romans, Chap. ii, V, pp. 1007-1014.
4. Ibid., Genesis ii. 7, I, pp. 44-5. Also, "Principles," loc. cit.; and Sermon XLIV, "The History of the Rich Man and the Beggar," Works, VIII, pp. 18 et seqq.
5. Ibid.
6. Commentary, Notes on First Thessalonians, Chap iv, VI, pp. 1543-7.
7. Ibid.

and the living "will be changed, and made immortal," capable of either enjoying eternal glory with God or separation from God. On the day of judgment, Clarke held that all shall stand before the throne of Christ and the "opened books" to give account "for deeds done in the body."[1] Here God, through Jesus Christ, will reward the righteous by taking them to an eternal heaven and punish the wicked by sending them to an eternal "hell of fire."[2] Hence, one of Clarke's "Principles" was that:

> "These states of reward and punishment shall have no end, forasmuch as the time of probation or trial is for ever terminated, and the succeeding state must necessarily be fixed and unalterable."[3]

Because he looked upon God's judgment as an inescapable part of life after death, human existence had for Clarke an ever-present eternal dimension. And because he rejected, on the one hand, the unconditional reprobation of extreme Calvinism, and on the other hand, the universal redemption of Arminian universalists,[4] he considered man to be responsible for his own eschatology. In his soteriology he emphasized that "God so loved the world that

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1. Commentary, "Principles," loc. cit.; and Notes on First Thessalonians, Chap. iv, loc. cit.
2. Clarke distinguished between the first hell, "hades," and the second hell, "lake of fire," for these referred respectively to man's first and second deaths. "The first death consisted in the separation of the soul from the body for a season; the second death in the separation of body and soul from God for ever. The first death is that from which there may be a resurrection; the second death is that from which there can be no recovery. By the first the body is destroyed during time; by the second body and soul are destroyed through eternity." Commentary, Revelation xx. 14, VI, pp. 2114-2115; and Sermon XLIV, op. cit., p. 25.
3. "Principles," loc. cit. Quoted in part.
4. Clarke labeled the doctrines of the "universal Restitutionists" as the most "untenable and deceptive tenet" ever "promulgated under the sacred name of religion." Clarke's letter to Mrs. Wilkinson, cited in An Account of Clarke's Life, III, pp. 272-3.

he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life."[1] Thus, for Adam Clarke, man's glorification, not his damnation, was the grand end of God's great plan of salvation.

III. Eternal Sonship of Christ: Heterodoxy

Few early Methodists supported and applied the Wesleyan doctrines more effectively than did Adam Clarke in his sermons and in his Commentary. He carefully examined "all these doctrines with all the reason he had."[2] He found "not a flaw in them"; they were "all capable of proof."[3] However, the influential Conference leaders of early Methodism accused Clarke of being too rational in his theological thought. Moreover, they regarded his view of "the doctrine of the eternal Sonship of Christ"[4] as being neither orthodox nor Wesleyan. Consequently, Clarke and those who shared his opinion were accused of heterodoxy; they were labeled "heretics."[5] When Clarke's denial of the eternal Sonship was made public through his Commentary, there arose not a small controversy within the Wesleyan Connexion.

A. Heterodox View

Although Adam Clarke rejected the "eternal Sonship of

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1. Supra, pp. 214-215.
2. Sermon XLVIII, "The Gift of a Saviour the Fulfilment of Prophecy," Works, VIII, p. 89. Past tense is used in place of the present.
3. Ibid.
4. Commentary, Luke i. 35, V, pp. 375-6.
5. John Hunt, Religious Thought in England in the Nineteenth Century, p. 86; and /John M. Hare/, The Life and Labours of Adam Clarke (First ed.), pp. 482 et seqq.

Christ" when forming his religious creed during his youth, his heterodox view was never presented to the public until he published his Commentary on the New Testament in 1817.[1] His opinion was expressed in the interpretation of the Gospel according to Saint Luke, chapter one, verse thirty-five:

> "And the angel answered and said unto her [Mary], The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee; therefore also that holy thing which shall be born of thee, shall be called the Son of God."[2]

In the interpretation of this verse Clarke wrote the following comment:

> "We may plainly perceive here, that the angel does not give the appellation of Son of God to the divine nature of Christ; but to that holy person or thing, το αγιον, which was to be born of the Virgin, by the energy of the Holy Spirit. The divine nature could not be born of the Virgin; the human nature was born of her. The divine nature had no beginning: it was God manifested in the flesh, I Tim[othy] iii. 16; it was that Word which being in the beginning (from eternity) with God, John i. 2, was afterwards made flesh (became manifest in human nature), and tabernacled among us, John i. 14. Of this divine nature the angel does not particularly speak here, but of the tabernacle or shrine which God was now preparing for it, viz. the holy thing that was to be born of the Virgin. Two natures must ever be distinguished in Christ: the human nature, in reference to which he is the Son of God and inferior to him, Mark xiii. 32, John v. 19, xiv. 28, and the divine nature which was from eternity, and equal to God, John i. 1, x. 30, Rom[ans] ix. 5, Col[ossians] i. 16-18. It is true, that to Jesus the Christ, as he appeared among men, every characteristic of the divine nature is sometimes attributed, without appearing to make any distinction between the divine and human natures; but is there any part of the scriptures in which it is plainly said that the divine nature of Jesus was the Son of God? Here, I trust, I may be permitted to say, with all due respect for those who differ from me, that the doctrine of the eternal Sonship of Christ is, in my opinion, anti-scriptural, and highly dangerous. This doctrine I reject for the following reasons:
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1. For an account of the Sonship controversy, vide [Hare's] appended article, "An Historical Sketch of the Controversy Concerning the Sonship of Christ," ibid., pp. 443-520.
2. The Holy Bible, Authorized King James Version.

"1st. I have not been able to find any express declaration in the scriptures concerning it.

"2dly. If Christ be the Son of God as to his divine nature, then he cannot be eternal; for son implies a father; and father implies, in reference to son, precedency in time, if not in nature too. Father and son imply the idea of generation; and generation implies a time in which it was effected, and time also antecedent to such generation.

"3rdly. If Christ be the Son of God, as to his divine nature, then the Father is of necessity prior, consequently superior, to him.

"4thly. Again, if this divine nature were begotten of the Father, then it must be in time; i.e. there was a period in which it did not exist, and a period when it began to exist. This destroys the eternity of our blessed Lord, and robs him at once of his Godhead.

"5thly. To say that he was begotten from all eternity, is, in my opinion, absurd; and the phrase eternal Son is a positive self-contradiction. ETERNITY is that which has had no beginning, nor stands in any reference to TIME. SON supposes time, generation, and father; and time also antecedent to such generation. Therefore the conjunction of these two terms, Son and eternity is absolutely impossible, as they imply essentially different and opposite ideas."[1]

Or Sumpter

Why did Clarke depart from the Nicene Creed by refusing to accept Christ's eternal filial relationship? His heterodox view certainly did not arise, as one would expect, from any desire to deny the Deity of Christ or the unity of the Godhead.[2] For no Wesleyan preacher supported these doctrines more strongly than did Clarke.[3] In fact, by affirming elsewhere in his Commentary that Jesus Christ was of "the same essence with the Father,"[4] he

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1. Commentary, Luke i. 35, loc. cit; and Sermon XXXII, "The Love of God to a Lost World," Works, VI, pp. 448 et seqq.
2. Commentary, Deuteronomy vi. 4, I, pp. 766-7.
3. Sermon LII, "The Love of God to a Lost World," (same title as Sermon XXXII), Works, VIII, pp. 175-7.
4. In his comment on Hebrews i. 3 Clarke speaks of the second person of the Trinity as "proceeding" from the Father and eternal with the Father; however, he refuses to use the terms "Son" and "generation." Commentary, VI, pp. 1702-4; and Thomas Jackson, Recollections of My Own Life and Times (B. Frankland, ed.), pp. 259-260.

clearly identified himself with the orthodox "Athanasian party"[1] of the fourth century. This party insisted that Christ was "ὁμοούσιος" not "ὁμοιούσιος" with the Father.[2] Despite his orthodox view of Christ's Deity or, (from Clarke's standpoint) because of it, he steadfastly maintained that the "doctrine of the eternal Sonship of Christ" was both absurd and dangerous.[3] Less than a year before his death he wrote this additional note in the margin of his Commentary:

> "This doctrine of the eternal Sonship, as it has been lately explained in many a Pamphlet and many a paper in Magazines, I must and do consider as an awful heresy, and mere sheer Arianism; which, in many cases, terminated in Socinianism, and that in Deism. From such heterodoxies, and their abettors, may God save his Church."[4]

It appears that it was precisely Clarke's strong opposition to Arian and Socinian errors--to which he was subjected in his youth--that caused him to form views on the Sonship which,

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1. At the time of the Council of Nicaea, which met in Bithynia in 325 A.D., the Arian Controversy over the Sonship of Christ had divided the Church into three groups. The orthodox group or "Athanasian party" held the view--later incorporated into the Nicene Creed--that "the Son . . . was the same essence (ὁμοούσιος) with the Father--very God of very God." At the opposite extreme was the "Arian party" which held that "the Son . . . was a created being--created 'out of nothing.'" Between these two extreme groups was the third, the "Semi-Arian or subordinationist party," which held that "the Son resembled the Father, or was 'of like substance' (ὁμοιούσιος) with the Father." James Orr, The Progress of Dogma, pp. 112-114; and "Dr. Adam Clarke," The Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine, IV, Fifth Series (April, 1858), pp. 290-301.
2. Orr, loc. cit.
3. Commentary, Luke i. 35, loc. cit.
4. Vide Clarke's personal copy of his Commentary, marginal note on Luke i. 35, volume I of the New Testament, Strong Rooms, City Road. The revision of his exposition of Luke was completed October 31, 1831.

ironically, tended in themselves to be Arian and Socinian.[1] Recalling his early experience, when he was told that to pray to Christ was to be "guilty of idolatry,"[2] Clarke writes:

> "This narrow escape from sentiments which would have been fatal, if not finally ruinous to me, I ever held as a most special interference of God; and I always found it my duty to caution men strongly against the Arian and Socinian errors. It was this, without any suggestions from man, /that/ led me to examine the reputed orthodox, but spurious doctrine, of the Eternal Sonship of Christ; which I soon found, and have since demonstrated,[3] that no man can hold, and hold the eternal unoriginated nature of Jesus Christ. For, if His divine nature be in any sense whatever derived, His eternity, and by consequence, His Godhead, is destroyed; and if His Godhead, then His Atonement. On this point I have produced a simple argument in my Note on Luke i. 35, which is absolutely unanswerable. Attempts have been made to confute my doctrine, but they are all absurd, as long as that argument remains unanswered."[4]

B. Eternal Sonship Controversy

The Wesleyans overlooked most of the peculiar opinions

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1. Four years after entering the ministry Clarke writes in a love letter to Mary Cooke: "As long as I believe Jesus Christ to be the Infinite Eternal I AM, so long I suppose I shall reject the common notion of his 'Eternal Sonship.'" Letter written from Les Terres, December 24, 1786. A year later Clarke writes: "What I spoke to you relative to the 'Eternal Sonship' of the Almighty's Fellow, is not a slight opinion with me, but a deeply graven sentiment. I have read some of the strongest reasonings of the Schoolmen and the Fathers of the Church on this head, but their finest hypotheses appear so unmeaning, trifling, and futile, as to afford no satisfaction to a sincere enquirer after essential truth. I believe that which we discover of this glorious truth is the opinion which Eternity will exhibit only in greater degrees, and with more abundant evidence. It appears to me that the Arian and Socinian schemes, cannot only be strongly combatted, but effectually overthrown by a firm adherence to, and judicious inferring from, these propositions." Letter to Mary Cooke, written from Guernsey, January 23, 1787. Both letters cited in Autobiography, pp. 299-301, and 302-305.
2. Autobiography, p. 91.
3. Vide Commentary, Luke i. 35, loc. cit.
4. Autobiography, pp. 92-3.

which appeared in Clarke's Commentary, such as Eve's being tempted by an ape,[1] Ezekiel's being called an inventive prophet,[2] and Judas Iscariot's being finally saved.[3] However, the influential leaders refused to ignore his denial of the eternal Sonship of Christ. Minor idiosyncracies that resulted from Clarke's independent nature and sincere desire to be original, would soon pass from the mind of the public, but his note on Luke, chapter one, verse thirty-five, was considered too heretical to be ignored. Moreover, in his Commentary Clarke had denounced the doctrine of the eternal Sonship of Christ as "an awful heresy, and mere sheer Arianism."[4] In making this assertion Clarke was opposing John Wesley who had affirmed this doctrine in his sermons,[5] in his notes,[6] and in his hymns.[7] Since Wesley's beliefs were in fact the very doctrines of early Methodism, Clarke's heterodox view was regarded as being anti-Wesleyan. Hence, his denial of the eternal Sonship could not be opposed too strongly. The preachers of the London District, under the leadership of

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1. Supra, pp. 137-8.
2. Commentary, Introduction to the Book of the Prophet Ezekiel, IV, pp. 3049-3056.
3. Supra, pp. 140-2.
4. Supra, pp. 142 and 241.
5. Sermon LXXXII, "Spiritual Worship," Works of Wesley (First American Ed.), II, pp. 178 et seqq.
6. John Wesley, Explanatory Notes upon The New Testament (1867 Ed.), Luke i. 35, and Hebrews i. 3, pp. 86, and 342.
7. The following lines show how John Wesley was able to put his doctrines into poetry to be sung by the people:

   Jesus, the infinite I AM,
   With God essentially the same,
   With him enthroned above the height,
   As God of God, and Light of Light,
   Thou art by thy great Father known,
   From all eternity his Son.

   Collection of Hymns for the Use of the People Called Methodists, With a New Supplement (1877 Ed.), Hymn No. 688, p. 301.

Joseph Benson, met soon after the publication of Clarke's Commentary on the New Testament to impeach the author for his heresy. Every means in their power was used to induce him to change his views, but he remained inflexible. In the midst of this strong opposition he asserted, "what I have written, I have written."[1] However, since he was so prominent a scholar, so popular a preacher, and so important a church leader in early Methodism, they decided not to drop him from the Conference. Instead, as Bunting says:

> "They decided merely to make known to other churches their own views and hence refute the view of Adam Clarke. Further, to take precautionary steps against admitting into the Connexion any candidate whose opinions might create similar embarrassment."[2]

The unity of theological doctrine which early Methodism had enjoyed, even during the troubled years after Wesley's death, was seriously threatened as Moore,[3] Watson,[4] Hare,[5] West,[6] Martin,[7]

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1. Clarke, cited by T. M. Newness, Memoirs of the Life of the Rev. Adam Clarke, pp. 329-330; and /John M. Hare/, The Life and Labours of Adam Clarke, p. 465.
2. T. P. Bunting, The Life of Jabez Bunting, II, pp. 133-5.
3. Henry Moore, Thoughts on the Eternal Sonship of the Second Person of the Holy Trinity, published in 1817.
4. Richard Watson, Remarks on the Eternal Sonship of Christ; and The Use of Reason in Matters of Revelation: Suggested by Several Passages in Dr. Adam Clarke's Commentary on the New Testament, published in 1818.
5. Edward Hare, An Apology for Continuing in the Steadfast Belief of the Eternal Sonship of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, published in 1818.
6. William West, Observations on the Eternal Sonship of Christ, published in 1819.
7. Robert Martin, The Doctrine of the Eternal Sonship of Christ Considered, Illustrated, and Defended, and Fully Proved to be a Truth Revealed in The Holy Scriptures; Including also a Respectful Answer to All the Objections and Arguments Which Have Been Urged by The Rev. Dr. Adam Clarke Against Such a Filiation, published in 1821.

Scott,[1] Treffry,[2] and others sought to refute the heterodox view.[3] While Clarke himself was unwilling to interrupt the progress of his Commentary to enter into this doctrinal dispute, two men, Exley[4] and Brunskill,[5] quickly volunteered to answer the opposition and to vindicate Clarke's position.[6]

In the initial publication of the controversy, Moore maintained that the "Eternal Sonship of Christ" was a doctrine "sanctioned by Scripture, Reason, and Antiquity."[7] Watson, the ablest writer among the opposition sought to prove that the title, "Son

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1. Abraham Scott, A Dissertation on the Eternal Sonship of Christ; Proving This to Be the Doctrine of the Holy Scriptures; In Reply to Adam Clarke, LL.D. and Sons of His Advocates, published in 1828.
2. Richard Treffry, An Inquiry into the Doctrine of the Eternal Sonship of Our Lord Jesus Christ. A later edition was printed in 1837, but the first edition was published in the 1820's.
3. George Smith, History of Wesleyan Methodism, III, pp. 29-33.
4. Thomas Exley, A Vindication of Dr. Adam Clarke, in answer to Mr. Moore's Thoughts on The Eternal Sonship of the Second Person of the Holy Trinity, no date; and Reply to Mr. Watson's Remarks on the Eternal Sonship of Christ; and the Use of Reason in Matters of Revelation, published in 1818.
5. Stephen Brunskill, Thoughts on the Divinity and Sonship of Jesus Christ; with Some Remarks on the Publications of Messrs. Moore, Boyd, Watson and West, on the Eternal Sonship, no date.
6. Exley indicates that after Moore published his pamphlet, he wrote Clarke to see if he planned to answer Moore. Clarke replied that he had not even read Moore's Thoughts and since he felt that he had given no cause for attack he would make no reply. So strong was his desire to avoid controversy, Clarke refused even to look at Exley's manuscript and discouraged Brunskill in publishing his reply. Clarke did not want to enter this doctrinal dispute because he abhorred all religious contention. Notwithstanding, however, in making public his denial of the Sonship in his Commentary--although his view was set forth with all honesty and sincerity--he gave rise to the most serious doctrinal controversy in early Methodism. Exley, op. cit., p. 3; /John M. Hare/, op. cit., p. 472; and An Account of Clarke's Life, II, pp. 222-9.
7. Moore, op. cit., p. 30.

of God," had reference not only to the human, but also to the divine nature of Christ as well. His argument was based upon the uniform view among the Jews during the time of Christ that the term "Son of God," as used by Jesus, was understood to imply equality with God. The strongest point of Watson's attack was upon what he called Clarke's "pernicious principle" that man can believe only what is agreeable with reason. Clarke held that "the doctrine which cannot stand the test of rational investigation cannot be true,"[1] but Watson maintained that reason was not the judge of revealed doctrines. The latter believed that there may be and often are doctrines which are beyond reason. Such a doctrine was the Sonship of Christ; Watson insisted that it could not be understood by earthly analogies. He emphasized that it is necessary both for reason and will to submit and believe.[2] Although Clarke maintained that his view removed difficulties from the doctrine of the Trinity, Watson made clear that:

> "The pretence of relieving the difficulties of such subjects has, in all ages of the church, smoothed the path to error. Arianism came in with this promise; Socinianism gave further relief to rational difficulties; Deism cut the knot, and spurned the fragments. To the law, then, peace; the veil of the holiest is not yet drawn aside, except to faith; and the great virtue of divines, like that of writers, is to know where to stop."[3]

Because of the inherent dangers in Clarke's position, especially for younger preachers, Watson and writers of the opposition frequently accused Clarke of holding beliefs which were never

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1. Supra, p. 210.
2. John Hunt, Religious Thought in England in the Nineteenth Century, pp. 86-8.
3. "Remarks on the Eternal Sonship," The Works of the Rev. Richard Watson, VII, p. 86.

his. This fact, together with the conflicting ideas of the Sonship itself, furnished Exley and other supporters of Clarke's heterodox view with ample material to make their replies. Hence, Smith says:

> "The conflicting views entertained on so important a doctrine, by men so justly eminent as Clarke and Watson, exercised an injurious influence on the Connexion; and this was increased by the conduct of inferior men, who exerted themselves in an unworthy manner to exhibit these eminent ministers as personal antagonists; a feeling which, there is the fullest proof, neither of them ever entertained."[1]

What were the results of this eternal Sonship controversy which threatened the unity of theological doctrine in early Methodism? While the dispute caused Methodists to see the dangers of Clarke's heterodox opinion--and even to think of him generally as an unreliable theologian--the many arguments had little effect upon Clarke himself. The intensity with which he held his view of the Sonship is revealed in these strong words that he wrote to a close friend: "I would cleanse the common sewers of a workhouse, before I would be of the opinion of Mr. Bunting and Mr. Watson on this subject."[2] One of the most unpleasant results of the dispute was the way in which the opposing parties gathered around the two leaders, Clarke and Watson. For, as Stoughton observes, they "helplessly plunged into deep waters where they could not swim."[3]

Of greater consequence was the way in which the division

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1. Smith, loc. cit.
2. Clarke's letter to Dunn, written shortly before Clarke's death, cited without date by Samuel Dunn, The Life of Adam Clarke. p. 151.
3. John Stoughton, Religion in England from 1800 to 1850, I, p. 326.

among the preachers deepened when Bunting and his Conservative followers caused the Conference to pass the following resolution in 1827:

> "The Conference resolve, that it is the acknowledged right and, under the existing circumstances, the indispensable duty, of every chairman of a District, to ask all candidates for admission upon trial amongst us, if they believe the doctrines of the Eternal Sonship of our Lord Jesus Christ as it is stated by Mr. Wesley . . . and that also it is to be the acknowledged right, and, under the existing circumstances, the indispensable duty, of the President of the Conference for the time being, to examine particularly upon that doctrine every Preacher proposed to be admitted into full connexion, and to require an explicit and unreserved declaration of his assent to it, as a truth revealed in the inspired oracles."[1]

The practical result of this resolution was that all those opposing the eternal Sonship who were in the Conference were branded heretics, and those seeking admittance were kept out.[2] When the Conference refused to admit such persons as Samuel Dunn, one of the Shetland missionaries under Clarke's supervision, and Joseph Butterworth Bulmer Clarke,[3] Clarke's own son, Adam Clarke strongly objected. If they believe in the divinity of Christ and the infinite merit of His Atonement, the Irish theologian asks:

> "Why then puzzle . . . [them] with the necessity of believing an Eternal generation in the Godhead, which no man can explain, and no man can comprehend; and make this a term of communion! You know the history of the Church, the apostolic Spirit never left it, till it fell into subtle distinctions on this subject; then the flock of God became divided, and brotherly love was banished--nor was the pure state of the church ever restored, till God raised up the Methodists. Now, we have it, and may God give us grace to keep it and not bite and devour one another."[4]

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1. Minutes of the Methodist Conferences, VI, pp. 279-280.
2. [John M. Hare], The Life and Labours of Adam Clarke, p. 482.
3. Adam Clarke's son, Joseph, having been kept out of the Methodist ministry because he held the same view as his father, was forced to become a clergyman in the Established Church.
4. Clarke's MS. letter to George Marsden, written from Pinner, Middlesex, June 15, 1827, Collection of MSS., Strong Rooms, City Road.

Since Clarke himself, and most of those who shared his position, did not abandon the Deity of Christ (the inherent danger of denying the Sonship), it is understandable that he should think of this controversy as merely the splitting of hairs over a minor doctrine. However, Bunting and the influential Conservative leaders were standing pat on all the doctrines of John Wesley. Any who differed one iota from Wesley's beliefs must be sacrificed and kept out of the Conference. Clarke was a Moderate-Conservative who liked to "think and let think."[1] While agreeing with Bunting's conservatism in principle, Clarke increasingly opposed during his later years the way in which Bunting ruled the Conference. Thus, the cleavage that began over the theological issue of the Sonship, appears to have widened as the Conference increasingly took sides over ecclesiastical polity and leadership. The Liberals saw in Clarke a church leader strong enough to oppose the formidable Bunting and his Conservative colleagues; they hesitated not to use the independent Irishman for their own purposes. In the closing years of his life, there rallied around Clarke such men as Samuel Dunn, James Everett, and others who were active in the agitation which led to the great disruption of Wesleyan Methodism in 1849.[2]

The division of the Conference which resulted from the Sonship controversy might have been avoided had the basic issue remained philological, instead of becoming theological. For Clarke and the supporters of his view did not doubt that the "Son

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1. Supra, p. 32.
2. Supra, p. 58, and infra, pp. 269-279.

of God" was eternal in God's Essence.[1] They did doubt whether the term "Son" was suitable to express this idea since it was a contradiction to the word, "Eternal." Although the traditional tendency was to deny the Deity of Christ when one denied the "Eternal Sonship," Clarke himself was far from this Socinian error as Moore and Watson had implied. Thus, the real subject of the dispute according to Samuel Drew was "merely the proper or improper use of a given phrase."[2] In some respects Drew was correct in appraising the entire controversy as a "contemptible trifle."[3] For in his opinion, the real basis of the controversy was not "a doctrine, but a question of philology."[4]

Since Clarke's refusal to use the phrase "Eternal Sonship" did not involve a basic heresy in his theological thought, such as a denial of Christ's Deity, it is indeed unfortunate that he was not able to see the blind spot in his reasoning.[5] For, because of this philological difficulty, in what was otherwise a sound Wesleyan-Arminian creed, Adam Clarke was largely rejected in early Methodism as a theologian for the Wesleyans.

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1. Commentary, Hebrews i. 3, VI, pp. 1703-1704.
2. J. H. Drew, The Life, Character, and Literary Labours, of Samuel Drew, pp. 263-4.
3. Samuel Drew's letter to Dr. Kidd, written from St. Austel, Cornwall, November 25, 1818, cited by J. H. Drew, ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. That Clarke held to his opinion until death is revealed in a letter of Mrs. Adam Clarke to Samuel Dunn in which she writes: "Dr. Clarke never took up any opinion upon slight ground; and he was no changeling: the sentiment his judgment once embraced he held to the end; and this was the case with his opinion of the Sonship. He never altered his views; and whatever has been said by any person to the contrary, is either a lie or a mistake." Cited without date by Dunn, op. cit., p. 232.

IV. "Arminianism On Fire": Evaluation

Adam Clarke was too loyal a Methodist and too concerned with the salvation of individuals to allow any controversial doctrine to detract from his evangelical purpose.[1] While making his denial of the Sonship public in his Commentary, he neither defended it with his pen nor supported it in the pulpit.[2] In his theology Clarke was thoroughly Arminian, that is, as interpreted by John Wesley.[3] Clarke so strongly supported "Wesleyan-Arminianism" in his soteriological system and with his warm evangelical emphasis, that his theological thought--like Wesleyanism itself--can be described best as "Arminianism on fire."[4]

The evangelical Arminianism which John Wesley developed, with the assistance of John Fletcher, had its beginning in Holland. In the dawn of the seventeenth century Jacobus Arminius, the professor of theology at Leydon University, reacted against the austere absolutism of Calvinism. The former student of Geneva objected to this system of theology because it "had made God the author of sin, retained His grace, and condemned many without

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1. Clarke believed that God would not save England as a nation from the perils of the Napoleonic War unless the individual citizens of the land repented and trusted God. For him, as for Wesley, salvation was an individual matter. Clarke's letter to Joseph Butterworth, written from London, cited without date by James Everett, Adam Clarke Portrayed, II, p. 245.
2. Clarke in a letter to Benjamin Clough says, "Much as I have written, you know that I have never entered Polemic Divinity--that is fighting divinity. . . ." MS. letter written from Haydon Hall, near Pinner, Middlesex, June 8, 1831, Collection of MSS., Strong Rooms, City Road; and John Anderson, The Faithful Minister of Jesus Christ, pp. 81-2.
3. Ibid.
4. Supra, p. 198.

salvation."[1] He accused Calvin of so exalting the Divine agency to the suppression of the human that, in the scheme of reconciliation, he was guilty of determinism. On the other hand, Arminius was aware that to exalt the human agency to the suppression of the Divine was to be guilty of Pelagianism--an early heresy of Christendom. Thus, the Dutch theologian sought with dialectic vigor to expound an ethical theory consistent with the Church's doctrine both of God and man. The creed of Arminianism was set forth in "Five Articles of Remonstrance" addressed in 1610 to the States General of Holland and Friesland. This document, after denying the five assertions of Calvinism, gave the five points of Arminian theology, emphasizing the universal atonement of Christ and the freedom of the human will.[2] However, as a theological or evangelical force in the land of its origin, Dutch Arminianism was early weakened by the modifications of "Socinian and other Pelagian elements."[3] Yet, in England during the seventeenth century, Arminianism found ready reception among the members of the Establishment. Its new emphasis upon freedom of the will and conscience made it popular especially among the Cambridge Platonists.[4] As the Arminian system supported the Church and State, it

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1. Frederic Platt, "Arminianism," Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics (James Hastings, ed.), I, p. 808.
2. The five points of the Arminian system were: (1) conditional election dependent upon the free will of man, (2) universal atonement, (3) inability of man to exercise saving faith, (4) Grace of God important in spiritual life but not irresistible, and (5) Grace of Holy Spirit sufficient to give continual victory over temptation and sin but perseverance of all believers uncertain. Charles Hodge, Systematic Theology, III, pp. 185 et seqq.
3. George P. Fisher, History of Christian Doctrine, p. 392.
4. Ibid., p. 346. Also A. W. Harrison, Arminianism, p. 176.

soon became so involved politically in England that it lost its positive doctrine of salvation. Hence, the Arminianism which John Wesley found in England in the eighteenth century was a negative system, "blended with tendencies to Latitudinarianism and Rationalism."[1] It was through the Evangelical Revival that the Arminianism of Arminius was restored and the system became "a most effective instrument in the propagation of Christianity."[2] In the generation after Wesley, the ablest expositors of evangelical Arminianism were such early Methodist leaders as Adam Clarke and Richard Watson.

The theological emphasis of Clarke, with his stress upon soteriology, was essentially the same as that of John Wesley. The Founder of Methodism and his "son in the Gospel"[3] both stressed the importance of justification by faith.[4] Moreover, both saw the absolute importance of stressing the primary role of the Holy Spirit in man's salvation. Faith in the living power of the Holy Spirit was the key to both the Wesleyan doctrines of assurance and Christian perfection. Both of these experiences were set forth as privileges which were not only attainable in this life, but also were necessary for complete happiness. Perfect love to God and man was ever the goal for the Christian.[5]

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1. Platt, op. cit., pp. 811-812.
2. Fisher, op. cit., p. 393.
3. Supra, p. 194.
4. Cf. Clarke's Sermon XXXIV, "Salvation by Faith," Works, VII, pp. 120-166, with Wesley's Sermons I, "Salvation by Faith," and V, "Justification by Faith," Works of Wesley (First American Ed.), I, pp.13-19 and 44-52.
5. "But while I never asserted," writes Arminius, "that a believer could perfectly keep the precepts of Christ in this life, I never denied it, but always left it as a matter which has still

This new Wesleyan emphasis upon holy living became the safeguard against Neonomianism, the inherent danger of Arminianism.[1] In early Methodism original Dutch Arminianism was revitalized; it received the new warmth of religious emotion and the zeal of evangelical fervor. That evangelical Wesleyanism (Clarke's own theology) was able to give Arminianism this needed revitalization was due in no small part to the glow of spiritual enthusiasm of early Methodist leaders such as Adam Clarke.

During these years Clarke was opposed mainly for his emphasis upon reason and for his Moderate-Conservative position in the Conference. He was opposed as much for his metaphysical thought as for his heterodox view of the Sonship; the two were not unrelated. However, Clarke's rationalistic tendencies must be understood in the light of his age and of original Arminianism. His desire to think and let think was a principle which betrayed neither the spirit of Arminius nor of Wesley. The principal opposition which Clarke encountered for his denial of the Sonship--a view which he claimed Wesley himself did not condemn[2]--was from the Conservative ruling party of the Conference. Bunting

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to be decided." Wesley made this decision for Arminius as he developed the doctrine of Christian perfection. Cf. James Nichols (trans.), The Works of James Arminius, I, pp. 255-6, with "A Plain Account of Christian Perfection," Works of Wesley, op. cit., VI, pp. 482-531.

1. Platt, loc. cit.
2. Clarke in his Note on Hebrews, Chap. i, says: "On the doctrine of the eternal Sonship of the divine nature of Christ I once had the privilege of conversing with the late reverend John Wesley, about three years before his death; he read from a book in which I had written it, the argument against this doctrine, which now stands in the note on Luke i. 35. He did not attempt to reply to it; but allowed that, on the ground on which I had taken it, the argument was conclusive." Commentary, VI, pp. 1710-1711.

and his associates were not only interested in perpetuating the original doctrines of Wesley, but also in opposing any Liberals in the Connexion who advocated change of any kind. Thus, Clarke was vigorously opposed by the champion of the Conservatives both for his heterodoxy and for his Moderate-Conservative ecclesiastical views. Because Clarke was an influential church leader who at times opposed the inflexible "Conference Party," he was not infrequently misunderstood by the Conservatives and misused by his Liberal friends.[1]

Adam Clarke was a theologian among the Wesleyans, but influential members of the Conference made certain that he was not the theologian for the Wesleyans. While refusing even to endorse Clarke's Commentary, this controlling group purchased, printed, and praised the theological writings of Richard Watson.[2] So great was the prejudice against Clarke and for Watson that the former's ability as a theologian was never fully appreciated by early Methodists. It is true that the self-educated Irish Itinerant tended to be independent in his thinking, to be hasty in making up his mind, to use reason in formulating his doctrines, and to hold dogmatically to his own opinions. And it was precisely these "weaknesses" which caused him early to deny the Sonship of Christ, to hold to his views throughout life, and consequently, to be regarded by not a few as a "heretic." However, as his independent "deviations" from the Wesleyan orthodoxy have

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1. Infra, pp. 269-279.
2. Supra, pp. 127-8.

become relatively unimportant with time, there has been a growing appreciation of Adam Clarke as a theologian by succeeding generations.[1] Today the writings of Watson are all but forgotten, yet Clarke's Commentary (at least in America) is still one of the best-selling expositions of the Bible. It is especially popular among the conservative denominations which emphasize the evangelical, Arminian interpretation of Scripture.[2] Richard Watson may have been a more orthodox and popular theologian in early Methodism, but it is doubtful whether he was a greater theologian for the Wesleyans than Adam Clarke.

Thus, for the clear exposition of Wesleyan-Arminianism, given especially in his Commentary, Clarke is deserving of a higher position as a theologian among the Wesleyans than he is traditionally given. Having evaluated this Irish leader as a scholar, preacher, and theologian, consideration will now be given to his churchmanship in early Methodism.

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1. Cf. John Stoughton, Religion in England from 1800 to 1850, I, p. 326, with J. W. Etheridge, The Life of the Rev. Adam Clarke, p. 283. A generation after Clarke's death Etheridge says, "He carried the spirit of the Theologian into all his inquiries, and it was as a divine that he reached his highest glory." Ibid.
2. Vide Appendix D.

CHAPTER VI

CHURCHMANSHIP IN WESLEYAN METHODISM

CHAPTER VI

CHURCHMANSHIP IN WESLEYAN METHODISM

Adam Clarke may be best known today as a Biblical scholar, but his churchmanship in early Methodism is of great significance. For this Irish Itinerant was one of the most devoted and effective Wesleyan leaders in the generation after John Wesley. During these years of crisis, Clarke was one of the first Wesleyans to be elected President of the Conference for three terms--1806, 1814, and 1822. His half-century of church leadership and promotion of Connexional interests had a determinative influence upon early Methodism as it developed and expanded during the nineteenth century.

I. Devotion to Wesleyan Methodism

A. Attachment to the Church of England

The strong attachment which Adam Clarke had for the Church of England was second only to his devotion for Wesleyan Methodism, and the two are not unrelated. Looking back over his life-long relationship to the Establishment, Clarke says:

> "I was born, so to speak, in the Church, baptized in the Church, brought up in it, confirmed in it . . . have held all my life uninterrupted communion with it, conscientiously believe its doctrines, and have spoken and written in defence of it; and if, after all, I am not allowed to be a /clerical/ member of it, because, through necessity being laid upon me, I preach Jesus and the Resurrection to the perishing multitudes, without those most respectable orders that come from it,--I must strive to be content. . . ."[1]

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1. Clarke's letter to the Bishop of London, written from Haydon Hall, October 16, 1829, cited in An Account of Clarke's Life, III, pp. 206-210.

Clarke always was conscious of the fact that his father, John Clarke, was designed for the Church. He had attended the universities of Glasgow and Edinburgh, gaining "a premium from the latter as the best Irish Scholar,"[1] but an early marriage had forced him to give up his prospects of ordination. While the unfulfilled clerical ambitions of John Clarke--who afterwards became a schoolmaster--appear to have projected upon his son, circumstances prevented his giving Adam a university education.[2] When John Wesley invited young Clarke to come to England for an education, and later asked him if he wanted to go preach to the "People called Methodists," Clarke's enthusiastic response in both cases was not a little influenced by his own paternal aspirations and the fact that the Methodist Societies were related to the Established Church.[3]

Although Clarke was a devoted Wesleyan, he--like the Founder of Methodism--maintained a close attachment to the Church of England. He did not have the Episcopal orders which Wesley enjoyed, yet Clarke did think of himself as a lay preacher of the Establishment.[4] In many respects he seems to have looked upon the system of Methodism, and his activity in it, as being supplementary to the Church. The following letter to the Curate of Moresley reveals the extent of his attachment to the Mother Church:

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1. Clarke's letter to Alexander MacKey, written from Pinner, Middlesex, February 10, 1828, transcript from the Francis J. Cole Collection of MSS., Ardmara, County of Antrim.
2. Supra, pp. 63-5.
3. Supra, pp. 78-82.
4. Supra, pp. 149-153.

"I consider the Church of England, the purest national church in the world. I was brought up in its bosom; I was intended for its Ministry. I have been a Methodist for half a century--I have been a Preacher for 43 years; & I am highly deceived indeed, if I be not without any abatement a thorough Member of the Church of England. Its doctrines & its sacraments which constitute the Essence of a Church I hold conscientiously as it holds them. I reverence the Liturgy next to the Bible. I proclaim its doctrines, & administer its Sacraments . . . in the same words or Form. I also reverence its orders & highly esteem its hierarchy & have not a particle of a dissenter in me; tho/ugh/ I love & esteem all good men & able ministers wherever I find them. But I preach, & have long preached without any kind of Episcopal orders. My family fell into decay, & my education was left imperfect. I would have greatly preferred the hands of the Bishops, but not having gone thro/ugh/ the regular /illegible/ I could not claim it. . . . Even now at this age of comparative decrepitude I would rejoice to have that ordination if I might with it have the full liberty to preach Jesus wherever I could find souls perishing for lack of knowledge. I believe the Methodist preachers are best calculated to lead those on the way of life whom they have been the instrument of bringing into it; but in all other cases, I ever advise, where ye cannot have Methodist preaching, go to the Parish Church & no where else. Among our dissenting brethren I am on this acc/oun/t reputed a Bigot."[1]

So loyal was he to the Mother Church that Anglican Churchmen, writing in The Quarterly Review, used Clarke as well as Wesley for ideal examples of Methodists who felt the Societies should be a supplement to and not separate from the Establishment.[2] Further evidence of Clarke's attachment to the Church lay in the satisfaction which he had in seeing two of his sons educated in the Church's institutions of learning and ordained to minister within its communion.[3]

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1. Clarke's MS. letter to George Wilkinson, written from Eastcott, near Pinner, Middlesex, January 27, 1826, Collection of MSS., Strong Rooms, City Road.
2. "The Life of Dr. Adam Clarke," The Quarterly Review, LI (March and June, 1834), pp. 117-144.
3. "Review of the Life of Dr. Adam Clarke," The Christian Observer, XXXIII, Appendix to 1833, p. 796.

B. Reverence for the Wesleyan Connexion

Although Clarke thought of himself as being attached to the Church of England, he always gave priority to the task of bringing men to Christ. Because the Methodists were so effective in reaching needy souls, he was strongly convinced that Methodism had been brought into being by providence for the salvation of men. This conviction caused him to have deep reverence for the Wesleyan Connexion and to give himself completely to its support and promotion. He knew well that the Methodist preachers were extending the influence of the Establishment to "perishing multitudes"[1] who otherwise would not hear the Gospel. Thus, Clarke felt that he could make the greatest contribution to the Church by being an active Wesleyan Itinerant.

As long as John Wesley was alive the Methodist Societies remained attached to the Church, but after his demise pressing circumstances forced the Conference to take steps which eventually led to a new form of dissent. However, only as Adam Clarke was convinced that there was no alternative did he advocate changes that would affect the relation of the Societies to the Mother Church.[2] With the bloody turn of events in France there was widespread reaction in England toward the end of the eighteenth century, and the new middle course of Methodism was both difficult to achieve and to be understood. Clarke was always ready to defend Methodism against the attacks from Dissent,

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1. Clarke's letter to the Bishop of London, October 16, 1829, loc. cit.
2. Supra, pp. 27 et seqq.

and was even more active in explaining the new neutral position of the Connexion to suspicious Churchmen. To the Curate who had accused Methodism of being "schismatic," Clarke replies:

> "The visible Church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men (cotus credentium, a company of Believers) in . . . which the pure word of God is preached & the Sacraments duly administered according to Christ's ordinance. . . . /Methodists have/ the pure word of God preached among them, & the sacraments . . . duly administered among them according to Christ's ordinance; & the consequence is that at least a vast majority of them are genuine Believers, according to the most rigid scriptural use & acceptation of this term; so that each of our Societies may be justly said to be, cotus credentium. . . ."[1]

Having given his more inclusive definition of the Church, in which he asserts that Methodism has a rightful place, Clarke proceeds to define "schism" not as "separation," but as "division." Hence he asks:

> "But have not the Methodists separated from the Church? No. The great majority of the members of the Societies never were Members of the Church of Christ, till brought to God by . . . the Methodist Preachers. They were of the Synagogue of Satan, persons who had neither form nor the power of godliness, gathered not out of the English Church nor any other Church, but out of the wilderness of this world. . . ."[2]

As for the wish expressed by this Churchman "that we become one family," Clarke concludes:

> "We are so already in the sight of God, if we have the same faith & walk in newness of life. . . . All the Churches in Eng/lan/d would not contain our congregations nor all the communion tables our communicants. And then what would you do with our preachers? You would not permit them to preach in your Churches because they are not Episcopally ordained, nor would you and your Br/ethre/n preach in our chapels & I am sure that you would not silence men who believe & feel

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1. Clarke's MS. letter to George Wilkinson, written from Eastcott, near Pinner, Middlesex, April 2, 1826, Collection of MSS., Strong Rooms, City Road.
2. Ibid.

> that they were moved by the Holy Ghost to take upon them this office & whom the Chief Shepherd has crowned by making them its instruments of converting many souls. We cannot be one body as we now stand; but we can be one spirit. The Church has our warm attachment. . . . We call you Mother Church because our founders were clergymen of your Church & our religious principles are those & those alone of the Church of England.--Yet shew us how we can be more nearly united so as not to be prevented from doing the work which God has given us to do & my heart & hand shall both be with you."[1]

Although Clarke regarded himself and Methodism as being related closely to the English Church, this attachment was always secondary to what he considered was "the work which God has given us to do."[2] He felt that Methodism, and his activity in it, was related to the Establishment in that the Societies stressed its doctrines, used its ritual, and extended its influence to those in need of salvation. Thus, Clarke thought of himself ideally as a "Churchman," but in reality he was a devoted Wesleyan, wholly dedicated--as was Wesley--to the task of saving souls not reached by the Church.

Clarke's primary purpose in life was to be useful, and because he felt he could be most useful among the Methodists, he devoted himself completely to the spreading of its message, to the enforcing of its discipline, and to the promotion of its program.[3] Characteristic of his zeal was this advice given to a missionary under his supervision, "Let not one inhabited rock even be without a Methodist sermon on it."[4] Clarke's deep

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid.
3. James Everett, Adam Clarke Portrayed, III, p. 501.
4. Clarke's letter to Samuel Dunn, written from London, June 6, 1824, cited in An Account of Clarke's Life, III, pp. 88-9.

reverence for Wesleyan Methodism is expressed openly in this declaration of faith for the Connexion, written shortly before his death in the album of a fellow preacher:

> "I have lived more than three-score years and ten; I have travelled a good deal both by sea and land; I have conversed with and seen many people, in and from different countries; I have studied the principal religious systems in the world; I have read much, thought much, and reasoned much; and the result is, I am persuaded of the simple unadulterated truth of no book but the Bible; and of the true excellence of no system of religion but that contained in the holy Scriptures; and especially Christianity, which is referred to in the Old Testament, and fully revealed in the New. And while I think well of, and wish well to, all religious sects and parties, and especially to all who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity; yet, from a long and thorough knowledge of the subject, I am led most conscientiously to conclude, that Christianity itself, as existing among those called Wesleyan Methodists, is the purest, the safest, that which is most to God's glory, and the benefit of mankind. . . . And I believe, that among them is to be found the best form and body of divinity that has ever existed in the Church of Christ, from the promulgation of Christianity to the present day. To him who would say, 'Doctor Clarke, are you not a bigot?' Without hesitation I would answer, 'No, I am not; for, by the grace of God, I am a Methodist!' Amen."[1]

II. Leadership in the Wesleyan Connexion

The leadership which Adam Clarke gave to the Wesleyan Connexion that he deeply revered, bore fruit in various ways. On the circuits the people greatly benefited from his effective preaching of the Gospel; where he served as chairman of the district, new Societies were formed, others were enlarged, and

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1. Clarke's note written in the album of Robert Newstead at the Liverpool Conference, July 26, 1832. Cited in the obituary, "The Late Rev. Dr. Adam Clarke," The Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine, XI, Third Series (September, 1832), pp. 765-7. While the italics do not appear in this article, these words probably were emphasized in the original MS., as this was his usual practice.

in not a few instances, new chapels were erected. Moreover, during the troubled years after Wesley, Clarke's leadership in the Conference resulted in several important changes which satisfied the demands of the people. For half a century this loyal Irish Itinerant rendered leadership to the Connexion as a whole, giving timely guidance during its crucial years of development and expansion.

A. Leadership on the Circuits

The great success which Adam Clarke enjoyed on his first circuits, especially in East Cornwall, earned for him the respect both of the Methodist people and of John Wesley. In 1785, while the Cornish Societies begged for his return, Wesley sent the promising lad with only three years of experience, "to heal the breach and counteract the measures of the disaffected party"[1] at Plymouth Dock. This Society had been torn with discord that resulted in a serious secession, but under his leadership the membership was nearly doubled during the year.[2] Wesley's approbation of Clarke is evident in a letter to Moore in which he says, "We go on well in this [Bristol] circuit; and no wonder, since John Valton and Adam Clarke and Miss Johnson are here."[3] The Founder of Methodism appears to have had such

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1. William Jones, Memoirs of The Life, Ministry, and Writings of The Rev. Adam Clarke, p. 130.
2. When Clarke was sent to Plymouth Dock in 1785 there were 282 members; at the next Conference he was able to report 483 members. Minutes of the Methodist Conferences, I, pp. 176 and 188.
3. John Wesley's letter to Henry Moore, written from London, March 14, 1790. John Telford (ed.), Letters of John Wesley, VIII, p. 207.

a fondness for Clarke and his wife that he wanted them to remain near him during the last years of his life. However, the controversy in Dublin over holding services during Church hours and other "extravagant irregularities,"[1] were of such a critical nature that he reluctantly decided to send them there. Says Wesley:

> ". . . when he strangely consented to go to Dublin, I could not say anything either for it or against it. And I did not know whether the thing were not from God when I saw both him and his wife so thoroughly willing to give up all. Indeed, designing and crafty men have blown up such a flame in Dublin as none can quench but a man of faith and love. If I should live, I do not purpose he should stay there any longer than a year."[2]

Although Clarke was only in his late twenties or early thirties, "his strong and sympathetic personality"[3] enabled him to settle this dispute effectively. Moreover, his tact and ability to meet difficult situations caused the Conference to send him to such important circuits as Liverpool and Manchester in the North and Bristol and London in the South. So effective was his leadership in these troubled Societies that they continually petitioned the Conference to send him back.[4] Few Methodist preachers served such a limited range of circuits as did Adam Clarke. The fact that he was frequently selected to serve as superintendent of the circuit and chairman of the district

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1. C. H. Crookshank, History of Methodism in Ireland, II, pp. 18 et segq.
2. John Wesley's letter to John King, written from Bristol, July 31, 1790, Letters of John Wesley, op. cit., p. 228.
3. Luke Tyerman, The Life and Times of the Rev. John Wesley, III, pp. 623-4.
4. James Everett, Adam Clarke Portrayed, II, pp. 186-8; J. W. Etheridge, The Life of the Rev. Adam Clarke, p. 184; and supra, pp. 186 et segq.

wherever he was appointed is additional evidence of the general recognition of his leadership abilities.[1]

What was the secret of Clarke's effective leadership? In the first place, when he was sent to a circuit under the Methodist Plan (a system which he strongly supported), he regarded the appointment as being the will of God. He followed this policy which he gave to others:

> "Never choose a circuit for yourself. If you do, and succeed in getting the object of your choice; make up your mind to bear all the crosses alone, which you may meet with in it: for how can you look to God for strength to support you under trials, which you may reasonably conclude are of your own procuring? You are God's messenger; pray him, therefore, to send you where you may do and get most good. In such a place the crosses you meet with are God's crosses; and he is bound not only to support you under them, but to sanctify them to the good of your soul."[2]

With such a strong sense of divine mission, he gave priority to meeting the spiritual and physical needs of the people. Evidence of this desire was the way in which Clarke modified his own views on giving the sacrament to the people and the manner in which he opposed the wishes of the influential trustees.[3] From the pulpit he proclaimed an evangelical message of God's great plan of salvation which he wanted all to experience. His principle emphasis was that God's love for man as revealed in

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1. For the many times Clarke served as superintendent or chairman, and for the statistics on the members he brought into the Connexion, vide Appendix B.
2. This is the ninth of ten rules "Concerning your Behaviour in your Circuit, or place where you exercise your Ministry," given in "Letter to a Preacher," Works, XII, p. 178.
3. Supra, pp. 46-55. Also vide Clarke's article, "Trustees of Methodist Chapels," The Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine, VII, Third Series (May, 1828), pp. 668-671.

Jesus Christ was the grand means of forgiveness for all men and from all sin.[1] Like Wesley, he stressed the importance of the class-meeting in enabling converts to grow in the Christian life and to manifest their love for God in meeting the practical needs of their fellow men.[2] Moreover, Clarke always kept his own name in the class-book; he shared his experiences with spiritually minded laymen each week and received the religious counsel of his class-leader.[3] For he strongly believed that it was his duty not only to preach the Gospel, but also to live it. "God has always required, and ever will require," says Clarke, "that those who minister in holy things shall have upright hearts and clean hands."[4] As a pastor with the "heart of a shepherd,"[5] he realized the importance of visiting the people in their homes. He frequently attended the beds of the sick and dying; he taught and catechized young children. However, the underlying reason for the success which he enjoyed was his understanding and love of people. When addressing the Missionary Society he once revealed this affection for others by saying that if he did not love all mankind, he would hate his own

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1. Supra, pp. 155-9 and 218-224.
2. Clarke in a letter to Mr. Hindson says, "From long experience, I know the propriety of Mr. Wesley's advice to the preachers: 'Establish class-meetings, and form societies wherever you preach, and have attentive hearers . . . for wherever we have preached without doing so, the word has been like seed sown by the way side.'" Letter written from Eastcott, near Pinner, Middlesex, March 5, 1826, cited in Works, XIII, pp. 256-9.
3. "Dr. Adam Clarke," The Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine, IV, Fifth Series (April, 1858), pp. 290-301.
4. Sermon XXXIII, "The Nature and Design of the Holy Eucharist," Works, VII, p. 112.
5. Supra, pp. 184-6.

"scoundrel heart."[1] Recalling his experiences on the difficult London Circuit, Clarke says:

> "We had at that time some turbulent trustees; and those who know me, know that I never bowed to any body of them, whether from fear or favour: I never did--I cannot--I never will; yet these men were managed;--though they would do nothing before, I obtained all I wanted. . . . Men, in general, may be managed;--only treat them as gentlemen and rational beings, and pay them the respect due to their station in life."[2]

Clarke had a firm and independent nature,[3] but he also had such a large-heartedness, kind manner, and sense of humor that people found it difficult to dislike him. Those who differed strongly with his views, even Richard Watson himself, did not hesitate to come to him for counsel in difficult situations.[4] He was a man of peace; his habitual cheerfulness and happy temperament were contagious. As a preacher of the Gospel, as chairman of the district, and as President of the Conference, he demonstrated his unusual ability of working out peaceful solutions to dividing controversies and perplexing problems. After Wesley died, such leadership was greatly needed in the Wesleyan Connexion both on the circuits and in the Conference.

B. Leadership in the Conference

In the generation after Wesley, Adam Clarke was one of the prominent leaders in the Conference.[5] While it is correct

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1. Clarke, cited by Richard Watson, The Works of The Rev. Richard Watson, I, p. 296.
2. Clarke, cited by Everett, loc. cit.
3. George Smith, History of Wesleyan Methodism, II, pp. 286-8.
4. Everett, op. cit., p. 377.
5. The four leaders of Methodism in the first half of the nineteenth century were Adam Clarke, Richard Watson, Robert Newton, and Jabez Bunting. Among the four only Clarke had

to say that Jabez Bunting was the outstanding Wesleyan churchman of the "Middle Period" of Methodism (1791-1849), in 1794 when the Connexion was facing one of its severest crises, young Jabez was just joining the Wesleyans at the age of fifteen. During the 1790's Clarke proved himself as a leader and because of his immense popularity was elected President of the Conference in 1806--the youngest at that time to be so honored.[1] While he accepted this responsibility with not a little reluctance, his churchmanship in office was so acceptable that he was chosen to lead the Conference again in 1814 and in 1822.[2] He was the first after Wesley to serve as President three times, and each re-election occurred after the minimum interim period of seven years.[3] Had he been motivated by the desire to rule,

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achieved leadership in the century of Wesley and had profited by a personal acquaintance with him. H. B. Workman, Methodism, p. 98; and John Stoughton, Religion in England from 1800 to 1850, I, pp. 330-1.

1. Bunting was not received into the Conference until 1803. J. H. Rigg, Jabez Bunting, A Great Methodist Leader, pp. 20-1; and George Smith, History of Wesleyan Methodism, II, pp. 425 et seqq.
2. Clarke writes in a letter to his wife from the Leeds Conference, July 26, 1806, "This morning our Conference began, and as I had heard from all quarters that they designed to put me in the chair; previously to the ballot I addressed the Conference, and . . . I proceeded to give my reasons why I could not go into the Chair, and begged no brother would waste a vote on me. . . . However . . . I was chosen by a majority of more than one half beyond the highest, and was called to the Chair in the name of the Conference. I still refused, begging that the next person in number of votes might take the Chair. We were thrown into a temporary confusion, during which time Mr. Thomas Taylor and Mr. Joseph Bradford, by main force lifted me out of my seat and placed me upon the table. I was confounded and distressed beyond measure, and against all my resolutions was obliged to take the seat." Cited in An Account of Clarke's Life, II, pp. 94-5.
3. Supra, pp. 60-1.

as was Jabez Bunting, Clarke probably could have had a fourth term in 1830 and thus would have shared with the leader of the "Conference Party" a distinction that Bunting later achieved.[1] What motivation the Irish Itinerant did have for leadership in the Conference appears to have come from his responsibility as a pastor to see the spiritual needs of the people satisfied and his intense desire for justice and liberty. Clarke particularly felt that the members of the Societies were within their rights in demanding that the sacraments be administered by those who had been the instrument of their conversion. Hence, he went to great lengths in urging the Conference to grant this liberty to the people. Although strongly attached to the Established Church himself, he took an active part in drawing up the Plan of Pacification passed in 1795 and in granting concessions to the laity in the Leeds Regulations adopted in 1797.[2] In this "Reform" legislation, which eventually resulted in the separation of Methodism from the Mother Church, Clarke proved himself to be a leader among what might be called the "Moderate-Conservatives" of Methodism. This "Middle Party" enabled the Conference to adopt liberal measures which the Conservatives, led by the influential High-Church trustees, strongly opposed.[3] Yet, the Moderates resented being called Dissenters; they refused to support the Wesleyan Radicals who, under the leadership of

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1. Bunting was elected President of the Conference in 1820, 1828, 1836, and 1844, being re-elected in each case after the minimum interim period of seven years; however, unlike Clarke, he openly sought the office. Rigg, loc. cit.
2. Supra, pp. 46 et seqq.
3. Supra, pp. 41 et seqq.

Alexander Kilham, demanded that the authority of Methodism be given to the laity.[1] In the early part of the nineteenth century, when the control of the Conference passed into the hands of such influential "Tory" Conservatives as Joseph Benson, Richard Watson, Robert Newton, and Jabez Bunting, the "Moderate Whig,"[2] Adam Clarke, was nearly the only prominent Wesleyan leader in the Conference to represent the position of the Moderate-Conservatives.

The three decades which followed the concessions made in 1797 were years of political reaction in England due to the revolutionary events on the Continent. During these years extreme conservatism became as intense within the Methodist Conference, which had natural autocratic traditions, as it did in the nation as a whole. Even Clarke agreed in principle with the "Conference Party" (the controlling Conservative leaders of the Conference) that since the pastors had received their call from God, the laity should neither legislate theology nor rule the Conference body. However, he strongly opposed making the government of the Connexion so prelatic that the rights and desires of the people were disregarded. He insisted that if Methodism were to be true to the spirit of Wesley and if it expected to continue to enjoy providential growth, it must give first priority to meeting the spiritual needs of the people.

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1. Supra, pp. 55 et seqq.
2. Maldwyn Edwards, Adam Clarke, pp. 20-1. Among the "Whigs" to gain prominence after Clarke were such men as Jacob Stanley, William Atherton, Daniel Isaac, Thomas Galland, Joseph Fowler, and Joseph Beaumont. For the most part, the political views of the preachers in the nineteenth century determined their ecclesiastical views in the Conference.

Thus, the cultivation of the good will of the laity was vastly more important to Clarke in maintaining Connexional unity than any legislation designed to strengthen pastoral supremacy.

Just how far the champion of the Conservatives, Jabez Bunting, had gone in the "prelatic reaction from the comparatively moderate attitude of the 1790's"[1] became alarmingly apparent in 1827 and 1828 with the "Leeds Organ Case."[2] This controversy arose when a few trustees of the Brunswick Chapel decided to place an organ in their church building. Many of the local members objected to its installation, and when the approval of the Leeds District Meeting was sought, the necessary permission was refused. While this should have been the end of an insignificant matter, it was only the beginning, for the determined trustees by-passed the District and appealed directly to the ensuing Conference. Under the high-handed leadership of Bunting the Conference approved the application; it chose to ignore its own "Organ Law" passed in 1820, to override the power of the District Meeting, and to disregard the rights of the members of the local Society. The self-assertive Methodist laity of Yorkshire naturally resented such an arbitrary demonstration of prelatic power. As a result, about one thousand members seceded from the Connexion and organized the "Nonconformist Methodist Church," which later took the name of

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1. J. H. S. Kent, "The Struggle between Radicalism and Conservatism in Methodism, 1815-1848," unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, 1949, Emmanuel College, Cambridge University, p. 136.
2. For a full discussion of this controversy, vide Benjamin Gregory, Side Lights on the Conflicts of Methodism, 1827-1852, Chap. III, "The Leeds Case and Its Sequences," pp. 48-99.

"Protestant Methodist Church."[1] Thus Connexional unity, the goal for which Clarke labored so faithfully during his life, was destroyed in a moment by this hasty action of the Conference. Moreover, in the affair the "Conference Party," under the autocratic leadership of Bunting,[2] demonstrated clearly that the prelatic pastorate no longer feared the laity or cared about their rights.[3] That "the wound"[4] Clarke received from Bunting's act of "impetuosity"[5] was deep, may be seen in this letter to Dunn:

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1. Ibid. Also vide E. R. Taylor, Methodism & Politics, 1791-1851, pp. 138-164.
2. Gregory states that Bunting's "Premiership" lasted from 1808 to 1848, a span of forty years; however, since he gained little power as a leader until the second decade of the nineteenth century, thirty years is a more accurate period. Whatever the duration of his "Premiership," during the first part of it Clarke was about the only prominent figure in the Conference to oppose Bunting's increasing autocracy. Gregory, op. cit., pp. 544-5. For a discussion of Bunting's contributions to Wesleyan Methodism vide: J. H. S. Kent, Jabez Bunting, The Last Wesleyan; Maldwyn Edwards, After Wesley, Chap. II, "Jabez Bunting: The Significance of His Career," pp. 153-164; and Taylor, op. cit., Chap. V, "'The Pope of Methodism': The Primacy and Policy of Jabez Bunting," pp. 115-137.
3. Clarke found this action doubly objectionable because of his opposition to instruments, a prejudice which is clearly revealed in this statement made to Wesley, "I have no objections to instruments of music in a place of worship, provided they can neither be seen nor heard." Cited by James Everett, "Clarkeana," unpublished MS., James Everett Collection of MSS., The Hartley Victoria Methodist College, Manchester. Clarke also asserts, "The day the organ was voted among us was a blow at the root of our primitive simplicity--& with that, will go our Purity.--If our Leaders are to be trodden under foot, as in the Leeds business, the Church of Christ among us, is trodden under foot--& what the End must be it is easy to see." MS. letter to G/eorge/ Marsden, written from Bristol, April 23, 1828, Collection of MSS., Strong Rooms, City Road.
4. Clarke's MS. letter to Thomas Jackson, written August 21, 1829, W. L. Watkinson Collection of MSS., John Wesley's Chapel, Bristol.
5. This was Bunting's own word used to describe his hasty action which he later had cause to regret. Gregory, op. cit., p. 97.

"I was at the Conference for seven days, and heard nothing but the Leed's business, in which we /the preachers/ alone have been the aggressors, and in which we have sacrificed more than a thousand souls to our organs and claim of unjust powers. Whatever evil is produced, there may be much, we have ourselves to blame for it; and for that business the preachers concerned will have an awful account to give to the Head of the Church. . . . I left the Conference, pretty nearly resolved never to attend another. We have got not a Rule, but a domination, totally inconsistent with the spirit of Methodism, and which will, in my opinion bring ultimately the dissolution of the Connexion."[1]

Adam Clarke saw with prophetic clarity that the Leeds Case was only the beginning of an era of disruption; what he feared most took place. Historians generally describe this second quarter of the nineteenth century as the "Dark Age" of Methodism.[2] Hitherto, the only important secession after Wesley's death had been Kilham's formation of the "New Connexion Methodists" in 1797, but even Clarke regarded this as unavoidable.[3] True, other Methodist groups had been formed--the "Primitive Methodist Church" by Hugh Bourne in 1812 and the "Bible Christian Methodists" by William O'Bryan in 1815--but these branches actually had strengthened the parent body by

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1. Clarke in this letter also says, "We have succeeded in getting the world into the church. Your persecution was a proof of this usurped anti-Christian power. It was nominally against you; it was really against me. I saw its workings for several years back. I left it to spend its strength. Had I been without influence . . . I should have been sacrificed . . . /for/ they published incessant sly calumnies, and their horse and their foot came into the field against me. I stood, through God's mercy, without striking a stroke. Most of their darts fell short of their mark,--the rest flew over my head." Letter to Samuel Dunn, cited without date or place of writing by the recipient in The Life of Adam Clarke, pp. 150-1. Thus, behind Clarke's opposition to the "Conference Party," was the eternal Sonship controversy which reached its height in 1819. Supra, pp. 242-250.
2. Taylor, op. cit., p. 138.
3. Supra, pp. 55-8.

reaching new areas and social classes.[1] However, the Irish leader looked upon the Leeds disruption as being different, for here the cause was not Radicalism versus Conservatism, but the forces of lay liberty struggling against pastoral supremacy. While his prediction that Bunting's "domination" of the clerical Conference would result in "the dissolution of the Connexion"[2] was not entirely correct, the disruptions which occurred after Clarke's death, with the expulsion of Samuel Warren in 1835[3] and of James Everett, Samuel Dunn, and William Griffith fifteen years later,[4] almost proved disastrous. Had the Moderate-Conservative leadership of a man like Adam Clarke been followed in the first half of the nineteenth century, Wesleyan Methodism might not have lost its one hundred thousand members in 1849.

However, the truth is that while Clarke was an active leader in the moderate legislation of the 1790's, in the early years of the nineteenth century he became engrossed in literary pursuits and other interests which he considered more important than Conference politics. Hence, he failed to give the Conference

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1. Taylor, op. cit., p. 166.
2. Clarke's letter to Dunn, loc. cit.
3. After being expelled by the Conference, Warren organized the "Wesleyan Methodist Association" in 1835 with about seven thousand eight hundred seceders as original members. For a full discussion of the "Warrenite Controversy," which arose over the formation of a Theological Institution, vide Benjamin Gregory, Side Lights on the Conflicts of Methodism, 1827-1852, Chap. IV, "The Conference of 1834--Theological Institution," pp. 133-261.
4. For a full discussion of the factors leading to the controversy resulting from the agitation for reform, which found expression in the "Fly Sheets," vide Gregory, op. cit., Chaps. VII, "Gathering Storm," VIII, "The Fly Sheets and the Paper War of 1848-49," IX, "The Conference of 1849," X, "Dr. Bunting's Policy," and XI, "Direct Causes of the Disruption of 1849," pp. 381-577.

the needed Moderate-Conservative leadership that he could have given had he been more concerned with "the business, so to speak, of the Connexion."[1] The Plan of Pacification and the Leeds Regulations had settled important questions, but the problem of authority remained unsolved. Yet, both of these measures had "implied that the pastorate should take care to carry the people with them at every step."[2] Clarke appears to have had little interest in the administrative part of the Connexion during the years Bunting was gaining his power in the Conference,[3] but his love of liberty and his disdain for despotism were so strong that he could not refrain from opposing the "Pope of Methodism."[4] He found Bunting's quest for personal power particularly objectionable when it sacrificed the popular support of the laity by ignoring their rights and needs.[5] Hence, as the Methodist Itinerant resisted the Trustees' effort to monopolize control of the Conference in the troubled decade after Wesley, so also he protested against Bunting's increasing despotism in the nineteenth century.[6] Writing to a missionary friend

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1. /James Everett/, Wesleyan Takings, p. 103.
2. Kent, op. cit., p. 188.
3. Clarke in a letter to Alexander MacKey writes, "I hear various rumours about who is to be President--some say Mr. Stevens--others Mr. Reece--others Mr. Edmondson. I know nothing. I care as little. God is always at the head of his own work." Transcript of a letter written from Pinner, Middlesex, June 27, 1827, the Francis J. Cole Collection of MSS., Ardmarn, County of Antrim.
4. Supra, p. 274.
5. Kent, op. cit., pp. 138-140.
6. As a "Moderate-Whig" Clarke opposed any leadership that tended to be autocratic. "Do not eulogize," he warns Bunting, "the American system of Methodism. I hope we shall never see any thing like it here. Their Bishop System is Despotism. I do not wonder that they have Schisms among them." MS. letter to Jabez Bunting, written from Canonbury, August 6, 1824, W. L. Watkinson Collection of MSS., John Wesley's Chapel, Bristol.

in Ceylon, Clarke observes:

> "I can see that our connexion is gradually dividing between two parties; the high and the low: the governors who will govern; and the governed, who complain and growl under their government."[1]

If Clarke had not acquired such strong aversion to Connexional politics, but had remained as active in the new century as he had been in the last decade of the old, or if he had been as effective in leading the English Conference as he had been in guiding the Irish Body,[2] he himself and those who shared his Moderate-Conservative views would have had less to "complain and growl" about. However, Clarke preferred to remain "a man of peace," refusing to be a "party" in ecclesiastical disputes[3] or to "meddle" where he could not "meddle

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1. Clarke's MS. letter to Benjamin Clough, Methodist Missionary, Island of Ceylon, written from Haydon Hall, near Pinner, Middlesex, June 8, 1831, Collection of MSS., Strong Rooms, City Road.
2. After Wesley, Thomas Coke usually presided over the Irish Conference, but in 1811 Adam Clarke was appointed to take his place. This began what Crookshank describes as "the commencement of a new era in Irish Methodism." After this he served as President of the Irish Body at various times, but his leadership was of particular significance in 1816. In that year the preachers came to Conference with even stronger feelings for and against the sacraments than did the British prior to the adoption of the Plan of Pacification. However, under the wise counsel of Clarke, a satisfactory solution was reached. Although a small group seceded over the controversy, Crookshank asserts, "It would be difficult to cite from the whole history of the denomination a more exemplary instance of moderation, or a more equitable adjustment of a controverted question." C. H. Crookshank, History of Methodism in Ireland, II, pp. 349-353 and 405-9; George Smith, History of Wesleyan Methodism, III, pp. 17-26; and Clarke's MS. letter to his wife, Mary, written from Dublin, July 9, 1816, Collection of MSS., Strong Rooms, City Road.
3. Clarke's MS. letter to Jabez Bunting, written from the [London] Conference, August 18, 1828, W. L. Watkinson Collection of MSS., John Wesley's Chapel, Bristol.

cordially."[1] Yet, because of his resistance to the encroaching power of Bunting and because of his own prominence in the Connexion, Clarke was used in his later years by those in the Conference with more liberal ambitions than his and with less devotion to Wesleyan Methodism. Significant indeed is the fact that many of Clarke's closest friends, such as Samuel Dunn and James Everett, became the principle agitators for reform which led to the great disruption of 1849. Methodism would have greatly benefited in the nineteenth century by stronger leadership among the Moderate-Conservatives.[2] Adam Clarke's appeal for moderation in the British Conference was neither as influential as it could have been nor as it was in the promotion of special interests of the Wesleyan Connexion.

III. Promotion of Connexional Interests

Adam Clarke's interest in the administrative leadership of the Conference in the early years of the nineteenth century may not have been as strong as that of some other preachers, but few Wesleyan Itinerants did more than he to promote all the interests of the Connexion, especially its program of missions and education. "As Methodism had been the instrument of

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1. Clarke's letter to Clough, June 8, 1831, loc. cit. In a letter written to his brother-in-law, Joseph Butterworth, May 24, 1808, Clarke says, "I have never meddled in any party-matters, --in church, in state, or in civil life." Cited in part without place of writing by James Everett, Adam Clarke Portrayed, II, pp. 259-260.
2. After Clarke's death, the leadership of the Moderate-Conservatives passed into the hands of Joseph Beaumont who, like his predecessor, failed to give the Conference the positive guidance that he could have given.

bringing him into the possession of the inestimable blessings of redemption," says Dunn, "he lived for its stability and extension, and gloried in its success."[1] All that he accomplished during his fifty years of Wesleyan service resulted from his single purpose in life--to advance the cause of Christianity in every part of the world that all men might be converted to Christ.[2] Since he believed that Methodism had been brought into being by providence for this purpose, his life was devoted to the promotion of its evangelical program. For a half-century he served the Connexion as an active preacher. His evangelical message and shepherd's heart made him one of the most popular and effective Itinerants of early Methodism.[3] After 1815, for reasons of health, he was forced to give up regular Wesleyan Itinerant work. Thus, being relieved of circuit duties, he was able to travel more throughout Great Britain in order to promote the general interests of the Connexion. During his last seventeen years of "semi-retirement" he gave particular attention to the promotion of the Shetland Missions and the Irish Schools.

A. "Heart of a Missionary": Shetland Missions

The enthusiastic support that Adam Clarke gave to Wesleyan Methodist Missions was really a part of his whole evangelical emphasis. Early in his ministry he gave evidence of such zeal that John Wesley sent him as a missionary to the Channel

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1. Samuel Dunn, The Life of Adam Clarke, p. 169.
2. Joseph Beaumont, A Funeral Address . . . of the late Rev. Adam Clarke, LL. D., p. 36.
3. Supra, pp. 187 et seqq.

Islands. That he here quickly acquired "the heart of a missionary"[1] is evidenced by the spirit of this letter written to Wesley:

> "On various accounts I have been led to consider these islands as places of much importance; not only with respect to themselves, but also in relation to the whole French Continent. . . . /For the inhabitants of the Channel Islands could/ unlock the entrance into the Protestant settlements in France, through them disperse it among all the inhabitants of that kingdom, and by that cause it to win its widening way through the German empire, Spain, Italy, and to other vast tracts of land. . . . These, I grant, are large expectations: but can we dear Sir, expect too much when we properly consider the infinite love and unlimited power of our Christ?"[2]

While in London Clarke's interest in missions was heightened by his association with members of the Clapham Sect.[3] Believing that "Bibles and Missionaries"[4] should go together, he assisted the Evangelicals by translating Scripture for The British and Foreign Bible Society.[5] When the first Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society was organized in London on December 1, 1814,

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1. Clarke says, "Those sent to America excepted, I myself was one of their first missionaries. I was sent a missionary to the Norman Isles /Channel Islands/ in 1785, and returned in 1788. . . . I know the heart of a missionary, and his labours; and I know what it is to be from under the immediate protection of British laws." "A Short Account of the Introduction of the Gospel into the British Isles," Works, XIII, p. 36. The Minutes indicate that he was sent there in 1786 and returned in 1789. The Minutes of the Methodist Conferences, I, pp. 185, 197, and 205; and P. O. Choules and T. Smith, The Origin and History of Missions, I, pp. 210-211.
2. Clarke's letter to John Wesley, written from Guernsey, July 21, 1787, cited by Samuel Dunn, The Life of Adam Clarke, pp. 46-7; and supra, p. 88.
3. Supra, pp. 22-5.
4. Clarke's address to The Annual Meeting of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, The Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine, I, Third Series (June, 1822), pp. 403-4; and Sermon IV, "God's Willingness to Save All Men," Works, V, pp. 100 et seqq.
5. Infra, pp. 319-322.

Clarke challenged those who crowded into the City Road Chapel to send the Gospel to the ends of the earth.[1] The death of Thomas Coke[2] earlier in the year was the chief reason for the formation of the Society and Clarke, who long had shared a special interest in missions, became one of Coke's most enthusiastic successors.[3] While unable to accept all the invitations which he received during his later years, he never refused an opportunity to support the missionary cause; frequently he was called upon to address the Annual Missionary Meeting. He was unusually successful in raising large offerings within the Connexion and in securing public support for the expansion of Wesleyan Missions.[4] Moreover, he personally assisted missionaries by giving them invaluable linguistic preparation before

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1. This address was published in 1815 under the title, A Short Account of the Introduction of the Gospel into the British Isles; and the Obligation of Britons to Make Known Its Salvation to Every Region on the Earth.
2. Thomas Coke was sent in 1784 to North America as "a superintendent of the flock of Christ" to organize the scattered Methodist Societies; against Wesley's wish, he allowed himself to be consecrated bishop. Later he returned to Great Britain where he directed the Methodist Mission work in Novia Scotia, the West Indies, and West Africa. He crossed the Atlantic Ocean eighteen times and died in 1814 on a journey to Ceylon where he hoped to establish another Methodist Mission. G. Warneck, Outline of a History of Protestant Missions, pp. 96-8; and George Smith, History of Wesleyan Methodism, II, pp. 578 et seqq.
3. "Review of the Life of Dr. Adam Clarke," The Christian Observer, XXXIII (December, 1833), p. 801; and "A Short Account of the Introduction of the Gospel into the British Isles," op. cit., p. 38. Another important successor to Coke was Clarke's convert, Joseph Butterworth. Supra, pp. 193-4.
4. Clarke, for example, was able to raise five hundred pounds at the Anniversary Missionary Meeting held in London in 1822. For this and other accounts of his raising money for missions, vide: An Account of Clarke's Life, II, pp. 320 and 350, III, p. 17; James Everett, Adam Clarke Portrayed, III, pp. 112-13, 169, 210, 253, 305, 308, 342, 345, 378-80, 417, and 476; and J. W. Etheridge, The Rev. Adam Clarke, pp. 246-8.

sailing, corresponding with them in foreign countries, and sending them helpful publications.[1]

However, the clearest evidence that Clarke possessed "the heart of a missionary" is seen in his effective promotion of the Wesleyan Mission to the Shetland Islands. His interest in these islands, which was not unrelated to his Scottish maternal heritage,[2] was first manifested when he was President of the Conference in 1822. During that year he solicited some of his personal friends for the support of this proposed mission, and he received sufficient funds to send two missionaries.[3] So

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1. Sir Alexander Johnstone brought back from Ceylon in 1818 "two high priests of Budhoo" whom he sent to live with Adam Clarke for instruction. After teaching them the principles of the Christian faith for eighteen months, he was able to prepare a helpful publication for the priests themselves and for the assistance of missionaries in Ceylon and India. This work, which was published in 1820, was entitled, Clavis Biblica; or, A Compendium of Scriptural Knowledge. For this publication and the details of the training of the two priests, vide Works, XII, pp. 18-137.
2. Supra, pp. 65-6. Clarke, in a letter to one of the missionaries under his supervision, says, "You may ask me why I am so interested in behalf of those Islands /Hebrides and Shetlands/; and particularly on behalf of Mull? I can even tell you: by my mother, I am directly descended from the Lairds of Mull. My grandfather McLean was grandson of the famous S/i/r Laughlan McLean, who was killed in a feud, by the McDonalds in 1598. I consider that Island my country, and have ever longed to get that people the Gospel planted in it, by which, I myself, am saved. I still bear the Tartan of my Clan and dress myself in it every 30th of Nov/ember/, St. Andrews Day, with jacket, kilt, plaid. . . ." MS. letter to Donald Brotikie, written from Pinner, Middlesex, August 25, 1830, Collection of MSS., Strong Rooms, City Road; and letter to Samuel Dunn, written from London, April 29, 1824, cited in Works, XIII, pp. 209-211.
3. An Account of Clarke's Life, III, pp. 21-3. For some of Clarke's correspondence with missionaries in the Shetlands, vide Works, XIII, pp. 139-269, 298-357, and 394-454.

effective had he been in this matter that the ensuing Conference added this note "after the Stations of the Shetland District":

> "Dr. Adam Clarke is requested to correspond regularly with the preachers in the Shetland Isles, and to give them such advices and directions as he may deem necessary. Dr. Clarke is also authorised to receive donations for the Chapels, and for the support of the preachers, in those islands; which donations shall be regularly paid, on account, to the treasurer of the Contingent Fund."[1]

How he felt about this "honor" that had been given to him, is revealed in a letter to a friend in which he says:

> "They /Shetland Missions/ are still going on gloriously.--This mission has been crowned with more success than perhaps all our foreign Missions put together, the West Indies excepted. The whole burden, however, is left on my shoulders. The President /Henry Moore/ whose business it was to have taken it up, has left it wholly to me; & I am obliged to beg from Dan to Beersheba, to get money to meet expenses. However, God has given me favour in the sight of the People & I have hitherto been able to keep the Missionaries in credit in their buildings, &c. . . ."[2]

While he raised some funds in his travels throughout the Connexion, his chief support for the Shetlands came from his own personal friends.[3] That he might more effectively direct and support this work, he personally visited the islands in 1826, in 1828, and made plans for a third trip in the year of his death.[4]

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1. This note was repeated in the Minutes every year as long as Clarke lived. Minutes of the Methodist Conferences, V (1819-1824), VI (1825-1830), and VII (1831-1835); and George Smith, History of Wesleyan Methodism, III, p. 100.
2. Clarke's MS. letter to A/lexander/ MacKey, written from 10 Canonbury Square, May 20, 1824, Collection of MSS., Strong Rooms, City Road.
3. Three friends, Thomas Scott, Misses E. Birch and S. Ward, gave Clarke more than five thousand pounds to support the Shetland Missions. An Account of Clarke's Life, III, pp. 80, 205, 354-8; Clarke's MS. letter to the Conference of Wesleyan Methodism assembled in Liverpool, July, 1832, Collection of MSS., Strong Rooms, City Road; and letter to Mary Clarke, written from Pennsford, January 20, 1832, cited in Works, XIII, pp. 448-450.
4. For accounts of these visits, vide: "Journals" included in

When his wife objected to his making such strenuous journeys at his age, he gave this reply:

> "It seems a work which God has given me to do: I must go on till He stops me. To sacrifice my life at the command or the work of God is, as to pain and difficulty, no more to me than a burnt straw. My life is His, and He will not take it away out of the regular course, unless greatly to His glory and my good."[1]

On these trips he was able to observe the great need for more chapels. But the people were very poor, and if the work was to progress money had to be sent to them. The responsibility for raising funds was carried almost solely by Clarke. That this task became difficult during his later years, as his health increasingly failed, is evidenced in this letter:

> "Shetland, and its concerns, are still a heavy burden upon my spirit. I do not get the help I might receive on this head from some who should help. The whole burden is about my neck; and I have begged till I am ashamed of asking more from my friends. I cannot swim against the stream."[2]

Although Clarke's opposition to some of the influential leaders of the Conference made the support of the Shetlands more difficult, he shouldered the responsibility almost alone until shortly before his death--even the securing of capable preachers.[3]

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Works, XIII, pp. 269-298, and 353-393; and James Everett, "Clarkeana," James Everett Collection of MSS., The Hartley Victoria Methodist College, Manchester.

1. Clarke, cited by Dunn, op. cit., p. 107.
2. Clarke's letter to Samuel Dunn, written January, 1830, cited without day of month or place of writing by /John M. Hare/, The Life and Labours of Adam Clarke, p. 227; and Clarke's MS. letter to G/eorge/ Marsden, written July 29, 1827, Collection of MSS., Strong Rooms, City Road.
3. Clarke in a letter to Alexander MacKey says, "O that I might have you for Shetland! _Three out of the six preachers are not returning--& my Br/ethre/n evidence no warm attachment to this important work. . . ." Transcript of letter written from Pinner, Middlesex, June 27, 1827, the Francis J. Cole Collection of MSS., Ardmara, County of Antrim; and MS. letter to Jabez Bunting, written from Canonbury, August 6, 1824,

Subjecting his weakened body to the ravages of the dreaded Cholera,[1] from which he died a month later, Clarke went to the Liverpool Conference in July of 1832 in order to make a final appeal for the Shetlands. At this time, for reasons of declining health, he was forced to turn this work over to the Conference, but in so doing he was happy to report:

> "There are at present in the islands six Wesleyan ministers, and a supernumerary, who preach on an average from 300 to 500 sermons each annually; and travel over dangerous waters or broken ground from 1000 to 2000 miles. There are more than 150 congregations of from 500 to 20 individuals; 13 chapels; 2 ministers' houses; 1500 members of society; and about 500 Sabbath-scholars."[2]

That this Itinerant was completely dedicated to the support of the Shetland Missions during the last decade of his life may be seen in his letter to one of the missionaries:

> "Poor Shetland! I have worked hard for <u>thee</u>! Many a Quire, many a <u>Ream</u> of paper I have written to describe <u>thy</u> wants, & to beg for supplies, & several thousands of miles I have
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W. L. Watkinson Collection of MSS., John Wesley's Chapel, Bristol.

1. Clarke in a letter to Joseph Entwistle, written two weeks before the Conference of 1832 says, "I think, few people should go to Liverpool. . . . The Cholera I find from much observation, delights in <u>throng'd Navigable Rivers</u> & in <u>Crowds</u> of <u>people</u>. It should be prudent in us not to throw ourselves in the way of a Pestilence that walketh in darkness, & of the Destruction that wasteth at noon day." Letter written from Pinner, July 11, 1832, cited in the <u>Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society</u>, XVI (1927, 1928), pp. 136-7.
2. Clarke received this report in a letter from Tabraham, written from Lerwick, October, 1831, cited in <u>Works</u>, XIII, pp. 439-443. Clarke in a letter to his wife, written from the Liverpool Conference, July 28, 1832, says, "Yesterday I delivered up the Shetland Mission to the Conference, and it is to be received into the Missions. I gave up also the £3,000 of my trustship for the Shetlands, which I hold under Mr. /Thomas/ Scott's will, and the £400, which I have from the Hon/ourable/ Sophia Ward. I have offered also the Irish Schools, which I believe will be received." Cited in <u>An Account of Clarke's Life</u>, III, pp. 415-416.

travelled, in order to raise those supplies, which by letter I solicited for thee! It is now almost done, & almost over! May God raise thee up another friend that will be if possible, more earnest & faithful, & at the same time more successful! And now I must say, may the HOLY TRINITY be thy incessant Friend, O poor Shetland! Amen."[1]

B. Pioneer in Education: Irish Schools

The other special Connexional interest to which Adam Clarke diligently applied himself was the improvement of the educational level of his fellow Methodist Itinerants and of the people (particularly the children) in the areas where they preached. He was as anxious for others to enjoy the advantages of a practical education as he was to acquire knowledge for himself. An outstanding contribution of his churchmanship in Wesleyan Methodism was his continual stress upon the need for an educated ministry. He sought to motivate his colleagues in the cultivation of their minds by showing the value of general reading and of studying the original languages of Scripture.[2] While at Manchester in 1803 he willingly gave up his own time for self-improvement in order to assist a few young men "who anxiously desired an insight in the Hebrew and Greek languages" and were willing to come for instruction "every morning from five till seven."[3] So urgent did he consider the increasing

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1. Clarke's MS. letter to John Lewis, written from Pinner, Middlesex, November 11, 1831, Collection of MSS., Strong Rooms, City Road.
2. Sermon XL, "St. Peter's Character of the Dispersed Among the Gentiles," and "Letter to a Preacher," Works, VII, p. 341, XII, pp. 184-195; and Clarke's MS. letter to G/eorge/ Marsden, written from London, November 18, 1795, Collection of MSS., Strong Rooms, City Road.
3. An Account of Clarke's Life, II, pp. 71-2.

demand in the Connexion for "learned" as well as "pious"[1] preachers that in 1806, during his first term as President of the Conference, he introduced to the London preachers a plan of founding an institution for theological education. Seeking the support of his brother-in-law in the matter, Clarke describes the ideas set forth at the London meeting in this important letter:

> "We want, (God knows how much we want,) some kind of seminary for educating workmen . . . who need not be ashamed, but who now, through the disadvantageous situations and circumstances in which they have been bred, know not even how to use the talents which God has given them. I introduced a conversation upon the subject this morning, and the preachers were unanimously of opinion that some efforts should be made without delay, to get such a place established either here or at Bristol, where young men who may be deemed fit for the work, might have previous instruction, in theology--in vital godliness--in practical religion--and in the rudiments of general knowledge. . . . Mr. Benson said, he would unite his whole soul in it, if I would take the superintendence /sic/ of it. What can we do to set this matter on foot? The people are getting wiser on all sides. . . . Every circuit cries out,--'Send us acceptable preachers,' and we cannot do this,--we are obliged to take what offers, and depend upon the recommendation of those who can scarcely judge but from the apparent fervour of a man's spirit. My dear brother, the time is coming and now is, when illiterate piety can do no more for the interest and permanency of the work of God, than lettered irreligion did, formerly. . . . Speak speedily to all your friends, and let us get a plan organized . . . that we can lay matured before the Conference."[2]

Although Joseph Butterworth and others were willing to give generous financial support to this timely proposal, "the Connexion was not alive to the need."[3] In the promotion of a

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1. Clarke's letter to Alexander MacKey, written January 29, 1833, cited without place of writing by C. H. Crookshank, History of Methodism in Ireland, III, p. 53.
2. Clarke's letter to Joseph Butterworth, written from City Road, June 4, 1806, cited by James Everett, Adam Clarke Portrayed, II, pp. 204-6.
3. Maldwyn Edwards, Adam Clarke, pp. 82-3; Thomas Stephenson,

"Theological Institution" Clarke proved himself to be a pioneer in education, for it was not until 1834 that others,"appealing to his authority and quoting his opinions, were able to attain success."[1]

However, a more successful contribution to Wesleyan education was Clarke's establishment of six charity schools for the poor children of Northern Ireland during the last two years of his life. When approached in 1830 by a native of his homeland and asked--"If you would come to the help of Ireland, as you have done to Shetland, what good might not be effected?"[2]--Clarke says that he could only reply:

> "Here am I, send me! On the surface of the world, there stands not a man more willing to add Ireland to Shetland, and serve both with all his heart and strength."[3]

Receiving the necessary financial backing from some of his personal friends, he immediately wrote the Superintendent of the Coleraine Circuit, Samuel Harpur, for assistance in selecting needy places and qualified teachers. Clarke rejoiced to learn in the reply that the most needy districts, where neither "any school now existed" nor "where any class of religious people

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"The Richmond College," The Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine, CXXIX from the beginning (no month indicated, 1906), pp. 537-542; and G. G. Findlay, The Education of the Wesleyan Ministry, pp. 25 et seqq.

1. Edwards, loc. cit. For an account of the beginning of this "Theological Institution" and the subsequent controversy that it caused, vide: Benjamin Gregory, Side Lights on The Conflicts of Methodism, 1827-1852, Chap. V, "The Conference of 1834, Theological Institution," pp. 133-261; and Thomas Jackson, Recollections of My Own Life and Times (B. Frankland, ed.), pp. 273 et seqq.
2. An Account of Clarke's Life, III, p. 257.
3. Clarke's letter written to his "friend" in the Coleraine area, September 30, 1830, cited in part, ibid.

was making any attempt to educate the poor,"[1] were precisely those in which he had been raised as a youth. Through the assistance of Harpur the first school was opened at Portrush on the first day of January, 1831; the attendance soon increased from thirty to over one hundred. A few months later a second school was established at Cashel. So great was the increase in enrollment and the demand for other similar schools that Clarke made a trip to Ireland in 1831 and again in 1832.[2] While there he started the construction of two buildings for the existing schools, secured grants of land, received contributions, and established other schools at Prolisk (Prolusk), Billy, Gorran, and Lissan. All six of these charity schools were located "in the neglected districts of Antrim and Derry."[3] As a result of the effective instruction of the six local preachers, "not only children, but young persons, received a knowledge of letters, and of the elements of religious truth."[4] Moreover, several of the public schools, as well as Methodist Chapels, that exist today in these towns can be traced to the charity schools begun by Adam Clarke.[5]

Despite the care with which the plans for the Irish

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1. This was the "sole condition" made by those who had volunteered their support in the establishment of the Irish schools. Ibid., pp. 258-9.
2. For the "Journal" of these trips, April 8 to May 22, 1831, and May 18 to July 2, 1832, vide "Anecdotes of Various persons together with Observations and Reflections on men and things," unpublished MS. in Clarke's handwriting, James Everett Collection of MSS., The Hartley Victoria Methodist College, Manchester.
3. C. H. Crookshank, History of Methodism in Ireland, III, pp. 156-7.
4. George Smith, History of Wesleyan Methodism, III, pp. 158-9.
5. G. B. Johnston's MS. letter to Francis J. Cole, written from Coleraine, February 14, 1957, forwarded to the writer of this thesis.

"Circuit Schools" were laid so that they would not conflict with the twelve existing "Mission Schools" under the Methodist Missionary Society, Clarke encountered not a little opposition to his educational project.[1] He had not wanted to cause a controversy, but as he himself indicates, was doing "a Methodist work" with "a Methodist heart,"[2] and it may be added with non-Methodist funds.[3] His purpose was to establish "Methodist Schools--& to assist Methodist Circuits."[4] They were never "Mission Schools," insists Clarke, "but Circuit Schools--attach'd solely to the Circuits in which they were established" and placed "under the direction of the Superintendent."[5] Since the schools were planned to be indigenous, he applied to the Irish Conference of 1831 to take them under their own supervision, which they did with eager gratitude. Says Gregory:

> "He thought that they could be most easily and effectively managed on the spot, and be placed under the direction of the Superintendents of the circuits in which they were

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1. Before going ahead with the plans Clarke had asked the Missionary Committee if they intended to establish any schools in the Coleraine area. He received this reply, "That they would not; for they had already consigned to the Mission-work in Ireland its fair proportion of what was contributed to the Mission-work in general." An Account of Clarke's Life, III, p. 327.
2. Clarke's letter to James Townley, written from Eastcott, near Pinner, June 11, 1831, ibid., p. 328.
3. Clarke in a letter to George Marsden says, "Hitherto these schools & local preachers, have not cost one farthing to any fund, nor institution among the Methodists: nor ever shall, while I have anything to do /with them/." MS. letter written from Bayswater, near London, July 24, 1831, Collection of MSS., Strong Rooms, City Road.
4. Clarke's letter to A/lexander/ MacKay, written from Pinner, Middlesex, February 10, 1831, transcript from the Francis J. Cole Collection of MSS., Ardmara, County of Antrim.
5. Clarke's MS. letter to Samuel Harpur, written from Stockport, July 7, 1831, Collection of MSS., Strong Rooms, City Road.

> respectively located; and thus incorporated with the circuit work, the schools were all available for evangelistic services, the teachers being, by preference, Methodist local preachers. This seemed to him a handier arrangement than making them dependent on the struggling Irish Missions, and under the management of 'the Agent of our Missionary Committee,' resident in London."[1]

Clarke's action was understandable, but James Townley objected to the principle; on behalf of the Missionary Committee he sent a "Resolution"[2] to the Bristol Conference of 1831 objecting to Clarke's procedure in Ireland. Jabez Bunting, who was also "opposed to the principle,"[3] had this to say concerning Clarke in an address to the Conference:

> "He is one of the greatest, if not the greatest man in our Body, so he should be the first to observe rule. After all, I do not see how the schools are to be stopped. He must go on, I suppose, and sell his influence and his visits, for it comes to this. I should wish for an expression that would prevent any other man from committing such an irregularity."[4]

Although the senior representative of the Irish Conference

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1. Benjamin Gregory, Side Lights on The Conflicts of Methodism, 1827-1852, pp. 103-4. For a full account of the Irish schools and the controversy which they caused, vide Chap. IV, "Dr. Clarke's Irish Schools.--His enforced Supernumeraryship Without the Cognisance of Conference," pp. 100-132.
2. "Resolution of the Methodist Missionary Committee," cited in An Account of Clarke's Life, III, p. 326.
3. Gregory, op. cit., pp. 103-4. Clarke's interpretation as to why Bunting opposed him is revealed in this letter to his son, "During my speech yesterday /at the Missionary Anniversary/ I mentioned the Shetlands; and what was the consequence? I had one ten-pound note put in my hand, another ten-pound, and a five-pound. Mr. Bunting, being afraid that I should get all the monish, warned the congregation to give for the foreign missions; and so I got no more." If Bunting objected to Clarke's raising money for the Shetland Mission when instructed to do so by the Conference, it is easy to see how he would oppose Clarke's own educational project in Ireland. Letter to Joseph B. B. Clarke, written from London, May 6, 1823, cited by J. W. Etheridge, The Life of the Rev. Adam Clarke, p. 426.
4. Joseph Fowler's "Notes of the Debates in the Wesleyan Conference," cited by Gregory, loc. cit.

proceeded to explain the advantages of Clarke's plan, Bunting's proposition--"That the Conference regrets the irregularity of Dr. Clarke's mode of establishing his schools in Ireland"[1]--was brought to a vote, but only "a few hands were lifted in its favour."[2] At the same Conference those who opposed Clarke succeeded in having his name set down in the Minutes as "supernumerary" against his own expressed wish[3] and "without the cognisance of Conference."[4] This was indicative of the rather unjust personal opposition that the Irish promoter of Wesleyan education encountered from the Conservatives in his later years. Since he was not present to defend himself at the Conference of 1831, he and his family had reason to feel that he had been "ill-used."[5] Nevertheless, Clarke--"very anxious to be found of

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid. Quoted in part. How strongly Clarke objected to this action in regard to his schools and to those responsible for it is revealed in this letter to Samuel Harpur, "So 'they only demurr'd about the possibility of the Schools!' blessed wretches! and is it of no consequence that 600 children, with their Parents and their respective neighbourhoods, shall have even one year of efficient Instruction? . . . Let them keep on their Mission Schools and by all means. . . . There is room enough for them all and God knows need enough." MS. letter written from Liverpool, July 16, 1831, Collection of MSS., Strong Rooms, City Road.
3. Clarke in a letter to his Superintendent writes, ". . . I shall rather travel . . . over the mountains, hills, and Bogs of Derry and Antrim than go & set myself down as a supernumerary . . . at least for the present year." This appointment meant more for Clarke than any other, for he needed one more year to complete his "half-century of ministry." Letter to G/eorge/ Marsden, Methodists' Conference, Bristol, written from Bayswater, near London, July 24, 1831, Collection of MSS., Strong Rooms, City Road; Gregory, op. cit., p. 109; and An Account of Clarke's Life, III, pp. 338-340.
4. Gregory, op. cit., pp. 106 et seqq.
5. Clarke in a letter to John Lewis writes, "I feel that I have been ill us/e/d, & have nearly made up my mind, to give up that work which God called me to, & Mr. Wesley with his own

the Master in peace"[1]--asked his Irish brethren to give back the custody of the schools to him. And as a last effort to maintain Connexional harmony, he executed a deed at the Conference of 1832 conveying the six Irish "Circuit Schools"--which had grown to an enrollment of over six hundred--"well endowed, to the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society."[2]

IV. Effectiveness of Churchmanship

Adam Clarke, like John Wesley, was influenced most in his churchmanship by the needs of the people, the needs of the preachers, and the needs of the Connexion as a whole. His effective leadership in meeting these needs had an important bearing upon Wesleyan Methodism as it developed and expanded during the nineteenth century.

A. Leadership During Methodist Expansion

Clarke firmly believed that the providential purpose of

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hands, confirmed me in: & which Mr. G[eorge] Marsden has in fact, taken from me by setting me down for a supernumerary, against 3 separate remonstrances, made to himself to which he gave me no answer, nor would give any reason for his conduct." MS. letter written from Pinner, Middlesex, November 11, 1831, Collection of MSS., Strong Rooms, City Road.

1. Gregory, op. cit., p. 125.
2. Clarke's letters to his wife, Mary, written July 28, 1832, and to his daughter, Mary Ann, written July 31, 1832, both cited without place of writing (probably from the Liverpool Conference) in Works, XIII, pp. 457-460. Elijah Hoole's inspection of the Irish schools made shortly after Clarke's death reveals that they were "in a state of prosperous efficiency." Vide: "Missionary Notices Relating . . . to the Foreign Missions Carried on under the direction of the Methodist Conference," The Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine, XII, Third Series (July, 1833), pp. 530-3; and "Methodist Conference in Ireland," ibid., XII, Third Series (September, 1834), pp. 674-6.

Methodism was to meet the spiritual and physical needs of the people. Despite his own High-Church views, this conviction caused him to promote the moderate Conference legislation of the 1790's. While his primary emphasis ever remained evangelical, his concern for personal justice[1] and liberty caused him to be acclaimed as a "man of the people."[2] With such concern for the needs and rights of others, he was a natural leader for the liberal forces of Methodism, but he was not especially interested in the politics of Connexional administration.[3] Yet, he did not allow his love for Connexional peace and unity to deter him from objecting at times to Bunting and the whole influential "Conference Party," when he felt their autocracy needed to be opposed. Clarke was the leader of the Moderate-Conservatives. Yet, while holding certain Whiggish views, he opposed those in the Connexion with strong democratic ideas as much as he did those who were extremely Conservative.[4] He wanted the Methodist Connexion to pursue a new middle course between Conservatism and Radicalism, between the Establishment and Dissent.[5] Says Clarke:

". . . we are a middle party, existing independently of

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1. Clarke's strong sense of justice is illustrated in his insistence that the Conference of 1796 furnish Alexander Kilham with the charges it had against him so that he could prepare his defense. When the Conference failed to do this, Clarke personally marked "all the places in the pamphlets that the charges alluded to." Kilham was ever "indebted to the favour of Dr. Clarke, and not to the justice of the Conference." John Blackwell, Life of the Rev. Alexander Kilham, pp. 263-4; George Smith, History of Wesleyan Methodism, II, pp. 56-7; and supra, p. 56.
2. John Price Durbin, cited by Samuel Dunn, The Life of Adam Clarke, p. 179.
3. J. W. Etheridge, The Life of the Rev. Adam Clarke, p. 184.
4. James Everett, Adam Clarke Portrayed, III, p. 231.
5. Supra, pp. 55 et seqq.

> either, and capable of doing good to each; and while we abide in our calling, sacrificing nothing to pomp or worldly influence, we shall continue to be what, by the grace of God, we are now--a respectable and useful people: in a word, the salt of God in the nations of the earth."[1]

He strongly insisted that for Methodism to meet the needs of the people most effectively, it must ever remain politically neutral and pursue a moderate middle course.

The Irish church leader was not only concerned with meeting the needs of the people, but also in improving the status of the Methodist Itinerants who served them. While he had been "the means of inducing the preachers in general to cultivate their minds,"[2] he also was interested in their physical welfare. Hence, to the laity he gives this practical advide:

> ". . . never suffer, through your neglect, worldly cares to intrude themselves into the closets and hearts of the men who are labouring for your salvation. How can he preach comfort who is not comforted? And how can he be comforted who has pressing wants in his family which he has no power to relieve? Give his children bread, and the man of God will cheerfully lay down his life in his work. . . ."[3]

He was especially dissatisfied with the manner in which the Connexion cared for their older preachers. The Preachers' Fund that had been established in 1763 to support the aged Itinerants and their widows and children was used by Wesley and others

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1. Everett, op. cit., pp. 246-7.
2. Clarke was able to say in his later years, "I thank God I have lived to some purpose in the Methodist Connexion. I have been the means of inducing the preachers in general to cultivate their minds and to acquire a knowledge of the Greek and Hebrew Scriptures, so that we are likely soon to have not only a pious, but a learned and efficient ministry." Letter to Alexander MacKey, written January 29, 1823, cited without place of writing by C. H. Crookshank, History of Methodism in Ireland, III, p. 53.
3. "A Few Directions to the People Relative to Their Profiting By the Ministry of the Word," Works, XII, p. 215.

(contrary to rules) to support active ministers. By 1796 this Fund, which should have been around six thousand pounds, had assets amounting to only seventy pounds. Clarke was influential in leading the Conference to adopt new rules which more adequately met the needs of older preachers so that to become "supernumerary" or "superannuated" would not of necessity mean to become, as he put it, "super-miserable."[1] It was largely due to this Irish leader that the Wesleyan Preachers' Annuitant Society, which began in 1798, "was put on a proper legal basis, and the subscriptions of preachers and their friends used exclusively in the interest of the aged preachers and their widows."[2] Moreover, conscious of the inadequacies even of the improved Annuitant Society, Clarke proposed to the Conference of 1807 the establishment of a benevolent institution to be erected "with as much speed as possible, for the reception of Superannuated Preachers, and the Widows of those who have died in our Lord's work."[3] Although this generous plan failed for want of support--and not until 1838 did the Connexion adopt an adequate plan--it was Clarke's concern for the welfare of his fellow preachers and their dependents that led to later and more satisfactory legislation.[4]

During these difficult years of rapid expansion, this

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1. Clarke, cited by Thomas Jackson, Recollections of My Own Life and Times (B. Frankland, ed.), pp. 308-9.
2. Maldwyn Edwards, Adam Clarke, p. 21.
3. For the details of Clarke's plan, vide An Account of Clarke's Life, II, pp. 151-3.
4. Jackson, loc. cit.

"firm, attached, and zealous Methodist"[1] promoted the general interests and needs of the Connexion. Clarke's earlier ministry was limited to the circuits that he effectively served; however, as he travelled throughout the Connexion in his later years, his influence became widespread. And, as Etheridge says, "His last days were his best."[2] While preaching the Gospel always remained his first concern, his prominence and ability to attract large congregations was used to raise numerous charity offerings. He was recognized as the highest collection raiser in early Methodism, and was greatly in demand to take offerings for Wesleyan Sunday Schools, missions, education, charities, chapel debts, et cetera.[3] That he found these offerings detracting at times from his evangelical emphasis, is evidenced by this letter in which he complains:

> "I never go to any place where I am permitted to preach a free Gospel. Many come to hear me thro/ugh/ curiosity, some thro/ugh/ affection, and all have to pay for their coming. This to me is really distressing; and I am quite sick of it."[4]

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1. "Adam Clarke, LL. D.," The Minutes of the Methodist Conference, VII, pp. 224-5.
2. Etheridge, op. cit., p. 334.
3. Clarke writing to Alexander MacKey says, "We got pretty well on at Liverpool and Salford. I got at the opening £104.17.5. In the Sunday morning £55. Mes'rs Newton, Watson, Bunting, and Lessey preached on the same occasion, but the highest of their Collections did not reach to the amount of my least.--At Salford, I got upwards of one hundred." MS. letter written from Haydon Hall, near Pinner, December 17, 1827, Collection of MSS., Strong Rooms, City Road.
4. Clarke's MS. letters to Jonothan Edmondson, written from Prescott, date torn from letter, but bears postmark of 1822; to Benjamin Clough, written from Haydon Hall, near Pinner, Middlesex, June 8, 1831; and to George Marsden, written from Pinner, Middlesex, June 25, 1827, Collection of MSS., Strong Rooms, City Road.

While he had sufficient reason to become "sick of it," the thousands of pounds which he was able to raise during his useful life enabled Wesleyan Methodism to eliminate many chapel debts, build new chapels, establish new institutions, and expand its general program and effectiveness both at home and abroad.

B. Influence Upon Wesleyan Methodism

The effectiveness of Adam Clarke's leadership--on the circuit, in the Conference, and throughout the Connexion as a whole--was one of the important reasons "Methodism passed safely through the troubled years after Wesley's death and became in the nineteenth century a great Church, known and respected by Christians of all communions."[1] Because of the literary interests which the Irish scholar diligently pursued, he was able to increase his influence in Wesleyan Methodism through the public recognition which he received. While a lack of interest in administrative politics and abhorrence for controversy kept him from using his Moderate-Conservative influence to its full effectiveness in the Conference during the early years of the nineteenth century, he faithfully promoted the general interests of the Connexion. Hence, he was able to say what few would question:

> "I have with a pure conscience in the sight of God laboured & watched for the good of Methodism; & have not lived to or for myself."[2]

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1. Supra, p. 61.
2. Clarke's MS. letter to Joseph Taylor, written from Liverpool, November 29, 1818, W. L. Watkinson Collection of MSS., John Wesley's Chapel, Bristol.

So effective was the over-all leadership of this esteemed Itinerant that his influence in the Connexion went beyond his own generation. The diligence with which he applied himself to the work which he undertook remains an example for all. It is not surprising that nearly three decades after his death this appeal is made in The Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine:

> "Half a century ago three men belonging to the Methodist ministry stood out in bold relief from their brethren: Bradburn, Benson and Clarke. . . . Who next will attain to the same eminence by sanctified talent, self denial, and the absolute consecration of their time, energies, and entire being to the service of Christ? Who among the generous young men who have trained, or may yet be trained, in the academic bowers of Richmond and Didsbury, will be the next Adam Clarke of Methodism?"[1]

Although this modest Methodist Itinerant never travelled beyond Great Britain, his influence was not limited to these islands. In America, for example, the name of Adam Clarke was held with perhaps even greater respect than in Great Britain;[2] in some ways it was "held in higher esteem than that of Mr. Wesley's himself."[3] Clarke's Commentary was especially popular in the "New World." Six American editions were printed during

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1. "Dr. Adam Clarke," The Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine, IV, Fifth Series (April, 1858), pp. 301-2.
2. John P. Durbin, President of Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pennsylvania, made this observation after touring Europe in 1844, "As far as appears from their catalogue, none of the works of Dr. Adam Clarke are published at their Book-Room, and I am sorry to say, that I . . . never heard his name mentioned by their preachers . . . with the respect with which we in America have been accustomed to regard it. Dr. Clarke was eminently the man of the people, and they venerate his memory." Cited by Samuel Dunn, Life of Adam Clarke, p. 179.
3. John Wesley, it must be remembered, opposed the Colonies in their struggle for independence; whereas, Clarke sympathized with their zeal for liberty. [John M. Hare], The Life and Labours of Adam Clarke, p. 309.

the short seven year interim between the time it was completed and the death of the author in 1832.[1] In the last years of his life, the Irish church leader received from "the Board of Managers of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church of New York" an invitation "to assist in their Missionary labors and in their Church Assembly."[2] As much as he wanted to accept "this wished-for visit to the American Continent,"[3] for reasons of age, poor health, and previous engagements he was forced to decline. However, in the reply Adam Clarke gives these words of churchmanly and statesmanlike advice:

> "I respect, I wish well to your State, and I love your Church. As far as I can discern, you are close imitators of the original Methodists, (than /through/ whom a greater blessing has not been given to the British nation since the Reformation,) holding the same doctrines, and acting under the same discipline; therefore have you prospered as we have prospered. There is no danger so imminent, both to yourselves and to us, as departing from our original simplicity in spirit, in manners, and in our mode of worship. . . . I would say to all, keep your doctrines and your discipline, not only in your church books and in your society rules, but preach the former without refining upon them--observe the latter without bending it to circumstances, or impairing its vigor by frivolous exceptions and partialities.
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> "As I believe your nation to be destined to be the mightiest and happiest nation on the globe, so I believe that your Church is likely to become the most extensive and pure in the universe. As a Church, abide in the Apostle's doctrine and fellowship.
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> "As a nation, be firmly united; entertain no petty differences;--totally abolish the slave trade;--abhor all offensive wars;--never provoke even the punyest state;--and

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1. For a discussion of the editions of Clarke's Commentary, which is still being published in the United States, vide Appendix D.
2. An Account of Clarke's Life, III, p. 362.
3. Clarke's letter to J. Emory, B. Waugh, J. Bangs, T. Hall, and G. Suckley, written February 6, 1832, cited without place of writing, ibid., pp. 362-5.

> never strike the first blow. Encourage agriculture and friendly traffic. Cultivate the sciences and arts;--let learning have its proper place, space, and adequate share of esteem and honor;--if possible, live in peace with all nations;--retain your holy zeal for God's cause and your country's weal; and that you may ever retain your liberty--avoid, as its bane and ruin--a national debt. . . ."[1]

As the influence of Adam Clarke was neither limited to his own generation nor to his homeland, so also it was not confined to his own denomination. While ever a loyal Wesleyan who revered his Church, he enjoyed a reputation and influence unrivalled by any of his colleagues. "Respectful attentions were paid to him by Statesmen, by Ecclesiastical Dignitaries, by Peers, and even by Royalty."[2] Thus, in addition to the effective influence of his churchmanship in Methodism, he was a servant of the public. In the final chapter of this study, an evaluation will be made of the public life of this church leader in early Methodism.

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1. Ibid.
2. "Dr. Adam Clarke," The Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine, loc. cit.

CHAPTER VII

PUBLIC LIFE OF IRISH LEADER

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PUBLIC LIFE OF IRISH LEADER

Adam Clarke was a church leader in early Methodism, but his humanitarian efforts and literary accomplishments also made him an important public figure. "This eminent man," as a fellow Wesleyan says, "was a public man. He did not merely belong to us Methodists; like all such men he belonged to every church, and to the universal society of mankind."[1] Because of his recognition as a scholar, particularly in Oriental knowledge, his services were sought by both the Church and the State. In his later years he received numerous honors and his death awakened the sympathy of the general public.

I. More Than a Methodist

The self-taught Irish Itinerant so distinguished himself as a scholar and author that he "rose above denominational barriers."[2] For by continually striving to meet the spiritual, physical, and intellectual needs of the people, Clarke showed that he was more public-spirited than most Methodists. He was in fact a leader in "the Church of God"[3] and was deeply concerned with the general welfare of mankind.

A. Catholic Spirit

A fruit of Clarke's theological emphasis upon love to

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1. James Dixon, Recollections of Dr. Adam Clarke, pp. 22-3.
2. "An Account of the Infancy, Religious and Literary Life, of Adam Clarke, LL. D.," The Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle, XI, New Series (September, 1833), p. 398.
3. Ibid.

God was his warm, catholic spirit.[1] "Towards all," says Richey, "of whatever creed or name, who 'loved our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity,' he cherished the feelings of fraternal attachment."[2] For example, while opposing Calvinism as a theological system, he considered the Scottish clergy to be "the best preachers in Europe."[3] Although deeply devoted to the Methodist Mission in the Shetlands, he was broad-minded enough to say:

> "If the General Assembly will send a sufficient number of men, full of faith and the Holy Ghost, who will take their lives in their hands, and travel, and preach . . . I have done, and will cheerfully turn my attention elsewhere, and praise God that a suitable supply can be found in Scotland to meet the spiritual necessities of their brethren; but this has not been done. . . . The hungry sheep look up and are not fed."[4]

Clarke strongly supported Wesleyan Methodism, but his catholic spirit would neither allow himself to be "a gloomy bigot nor a narrow sectarian."[5] He took a lively interest in everything affecting the "prosperity and destiny of the general church of Christ."[6] Thus, while always promoting the interests of Wesleyan Methodism, Clarke also supported the humanitarian and philanthropic efforts of both the Establishment and of Dissent.[7]

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1. Supra, pp. 213-215.
2. Matthew Richey, A Discourse Occasioned by the Death of the Rev. Adam Clarke, p. 12. Clarke even had a high regard for many Roman Catholics as individuals, but "he abhorred Popery as a system." James Everett, Adam Clarke Portrayed, II, pp. 281-2; and Sermon XL, "St. Peter's Character of the Dispersed Among the Gentiles," Works, VII, pp. 345-6.
3. Clarke's letter to Samuel Dunn, written from London, February 23, 1824, cited in An Account of Clarke's Life, III, pp. 85-7.
4. Ibid.
5. Joseph Beaumont, A Funeral Address . . . of the late Rev. Adam Clarke, LL. D., p. 41.
6. Ibid. Quoted in part.
7. Clarke was a regular contributor to The Eclectic Review, a monthly periodical published by the Dissenters. Supra, p. 120.

B. Concern for Religious Liberty

Adam Clarke was a greater champion of religious liberty than was the Founder of Methodism, John Wesley. For although both believed that every person should be allowed to "think and let think,"[1] Clarke stressed the right of every individual "to have liberty of conscience."[2] As a "Moderate-Whig,"[3] the Irish leader held that the Government existed "for the comfort and happiness of man."[4] While maintaining that "of all the civil constitutions under heaven, the British is demonstrably the best,"[5] he hesitated not to assert that unless it protected the "privileges, property, and rights" of the people, it needed to be reformed.[6] It was his conviction that:

> "All have their rights,--GOD and CAESAR,--the servants of the crown, the servants of the public, and the people themselves; and these rights should be strenuously maintained and religiously respected."[7]

Few advocated more strongly during the Napoleonic struggle the need for loyalty to the British Sovereign than did Clarke. Yet he was not reluctant to emphasize that "if Caesar should intrude into the things of God" and "affect to rule the conscience while he rules the state; in these things Caesar is not to be obeyed."[8]

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1. Supra, pp. 32 and 142-3.
2. Clarke, cited by Maldwyn Edwards, Adam Clarke, pp. 20-21.
3. Ibid.
4. Sermon XXXVII, "Origin and End of Civil Government," Works, VII, p. 249.
5. Ibid., p. 255.
6. Ibid., p. 243. Clarke believed that "authority" was "derived from God"; therefore, "the ruler is awefully responsible for administration of justice and judgment among his people." Ibid., pp. 229-235. Quoted in part.
7. Sermon XXXVI, "The Rights of God and Caesar," Works, VII, p. 216.
8. Ibid.

As a preacher of the Gospel he sought to meddle neither in the party politics of the State nor of his Connexion, but on the subject of religious liberty he could not be silent. Apart from his opposition to Catholic Emancipation,[1] he promoted Constitutional reform designed to increase the religious liberty not only for Methodists, but also for members of the Establishment and Dissent.

However, as a promoter of religious freedom, Clarke was not completely alert to the implications of the Sidmouth Bill that threatened the growth of evangelical Christianity in the opening decade of the nineteenth century. During the reactionary years of the Napoleonic War, the Wesleyans in particular were

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1. Clarke held that the "unmixed curse" of Roman Catholicism was "a universal blight to every bud of grace, of science, and of civilization." He wished that God would either "end it, or mend it." Cited by Everett, op. cit., III, p. 418. When the British leaders in 1828 sought to give the "Papists" privileges and powers equal to those enjoyed by Protestants, Clarke believed that they were "betraying the King, the country, and the Church." Writing to Joseph Entwistle, he asks, "How is it that our president /Bunting/ and our heads of Houses do not call on all our people to petition both Houses, and to carry, if necessary, our remonstrances against these Papists even to the foot of the throne? Shall we be guiltless before God, if we sit still? Alas for us! Ei Cabod! Ei Cabod!" Letter cited without date or place of writing by Joseph Entwistle, Memoir of the Rev. Joseph Entwistle, p. 436. While Jabez Bunting succeeded in keeping the powerful Committee on Privileges from petitioning Parliament against the Emancipation Bill, Adam Clarke and other members of the Committee affixed their names to the petitions of Dissenters. However, in opposing Catholic Emancipation the fiery Irishman was not being inconsistent with his own views on religious liberty. For it was precisely his fear of losing the religious liberty enjoyed in England--which he well knew did not exist in Ireland--that prompted his actions. Thomas Jackson, Recollections of My Own Life and Times (B. Frankland, ed.), pp. 407-410; and George Smith, History of Wesleyan Methodism, III, pp. 133-4.

subjected to severe attacks in both The Quarterly Review of the Tories and The Edinburgh Review of the Whigs.[1] The witty Canon of St. Paul's Cathedral, Sydney Smith, expressed the sentiment of the Bishops of the Establishment at this time by declaring that "the nasty and numerous vermin of Methodism must all be caught and killed in a manner and by the instruments which were found most efficacious to their destruction."[2] Moreover, the census taken by the House of Lords in April, 1811, revealed that Nonconformity had one-third more places of worship than did the Establishment.[3] Consequently, the Home Secretary of Great Britain, Lord Viscount Sidmouth, began to prepare a bill that would explain and render more effective the Act of Toleration, particularly its restrictions upon Protestant Dissenting ministers. For, as he says, "Certain persons claiming these certificates were cobblers, tailors, pig drovers, and chimney sweeps."[4] At this time Sidmouth writes to his brother:

> "I am very busy at present on my bill. . . . This morning I had a meeting with Dr. Coke, the head of the Wesleyan Methodists and have completely satisfied him. His apprehensions are converted into zealous approbation."[5]

In fact, so enthusiastic toward the Sidmouth Bill was Thomas

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1. Supra, p. 59.
2. Cited by John S. Simon, "The Repeal of the Conventicle Act," Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society, XI (1917, 1918), pp. 130 et seqq.
3. This census revealed that there were 3,457 places of worship not connected to the Church of England and only 2,547 churches and chapels related to the Establishment. Ibid.
4. Sidmouth, cited by Maldwyn Edwards, After Wesley, pp. 76-7.
5. Lord Sidmouth's letter written April 20, 1811, cited by George Pellew, The Life and Correspondence of the Right Honourable Henry Addington, First Viscount Sidmouth III., pp. 45-6. For a full discussion of the progress of his Bill, vide Chap. XXIX, "1810, 1811," pp. 32-70.

Coke--who himself expressed a longing "to return most fully and faithfully into the bosom of the Established Church"[1]--that he urged the Home Secretary to increase the probationary period of the license from one to two years.[2] The other Wesleyan leader to be consulted in the preparation of the Bill was Adam Clarke.[3] While sharing his Welsh colleague's desire for an improved ministry among the Dissenters--particularly for Wesleyan Methodism--Clarke was not as completely misled by Sidmouth's plans as was Coke.[4] Four days after Sidmouth introduced his famous Bill to Parliament on May 9, 1811, Clarke indicates his objection to it in an important letter to George Marsden, a copy of the first part of which is included on pages 310 and 311 of this study. While the Irish leader indicates he had succeeded in influencing the Home Secretary to modify the bill considerably "in favour of the Methodists,"[5] he expresses objections particularly to the

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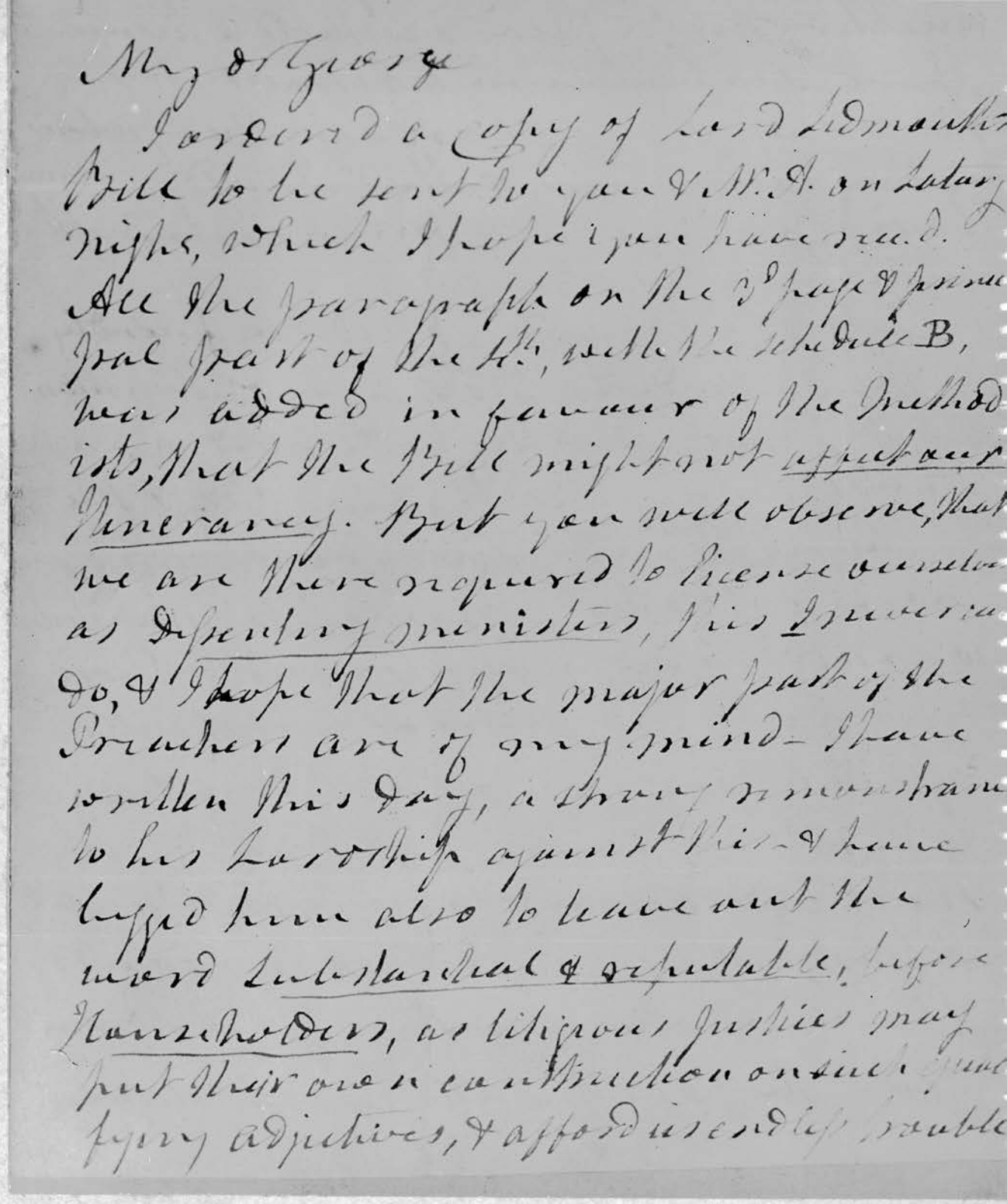
1. Coke, who enjoyed ordination in the Church of England, requested Lord Liverpool in 1813 to appoint him as the first bishop over the Established Mission in India. For this Coke promised "to return" and "to submit" to the Establishment. Letter to Lord Liverpool, cited without date or place of writing by Pellew, loc. cit.
2. Coke's letter to Lord Sidmouth, written from City Road, April 23, 1811, cited by Pellew, op. cit., pp. 46-7.
3. Clarke's MS. letters to George Marsden, written from London, April 29 and May 6, 1811, Collection of MSS., Strong Rooms, City Road.
4. Maldwyn Edwards asserts that after Coke and Clarke had visited Sidmouth, "any fears they had were allayed, and they went back greatly charmed and relieved to their colleagues." After Wesley, pp. 77 et seqq. However, Clarke was not so completely "charmed" that he did not oppose certain aspects of the Bill which he disliked. Vide copy of Clarke's letters to Marsden on pages 310 and 311 of this study.
5. Clarke's MS. letter to George Marsden, written from London, May 13, 1811, Collection of MSS., Strong Rooms, City Road; and letters to Lord Sidmouth, written from London, May 14 and 15, 1811, cited in part by Pellew, op. cit., pp. 51 et seqq.



My dr George

I ordered a copy of Lord Sidmouth's Bill to be sent to you & Mr A. on Saturday night, which I hope you have read. All the paragraphs on the 2d page & part of the 3d, with the Schedule B, were added in favour of the Methodists, that the Bill might not affect our Itinerancy. But you will observe, that we are there required to license ourselves as Dissenting ministers, this I cannot do, & I hope that the major part of the Preachers are of my mind. I have written this day, a strong remonstrance to his Lordship against this & have begged him also to leave out the word Constable & refutable, before Householders, as Bishops Justices may put their own construction on such & many adjectives, & afford us endless trouble

Illustration 4.

CLARKE'S LETTER TO GEORGE MARSDEN, MAY 13, 1811[1]

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1. Clarke's MS. letter to George Marsden, written from London, May 13, 1811, Collection of MSS., Strong Rooms, City Road.

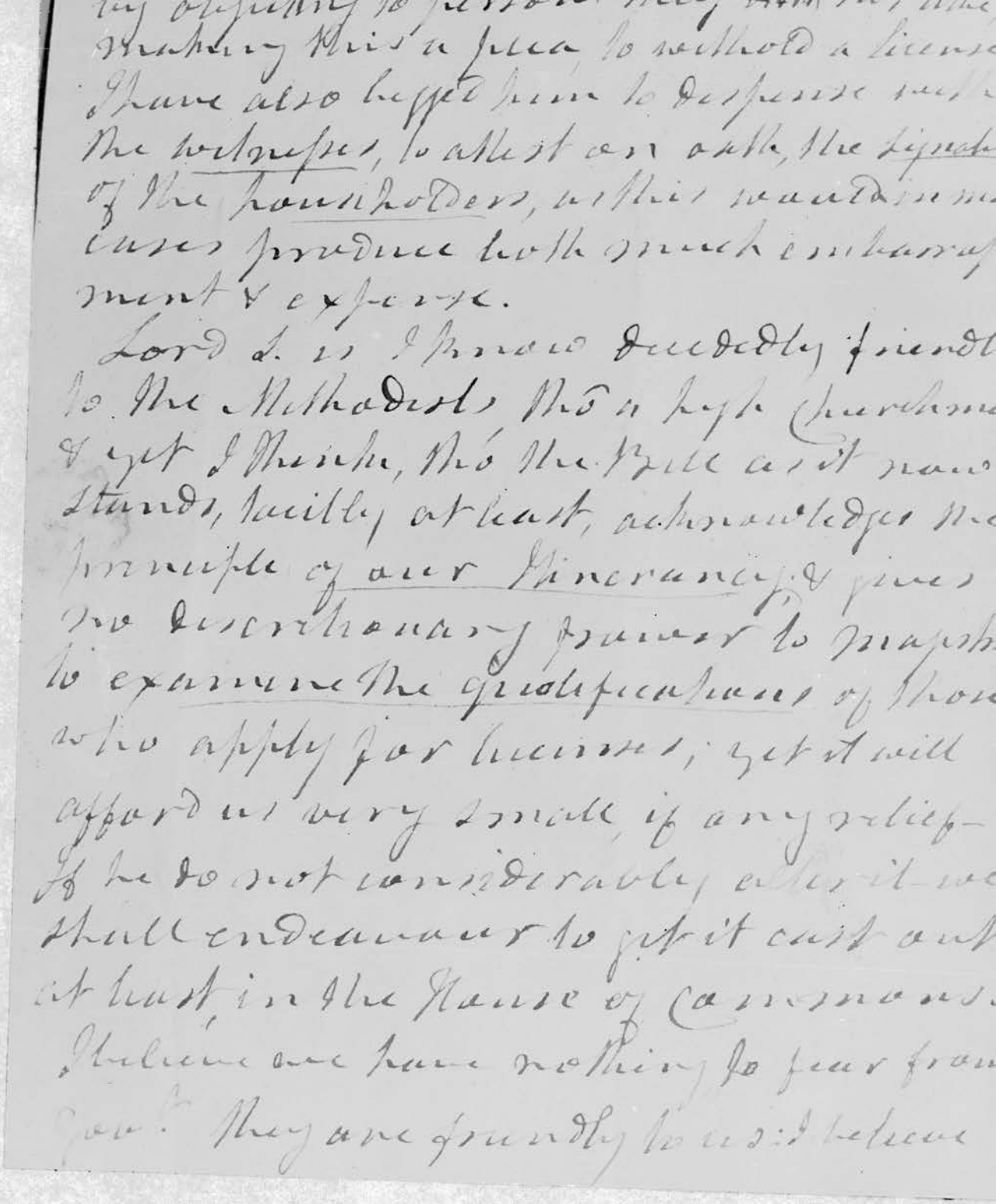

Illustration 4.

CLARKE'S LETTER TO GEORGE MARSDEN, MAY 13, 1811

(Continued)

part remaining that required Wesleyan Itinerants to register as Dissenters. "If he do/es/ not considerably alter it--" Clarke asserts, "we shall endeavour to get it cast out, at least in the House of Commons."[1] As a result of the immediate opposition of the Methodists, under the leadership of such men as Clarke's convert, Joseph Butterworth,[2] Lord Viscount Sidmouth's Bill was overwhelmingly defeated.[3]

Moreover, the Methodists and Dissenters were so aroused by Sidmouth's design to limit religious liberty that they succeeded in persuading Parliament to adopt a New Toleration Act the following year. Adam Clarke, as chairman of the influential Conference Committee on Privileges, indicates the principle upon which the New Act was based in an informative circular sent to Wesleyan Superintendents:

> ". . . it is the inalienable right of every man to worship God agreeably to the dictates of his own conscience; and that he has a right to HEAR and to TEACH those Christian truths which he conscientiously believes, without any restraint or judicial interference from the civil magistrate, provided he do/es/ not thereby disturb the peace of the community, and that on no account whatever would the committee concede this fundamental principle."[4]

On behalf of this Committee, Clarke approached his friend, the Prime Minister of Great Britain, Lord Perceval, and secured his

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1. Clarke's MS. letter to Marsden, May 13, 1811, loc. cit.
2. Supra, pp. 192-4. The Conference of 1811 gave special thanks to the important Committee on Privileges, of which both Butterworth and Clarke were members. Minutes of the Methodist Conferences, III, p. 225.
3. Elie Halévy, A History of the English People 1815-1830, p. 60; and Joseph Fletcher, The History of the Revival and Progress of Independency, IV, pp. 294-5.
4. To the Superintendents of the Circuit, a circular letter containing a report of the Committee on Privileges, written from London, July 31, 1812, signed by Adam Clarke, Chairman, and Joseph Butterworth, Secretary. Department of MSS., The British Museum, London.

backing for legislation that would guarantee each citizen the "rights of conscience."[1] Shortly thereafter, Perceval was tragically assassinated in the lobby of the House of Commons. However, the Earl of Liverpool, with the able assistance of influential Methodist Members of Parliament such as Butterworth and Allan, succeeded in presenting to Parliament a New Toleration Act[2] that was passed in 1812. This New Act, in which Adam Clarke had a part, provided Wesleyan Methodism with the protection it needed and granted to all people of the land increased tolerance and religious liberty.[3]

II. Promotion of Humanitarian Causes

In the promotion of humanitarian causes, the efforts of Adam Clarke extended beyond the limits of the Wesleyan Connexion. For he worked closely with Evangelicals and Dissenters concerned with the amelioration of the poor and the emancipation of the oppressed. Moreover, he personally established Strangers' Friend Societies in several crowded cities in order to reach people in need, regardless of their background.

A. Philanthropic Efforts: The Strangers' Friend Society

Believing the poor to be "a legacy left by his Saviour

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1. Ibid.
2. Thomas Allan's MS. letter to the Earl of Liverpool, written from Bridlington, August 15, 1812, Department of MSS., The British Museum, London; R. I. and Samuel Wilberforce, The Life of W/illia/m Wilberforce, III, pp. 507-512; and T. P. Bunting, The Life of Jabez Bunting, I, pp. 370-7.
3. Minutes of the Methodist Conferences, III, p. 298; Elie Halevy, A History of the English People in 1815, pp. 404-410; and W. L. Mathieson, England in Transition, pp. 133 et seqq.

to every one of his sincere followers,"[1] Clarke, with the assistance of John Wesley, formed The Strangers' Friend Society at Bristol in 1789.[2] Their motto, "As ye are, so shall the STRANGER be before the Lord,"[3] formed the basis for both the name and the purpose of the Society. For an important rule in dispensing the weekly contributions of its generous members was:

> ". . . to relieve STRANGERS and all such as have no Helper:--determining not to permit themselves to be influenced by the former causes of present distresses, nor the nation, sect, or party to which such afflicted persons belong."[4]

Further evidence of the public nature of this institution of charity was that while it was instituted and carried on by Methodists, Clarke made certain that only non-Methodists were "entitled to any relief from it."[5] In forming Societies, Clarke indicates that he was motivated by the two essential parts of his condensed creed--"LOVE TO GOD, AND LOVE TO MAN."[6] For in

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1. An Account of Clarke's Life, III, p. 478.
2. Marriott indicates that the Bristol Society was founded in 1786, but since Clarke was not sent there until 1789, he could hardly have had a part in founding this Society if the earlier date were correct. Other benevolent institutions had been formed earlier, but the first to be organized as "one of the fruits of Methodism" was by John Gardner in 1785. Vide: Thomas Marriott, "Methodism in Former Days. No. XIV.--Strangers' Friend Societies," The Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine, Fourth Series, I, Part II (July, 1845), pp. 661-8; John Gardner, The Grain of Mustard Seed, pp. 21 and 110; and Wesley's letter to John Gardner, written from Highbury-Place, December 21, 1785, cited by Marriott; and "An Extract of the Rev. Mr. Wesley's Journal," March 14, 1790, Works of Wesley (First American Ed.), IV, p. 737.
3. The Holy Bible, Authorized King James Version, Numbers xv. 15b, cited by Adam Clarke with emphasis upon "STRANGER," "An Account of a Charitable Institution," The Methodist Magazine, XXI (August, 1798), pp. 418-426.
4. Vide "The General Rules," ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Clarke, cited by Joseph B. B. Clarke, "Appendix," An Account of Clarke's Life, III, p. 448.

this short creed he says:

> ". . . I found that I had a rule to which I could refer all my conceptions of the great and holy God, and all my endeavors for the welfare of mankind; it was a creed of practice and not of theory, capable of being drawn into use at a moment's notice. . . ."[1]

So effective were The Strangers' Friend Societies at Bristol and Dublin in meeting the needs of the people that Societies were also organized by Clarke and others at Manchester, Liverpool, London, Bath, Birmingham, Sheffield, Leeds, York, Hull, and in other crowded cities.[2] The most active of the Societies formed by Clarke was the one in Manchester. The objects of this Society as indicated in its "Rules" were two: the salvation of the souls of the ignorant and profligate, and the preservation of their lives by supplying food, clothing, and medical assistance. In one year this Society made 4,271 visits and "1,678 families were relieved."[3] In twelve years 6,403 pounds were expended and over sixty thousand persons aided. Evaluating The Strangers' Friend Society at Dublin a century after its origin, Crookshank says:

> "This Society has done a noble work for Christ, thousands having been rescued by it from the greatest misery, and not a few brought to a saving knowledge of God; and it still exists, a monument of the wisdom and benevolence of its illustrious founder."[4]

Some of these Societies established by Adam Clarke, and by others who followed him, still continue to meet the needs of

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1. Ibid.
2. Marriott, loc. cit.
3. Clarke, "An Account of a Charitable Institution," loc. cit.
4. C. H. Crookshank, History of Methodism in Ireland, II, p. 21.

those outside the Connexion.[1]

B. Cooperation with Evangelicals: Abolition of Slavery

Adam Clarke not only identified himself with the Evangelicals and Dissenters in humanitarian efforts to ameliorate the circumstances of the poor, but also actively joined with them in their attack upon certain social abuses--particularly the slave trade. Led by an influential member of the Clapham Sect, William Wilberforce,[2] the Evangelical reformers (reformers in the religious, not in the political or economic sense[3]) successfully spearheaded the abolition of slavery in Great Britain during the closing years of the eighteenth and in the early part of the nineteenth centuries.[4] In this battle for freedom the Methodists had no small part; they were led by such men as Wesley,[5] Coke, Clarke, and Watson.[6] Clarke's opposition to slavery had an early beginning, for his older brother served

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1. Maldwyn Edwards, Adam Clarke, pp. 14-15.
2. John Telford, A Sect that Moved the World, pp. 182-3; and supra, pp. 22-5.
3. The enthusiasm of the Evangelicals issued from a passionate religious conviction rather than any economic social theory based upon an intellectually conceived Christian ethic. However, while they were not concerned with changing the basis of social structure--that is, remedying the cause of social oppression--the Evangelicals did help in modifying certain effects, particularly the abuses of their society. E. R. Taylor, Methodism & Politics 1791-1851, pp. 96-7.
4. R. Coupland, The British Anti-Slavery Movement, p. 111; and H. A. L. Fisher, History of Europe, pp. 1028-32.
5. Vide "Thoughts Upon Slavery," published in 1774, Works of Wesley (First American Ed.), VI, pp. 278-293.
6. Elie Halévy, A History of the English People 1815-1830, p. 213; Telford, op. cit., pp. 149-155; Maldwyn Edwards, After Wesley, Part II, Chap. I, "The Agitation Against Slavery," pp. 63-74; and Benjamin Gregory, Side Lights on the Conflicts of Methodism 1827-1852, p. 94.

for a time as a surgeon on a slave ship. Tracy Clarke's unbelievable descriptions of the treatment given to the innocent people of Africa left a lasting impression upon Adam.[1] Hence, from the time of his early ministry when he gave up sugar--"a drug composed of the slave-dealer's sin, and slave's misery"[2]--until the end of his life, Clarke sought to abolish what he termed "the summary scandal of our nation."[3] For, says he:

> "The whole trade is diabolic, from the trepanning of the innocent creatures in their country, by their own people, whom we have corrupted, so as to render them like all European Slave-dealers, insensible of all the charities of life, till that time in which these forlorn creatures breathe their last in the service of that nondescript in nature, a West India Planter."[4]

"Their liberty," he insists, "is not ours.--It belongs to God and themselves."[5] One of Clarke's last abolitionist efforts was to urge the Conference of 1830 to adopt a "Resolution" opposing "that system of slavery which exists in many colonies of the British Crown."[6] When the great English emancipator,

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1. Autobiography, pp. 16-22.
2. Samuel Bradburn's letter to Richard Rodda, written from Manchester, December 8, 1791, cited by James Everett, Adam Clarke Portrayed, I, p. 308.
3. Clarke, cited by Everett, ibid., III, pp. 336-7.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid. How strongly Clarke opposed slavery in his later years is evidenced in this statement written in his "Journal": ". . . every slave dealer and every slave holder and owner should be hanged; so far the judgment of man should go; but the judgment of God will go much farther. Planters and Slave dealers, Beware! Your case is decided." Adam Clarke's "Journal to Ireland, May 18, 1832-July 2, 1832," James Everett Collection of MSS., The Hartley Victoria Methodist College, Manchester.
6. Conference "Resolution," cited in An Account of Clarke's Life, III, p. 247.

William Wilberforce, received the news of how the Methodists were backing him, he sent this reply to Clarke:

> "I return you many thanks for your kind and highly gratifying communication. The 'Resolutions' are truly excellent; and I rejoice to hear that the cause of the poor slaves will be so zealously pleaded for by your numerous congregations."[1]

Thus Clarke, as Wesley,[2] encouraged Wilberforce in his life-long struggle for the freedom of slaves[3] and personally urged fellow Methodists and others to oppose strongly--

> Ye Christless Christians, who for sordid gain
> Traffic in human blood, make souls your commerce.[4]

III. Contribution as a Scholar

Adam Clarke made his most significant contribution to the public as a scholar. For it was in the literary field, particularly in work requiring a knowledge of Oriental languages and antiquity that he excelled.[5] As an authority of Oriental knowledge, his services were sought by The British and Foreign Bible Society and by the Board of Commissioners appointed by His Majesty, King George III, on the Public Records of the Kingdom of Great Britain.

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1. William Wilberforce's letter to Adam Clarke, written from Highland Hill, August 17, 1830, ibid., pp. 248-50.
2. In one of John Wesley's last letters, written to William Wilberforce from London, February 26, 1791, he encourages the emancipator to oppose to the end "that execrable villany, which is the scandal of religion, of England, and of human nature." Cited in Works of Wesley (First American Ed.), VII, p. 237.
3. Wilberforce began his fight against slavery in 1787; it was abolished in Great Britain in 1807, and in the colonies in 1833--the year of his death. G. R. Balleine, A History of The Evangelical Party in The Church of England, pp. 151-2.
4. Adam Clarke's poem, written in 1801 for Joseph Butterworth, lines 56 and 57, cited by T. M. Newness, Memoirs of The Life of The Rev. Adam Clarke, pp. 360-1.
5. Supra, pp. 120-122.

A. Linguist for The British and Foreign Bible Society

Adam Clarke identified himself closely with the Evangelicals in their distribution of Bibles, for it was his conviction that:

> "His word must be distributed, and that word must be preached. Hence, under God, Bibles and missionaries are the grand means to be employed in things concerning his kingdom. Bibles must be printed, sent out, and dispersed. . . . It is the duty, therefore, of every soul professing Christianity to lend a helping hand to send forth the Bible; and wherever the Bible is sent, to send a missionary, full of faith and of the Holy Ghost, to enforce its truths."[1]

Hence, when the Committee of The British and Foreign Bible Society sought the assistance of Clarke, who had given evidence of his Oriental knowledge in articles appearing in The Eclectic Review and other publications, he was happy to respond.[2] From 1805 until 1815 Clarke actively served the Society as a member of the Committee, an Oriental linguist, and a typographer. His assistance was particularly important in translating and preparing the type of The Tartar New Testament, The Arabic Bible, The Modern Greek New Testament, and The Syriac Bible.[3] So important

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1. Sermon XLV, "A Discourse on Nebuchadnezzar's Dream," Works, VIII, pp. 54-5.
2. Clarke's first recognition as a public figure came when he established a Philological Society in Liverpool in 1801, and a second in Manchester two years later. For the "Rules of the Philological Society," designed "to gain useful knowledge in order to diffuse it," vide Works, XI, pp. 236-297. However, it was not until the beginning of The Eclectic Review in 1804 to which he contributed many Biblical criticisms, that Clarke became recognized generally as a scholar in Oriental knowledge. An Account of Clarke's Life, II, pp. 75-8.
3. For Clarke's assistance in preparing The Arabic Bible the Bible Committee sent him fifty pounds as an "expression of their thanks for this and other eminent services, which had cost him no ordinary sacrifice of both time and of labor." However, Clarke returned the gift in order that more Bibles

was his role in the preparation of these Bibles that the Committee sent to the Methodist Conference of 1807 a special request that Clarke be allowed to remain in London beyond the usual three year Itinerant period.[1] The Conference granted this request, and together with the names of the preachers appointed to the London Circuit for the following year, included this note in the Minutes:

> "Brother Clarke is returned to London, at the unanimous request of the Committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society; from whose respectful and polite Request, transmitted to the Conference, we learn that brother Clarke's assistance is indispensably necessary to the accomplishment of several plans, which that most respectable Society has entered on, for furnishing various heathen and Mohammedan nations with the Holy Scriptures in their respective languages."[2]

However, after being with the Bible Society for a decade, Adam Clarke--for reasons of poor health--was forced to retire from this work as from all of his vigorous labors in London. The value of his services may be seen in the following letter written at this time by the Secretary of the Society:

> "I am instructed by the Committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society, to express their deep concern at the intimation . . . of your intention to retire from the Metropolis, and thereby to withdraw from the Society. . . . On the extent and the value of those services it would be
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would be printed and dispersed. John Owen, The History of the Origin and First Ten Years of The British and Foreign Bible Society, I, pp. 298-9, 304-5, 393-4, and II, pp. 366 et seqq. Also vide Humphrey Sandwith, "Dr. Adam Clarke and the Bible Society," The Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine, XI, Third Series (September, 1832), pp. 726-7.

1. For the "Resolution" and accompanying letter sent by John Owen and Joseph Hughes to the Preachers of the Methodist Conference, vide An Account of Clarke's Life, II, pp. 117-119.
2. Minutes of the Methodist Conferences, II, pp. 382-3; and Owen, op. cit., I, p. 417.

> superflous [sic] in me to expatiate or insist: they are of a nature so distinct from any which others among us have performed, or are able to perform, that you cannot be insensible of their great utility, however your modesty may restrain you from allowing them the estimation they deserve.
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> . . . . . .
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> "I need scarcely acquaint you that there is a department in the business of our Committee, which no one but yourself is competent to direct. In that department we can work with you, or rather under you, but we can do nothing without you. Reflect on the Arabic, the Ethiopic, the Abyssinian, and the Syriac . . . and then ask your own heart what you think we shall be able to accomplish . . . if you should resolve to abandon us. I say nothing of the assistance which we have been in the habit of receiving in all our transactions both literary and mechanical, from your general knowledge of business, and particularly from your extensive acquaintance with the practical details of typography."[1]

While Clarke found it necessary to terminate his work with the Bible Society in 1815, he sent this reply:

> "It is certainly an honor to me that I have been at all able, in any respect, to help on so good a work; and the estimation in which the Committee has held my endeavors, could not but be gratifying. Pleasing as this may be, I neither sought, nor expected it; I was, I believe, actuated by the same mind that has invariably ruled in the Committee, which never had but one object in view,--to glorify God by doing good to men; and that God has approved of their work, the result demonstrates, as a most extraordinary blessing has rested on all their labors. Through this especial blessing of God, the Institution is in such a state of prosperity, that we may fairly suppose that as nothing but the hand of the Almighty could have reared it, so nothing but that Hand can demolish it."[2]

When the Irish scholar returned to the suburbs of London in 1824, it is not surprising that he made himself available to the Bible Committee. Writing to the Assistant Secretary, Clarke says:

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1. John Owen's letter to Adam Clarke, written from Fulham, April 22, 1815, cited in An Account of Clarke's Life, II, pp. 323-5.
2. Clarke's letter to John Owen, cited without date or place of writing, ibid., pp. 325-7.

> "I shall be glad to work in the presence of the Society as I have done before, and tho/ugh/ perhaps not able to do so much, yet no less heartily than when we all had a burthen to bear in the heat of the day."[1]

Thus, during the last eight years of life, Clarke was able once again to assist The British and Foreign Bible Society, an institution that he considered to be "the most wonderful and most beneficial the Christian world ever saw."[2]

B. Literary Servant of the State: Rymer's Foedera

The Board of the Commissioners appointed by His Majesty, King George III, on the Public Records of the Kingdom of Great Britain, secured the services of Adam Clarke in 1808 "to revise, and form a Supplement and Continuation to Rymer's Foedera."[3] At this time the Foedera contained printed copies of "all the Leagues, Treaties, Alliances, Capitulations, and Confederacies which had at any time been made between the Crown of England and other Kingdoms, Princes, and States"[4] from the time of King

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1. Clarke's MS. letter to Mr. Tarn, June 12, 1824, The British and Foreign Bible Society Collection of MSS., London. For Clarke's contribution in dispersing Bibles through the Bible Society, vide William Canton, A History of The British and Foreign Bible Society, I, pp. 311-12.
2. "A Short Account of the Introduction of the Gospel into the British Isles," Works, XIII, p. 39. For Clarke's part in seeking to promote a new edition of Walton's Polyglott Bible, vide An Account of Clarke's Life, II, pp. 211-12, III, 9-16, and 187-9.
3. Clarke's account of "The Origin of my connexion with His Majesty's Commissioners on the Public Records of the Kingdom," cited in An Account of Clarke's Life, II, p. 169; and "Minute Book of the Proceedings of the Record Commission, 1806 to 1819," III, pp. 298-9, Public Record Office MSS., Chancery Lane, London.
4. Adam Clarke and Frederick Holbrooke, General Introduction to the Foedera, pp. 7-11.

Henry I to that of King Charles II. Since 1800 the Royal Commission had been searching for a qualified scholar, who was willing to undertake correcting and bringing up to date this important work.[1] Hence, when Adam Clarke--at the request of the "Select Committee of the House of Commons"--prepared "An Essay on the best mode of carrying into Effect a Compilation to form a Supplement and Continuation to Rymer's Foedera,"[2] his plan was found to be so acceptable that he was immediately appointed a "Sub-Commissioner" and given authority to proceed with the confidential work.[3] Says Clarke:

> ". . . the Commissioners, supposing that they had acquired what they had so long sought, would not listen to my excuses, and I was thus obliged in honor, and indeed, in conscience, to proceed; but with the positive understanding that I would only consider myself a locum tenens, till they could procure another."[4]

The Irish Itinerant, who was currently engaged in several other time-consuming literary tasks,[5] explains his motives in undertaking the Government work by stating that:

> ". . . I thought, for the honour of my God, & for the credit of my People /called Methodists/, I will put my shoulder to

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1. "Minute Book of the Proceedings of the Record Commission," op. cit., pp. 40-1, 95, 139, and 249.
2. At the meeting of the Board of Commissioners on March 25, 1808, which met in the home of its chairman, Charles Abbot, Speaker of the House of Commons, the Secretary informed the group before reading Clarke's "Essay" that Adam Clarke "had been recommended as a fit Person to undertake this Work, from his extensive Learning and indefatigable Industry." John Caley, cited in part, "Minute Book of the Proceedings of the Record Commission," op. cit., p. 298.
3. Clarke, "The Origin of my connexion with His Majesty's Commissioners on the Public Records of the Kingdom," op. cit., pp. 159-161.
4. Ibid.
5. Supra, pp. 110 et seqq.

the wheel, deeply stuck in the mud, & raise it if I can."[1]

To fellow Wesleyans who objected to his becoming involved in this task, he assures them that:

> ". . . I agreed, merely for the honour of Methodism, to make some arrangements & Plans, & to set the work a going till they could procure another. . . . Tho/ugh/ they offered me £400 per an. & £300 for two Secretaries, yet I never engaged to be bound to the work--& to this hour have never received one farthing of Salary, holding myself free to leave the work any day I pleased."[2]

However, no person was found "during the long course of ten years"[3] to take over the work that Adam Clarke had assumed "temporarily." Thus, for a decade he ably served the public as a literary servant of the State.[4]

After approving Adam Clarke's suggestions as to the best method of procedure in continuing and supplementing Rymer's

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1. Clarke's MS. letter to Tho/ma/s Roberts, written from London, March 26, 1808, Lamplough Collection of MSS., Strong Rooms, City Road.
2. Clarke's MS. letter to Tho/ma/s Taylor, written from Bristol, August (the day and year are missing from MS., no post or water mark, but internal evidence indicates the year to be 1814), Collection of MSS., Strong Rooms, City Road. While Clarke asserts in this letter that he did not receive "one farthing of Salary," the "Minute Book" shows that Clarke and his two assistants received five thousand pounds, ten shillings, and one and one-half pence for their work between 1808 and 1819. An average annual salary of about five hundred pounds for the services of only two assistants seems a little high, but since the "Minute Book" gives the salaries of Clarke and the assistants together, no definite conclusions can be reached as to whether Clarke did or did not receive remuneration. Vide "Minute Book of the Proceedings of the Record Commission, 1806 to 1819," IV, pp. 286, 424, V, 109, 211, 326, 434, VI, 75, 171, VII, 84 and 184. Public Record Office MSS., Chancery Lane, London.
3. Clarke's MS. letter to Roberts, March 26, 1808, loc. cit.
4. Clarke was also called upon to do other work for the State in addition to the Foedera. For a description of these tasks, vide Clarke, "The Origin of my connexion with His Majesty's Commissioners on the Public Records of the Kingdom," loc. cit.

Foedera, the Board of His Majesty's Commissioners ordered that:

> ". . . the Synopsis subjoined to his Essay be returned to Dr. Clarke, to be filled up, as proposed by him for the purpose of completing the Specimen from the Conquest to the end of King John."[1]

With these directions Clarke diligently proceeded with the task of collecting the important manuscripts at the various libraries and repositories and collating them with the contents of Rymer's printed work. Because of the difficulty in obtaining proper assistance, not to mention the other pressing duties that competed for his time, he frequently was delayed in making his reports.[2] "In forming these Collections," Clarke informs the Commissioners, "I have ever to the best of my ability, scrupulously attended to the authenticity of the article I transcribed."[3] Thus, it may be seen that in this task, as in the Commentary, his perfectionism was also a factor in the delay of the work. Yet, it was this trait that accounts for the accuracy of his meticulous research.[4]

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1. "Minute Book of the Proceedings of the Record Commission, 1806 to 1819," op. cit., III, pp. 298-9.
2. Clarke obtained the able assistance of Frederick H. Holbrooke in 1809 who, after Clarke resigned in 1819, completed the work with the help of the Secretary of the Record Commission, John Caley. Ibid., III, p. 439, IV, p. 377, V, pp. 1-23. Also An Account of Clarke's Life, II, p. 174. For Clarke's principle reports, vide: "Reports from the Commissioners Appointed by His Majesty to Execute the Measures Recommended by a Select Committee of the House of Commons Respecting the Public Records of the Kingdom, &c.," Public Record Office MSS., Chancery Lane, London; and Works, XI, pp. 161-235.
3. Clarke writes, "It must be well known to His Majesty's Commissioners that in such a work, whole hours must sometimes be wasted in endeavoring to make out a single sentence; ascertain a date, &c.; or recover a few almost obliterated signatures &c. &c." "Minute Book of the Proceedings of the Record Commission, 1806-1819," op. cit., IV, pp. 245-6. Quoted in part.
4. Supra, pp. 129-130.

After completing his personal examination of documents housed in various State Offices,[1] Clarke convinced His Majesty's Commissioners of the urgent need of a new edition of Rymer's Foedera. In the "Report of May 13, 1809," he writes:

> "Considering, therefore, the vast national importance of the Foedera; that it is now out of print; that in many cases the originals from which these collections have been made are either lost or rendered useless; that it would be of the utmost consequence to have the whole body of its contents corrected, methodized, and arranged in conjunction with all the new materials, which, under the direction of the Record Commission, have been, or may be collected; I humbly propose the expediency and necessity of a new edition of the whole work, under a more scientific and methodical arrangement, in which all the new materials shall be incorporated with the original matter, under their respective heads."[2]

When the Board of Commissioners met to consider Clarke's proposal, it resolved that:

> ". . . Instructions be given to Dr. Clarke to proceed according to the plan therein recommended of a new Edition of the Whole Work."[3]

As he proceeded with the research necessary for a new edition, he found that "the task was at first formidable, at the second difficult & at last pleasant."[4] "It is natural to me," says the Irish scholar, "to love that work which I find I can perform."[5]

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1. For the names of the fourteen places where Clarke had to go for this research, vide: Clarke and Holbrooke, General Introduction to the Foedera, op. cit., pp. 17-20; and An Account of Clarke's Life, II, pp. 166-8.
2. "Further Report of Plan for forming a Supplement and Continuation thereto, together with my Opinion upon the Expediency of Conforming to a Plan adopted by Rapin in his Acta Regia," cited in Works, XI, pp. 202-3.
3. "Reports and Orders on the Foedera from 1808-1811," pp. 196-7, Public Record Office MSS., Chancery Lane, London.
4. Clarke's MS. letter to Professor Scott, written from London, March 22, 1808, Department of MSS., The British Museum, London.
5. Ibid.

Finally, after eight years of unremitting labor, Clarke--assisted by Holbrooke--was able to see through the press the two parts of the first volume of the new edition of the Foedera in 1816, and two years later the first part of the second volume.[1]

However, owing to his removal from London and his loss of health, Clarke was forced to retire from the Sub-Commission in 1819. In giving up this work he writes:

> "And here I register my thanks to God, the Fountain of wisdom and goodness, who has enabled me to conduct this most difficult and delicate Work for ten years, with credit to myself and satisfaction to His Majesty's Government. . . . The Work was to collect from all the archives of the United Kirgdom /Kingdom/, all authentic State Papers from the Conquest to the Accession of George III.; to arrange and illustrate them in frequent Reports to the Right Hon. His Majesty's Commissioners on the Public Records of the Kingdom, for the purpose of 'Completing and Continuing that Collection of State Papers called RYMER'S FOEDERA,' of which I have carried nearly four volumes folio through the press."[2]

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1. Clarke indicates that the new edition is an improvement over Rymer's original work in the following ways: "1st, The extension of its limits to an earlier and later period of time. 2ndly, The verification of the old materials, and the addition of others within the same reigns. 3rdly, The chronological arrangement, with reference to the Repository in which each article is to be found; and lastly, the Typographical execution of the whole." Adam Clarke and Frederick Holbrooke, General Introduction to the Foedera, p. 20.
2. Clarke's account of "The Origin of my connexion with His Majesty's Commissioners on the Public Records of the Kingdom," written at Millbrook, March 30, 1819, cited in An Account of Clarke's Life, II, pp. 196-7. The full title of the work was: Foedera, Conventiones, Litterae, et cujuscunque generis Acta Publica, inter Reges Angliae et alios quosvis Imperatores, Reges, Pontifices, Principes, vel Communitates; ab Ingressu Guielmi I. in Angliam, A.D. 1066. Ad nostra usque tempora habita aut tractata. While the second part of the second volume published in 1821 bears the names of Frederick Holbrooke and John Caley, much of the research for the same had been completed by Adam Clarke. The two parts of the third volume were finished in 1830 by Caley and Holbrooke and published in 1830.

While the Board of the Commissioners appointed by His Majesty on the Public Records of the Kingdom had refused to accept his resignation on two previous occasions, at the meeting of March 24, 1819, it reluctantly accepted the request of Adam Clarke to retire. Deep appreciation was expressed by the Commissioners at this time for his "meritorious Services."[1] Voicing the praise of the Commissioners, the Chairman, Charles Abbot (Lord Colchester), says that "never had he witnessed such uniform and successful exertions" as those given to the public by Adam Clarke. Even the very printing of the new edition of Rymer's Foedera exhibited "the joint quality of beauty and compression, in a manner little known to modern typography."[2]

IV. Death Mourned by Public: Honors and Memorials

Adam Clarke's contribution as a scholar to the Church, to the State, and to the people, together with his concern for religious liberty and humanitarian causes, resulted in his being recognized generally as a prominent public figure. He was honored during his lifetime by various institutions, societies, and friends. One admirer of the public-spirited Irish scholar was James Bentley of King's College, University of Aberdeen. In 1807 this Professor of Oriental Languages was influential in having the University confer upon Clarke the degree of Master

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1. "Minute Book of the Proceedings of the Record Commission, 1806 to 1819," VII, p. 181, Public Record Office MSS., Chancery Lane, London.
2. Charles Abbot, cited in "Review of the Life of Dr. Adam Clarke," The Christian Advocate, XXXIII (December, 1833), pp. 798-9.

of Arts for his "several literary Works of merit";[1] two years later, the same institution awarded him the degree of Doctor of Laws.[2] Clarke also received several "honorary Diplomas from America."[3]

Moreover, he was honored by various important societies. In 1813 he was elected Fellow of the Society of Antiquarians, and five years later he was chosen a Member of the American Antiquarian Society.[4] He also was elected a Member of the Royal Irish Academy, an Associate of the Geological Society of London, a Member of the Royal Asiatic Society, an Honorary Fellow of the Eclectic Society of London, and a Member of the American Historical Institute.[5] In addition, Clarke enjoyed the friendship of the most distinguished leaders of the Church and State--even the acquaintance of members of the Royal Family.[6]

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1. James Bentley's letters to Adam Clarke, written from King's College, Aberdeen, January 31, 1807, and March 3, 1808, cited in An Account of Clarke's Life, II, pp. 144 and 155.
2. Ibid. Also vide: Clarke's MS. letter to John Caley, written from Harpur Street, February 16, 1811, W. L. Watkinson Collection of MSS., John Wesley's Chapel, Bristol; and "Extracts from my Journals to the Shetlands," July 11, 1826, cited in Works, XIII, pp. 295-6.
3. Clarke's MS. letter to Benjamin Clough, written from Frome, Somerset, August 8, 1832, Collection of MSS., Strong Rooms, City Road.
4. An Account of Clarke's Life, II, pp. 313 and 350.
5. Ibid., III, pp. 35-6 and 213; James Everett, Adam Clarke Portrayed, II, pp. 224-6, and III, p. 426; and J. W. Etheridge, The Life of the Rev. Adam Clarke, pp. 350-1.
6. Clarke, as linguist for The British and Foreign Bible Society and as Sub-Commissioner on the Public Records, moved in the circles of the most prominent leaders of the land. He even enjoyed such Royal acquaintances as the Duke of Kent, father of King George III, and the Duke of Sussex, the son of the British Sovereign. The latter invited the Irish scholar to dine with him at Kensington Palace on several occasions, and in turn, had visited Clarke in his own home. Vide An Account of Clarke's Life, II, pp. 30, 45, 98, 157-199, 349, 361-3, 378, 399, III, 16-19, 92-3, 152, 249, and 365.

The self-taught, public-spirited Irish leader earned every honor that he received, for his services rendered to the public were made possible by strict conservation of time and persevering industry. Looking back over his life, shortly before his death, Clarke says:

> "I have had many days of suffering[1]. . . . and . . . have been brought low: & it does appear to myself, that my public work, is nearly done; at least my labour must terminate. But I have the satisfaction to know, that I have not rusted out, but worn out.--And there is a better satisfaction than even this,--that I have neither worked nor laboured in vain."[2]

No Methodist Itinerant in the generation after Wesley expended more energy in the service of others within and without the Connexion than did Adam Clarke. When it became known that he had succumbed to the dreaded disease of Cholera on August 25, 1832, at Bayswater,[3] where he had gone to fulfil his "roving commission,"[4] his death was mourned by the general public as well as

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1. Clarke's strenuous work as a Methodist Itinerant, together with his other laborious and time-consuming literary tasks, frequently caused his health to be broken. As a result he suffered from poor health most of his life, enduring severe attacks of various illnesses during the years of 1787, 1790, 1791, 1802, 1809, 1810, 1815, 1823, and 1832. However, despite his handicap of poor health, as Abel Stevens says, "He laboured on zealously and hopefully as his strength would allow." The Illustrated History of Methodism, II, p. 618.
2. Clarke's MS. letter to Eliza Lorinhar, written from Liverpool, July 25, 1832, Collection of MSS., Strong Rooms, City Road.
3. For details concerning Clarke's death, vide: Works, XIII, pp. 469-475; An Account of Clarke's Life, III, pp. 415-438; and supra, p. 286.
4. Clarke was appointed (against his wish) to the Windsor Circuit by the Conference of 1832. With the names of the preachers that were sent there, the following note was included in the Minutes: "Dr. Clarke is not confined to the Windsor Circuit, but is most respectfully and affectionately requested to extend his visits and labours to any part of the Connexion, wherever his health and convenience will permit him to go." Clarke says, "The Conference has given me plenty of work, and a roving commission." Minutes of the Methodist Conferences, VI, p. 117; and Clarke, cited in part by H. R. Griffith in a

by Wesleyans. For, as Gregory says:

> "Philanthropists and scholars, and all the friends of evangelistic enterprise, and the devoutest men in all the churches of the saints, 'made great lamentation over him.'"[1]

Despite inclement weather, hundreds came to the City Road Chapel on August 29, 1832, to pay their last respects to Adam Clarke. The funeral service was led by Joseph Entwistle and Henry Moore delivered the address. An eye witness observes:

> "The interest excited at this service was very great. The chapel was crowded to excess; and many hundreds, if not some thousands, of persons were unable to obtain admission."[2]

Special honor was also given to Adam Clarke in the selection of a place of interment. Significant indeed is the fact that his body was placed in the grave directly beside that of John Wesley.[3] This was fitting recognition of the significance of the life and work of one of the greatest church leaders in early Methodism, one who was unusually popular and effective within the Connexion and who earned the admiration of the general public. On the stone above his grave these appropriate words were inscribed: "Auditor serviens consumor."[4]

Immediately following his death, a subscription was

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letter to Richard Smith, no date or place of writing, Works, XIII, pp. 415-417.

1. Benjamin Gregory, Side Lights on the Conflicts of Methodism, 1827-1852, pp. 125-6.
2. "The Late Rev. Dr. Adam Clarke," The Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine, Third Series, XI (September, 1832), p. 766.
3. The body of Richard Watson, who died in 1833, was placed on the other side of Wesley's grave. Watson also was an important church leader in early Methodism and one of Clarke's "polemical antagonists." James Everett and J. Bromley, Characteristic Sketches of Dr. Adam Clarke and of Rev. Richard Watson, pp. 34-5; and John Telford, Wesley's Chapel and Wesley's House, pp. 109-110.
4. Ibid. The motto is inscribed beneath a burning lamp, which symbolizes Clarke's extensive learning. A translation would read: "I am a disciple consumed in serving others."

commenced by his numerous friends "to erect a public monument to the memory of Dr. Clarke, under the immediate auspices of the Duke of Sussex."[1] While the first plan to have a statue of Clarke placed in St. Paul's Cathedral never was realized, in the year before the centenary of his birth, a forty foot obelisk monument was erected near his birthplace in Portrush, Northern Ireland.[2] Later, with the assistance of funds received from his American friends, a beautiful Clarke Memorial Church was also erected in Portrush.[3] Various other Methodist Chapels were

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1. "Public Monument to the Memory of The Rev. Adam Clarke, LL. D.," The Congregational Magazine, New Series, X (January, 1833), p. 64; and "Committee Book, For the purpose of entering Remarks and Resolutions, Relative to a Monument to be Erected in Memory of the Late Dr. Adam Clarke," James Everett Collection of MSS., The Hartley Victoria Methodist College, Manchester.
2. The inscription on the front of the memorial obelisk reads:
   "In everlasting remembrance of the Rev. Dr. Adam Clarke, natus circiter 1760, obiit 1832.

   "A servant of the Most High, who in preaching the Gospel with great labours and apostolic grace for more than fifty years, showed to myriads the way of salvation, and by his commentaries on the Holy Scriptures and other works of piety and learning, yet speaks to passing generations. Soli Gloria Deo."

   On the side of the monument these words are inscribed telling of the circumstances of its erection:
   "About the centenary of his birth this obelisk together with a memorial church at Portstewart, where he was brought up, has been erected by the subscriptions of nobility, clergy, and the public at large of the British Islands, Canada and Australia, A.D. 1859.

   "Look, Reader, at this monument and learn that youth consecrated to God, unswerving integrity of mind and talent can raise the obscure to Renown and Immortality."

   R. H. Gallagher's MS. letter to the writer of this thesis, written from Belfast, September 2, 1954; MS. letter to the same from David Stewart and Robert Allen, May 14, 1954; and /Anonymous/, Dr. Adam Clarke and Methodism at Portrush, p. 6.
3. Ibid. Above the entrance of the Clarke Memorial Church at Portrush are these words:

erected in memory of Clarke at Portstewart,[1] Lerwick,[2] and Eastcote (Eastcott).[3] In addition, "a full-sized statue of Clarke was placed in the Hall of the Wesleyan Mission House" in London.[4] One of the most significant memorials honoring Adam Clarke is the white marble tablet on the wall of the apse in the City Road Chapel. The inscription on this impressive tablet summarizes well the life and work of this church leader in early Methodism:

In Memory Of
ADAM CLARKE, LL.D. F.A.S., &c.
A man of remarkable mental vigour,
of almost unparalleled industry, and of extensive
and varied learning;
a Christian of deep and steadfast piety
firmly attached to the essential doctrines and discipline
of Wesleyan Methodism
a preacher eminently evangelical, popular, and useful
for more than half a century.
'His praise is in all the Churches.'
Obiit, 1832.[5]

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"In memory of Dr. Adam Clarke the learned Commentator. Born in the year 1760. Died 1832.

"Glory to God in the Highest. Peace on earth and good will toward men."

Gallagher's letter, September 2, 1954, loc. cit.

1. Matthew Simpson (ed.), Cyclopedia of Methodism, pp. 225-7; and Dr. Adam Clarke and Methodism in Portrush, loc. cit.
2. For a description of this memorial church built in the capital of the Shetland Islands, vide William Moister, A History of Wesleyan Missions, p. 22.
3. W. L. Doughty, "Two Letters of Dr. Adam Clarke," Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society, XXIX (June, 1954), pp. 121-3.
4. Thornley Smith, "Memoir of the Rev. Adam Clarke," a short biography included in his revised edition of Clarke's Commentary, p. vii.
5. This tablet has an ornamental pediment in the center of which is an eagle, an emblem of greatness, with two scrolls partly open, one written in Hebrew, the other in Greek. It is one of six tablets placed on the wall of the apse; to the right of the altar are memorials to Charles Wesley and Thomas Coke, in addition to that of Adam Clarke. On the left of the altar are tablets honoring John Wesley, John Fletcher and Joseph Benson. Ralph M. Spoor, Illustrated Hand-Book to City Road Chapel, pp. 30-1. Quoted in part.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Adam Clarke was a church leader in early Methodism during the greatest transitional era in the history of England. He emerged into prominence in the period of crisis and change that followed the death of John Wesley, when the very existence of the Methodist Societies was threatened. That the Conference--without the leadership of Wesley--was able to initiate changes that solved difficult problems, and that Methodism was able to pursue a new middle course (between the Establishment and Dissent) during the reactionary years of the Napoleonic struggle, was due to the effective leadership of Methodist preachers such as Adam Clarke. Despite the timely leadership of this Irish Itinerant, he is known to the world today almost solely as a Biblical scholar; this reputation understandably rests upon his magnum opus, the Commentary on the Holy Bible. However, the thesis of this study is that Adam Clarke gave to early Methodism in the generation after Wesley the leadership that it needed, not only as a scholar, but also as a preacher, theologian, churchman, and public figure.

England was fortunate to have had the Evangelical Revival preceding, and coinciding with, its desperate period of transition during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. For the evangelical message preached by John Wesley, Adam Clarke, and others who shared Wesley's emphasis, gave hope and purpose to the poor; likewise, it served as a philanthropic and humanitarian impulse among the rich. During the Industrial Revolution

there arose a new middle class, especially in the fast-growing cities of the North. Through thrift and diligence many of the poor, whom the Wesleyans were influential in "saving" and organizing into classes and Societies, improved both their economic status and level of learning. Clarke was one of the few leaders at this time who was alert to the increasing need for an educated ministry in order to meet the rising cultural demands of the Methodists. Hence, when seeking to establish a seminary for junior preachers at the turn of the century, Clarke asserted:

> "The time is coming and now is when illiterate piety can do no more for the interest and permanency of the work of God, than lettered irreligion did formerly."[1]

Clarke himself, encouraged by the "Founder of Methodism" became a serious student of the Bible early in his ministry. To his knowledge of Greek, in which he had been tutored by his own father in Ireland, he added an understanding of the Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, Samaritan, and other Oriental languages. In fact, he appears to have had such an insatiable thirst for knowledge that he "intermeddled with all wisdom."[2] He was particularly anxious to acquire knowledge that would assist in the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures. While Clarke never intended to write a commentary himself, his linguistic achievements and vast accumulation of knowledge so qualified him for the task that his friends urged him to prepare his expository notes on the Bible for publication. With great reluctance he finally undertook the laborious task, but only because he

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1. Supra, p. 288. Quoted in part.
2. Supra, p. 105.

believed that in doing this work he could be useful in helping others to understand God's Word. Hence, while finding it difficult to motivate his fellow Wesleyan Itinerants to study the Bible in the original languages, through the preparation of a commentary he was able to share with them and others the fruits of his own study. Had he given more time to preparing this work, instead of becoming involved for a decade with the secular tasks of the Public Records Commission, the quality would have equalled the quantity of his expositional notes. Clarke was more of an accumulator than an assimilator of learning. His intellect was more extensive than intensive; it was more distinguished for its quantity than its quality. Despite these weaknesses, however, by means of the pen he was influential in improving the level both of Methodist preaching and of denominational literature. The leadership that Clarke gave as a scholar helped Wesleyan Methodism to meet the changing needs of its members and to enlarge its influence in the nineteenth century.

It is important to realize, however, that Adam Clarke's Biblical scholarship came as a result of his being a preacher of the Gospel. For when Wesley laid his hands upon the Irish lad shortly after his arrival in England, and sent him out as an active Itinerant, young Adam soon realized the urgency of understanding the Bible. He asked the question: How can I effectively expound the Scriptures to others unless I first know the meaning myself? As he began his "extraordinary work" as a Methodist preacher, he applied himself diligently to the study of the Bible. The intensity of his Biblical research and the zeal of

his circuit labor began to bear fruit early in his ministry. For within a few years young Clarke was recognized as a popular preacher among the Methodists. It was on the basis of his effectiveness as a preacher, not as an author, that he was first elected President of the Conference in 1806--the youngest at that time to be so honored. In his sermons Clarke, being a child of the Wesleyan Revival, presented a warm evangelical message. He rightly believed that there was a hunger among the people of Great Britain for evangelical preaching and he sought to satisfy this need. As long as the Methodist preachers continue to preach the doctrine of salvation from all sin, he maintained, the Wesleyan Revival would continue. His favorite theme, woven into the fabric of every sermon, was God's great love for all sinful men. His extemporaneous and original discourses were sincere and forceful. At times he used too much argument in his sermons and spent too much time explaining words and minor details. Nevertheless, he was effective in the pulpit, especially as he applied the truths of God to his congregations in his hortatory conclusions. For he urged his hearers to accept Christ and was not satisfied unless his messages bore fruit. As a result of his fifty years of ministry, the circuits he served had a total gain of nearly seven thousand members.[1] Because of his successful ministry, and his concern for the needs of the people, Clarke was much in demand. Moreover, because of his ability to settle difficult disputes, Wesley appointed him to the Plymouth and Dublin Circuits when they were torn with controversy. After Wesley, the

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1. Vide Appendix B.

Conference also recognized his leadership and ability to maintain unity and peace by sending him to the important urban circuits of the Connexion. Likewise, he was selected frequently to serve as superintendent of the circuits and as chairman of the districts where he was appointed. Early Methodists agree that Adam Clarke "reached his highest excellence in the pulpit."[1] As a preacher he sought to meet the needs of the people; herein lay the motivation for both his Biblical scholarship and his influential churchmanship. Thus by the efforts of this Irish preacher, by his example, and by his advice to younger Itinerants (particularly as given in the widely circulated "Letter to a Preacher"[2]) Clarke gave needed leadership to the improvement of Methodist preaching in the generation after Wesley.

Adam Clarke was also an important theologian among the Wesleyan Methodists, for he clearly presented the Wesleyan-Arminian theology in his sermons and in his Commentary. Like Wesley, Clarke had little interest in the abstract scholasticism of theology, but had a large concern in its practical soteriology. Clarke was indeed in the main stream of evangelical Wesleyan theology by stressing the love of God as the source of salvation, the death of Christ as the means of salvation, and the witness of the Holy Spirit as the assurance of salvation. The Divine soteriological purpose, according to the Irish theologian, was to enable all mankind, who had been alienated from the Creator after the fall, to enjoy a completely restored

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1. Supra, p. 149.
2. Ibid.

fellowship with God through repentance and faith in Jesus Christ. Only as man experiences perfect communion with God, Clarke maintained, can he enjoy real happiness. Herein lay the basis and necessity for the doctrine of holiness which, in his view, was a life lived in perfect love to God and man. This perfect love (Christian perfection) was particularly stressed in his theology, because it prepared man in the present state of probation for an eternity with God--the end of God's plan of salvation. For Clarke the plan of salvation began and ended with God. As a result of his emphasis upon soteriology, Clarke's theology was very similar to that of John Wesley, except in one detail. In subjecting all the doctrines of the Bible to reason, a practice Clarke held to be his prerogative, he concluded that the doctrine of the eternal Sonship of Christ was unreasonable. Therefore, being the independent theologian that he was, he denied the eternal Sonship of Christ and called it a "spurious doctrine."[1] Yet, he held firmly to the Deity of Christ. Basically the issue appears to have been largely philological, but the heterodox opinion of so eminent a person on so important a doctrine resulted in no small Connexional controversy. Eventually his opinion was denounced by the Conference as being anti-Wesleyan, and a resolution was passed requiring candidates for the ministry to deny Clarke's view. Consequently, he was largely rejected as a theologian for the Wesleyan Methodist Connexion--especially by the strong Conservative leaders of the Conference. Despite this

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1. Supra, p. 242.

flaw in his "Scriptural Creed"[1]--a Creed that he formulated early in his ministry and never altered--Clarke gave a clear exposition of Wesleyan-Arminianism. Had he not been so hasty in forming his theological views, or had he been more willing to alter the articles of his early Creed as his knowledge increased, he would have been a more effective Wesleyan theologian. Nevertheless, his leadership as an independent theologian during this time was important. His polemical rival, Richard Watson, was a more acceptable theologian in early Methodism, but he was generally overrated by his Conservative admirers. Succeeding generations have minimized Clarke's rather minor deviations from Wesleyan orthodoxy; his influence as a Wesleyan-Arminian theologian has increased since his death. That his Commentary on the Holy Bible is still one of the best-selling expositions among the conservative denominations in America is compelling evidence of Adam Clarke's lasting influence both as a commentator and as a Wesleyan theologian.[2]

Adam Clarke emerged as a prominent church leader in the early post-Wesleyan period; he was elected President of the Conference three times--1806, 1814, and 1822. His first leadership in the Conference came in the crucial 1790's when he sought to promote changes that would enable the preachers to satisfy the spiritual needs of the people. While he himself had a strong attachment to the Established Church, he took an active part in drawing up the Plan of Pacification which allowed the preachers

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1. Supra, pp. 202-208.
2. Vide Appendix D.

to administer the sacraments in Societies where the majority of the leaders desired them. Since the concessions granted by this statesman-like measure ultimately led to the separation of Methodism from the Mother Church, Clarke had no small part in the formation of the Wesleyan Methodist Connexion. He maintained, however, that it was the refusal of the Church Bishops to provide for the spiritual needs of the Methodists that caused the Conference to take the course of action it did. Despite separation, Clarke and most Methodists continued to express a preference for the Church, remaining united to the Mother Church in "spirit" if not in "body."[1] In the reform legislation of the 1790's Clarke proved himself to be a leader among what might be called the "Middle Party." In this middle group were the "Moderate-Conservatives" of Methodism; they opposed the extreme Conservatives who wanted no change in the relationship of the Societies to the Church. However, the Moderates refused to join with the Radicals who desired both separation and the placement of Connexional authority in the hands of the laity. In the early years of the nineteenth century, however, Clarke became engrossed with literary pursuits and other interests which he considered to be more important than Conference politics. Consequently, he failed to give Methodism the Moderate-Conservative leadership that he could have given had he been more concerned with the administrative details of the Connexion. At times he did oppose the increasing autocracy of Jabez Bunting, but he did so on the basis of his

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1. Supra, p. 263.

own personal Whiggish principles and love of liberty. Fundamentally Clarke agreed with Bunting's emphasis upon pastoral authority, but he strongly objected to its abuse, especially when the rights of the laity were disregarded as in the Leeds Organ Case. If Clarke had not acquired such strong aversion to Connexional politics, but had remained as active a Moderate-Conservative leader in the early decades of the nineteenth century as he had been in the closing years of the eighteenth, Wesleyan Methodism might never have had the Great Disruption of 1849. For, one hundred thousand members were lost to the Connexion because the inflexible Conservatives, under the leadership of Bunting, refused to make any changes in the early Victorian age. Because of his personal opposition to the encroaching power of Bunting and his own prominence in the Connexion, Clarke was used in his later years by those in the Conference who were more Radical than himself. During these years Clarke was far more concerned with completing his own literary undertakings and in promoting the general program of the Connexion than participating in controversial party politics--even in his revered Wesleyan Connexion. Consequently, his leadership in the Conference during his most active years could have been much stronger. Yet, few preachers did more than Clarke to promote such important Wesleyan interests as evangelism, missions, education, and charities. As a churchman, Clarke can best be described as "a man of peace."[1] While he might have accomplished more, he indeed did much to promote

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1. Supra, p. 295.

Connexional unity and to maintain peace among the Societies in these crucial years.

Adam Clarke's influence went beyond Wesleyan Methodism; his contribution to the public as a scholar and his philanthropic and humanitarian efforts distinguished him as a public figure. Through the leadership of a few men like Clarke, who cooperated with the Evangelicals and Dissenters, Methodism had a part in the great humanitarian movements of this transitional era. Clarke was able to extend the interests of the Connexion in the more influential circles of society. Because of his general recognition as an authority in Oriental knowledge, his services were sought by both the Church and the State. As a linguist for The British and Foreign Bible Society, he had an important part in the translating and publishing of several translations of the Bible. Moreover, the Board of Commissioners of His Majesty, King George III, on the Public Records of the Kingdom of Great Britain, appointed him as Sub-Commissioner. In this capacity he promoted a new edition of Rymer's Foedera--completing a large part of this work by himself. This decade of secular work took not a little of the time Clarke might more profitably have spent on his Commentary or in preaching the Gospel. Yet, he believed that through his work on the Public Records Methodism was making a contribution to the State, and therefore he was bringing honor to the Connexion. Moreover, he believed that he could use his influence among the important leaders of the land, with whom he became acquainted as literary servant of the State, to promote the interests of the Connexion. When Lord Sidmouth was preparing his Bill in 1811, Clarke succeeded in having him make some changes

in the interests of Methodism, but he was not fully alert to Sidmouth's design. In the end, however, Clarke strongly opposed the restrictions that this Bill placed upon Methodist Itinerants. Moreover, as Chairman of the Conference Committee on Privileges, Clarke had an important part in the promotion of the New Act of Toleration passed by Parliament in 1812, which increased the religious freedom of the land. Therefore, as an honored public figure, Clarke used his influence to promote Methodism, and in turn, encouraged the Wesleyan Connexion to support the worthy humanitarian movements promoted by both the Evangelicals and Dissenters.

So effective was Adam Clarke as a church leader in early Methodism that "it was due to him as much as to any man that Methodism passed safely through the troubled years after Wesley's death."[1] That Wesleyan Methodism was able to expand in the nineteenth century and to become a Church recognized and admired universally,[2] was due in a large part to the influence and guidance of this Irish leader. Thus, Adam Clarke gave to early Methodism the appropriate leadership that it needed not only as a recognized Biblical scholar, but also as an effective preacher, an independent theologian, an influential churchman, and an honored public figure.

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1. Supra, p. 61.
2. Ibid.

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

YEAR OF ADAM CLARKE'S BIRTH

Adam Clarke was born around the year of 1760 or 1762; both dates are used almost equally by his biographers, by his parents, and even by Clarke himself. The fact that the Conference Minutes of 1833 give "1762" as the year of his birth, yet three pages later state that Clarke died "on the 26th of August, 1832, in the seventy-second year of his age,"[1] only illustrates the general confusion that exists. James Everett, Clarke's most comprehensive biographer, indicates that 1760 is probably the more accurate date.[2] However, Henry Moore, a Methodist Itinerant who was sent to Londonderry, says that when he arrived there in 1779 he met an extremely slender youth by the name of Adam Clarke who then was "seventeen years of age."[3]

This confusion concerning the year of Clarke's birth stems from the fact that the parents of Adam Clarke themselves could not agree on the year. His mother insisted that Adam was

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1. "Adam Clarke, LL. D.," Minutes of the Methodist Conferences, VII, pp. 223 and 225.
2. James Everett, Adam Clarke Portrayed, I, pp. 6-8; and Wesleyan Takings, pp. 61-2.
3. Henry Moore, "The Judgment of the Human Race," The Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine, XI, Third Series (October, 1832), p. 719. Thomas Hollway made a portrait of Clarke in 1789 that was printed in The Arminian Magazine the same year with the title, "Adam Clarke, AEtatis 27, Preacher of the Gospel." Six years later a portrait by Ridley was featured in the same magazine and the age given was thirty-three. Thus, both portraits indicate the year of Clarke's birth accepted at that time was 1762. "Portrait: Adam Clarke, Aged 33," Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society, XV, 1927, p. 85. For a copy of Clarke's portrait at thirty-three, vide p. 148 of this study.

born in 1760, but his father held to a date two or three years later. She maintained that her second son was born in the spring of the year that Thurot captured Carrickfergus. If correct, this historical event of 1760 would settle the question; however, the fact that her first son, Tracy, was born nearly three years before Adam raises a question. For Clarke himself, after looking into this matter when on a trip to Ireland, observes:

> "I am inclined to think that my Mother might have put my birth in the place of my Brother's. He is 2 years & 3 quarters older than I. This last if correct, would place my birth in 1763, & my Brother's in 1760, the year that the French Squadron took Carrickfergus. I shall trouble myself no more with these dates, & only add, that this later date, 1763, seems to be generally followed by the older people yet remaining who were acquainted with my father's family."[1]

Adam Clarke himself never was sure of the year he was born; in calculating his age he appears to use both the early date of 1760 and the later date of 1782 or 1763. For instance, when estimating the age he entered the Methodist ministry, he says that he "was judged to be at this time about eighteen."[2] If he were eighteen in the fall of 1782, the year of his birth would be either 1763 or 1764. Yet, writing in his "Journal" two months before his death he indicates that he was then in the "seventy-second or seventy-third year" of life.[3] To be

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1. Adam Clarke, "Anecdotes of various persons together with Observations & Reflections on men and things," pp. 109-110; and "Minutes of a Journey thro/ugh/ parts of Eng/land/, Scot/land/, and Ire/land/, May, June, July, 1823," pp. 97-8, James Everett Collection of MSS., The Hartley Victoria Methodist College, Manchester.
2. Autobiography, p. 170.
3. Clarke's "Journal," July 22, 1832, quoted in part. Trip to Ireland, May 18 to July 2, 1832, included in MS., "Anecdotes of various persons together with Observations & Reflections on men and things," loc. cit.

seventy-two or going on seventy-three in 1832, he would be basing his age upon the year 1760. On the one hand he appears to use the early date preferred by his mother to emphasize his age, but on the other hand, employs the later date held by his father to describe his juvenility when entering the ministry. Thus Clarke himself used 1760, 1762, and even 1763 as the year of his birth; however, on the whole he was inclined to accept 1760 as the most probable date.[1]

Since there is in existence today no family Bible, no parish records, and no information among geneaological bureaus to yield new evidence on this subject, the exact year of his birth must remain uncertain.[2] Nevertheless, the most probable year of Adam Clarke's birth, the one preferred by his best biographer, his own mother, and even by Clarke himself--and the one used in this study--is circa 1760.

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1. Autobiography, p. 16.
2. Ibid.

APPENDIX B

CIRCUIT APPOINTMENTS OF ADAM CLARKE, 1782-1832[1]

	CONFERENCE		APPOINTMENTS			MEMBERSHIP			
YEAR	PLACE	PRESIDENT[2]	CIRCUIT	PREACHERS[3]	CHAIRMAN[4]	BEFORE	AFTER[5]	GAIN	LOSS
1782-1783	(Sept.26)[6]	Wesley	Bradford	4	N	889	1709	820	
1783-1784	Bristol	Wesley	Norwich	4	N	590	482		108
1784-1785	Leeds	Wesley	Cornwall,E.	3	N	650	757	107	
1785-1786	London	Wesley	Plymouth	3	N	282	483	201	
1786-1787	Bristol	Wesley	Jersey	2	N	136	200	64	
1787-1788	Manchester	Wesley	Jersey	2	N	200	248	48	
1788-1789	London	Wesley	Jersey	2	N	248	294	46	
1789-1790	Leeds	Wesley	Bristol[7]	5	N	2040	2610	570	
1790-1791	Bristol	Wesley	Dublin	2	N	1040	970		70
1791-1792	Manchester	Thompson	Manchester[8]	2	N	2090	1400		690

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1. Minutes of the Methodist Conferences, I-VII.
2. John Wesley was the acknowledged leader of the Conference until his death in 1791. Thereafter, each Conference elected a President to serve for one year; no one could be "re-chosen above once in eight years." Ibid., I, p. 260.
3. Number of preachers serving the circuits to which Clarke was appointed.
4. The years that Clarke served as chairman of the district are indicated by "Y" (yes), the others by "N" (no). Frequently he was unable to serve either as superintendent of the circuit or as chairman because of poor health. Ibid., II, p. 128.
5. The number of members on each circuit at the time of Conference, when Clarke received his appointment, is indicated in the column entitled "BEFORE": the membership reported at the ensuing Conference is given in the column entitled "AFTER."
6. Wesley learned after the Conference of 1782 that Edward Rippon would not travel, so he laid his hands upon young Clarke and sent him out as a replacement on September 26, 1782. Supra, pp. 81-2.
7. James Everett indicates in his own copy of the Minutes that the Bristol membership for 1790 was 2610 instead of 1841. James Everett Collection of MSS., The Hartley Victoria Methodist College, Manchester.
8. The Methodist Societies suffered large membership losses at the time of Wesley's death and in various other years that followed where there was serious controversy.

CONFERENCE			APPOINTMENTS			MEMBERSHIP			
YEAR	PLACE	PRESIDENT	CIRCUIT	PREACHERS	CHAIRMAN	BEFORE	AFTER	GAIN	LOSS
1792-1793	London	Mather	Manchester	3	N	1400	1500	100	
1793-1794	Leeds	Pawson	Liverpool	2	N	666	963	297	
1794-1795	Bristol	Hanby	Liverpool	3	N	963	982	19	
1795-1796	Manchester	Bradford	London	10	N	3340	3114		226
1796-1797	London	Taylor	London	10	N	3114	3292	178	
1797-1798	Leeds	Coke	London	9	N	3292	3288		4
1798-1799	Bristol	Benson	Bristol	3	N	1600	1950	350	
1799-1800	Manchester	Bradburn	Bristol	5	N	1950	1950		
1800-1801	London	Wood	Bristol	6	N	1950	1450		500
1801-1802	Leeds	Pawson	Liverpool	5	Y	1712	1940	228	
1802-1803	Bristol	Taylor	Liverpool	5	N	1940	1980	40	
1803-1804	Manchester	Bradford	Manchester	4	N	2620	2703	83	
1804-1805	London	Moore	Manchester	5	N	2703	2950	247	
1805-1806	Sheffield	Coke	London	15	Y	3720	3770	50	
1806-1807	Leeds	Clarke	London	12	Y	3770	4120	350	
1807-1808	Liverpool	Barber	London	10	Y	4120	4646	526	
1808-1809	Bristol	Wood	London,W.[1]	5	N	1670	1800	130	
1809-1810	Manchester	Taylor	London,W.	5	Y	1800	2050	250	
1810-1811	London	Benson	London,W.	6	Y	2050	2250	200	
1811-1812	Sheffield	Atmore	London,W.	5	Y	2250	2128		122
1812-1813	Leeds	Entwistle	London[2]	-	-	----	----		
1813-1814	Liverpool	Griffith	London,E.	13	N	3362	3562	200	
1814-1815	Bristol	Clarke	London,E.	14	Y	3562	3800	238	
1815-1816	Manchester	Barber	Manchester	7	Y	2800	3200	400	
1816-1817	London	Reece	Manchester	7	N	3200	3650	450	
1817-1818	Sheffield	Gaulter	Liverpool[3]	9	Y	3342	3242		100
1818-1819	Leeds	Edmondson	Liverpool	9	Y	3242	3250	8	
1819-1820	Bristol	Crowther	Liverpool	11	Y	3250	3250		
1820-1821	Liverpool	Bunting	Manchester[4]	5	Y	1600	1635	35	

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1. Clarke at his own request was made a supernumerary in 1808. He became librarian of the Surrey Institution at this time, but continued to preach and at the ensuing Conference accepted an appointment. Ibid., III, pp. 9 and 70-71.
2. Clarke was kept in London this year, as in 1807, because of the request from The British and Foreign Bible Society. Although he was not given an appointment, he continued to preach. Ibid., I, pp. 382-3, and II, p. 269.
3. Prescott was combined with the Liverpool Circuit. Ibid., IV, p. 321.
4. Clarke was appointed to the Salford Circuit, which was in the Manchester District. Ibid., V, pp. 109-110, 213, and 308-309.

CONFERENCE			APPOINTMENTS			MEMBERSHIP			
YEAR	PLACE	PRESIDENT	CIRCUIT	PREACHERS	CHAIRMAN	BEFORE	AFTER	GAIN	LOSS
1821-1822	Manchester	Marsden	Manchester	4	Y	1635	1700	65	
1822-1823	London	Clarke	Manchester	4	Y	1700	1720	20	
1823-1824	Sheffield	Moore	London,W.	6	Y	3240	3330	90	
1824-1825	Leeds	Newton	London,W.	8	N	3330	3200		130
1825-1826	Bristol	Entwistle	London,N.	15	N	2080	2104	24	
1826-1827	Liverpool	Watson	London,N.	14	N	2104	2250	146	
1827-1828	Manchester	Stephens	London,N.	15	N	2250	2250		
1828-1829	London	Bunting	London,W.[1]	4	N	1660	1790	130	
1829-1830	Sheffield	Townley	London,W.	4	N	1790	1890	100	
1830-1831	Leeds	Morley	London,W.	4	N	1890	1920	30	
1831-1832	Bristol	Marsden	London[2]	4	N	----	----		
1832-1833	(August 26, 1832)[3]								

TOTAL MEMBERSHIP GAIN 6840

TOTAL MEMBERSHIP LOSS 1950

TOTAL NET GAIN OF MEMBERSHIP IN CIRCUITS CLARKE SERVED 4890

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1. London, West, was the Hinde-Street Circuit, which was in the Second London District. Ibid., VI, pp. 345, 456, and 560.
2. The membership data for this year is incomplete. The Conference of 1831 made Clarke a supernumary against his own expressed wish. Supra, pp. 292-4.
3. Clarke was inconvenienced in 1832 by being transferred by the Conference to the Windsor Circuit. However, shortly after receiving this appointment, he died at Bayswater, August 26, 1832. Supra, pp. 330-331.

APPENDIX C

BIBLICAL REFERENCES OF 225 TEXTS SELECTED BY ADAM CLARKE[1]

Old Testament

Genesis: i.1-5, iii.13, and xxviii.12 (3)

Exodus: xiii.21 and xx. 1-17 (2)

Numbers: vi.23-27, x.29, and xiv.24 (3)

Deuteronomy: iv.7-9 and xxx.19 (2)

Joshua: xxiv.14-27 (1)

II Samuel: xiv.14 (1)

II Kings: v.12 (1)

Nehemiah: iv.10 (1)

Job: xix.25-27, xxi.3, xxii.21-23, xxiii.10, and xxxii.8 (5)

Psalms: ix.9-10, xv.1-5, xix.1-8, xxiv.7, xxv. 1-5, xxxii.1-2, xxvi. 5-9, xl.16-17, xlii.4, l.15, li.10-12, lv.12, lxx.4-5, xci.14-16, cx. 1-7, cxvi.12, cxviii. 22, and cxxxix.15-16 (18)

Proverbs: xii.26, xviii.10, xxii.17-21, xxiii.26, and xxx.1-9 (5)

Ecclesiastes: xii.14 (1)

Song of Solomon: ii.14 and iv.16 (2)

Isaiah: i.18, i.25-26, ix. 6, ix.7, xi.9, xxi.11, xxv.6-9, xxxv.3-4, and xl.31 (9)

Jeremiah: iii.15, iv.14, x. 1, x.11, and xxii.29 (5)

Lamentations: iv.2 (1)

Daniel: ii.31-35, ii.41-45, vi.26-27, vii.13-14, and xii.4 (5)

Hosea: vi.4 (1)

Joel: ii.28-32 (1)

Jonah: i.6 (1)

Micah: vi.8 (1)

Habakkuk: ii.4 (1)

Zechariah: ix.12 and xiii.1 (2)

SELECTED OLD TESTAMENT TEXTS 72

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1. Supra, pp. 165-6. The Biblical references for seventy texts are given in Clarke's published sermons and outlines, Works, V-VIII. In addition, 155 texts (making a total of 225) are given in his "Journal to Ireland, May 31, 1821 to June 14, 1821"; "Journal to Ireland, May 18, 1832-July 2, 1832"; James Everett Collection of MSS., The Hartley Victoria Methodist College, Manchester; An Account of Clarke's Life, I-III; and James Everett, Adam Clarke Portrayed, I-III.

New Testament

Matthew: i.1, ii.1-2, ii. 12, iii.10, v.3, v.16, v.25, vi.5-13, vi.9, vi. 9-13, vi.33-34, vii.7-8, vii.13, viii.23-26, xi. 2-6, xiii.36, xiii.37-41, xviii.3, xviii.19-20, xviii.23, xxi.28, xix.6, xxii.1-16, xxii.15-21, and xxii.35-40 (25)

Mark: i.14-15, ii.18-20, vii.32, xi.24, xii.1-8, xiii.34-37, and xvi. 14-16 (7)

Luke: i.65-75, vii.20-23, x.5-7, x.30, xiii.8-9, xiii.23-24, xvi.19-31, xxiv.4-5, and xxiv. 46-48 (9)

John: i.5, i.22, i.38, iii. 5, iii.16, iv.23, iv.29, v.2-9, v.25, viii.12, xi.49-52, xiv.6, and xvii.11-19 (13)

Acts: ii.4, ii.42, iii.19, xi.20-22, xiv.21-22, xiv.22, xv.30, xvi.14, xvi.30, xix.20-22, xxv. 22-23, and xxviii.28 (12)

Romans: i.16, i.16-17, i. 20, iv.6-8, iv.18-23, v. 1-2, v.10, v.17, viii. 28, xii.1-2, xiii.4, xiii.11, xiv.17-18, xv. 4, xv.4-6, and xvi. 25-27 (16)

I Corinthians: i.22-24, v. 7, ix.24-27, x.1-6, x. 12-13, xi.24-27, xiv.3, xv.33-34, and xv.55-57 (9)

II Corinthians: iv.5, iv.7 v.15, and vi.1 (4)

Galatians: iii.21-22, iv. 4-7, and vi.15 (3)

Ephesians: ii.17, iii.13, iii.14-21, and iv.30 (4)

Philippians: i.2, i.9-11, i.27, ii.9-11, iii.3, iii.20-21, iv.4, and iv. 4-7 (8)

Colossians: 1.10, 1.27-8, and iii.16-17 (3)

I Thessalonians: i.3, ii. 11-12, v.9, v.16-18, v.17, and v.18 (6)

I Timothy: i.15, ii.3-6, and ii.8 (4)

Hebrews: ii.3, ii.11, iii. 12, iv.11, iv.16, vi.6, ix.3-5, ix.13-14, x.3-10, x.5-10, x.35-36, xi.6, xii.1, xii.24, and xiii. 20-21 (15)

James: iii.17 (1)

I Peter: i.3-5, i.4, i.5-7, iv.14, and v.10-11 (5)

II Peter: i.1-2, i.3-4, and iii.14-15 (3)

I John: ii.12-14, iii.1-2, iv.8-11, iv.19, and v.19 (5)

Revelation: vii.17 (1)

SELECTED NEW TESTAMENT TEXTS 153

TOTAL, OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS 225

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APPENDIX D

EDITIONS OF ADAM CLARKE'S COMMENTARY

The Commentary on the Holy Bible by Adam Clarke was first published in London by Joseph Butterworth; about twelve thousand complete sets of the first edition in eight volumes were printed between 1810 and 1825.[1] Some parts of the Commentary were printed in 1813 by S. A. Oddy of London, and by Nuttall, Fisher, Dixon, and Gibson of Liverpool. The second important printing was in 1836 when William Tegg and Company of London--after purchasing the copyright from Adam Clarke[2]--printed a revised edition in six volumes with the author's corrections.[3] The demand for Clarke's work was so great that another large printing was made by Tegg in 1857. Later, between 1881 and 1884, Ward, Lock, and Company of London published a new edition in six volumes containing Thornley Smith's revision. This appears to be the last edition that was published in Great Britain. Thus, the Commentary, concludes the National Dictionary of Biography, "had a very wide circulation in its day, but it is little consulted now."[4]

Although Clarke's Commentary "is little consulted" in Great Britain, it is still being published in America; in fact, it has a wide circulation even today, particularly among "conservative denominational and interdenominational groups."[5] The first

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1. Supra, p. 129; and James Everett, Adam Clarke Portrayed, III, p. 13.
2. Supra, pp. 127-8.
3. Supra, pp. 123-4.
4. Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee (eds.), Dictionary of National Biography, IV, p. 414.
5. Paul M. Petit's MS. letter written from Nashville, July 9, 1956, to the writer of this thesis.

American edition was published between 1811 and 1826 by Ezra Sargent of New York. In addition, Daniel Hitt, publishing agent for the Methodists, was influential in securing a Methodist publisher in New York, Abraham Paul, to print parts of the Commentary in stereotyped edition in 1819 and 1821. When Nathan Bangs became the publishing agent in 1820, he obtained a building and started the presses for the Methodist Church. The first important project undertaken was the publication of Clarke's Commentary in 1825-1826, preceding even the works of John Wesley and Joseph Fletcher.[1] Between 1826 and 1883 there were over forty separate editions published for the Methodist Church by various printers in New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Cincinnati.[2] There is little information available on the editions published between 1883 and 1939, but since then the Abingdon Press has "printed and bound 48,000 sets or a total of 288,000 books."[3] This does not include odd volumes sold separately of which there is no record. Altogether, the writer of this study estimates that in Great Britain and America there have been published some one-third million sets or two million volumes. Few Commentaries on the Holy Bible written by single authors--certainly none written by a Methodist--have enjoyed a wider circulation than that of Adam Clarke.

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1. Transcript of John C. Zipfel's letter, written from New York, April 4, 1944, to Pat Beaird. Files of Abingdon Press, Nashville, Tennessee.
2. MS. letters from Henry J. Dubester, The Library of Congress, December 16, 1954, and from Robert Dolliver, The Methodist Historical Society, October 4, 1954, to the writer of this thesis.
3. C. B. Locke's MS. letter, written from Nashville, January 23, 1957, to the writer of this thesis. Vide the following page for a copy of an advertisement by The Methodist Publishing House, The Christian Advocate, CXXII, No. XXVII (September 11, 1947), p. 1184.

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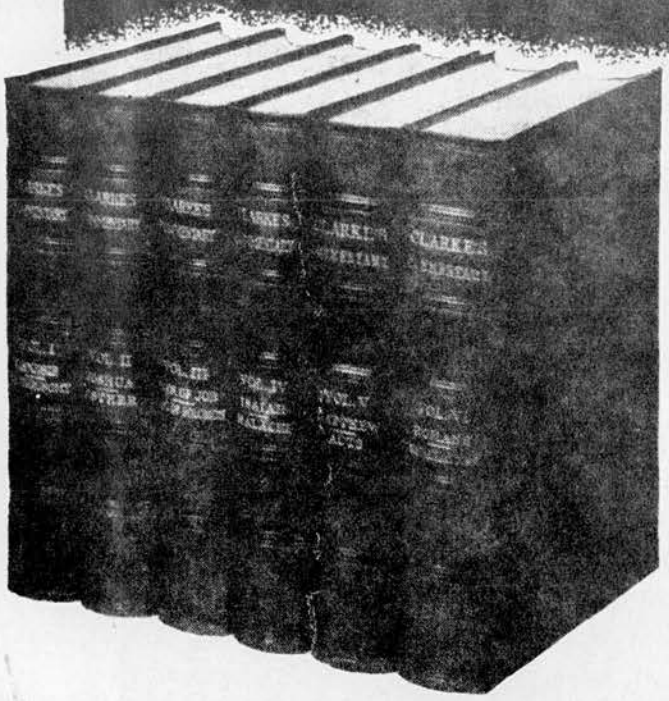

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