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"A HELPER OF THY FAITH AND JOY"

ELNATHAN PARR AS A PASTORAL TEACHER OF PREDESTINATION

IN EARLY STUART ENGLAND

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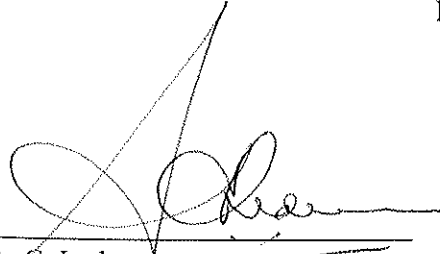and successfully defended on May 13, 2008

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ABSTRACT

This thesis demonstrates that Elnathan Parr's (1577-1622) treatment of divine predestination in his homiletical commentary on Romans and in his catechism entitled *Grounds of Divinity* evidences a pastoral approach in which the scholastic precision characteristic of the era does not lead to speculative aridity but serves positive spiritual purposes. Parr was neither afraid of nor obsessed by this part of the "whole counsel of God." While his popular teaching incorporated detailed theological argumentation, including an extended examination of the supralapsarian-infralapsarian issue, his concern was to apply this doctrine through multiple types of "uses" to his spiritually diverse readership with the desire they would be led to experience, be assured of, live out of, and glory in God's electing love.

The thesis focuses on the early seventeenth-century teaching of predestination as it relates to exegesis, doctrine, piety, and especially pastoral ministry. It addresses the generalized caricatures of the Puritan and Reformed teaching of predestination in early seventeenth-century England that perpetuate due to a lack of analysis of specific pastors and theologians of the period. By examining the popular works of one who has received little more than a passing mention in secondary literature and comparing him to other contemporaries, it contributes toward a better understanding of the period.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

That the mention of English Reformed theology should bring the doctrine of predestination to mind is no surprise. Predestination is one of the tenets of Reformed theology. Besides, much scholarship has assigned it a large place in Reformed theology. However, opinions diverge concerning the precise nature and role of predestination in seventeenth-century English Protestant and especially Puritan thought, experience, and life, as well as its relationship to exegesis, dogmatics as a whole, preaching, and pastoral care. Introspective, extrospective, cold, warm, abstruse, and practical are only a few ways it has been described. Much scholarship is hampered by contemporary prejudices and methods of thinking which are anachronistically imposed on the period. The path forward amid the confused and conflicting claims that abound is to return to the theologians, exegetes, preachers, and pastors of the period to examine what they taught in the context of their contemporary society and antecedent theological traditions as well as in relation to exegesis, other areas of theology, and piety. This study aims to do so by focusing on the teaching of predestination by one early seventeenth-century Puritan-leaning theologian, Elnathan Parr (1577-1622), who graduated from King's College Cambridge, ministered in Sussex, and wrote several popular books, including some of the first extended English expositions of Romans and an intermediate-level catechism. Both of these works include extensive treatments of predestination.

Survey of Scholarship

Scholarship relating to predestination in early seventeenth-century England is focused on several issues: first, the nature of the post-Reformation theology as a dry, rigid, and scholastic contrast to Reformation theology; second, the dominance of

predestination in theology and its relation to exegesis; third, the pastoral implications of a Puritan predestinarian theology; and fourth, the prominence of Reformed theology among English clergy and in English society.

First, concerning the doctrine, the debate continues between a school that stresses the perceived contrast between "Calvin" and the "Calvinists" and a rising school that argues for a greater continuity between the Reformation and post-Reformation. While some lambaste both John Calvin and post-Reformation orthodoxy for their "extreme" doctrine of predestination,[1] which did not see Christ as central in predestination,[2] and had negative pastoral implications,[3] many such as Basil Hall, Robert T. Kendall, Peter White, and their followers, argue that, under the influence of the Genevan Theodore Beza (1519–1605) and the English William Perkins (1558-1602), English Calvinistic theology degenerated into a cold rational system dominated by predestination.[4] In the words of J. Wayne Baker, the "double predestinarian scheme of the new orthodoxy presented its own

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[1] J. Wayne Baker, "Heinrich Bullinger, the Covenant, and the Reformed Tradition in Retrospect," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 29, no. 2 (Summer 1998): 374-75. He agrees with Philip Holtrop, *The Bolsec Controversy on Predestination, from 1551 to 1555* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1993).

[2] J. K. S. Reid, "The Office of Christ in Predestination," *Scottish Journal of Theology* 1 (1948): 5-19, 166-183.

[3] Stephen R. Munzer, "Self-abandonment and Self-denial: Quietism, Calvinism, and the Prospect of Hell," *Journal of Religious Ethics* 33, no. 4 (2005): 748; John Stachniewski, *The Persecutory Imagination: English Puritanism and the Literature of Religious Despair* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 17-26.

[4] Basil Hall, "Calvin against the Calvinists," in *John Calvin*, ed. G. E. Duffield (Appleford: Sutton Courtenay Press, 1966), 19-37; Robert T. Kendall, *Calvin and English Calvinism to 1649* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979); idem, "The Puritan Modification of Calvin's Theology," in *John Calvin: His Influence in the Western World*, ed. W. Stanford Reid (Grand Rapids, 1982), 199-214; Peter White, *Predestination, Policy and Polemic: Conflict and consensus in the English Church from the Reformation to the Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992). Ian Breward argues Perkins' use of reason went even further than that of Beza (Ian Breward, "The Life and Theology of William Perkins, 1558-1602," [Ph.D. diss., University of Manchester, 1963], 196-201).

problems: its cold rationalism [and] its emphasis on the philosophical rather than the historical aspects of faith."[5]

According to these scholars, this theological degeneration arose from a return to speculative scholasticism. Alister McGrath summarizes this view well. He argues Beza and his henchmen turned to Aristotle and scholasticism to give their theology a more rational foundation. In the process, they elevated human reason, turned theology into "a logically coherent and rationally defensible system, derived from syllogistic deductions based on known axioms" that were grounded in philosophy. This system was characterized by "metaphysical and speculative questions" especially about predestination.[6] Like others who speak of predestination as a "central dogma," "central doctrine," "central to [Beza's] system," and the "organizing principle" of his theology, McGrath speaks of it as the "starting point for all theological reflection."[7] Evidence of this shift is the change of placement of predestination's treatment from Calvin's placement in soteriology to the scholastic placement in theology proper.[8] Thereby, scholasticism elevated predestination to a dominant place in theology.

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[5] J. Wayne Baker, *Heinrich Bullinger and the Covenant: The Other Reformed Tradition* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1980), 214. He argues English theologians shifted from a milder Reformed stream of covenant theology to a scholastic double predestinarian Calvinism through men like Perkins (pp. 208-210, 213-214).

[6] Alister E. McGrath, *Reformation Thought: An Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1999), 141.

[7] McGrath, *Reformation Thought*, 141; Kendall, *Calvin and English Calvinism*, 29; White, *Predestination, Policy and Polemic*, 15; William Haller, *The Rise of Puritanism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938), 83; Munzer, "Self-Abandonment and Self-denial," 749; John Wroughton, *The Routledge Companion to the Stuart Age, 1603-1714*, 2d ed. (New York: Routledge, 2006), s.v. "Predestination" (p. 157).

[8] Brian G. Armstrong, *Calvinism and the Amyraut Heresy: Protestant Scholasticism and Humanism in Seventeeth-Century France* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), 136-38; James Daane, *The Freedom of God: A Study of Election and Pulpit* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1973), 38.

Though in 1983 White claimed this shift to speculative predestinarianism is "now widely accepted," today it is subject to growing critique.[9] Richard A. Muller and others have been strengthening their arguments that the differences between Calvin and later "Calvinists" have been exaggerated and misinterpreted and that predestination neither dominated nor ossified theology. In a book of essays, Carl Trueman and others provide reassessments of scholasticism in theologians from Martin Luther to Richard Baxter. Muller focuses on the realm of predestination, demonstrating that English Calvinism did not have predestination as a central, non-Christological dogma and that its placement does not determine its content. Paul Helm engages Kendall's "Calvin versus the Calvinist" argument from the perspective of definite atonement and predestination.[10] This line of scholarship places predestination in the broader perspective of the various theological disciplines and the longer theological tradition.

A specific issue in predestination receiving increasing attention is the supralapsarian-infralapsarian issue.[11] Many see it as a crowning proof that Reformed

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[9] Peter White, "The Rise of Arminianism reconsidered," *Past and Present* 101 (1983): 35.

[10] Richard A. Muller, *Christ and the Decree: Christology and Predestination in Reformed Theology from Calvin to Perkins* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1986); idem, "Scholasticism in Calvin: A Question of Relation and Disjunction," in *The Unaccommodated Calvin: Studies in the Foundation of a Theological Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 39-61; idem, *After Calvin: Studies in the Development of a Theological Tradition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003); idem, "The Placement of Predestination in Reformed Theology: Issue or Non-Issue?" *Calvin Theological Journal* 40 (2005): 184-210; Carl R. Trueman and R. S. Clark, eds., *Protestant Scholasticism: Essays in Reassessment* (Cumbria: Paternoster Press, 1999); Carl Trueman, *The Claims of Truth: John Owen's Trinitarian Theology* (Cumbria: Paternoster Press, 1998); Paul Helm, *Calvin and the Calvinists* (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth, 1982); idem, *John Calvin's Ideas* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006); idem, "Westminster and Protestant Scholasticism," in *The Westminster Confession into the 21st Century*, vol. 2, ed. Ligon J. Duncan (Ross-shire: Christian Focus Publications, 2004), 99-116.

[11] Klaas Dijk, *De strijd over Infra- en Supralapsarisme in de Gereformeerde Kerken van Nederland* (Kampen: Kok, 1912); J. V. Fesko, *Diversity Within the Reformed Tradition: Supra- and Infralapsarianism in Calvin, Dort, and Westminster* (Jackson: Reformed Academic Press, 2001); Michael D. Bell, "Propter Potestatem, Scientiam, Ac Beneplacitum Dei: The Doctrine of the Object of Predestination in the Theology of Johannes Maccovius" (Th.D. diss., Westminster Theological Seminary, Philadelphia, 1986); Lynne C. Boughton, "Supralapsarianism and the Role of Metaphysics in Sixteenth Century Reformed Theology," *Westminster Theological Journal* 48, no. 1 (1986): 63-96; Guy M. Richard,

theology sunk into cold rationalism and pastoral insensitivity. As Richard Mouw wrote, this debate "functions in perceptions of Reformed theology in much the same way as the 'angels on the head of a pin' discussion does for medieval scholasticism."[12] Some critique both sides for their severity and scholasticism.[13] Others have sought to present infralapsarianism as a *via media* between Arminianism and a harsh, unpastoral supralapsarianism.[14] A third school, including Joel R. Beeke, Mark Dever, Gordon Crompton and Pieter de Vries, stresses that those on differing sides of the issue had much in common and were able to minister along side each other.[15] The lapsarian issue provides a testing point in the assessment of scholarship on the character of the English Reformed doctrine of predestination.

Second, the views which assign predestination a controlling position in a scholastic system have implications for biblical exegesis. Albeit in softened tones, the echoes of Frederick Farrar's antiquated *History of Interpretation* continue into the present. He argued that "liberty was exchanged for bondage…; truth for dogmatism; independence for tradition" in the "cheerless epoch" after the Reformation, partly due to a

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"Samuel Rutherford's Supralapsarianism Revealed: A Key to the Lapsarian Position of the Westminster Confession of Faith?" *Scottish Journal of Theology* 59, no. 1 (2006): 27-44.

[12] Richard J. Mouw, "Another Look at the Infra/Supralapsarian Debate," *Calvin Theological Journal* 35 (2000): 138.

[13] Norman Sykes, "The Religion of the Protestants," in *The Cambridge History of the Bible*, vol. 3, ed. S. L. Greenslade (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963), 177; Frederic W. Farrar, *History of Interpretation* (London: MacMillan and Co., 1886), 367; Thomas F. Torrance, *Scottish Theology: From John Knox to John McLeod Campbell* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1996), 60.

[14] This is Tyacke's basic critique of White ("Nicholas Tyacke, review of *Predestination, Policy and Polemic*, by Peter White, *English Historical Review* 110, no. 436 [Apr. 1995]: 468-9). White in turn critiques Tyacke for failing to recognize the important difference between infra- and supralapsarians (Peter White, "The Rise of Arminianism Reconsidered: A Rejoinder," *Past and Present* 115 [May 1987]: 225).

[15] Joel R. Beeke, "William Perkins on Predestination and Preaching," unpublished paper (Grand Rapids, 2002), 13; Pieter de Vries, '*Die mij heeft liefgehad': De betekenis van de gemeenschap met Christus in de theologie van John Owen* (Heerenveen: Groen, 1999), 184; Mark Dever, *Richard Sibbes: Puritanism and Calvinism in Late Elizabethan and Early Stuart England* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 2000), 88, 101-103; Gordon Crompton, "The Life and Theology of Thomas Goodwin, D. D." (Th.D. diss., Greenville Theological Seminary, 1997), 91.

"dead theory of inspiration."[16] The period is characterized by "petrified dogmas" and "sterile repetition."[17] More recently, Emil Kraeling, Brian Armstrong, Jack Rogers, Robert Grant, and Jaroslav Pelikan have affirmed the deadening effects of the scholastic view of inspired Scripture as a repository of dogmatic proof texts to be used in building a rigid theological system.[18] Basil Hall argued "Aristotle, dethroned by Luther, began to master biblical theology," though he does concede Beza had "grammatical competence in Greek combined with theological insight."[19] As Peter Stuhlmacher wrote, "under the weight of controversy with Catholicism the pioneering exegesis of the Reformation is again completely absorbed by dogmatics."[20] Instead of exegesis developing doctrine, a dogmatic grid was blindly imposed on Scripture, according to these scholars.

This scholarship has met increasing opposition. David Steinmetz's seminal views on the "superiority of pre-critical exegesis" have encouraged a reassessment of Reformation and post-Reformation exegesis. Muller argues that post-Reformation exegesis built on the insights of previous generations and was used to develop dogma rather than serve as a screen to reflect preconceived dogmatic systems. Jai-Sung Shim's work on John Weemse, Henry Knapp's on John Owen, and Peter van Kleek's on Andrew

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[16] Farrar, *History of Interpretation*, 358; see Dean Freiday, *The Bible: Its Criticism, Interpretation and Use in 16th and 17th Century England*, Catholic and Quaker Studies No. 4 (Pittsburgh: Catholic and Quaker Studies, 1979), ii.

[17] Farrar, *History of Interpretation*, 360.

[18] Jack B. Rogers and Donald K. McKim, *The Authority and Interpretation of the Bible: An Historical Approach* (San Fransisco: Harper & Row, 1979), 187, 247; Emil G. Kraeling, *The Old Testament since the Reformation* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1955), 33, 42; Armstrong, *Calvinism and the Amyraut Heresy*, 31-42; Robert M. Grant and David Tracy, *A Short History of the Interpretation of the Bible*, 2d ed. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984), 97; Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Reformation of the Bible* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 30.

[19] Basil Hall, "Biblical Scholarship: Editions and Commentaries," in *Cambridge History of the Bible*, vol. 3, ed. S. L. Greenslade (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963), 77. Elsewhere he claims "biblical exegesis became subordinated to a restored Aristotelianism" by Beza and Perkins (Hall, "Calvin against the Calvinists," 25).

[20] Peter Stuhlmacher, *Historical Criticism and Theological Interpretation of Scripture* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1977), 36.

Willet provide windows into English exegesis as a whole, which demonstrate careful attention to Scripture and variation of interpretation within an overall pattern of continuity with Reformation exegesis and elements of medieval exegesis.[21]

Third, not only the scriptural roots but also the practical fruits of the Reformed doctrine of predestination are deficient, according to many. Characterizing theology as "dry" and "dead" necessarily implies a divide between it and a practical piety, which pastoral ministry did not successfully bridge. Too often these assumptions have been made without examining how the doctrine of predestination was actually taught and what pastoral uses were derived from it. Scholars such as Christopher Haigh and Alexandra Walsham appeal to contemporary seventeenth-century anti-Calvinism to demonstrate the unpastoral character of Reformed predestinarian teaching.[22] Others such as Kendall, Armstrong, and John Stachniewski appear to draw conclusions concerning the pastoral implications of Reformed theology from their construction of this theology rather than from a careful examination of the pastoral uses pastors themselves offered.[23]

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[21] David Steinmetz, "The Superiority of Pre-critical Exegesis," *Theology Today* 37 (1980-81): 27-38; Richard A. Muller, *Post-Reformation Reformed Dogmatics,* vol. 2, *Holy Scripture: The Cognitive Foundation of Theology*, 2d ed. (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2003), 520-524; idem, "Biblical Interpretation in the 16th & 17th Centuries," in *Historical Handbook of Major Biblical Interpreters*, ed. Donald K. McKim (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1998), 127, 136, 151; idem, "Calvin and the 'Calvinists': Assessing Continuities and Discontinuities between the Reformation and Orthodoxy (Part Two)," *Calvin Theological Journal* 31 (Apr. 1996): 130-33; Jai-Sung Shim, "Biblical Hermeneutics and Hebraism in the Early Seventeenth Century as Reflected in the Work of John Weemse (1579-1636)" (Ph.D. diss., Calvin Theological Seminary, 1998); Henry M. Knapp, "Understanding the mind of God: John Owen and seventeenth-century exegetical methodology" (Ph.D. diss., Calvin Theological Seminary, 2002); Peter W. VanKleeck, "Hermeneutics and Theology in the 17th Century: The Contribution of Andrew Willet" (Th.M. thesis, Calvin Theological Seminary, 1998).

[22] Christopher Haigh, "The Church of England, the Catholics and the people," in *The impact of the English Reformation, 1500-1640*, ed. Peter Marshall (New York: Arnold, 1997), 245; Christopher Haigh, "The Taming of the Reformation: Preachers, Pastors and Parishioners in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England," *History* 85 (Oct. 2000): 577. To a lesser extent see Alexandra Walsham, "The Parochial Roots of Laudianism Revisited: Catholics, Anti-Calvinists and 'Parish Anglicans' in Early Stuart England," *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 49, no. 4 (Oct. 1998): 627-629; Philip Benedict, *Christ's Churches Purely Reformed: A Social History of Calvinism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 303.

[23] Armstrong, *Calvinism and the Amyraut Heresy*; Kendall, *Calvin and English Calvinism*; Stachniewski, *Persecutory Imagination*, 17-26; Reid, "The Office of Christ in Predestination," 167-170.

At the same time, scholars observe a distinctive piety associated with the Puritan view of predestination. Kendall claims that Perkins' view of predestination made the quest for assurance via the practical syllogism a dominant feature of this piety. He argues Perkins view was held by "experimental predestinarians" in distinction from the more common "creedal predestinarians," who confessed the Reformed doctrine of predestination but did not let it shape their preaching or piety.[24] This distinction between creedal and experimental predestinarians has become standard in many works.[25] Many assume this system resulted in excessive introspection, subjectivism, uncertainty, and even terror.[26] Unfortunately, the "problem of assurance" has dominated the discussion of the pastoral implications of predestination. Beeke does well in arguing that a changing context led post-Reformation theologians to pay more attention to the experience of grace while maintaining the primacy of God's objective revelation in Christ.[27]

A growing awareness is emerging that predestination was popularly taught for a broad range of spiritual benefits. Some, such as Dewey Wallace, proceed on the "Calvin versus the Calvinists" model concerning theology but demonstrate that in spite of its rigid scholastic character, predestinarian theology still "gained its strength from the nourishing

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[24] Robert T. Kendall, "Living the Christian Life in the Teaching of William Perkins and His Followers," in *Living and Christian Life: Papers Read at the Westminster Conference 1974* (London: Westminster Conference, 1974), 46-47; idem, *Calvin and English Calvinism*, 8, 79-80.

[25] Dairmaid MacCulloch, *The Later Reformation in England, 1547-1603*, 2 ed. (Bastingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), 73-77; Peter Marshall, *Reformation England: 1480-1642* (London: Arnold, 2003), 128-29; Benedict, *Christ's Churches Purely Reformed*, 321-322; White, *Predestination, Policy and Polemic,* 95; Charles L. Cohen, *God's Caress* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 9-11.

[26] Kendall, "Living the Christian Life," 45-59; idem, *Calvin and English Calvinism,* 75, 6; T. F. Torrance, *Scottish Theology*, 59; Susan Doran and Christopher Durston, *Princes, Pastors, and People: The Church and Religion in England, 1529-1689* (London; New York: Routledge, 1991), 23; David E. Stannard, *The Puritan Way of Death: A Study in Religion, Culture, and Social Change* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), 41, 74.

[27] Joel R. Beeke, *The Quest for Full Assurance: The Legacy of Calvin and his Successors* (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth, 1999), 273-75; idem, "William Perkins on Predestination and Preaching," 47.

springs of piety."[28] He has a useful chapter on "The Piety of Predestinarian Grace," which surveys a wide range of primary sources. Others argue for a closer harmony between doctrine and piety. Shawn Wright goes back to Beza, the purported creator of a cold and rigid system, to show that pastoral concerns moved him to teach God's sovereignty.[29] The dissertations of Crompton on Thomas Goodwin, Dever on Richard Sibbes, and de Vries on John Owen note in passing the comforting, doxological, and energizing themes that run through these Puritans' treatments of predestination.[30] Iain Murray collated many Puritan quotations, including one from Parr, to argue that the Puritans highly regarded predestination for its pastoral benefits.[31] These scholars seek to listen to what Reformed orthodoxy itself said about the pastoral uses of predestination.

A final area that continues to raise considerable debate is the extent to which a Reformed understanding of predestination was embraced and taught in England. The main lines are drawn between Nicholas Tyacke, who argues for a general Reformed consensus in the Elizabethan and early Jacobean English Church,[32] and White, who

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[28] Dewey D. Wallace, Jr., *Puritans and Predestination: Grace in English Protestant Theology 1525-1695*, Studies in Religion (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982), 43, 30, 58, 60. Several recent general introductions note this as well: Donald K. McKim, *The Westminster Handbook to Reformed Theology* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2001), 180-81; Ronald H. Fritze and William B. Robison, *Historical Dictionary of Stuart England, 1603-1689* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1996), 64.

[29] Shawn D. Wright, "The Pastoral Use of the Doctrine of God's Sovereignty in the Theology of Theodore Beza" (Ph.D. diss., Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2001).

[30] Crompton, "Thomas Goodwin," 100; Dever, *Richard Sibbes*, 106-109; de Vries, '*Die mij heeft liefgehad,*' 180-82.

[31] Iain H. Murray, "The Puritans and the Doctrine of Election," in *The Wisdom of our Fathers: Puritan and Reformed Studies Conference 1956*, (London, 1956), 1-10.

[32] Nicholas Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists: The Rise of English Arminianism c.1590-1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), 260; idem, *Aspects of English Protestantism c.1530-1700* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), 134. Those who argue similarly are Marshall, *Reformation England*, 117, 128; MacCulloch, *Later Reformation*, 64; Wallace, *Puritans and Predestination*, 27, 29; Conrad Russell, *Unrevolutionary England, 1603-1642* (London: Hambledon Press, 1990), xxiii; Dan Steere, "'For the Peace of Both, for the Humour of Neither': Bishop Joseph Hall Defends the Via Media in an Age of Extremes, 1601-1656," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 27, no. 3 (Autumn 1996): 37.

argues it traveled the wide pathway of theology that lay between Geneva and Rome.[33]

Tyacke and others critique White for misdefining Calvinism as his own version of an

explicit supralapsarianism in order to make orthodox Reformed theologians appear less

than Calvinistic.[34] Sean Hughes critiques both Tyacke and White for failing to recognize

the range of Reformed understandings that existed.[35] Peter Lake and Patrick Collinson

argue Calvinism was the most prominent but not exclusive strain of theology.[36]

    Concerning the popular teaching of predestination, White, George Bernard, Susan

Doran, and Ian Green minimize the extent of its popular teaching, arguing it was largely

relegated to the universities, church leaders, and some fervent centers of Puritanism.[37]

Kendall suggests that, in the case of Richard Sibbes and some others, pastoral concerns

made him avoid teaching this doctrine, though he also states that an "emphasis upon the

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[33] Peter White, "The *Via Media* in the Early Stuart Church," in *The Early Stuart Church, 1603-1642*, ed. Kenneth Fincham (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993), 211-230; idem, *Predestination, Policy and Polemic*, xiii, 140. Others who argue for or assume a form of theological via media between Rome and Geneva include H. C. Porter, *Reformation and Reaction in Tudor Cambridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958), 277, 338-43; Christopher Hill, *A Nation of Change and Novelty: Radical Politics, Religion and Literature in Seventeenth-Century England* (London: Routledge, 1990), 58; Haigh, "Church of England, the Catholics and the people," 238-39, 253-54; Alan Fager Herr, *The Elizabethan Sermon: A Survey and a Bibliography* (New York: Octagon Books, 1969), 72.

[34] Peter Lake, "Predestinarian Propositions," *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 46, no. 1 (Jan. 1995): 468-469; "Tyacke, review of *Predestination, Policy and Polemic*," 468-469; Gary W. Jenkins, *John Jewel And The English National Church: The Dilemmas of an Erastian Reformer* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2006), 238.

[35] Sean Hughes, "'The Problem of Calvinism': English Theologies of Predestination c. 1580-1630," in *Belief and Practice in Reformation England*, ed. Susan Wabuda and Caroline Litzenberger (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 1998), 229-233.

[36] Patrick Collinson, *English Puritanism*, General Studies, no. 106 (London: The Historical Association, 1983), 37-38; Peter Lake, "Calvinism and the English Church 1570-1635," *Past and Present* 114 (Feb. 1987): 34.

[37] White, "The Rise of Arminianism reconsidered," 54; White, *Predestination, Policy and Polemic*, 300; George Bernard, "The Church of England, c.1579-c.1642," *History* 75 (1990): 183-206; Doran and Durston, *Princes, Pastors, and People*, 27; Ian M. Green, *The Christian's ABC: Catechisms and Catechizing in England, c 1530-1740* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 386; idem, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 311.

sovereignty of God…was to characterize Puritan preaching generally."[38] As noted

already, others do indicate it was popularly taught. J. F. Merritt, Wallace, and even Lake

argue the contrast between university and parish concerning predestination was less than

is often imagined today.[39]

This study will investigate the popular teaching of predestination in two specific

genres: sermons and catechisms. In distinction from the above scholars who tend to treat

the teaching of predestination more generally, this study focuses specifically on the

pastoral use of the doctrine of predestination in preaching. While Beeke's "William

Perkins on Predestination and Preaching" has a promising title, his essay is broader than

the title suggests in that it deals with preaching as "proclaiming the Moving Work of

God," which focuses on the execution of predestination.[40] This thesis will take Parr's

treatment of predestination in his expositions on Romans as a window into early

seventeenth-century English Reformed preaching on this doctrine.[41] The standard

introduction on catechisms has become Green's tome published in 1996.[42] In his chapter

on predestination, he notes that "relatively little Calvinism had been taught in catechisms

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[38] Robert T. Kendall, *Calvin and English Calvinism*, 103; cited with approval in White, *Predestination, Policy and Polemic*, 290. Robert T. Kendall, "Preaching in Early Puritanism with special reference to William Perkins's *The Arte of Prophecying*," in *Preaching and Revival* (London: Westminster Conference, 1984), 30-31 (referring to Sibbes, John Preston, John Dod, Richard Rogers, and Arthur Hildersam); idem, "Puritans in the Pulpit and 'Such as Run to Hear Preaching,'" in *Perfecting the Church Below* (London: Westminster Conference, 1990), 90.

[39] J. F. Merritt, "The Pastoral Tightrope: A Puritan Pedagogue in Jacobean London," in *Politics, Religion and Popularity in Early Stuart Britain: essays in honor of Conrad Russell* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 143; Wallace, *Puritans and Predestination*, 43, 46; Peter Lake, *The Boxmaker's Revenge: 'Orthodoxy', 'Heterodoxy' and the Politics of the Parish in Early Stuart London* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), 28-33; Beeke, "William Perkins on Predestination and Preaching."

[40] Beeke, "William Perkins on Predestination and Preaching," 47.

[41] Elnathan Parr, *A Plaine Exposition vpon the whole eighth, ninth, tenth, eleuenth, twelfth chapters of the Epistle of Saint Paul to the Romanes* (London: George Purslowe, 1620). Hereafter: Parr, [*Rom. 8-12*].

[42] Ian M. Green, *The Christian's ABC: Catechisms and Catechizing in England, c 1530-1740* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).

before 1640." In his sample of catechisms, even those by Calvinistic authors often did not teach (explicit) Calvinism.[43] The impression given by his sampling of catechisms can only be confirmed or called into question by the detailed examination of more catechetical works, including Parr's *Grounds of Divinitie*.

Taken as a whole, the current state of scholarship on the teaching of predestination in early seventeenth-century England indicates the need for more detailed examination of the teaching of predestination itself by preachers of the period. Studies treating predestination often focus on the doctrinal formulations, rather than the "uses" of predestination, which were inextricably bound to the doctrinal formulations in popular works. This method produces caricatures focused on the negative pastoral consequences of this doctrine, which appear to overlook how it was actually applied in the primary sources. This method also perpetuates the assumption that pastorally sensitive ministers avoided the subject. When the practical uses are dealt with, the focus is often too narrowly on the issue of assurance. Furthermore, little attention is given to the specific relationships between exegesis, doctrine, and practice as well as the nature of different means of teaching. Works such as Wallace's are a synthesis of quotations culled from a variety of sources with little attention to exegetical and doctrinal development, genre, or the shape of individual presentations of the doctrine. Many claim predestination played a very important role but few analyze how it was actually taught.

Statement of Thesis and Methodology

This study will demonstrate that Elnathan Parr's treatment of divine predestination in his homiletical commentary on Romans and in his catechism entitled Grounds of Divinitie evidences a popular or pastoral approach to predestination in which

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[43] Green, *Christian's ABC*, 385, 78.

the scholastic precision characteristic of the era does not lead to cold speculation but serves positive spiritual purposes. Parr was neither afraid of nor obsessed by this doctrine. While his popular teaching did incorporate detailed theological argumentation, including an extended examination of the supralapsarian-infralapsarian issue, his main concern was to apply this doctrine through multiple categories of "uses" to his diverse readership with the desire they would be led to glory in the electing love of God. Thereby, he contributes a more nuanced picture of an English Reformed pastor and demonstrates that – at least in the case of him and some others – predestination was taught and its applications were more varied and salutary than would be expected from a perusal of much current scholarship.

This study addresses the problem of the persistent caricatures of the Reformed teaching of predestination in seventeenth-century England. As Muller wrote, "For the reappraisal to move forward, there is much to be done in the way of cross-disciplinary study and examination of writers whose work has been neglected, in some cases for centuries."44 Parr is such a person, who has received little more than a passing mention in secondary literature, but whose works were both highly regarded and widely read in their time. Thus this study helps fill the gap of analysis of the pastoral teaching of predestination. While generalizations cannot be drawn from one man, a study of Parr, which takes other contemporaries into consideration, serves to call into question or confirm the generalizations made about the period, a number of which perpetuate due to a lack of detailed examination of the primary sources from the period.

The method of this study is as follows: Chapter 2 will survey Parr's life, writings, and context to demonstrate that he was a rather popular writer who stood in a certain via

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44 Muller, *After Calvin*, 193.

media. He was a loyal son of the Church of England who opposed separatism and debates about adiaphora and at the same time a Calvinistic preacher who shared the especially Puritan concern for orthodox doctrine and practical godliness. In treating Parr's view of the pastoral ministry and the propriety and manner of preaching predestination, Chapter 3 will show both Parr's strong pastoral and applicatory thrust and his desire for ministry to echo Scripture. This view of ministry led him to strive to deal with predestination in the way that Scripture does. By analyzing Parr's commentary not only for his exegetical and doctrinal development of predestination, but especially his various types of uses, Chapter 4 will argue that Parr's desire to expound and apply Scripture governs his treatment of predestination. His uses do not form a rigid system dominated by either metaphysical concerns or the "problem of assurance," but demonstrate a wide variety of positive applications that are developed with a view to the particular truth being expounded and types of people being addressed. Chapter 5 will analyze the doctrinal explication and application of predestination in Parr's catechetical work to demonstrate that, while he is more systematic and detailed in his treatment of the doctrine, the applicatory thrust is consistent with the broader applicatory thrust in his commentary. The practical syllogism receives greater attention in this work than it does in his commentary, yet even this call for self-examination only serves to lead his readers to look to God in Christ. Chapter 6 will draw conclusions concerning the general nature, weight, and propriety of preaching and catechizing on predestination according to Parr, as well as concerning the relationship between doctrine and application, the objective and subjective aspects of godliness, and the decree of predestination and its execution. In this way, this study will serve as another stepping stone on the journey to a more accurate understanding of the popular teaching of predestination in early seventeenth-century England.

CHAPTER 2: ELNATHAN PARR'S LIFE AND MINISTRY

The writings of Elnathan Parr are a fitting object of study concerning predestination because they flow from the pen of a well-educated English preacher committed to Reformed theology, conformity to the Church of England, and the Puritan emphasis on piety. His writings arose from and extended the influence of his pastoral ministry. To date, numerous scholars reference his works in passing, but none treat him in-depth.

Elnathan Parr in Life

Parr's biographical details place him in the mainstream of those committed to Reformation theology in early seventeenth-century England. He appears to have been born and baptized on March 3, 1577. His father, Richard Parr, was vicar of Steeple Claydon, in Buckinghamshire. Upon completing his education at the prestigious school of Eton, he received a scholarship at King's College, Cambridge, where he began studies in 1593. He graduated from this college with a B.A. in 1597, an M.A. in 1601 and a B.D. in 1615. He was a fellow of King's College from 1596 until 1600, at which time he was ordained as a priest.[45] The completion of these studies placed him among the more educated clergy.

During the 1590s, Cambridge became involved in predestinarian controversies sparked by William Barrett's sermon, which was defended by Peter Baro and attacked by

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[45] Stephen Wright, "Parr, Elnathan (1577-1622)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* vol. 42 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 840-41. He completed studies at Eton the same year as William Sclater and a year before John Milton and Richard Montagu (Eton College, *Registrum regale: sive, catalogus, I. Præpositorum utriusque collegii regalis Etonensis & Cantabrigiensis...* [Etonæ: Jos. Pote, 1774], 18).

especially William Whitaker. Dr. Roger Goad, the Provost of King's College, where Parr

studied, also played an important role in opposing these departures from Reformed

orthodoxy.[46] The controversy led the Cambridge heads to formulate the Lambeth

Articles, which set forth a Calvinist view of predestination. Despite H. C. Porter's claim

that Calvinism lacked permanence and weight in Cambridge, and White's argument for a

strong *via media* between the Calvinist and anti-calvinist factions in Cambridge during

the 1590s, Peter Milward considers the Lambeth Articles the "high-water mark of

Calvinist orthodoxy in England," Lake says Whitgift and the Cambridge dons shared a

common Calvinistic theology though the dons were more rigid and inclined to emphasize

predestination, Tyacke and J. V. Fesko argue for a Calvinistic predominance, and Lynn

Boughton goes so far as to speak of a "general climate of supralapsarianism and Ramism

at Cambridge."[47] The arguments of Porter and White are based on definitions of

"Calvinism" that are too narrow,[48] while the claims of Boughton and Fesko make too

much of the supposed "supralapsarianism" of the Lambeth Articles. Yet, that Parr was

educated in a predominantly Reformed and broadly Calvinistic context can be safely

asserted.

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[46] Porter, *Reformation and Reaction*, 314-316, 345, 362, 378-386, 398-403.

[47] Porter, *Reformation and Reaction,* 287; White, *Predestination, Policy and Polemic*, 101; Peter Milward, *Religious Controversies of the Elizabethan Age: A Survey of Printed Sources* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1977), 158; Peter Lake, *Moderate Puritans and the Elizabethan Church* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 226; Nicholas Tyacke, "The Rise of Arminianism reconsidered," *Past and Present* 115 (May 1987): 204-207; Fesko, *Diversity Within the Reformed Tradition*, 245; Boughton, "Supralapsarianism and the Role of Metaphysics," 81; For the controversy see also Keith D. Stanglin, "'Arminius *Avant la Lettre*': Peter Baro, Jacob Arminius, and the Bond of Predestinarian Polemic," *Westminster Theological Journal* 67 (2005): 51-74. Knox even suggests that the Lambeth Articles were not altogether Calvinistic (R. Buick Knox, *James Ussher Archbishop of Armagh* [Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1967], 18).

[48] For this critique see Nicholas Tyacke, "Anglican Attitudes: Some Recent Writings on English Religious History, from the Reformation to the Civil War," *The Journal of British Studies* 35, no. 2 (Apr. 1996): 145, 150.

Parr showed respect for two leading Cambridge Puritan divines, William Whitaker and William Perkins. White sees these as the constructors of a harsher sort of predestinarian theology, while Wallace adds that they were also involved in developing a distinctive Puritan piety.[49] In a neo-Latin poem written on the occasion of the supralapsarian Whitaker's death in 1595 and included in Whitaker's works, Parr expresses a "tearful show of respect" at his death and laments the great loss the country and university suffered in his death. The poem stresses the inevitability of death in terms of the mythological *Parcae*, the Roman goddess of fate.[50] Perkins was also a leading Puritan figure in Cambridge, whom Parr later approvingly cites as "our worthy Master *Perkins*."[51] These leading teachers suggest the presence of a Puritan influence in Parr's training. Parr would carry these Calvinistic and Puritan influences into his ministry, even though he would differ from the lapsarian position of Perkins and Whitaker.

In 1600, the Cornwallis family presented this man of "grave and reverend countenance" his main living.[52] Parr continued to serve as Rector in Palgrave, located in Suffolk county, just over twenty miles south of Norwich and close to fifty miles east of

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[49] White, *Predestination, Policy and Polemic*, 153; Wallace, *Puritans and Predestination*, 55. For Whitaker's Puritanism see also Lake, *Moderate Puritans*, ch. 8: William Whitaker at St John's: The Puritan Scholar as Administrator.

[50] 'Godly' authors castigated references to the goddess Fortuna as contrary to the Reformed teaching of providence (Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* [Oxford: Oxford University, 1999], 21). Parr's poem is contained in *Vitae et mortis, doctissimi sanctissimique Theologi Guilielmi Whitakeri*, in *Praelectiones doctissimi viri Guilielmi Whitakeri* (Cambridge: John Legat, 1599), 80-81; cf. T. C., "Parr, Elnathan (d. 1632?)," *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 43 (London: Oxford University Press, 1953), 353. I thank Dr. R. Ferwerda and Gert van den Brink for supplying a translation. For Whitaker's predestinarian position see William Whitaker, *Cygnea Cantio Guilielmi Whitakeri* (Cambridge: John Legat, 1599).

[51] Elnathan Parr, *The Grounds of Divinitie…newly corrected, augmented, and enlarged* (London: Edward Griffin, 1619), 247. Hereafter: Parr, *Grounds*. See also idem, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 443. According to Schuringa, Simon Oomius considered Parr to be among the crowd that "walked in Perkins' footsteps" (Gregory D. Schuringa, "Embracing *Leer* and *Leven*: The Theology of Simon Oomius in the Context of *Nadere Reformatie* Orthodoxy" [Ph.D. diss., Calvin Theological Seminary, 2004], 109-110).

[52] K. F. Doughty, *The Betts of Wortham in Suffolk: 1480-1905* (London: John Lane, 1912), 85.

Cambridge, until his death. In 1615 he also received the additional rectory of

Thrandeston, a small village situated less than two miles south of Palgrave. In his

correspondence he speaks of lengthy periods of sickness which confined him to his bed.

In one case he was not "able to endure so much light as might serve to read one line for

my comfort."[53] He continued to serve under the patronage of Lady Jane Cornwallis

Bacon, to whom he also dedicated his various books, until his death in 1622.

Joanna Moody refers to Parr as Lady Jane's "private chaplain" who had a "key

influence" on her.[54] As Felicity Heal and Clive Holmes indicate, Lady Jane's Puritan

sympathies are shown in her close attachment to William Greenhill and her appointment

of Jeremiah Burroughs to her living in Tivetshall. Both of these were deprived of their

charges in 1637 for their refusal to implement ritual innovations in their parishes. She

also had her two sons trained in Cambridge under John Preston and Richard Sibbes.[55]

One interesting exchange of letters shows Parr served her as a marriage negotiator. After

her husband died in 1611, the Bacon family approached Parr to help negotiate a marriage

arrangement between their son, Nathaniel Bacon, and Lady Jane Cornwallis. The

ensuring correspondence shows Parr's willingness both to serve the parties involved and

to risk good relations in the process, as well as his pastoral concern for their welfare.[56]

The marriage turned out to be a good one and Parr continued to be indebted to both Lady

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[53] Joanna Moody, ed., *The private correspondence of Jane Lady Cornwallis Bacon, 1613-1644* (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2003), 64; Elnathan Parr, "To the Courteous Reader," in *The Grovnds of Diuinitie* (London: Samuel Man, 1614).

[54] Moody, *Jane Lady Cornwallis*, 56.

[55] Felicity Heal and Clive Holmes, "'Prudentia ultra Sexum': Lady Jane Bacon and the Management of Her Families," in *Protestant Identities: Religion, Society, and Self-Fashioning in Post-Reformation England*, ed. M. C. McClendon, J. P. Ward, and M. MacDonald (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), 112, 115, 116.

[56] Moody, *Jane Lady Cornwallis*, 18-20, 61-70, 276.

Jane and her new husband. In 1622 he still acknowledged her as "the first advancer of my studies, and estate; and so you have continued."[57]

Though the earlier Oxford Dictionary stated he may have died in 1632, perhaps due to his works being first published in 1632, the 2004 edition states he died in 1622 and was buried at Thrandeston on November 14, 1622.[58] Lady Jane Bacon continued to support Parr's widow with a yearly allowance after his death. His successor as rector of Palgrave was his son-in-law, Thomas Howchine, who was apparently "harried and frightened into a resignation" during the civil war.[59] Parr's ministry appears to have been more stable than that of his son-in-law. As an educated Church of England rector, Parr ministered in a rural setting under the patronage of a Puritan-leaning lady.

Elnathan Parr in Print

More important to the subject of this thesis than his patron and her marital arrangements is that Parr was a regular preacher and prolific author. He not only preached on the Sabbaths but also gave regular mid-week lectures and catechized. His published works grew out of these pastoral labors.

His first work, *The Grounds of Divinitie*, was published in 1614. It was prefaced by "a very profitable Treatise, containing an Exhortation to the Study of the Word, with

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[57] Parr, "To the very Noble, Religious, and Most Worthy Master Nathaniel Bacon, Esquire and The Lady Jane Cornwalleys, his Wife," in *A plaine exposition vpon the whole thirteenth, fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth chapters of the Epistle of Saint Paul to the Romanes* (London: Samuel Man, 1622), sig. A2. Hereafter Parr, *[Rom. 13-16]*.

[58] T. C., "Parr, Elnathan (d.1632?)"; Wright, "Parr, Elnathan (1577-1622)," 840-41. Heal and Holmes mention that William Greenhill wrote to her in 1622 on the occasion of Parr's death that "Your love was singular to this man" (Heal and Holmes, "'Prudentia ultra Sexum,'" 111).

[59] Doughty, *Betts of Wortham*, 98.

singular directions for the Hearing and Reading of the same."[60] The inclusion of this

treatise evidences his conviction that theology must develop from the exposition of

Scripture, rather than philosophical reasoning. He wrote this work while he was confined

to his bed with sickness, which Alexandra Walsham uses to exemplify the desire to

minister through print when the pulpit was inaccessible.[61] The title page of the third

edition of 1619 states it was "Newly corrected, augmented, and enlarged." The last

edition was published in 1651.[62] This work is the fruit of the catechesis of his

congregation, containing a series of catechetical questions and answers with an embedded

exposition of them. Scholarly references to this work surface in the context of the study

of catechisms, providence, salvation, and ministry.[63] Among those who register his

treatment of predestination, William Prynne, already shortly after Parr's death, could

appeal to Parr's Calvinism in support of his defense of each of his "seven Anti-Arminian

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[60] Parr, *Grovnds* (1614). The first Homily for the Church of England was also an "Exhortation to the Reading and Knowledge of Holy Scripture" (Peter Mack, *Elizabethan Rhetoric: Theory and Practice* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002], 261).

[61] Parr, "To the Courteous Reader," in *Grovnds* (1614); Alexandra Walsham, "*Preaching without Speaking: Script, Print and Religious Dissent,"* in *The Uses of Script and Print, 1300-1700*, ed. J. C. Crick and A. Walsham (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 230. Bennett makes a similar point (H. S. Bennett, *English Books and Readers*, vol. 3, 1603-1640 [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989], 8).

[62] Parr, *The Grounds of divinitie,* 6th ed. (London: Edward Griffin and William Hunt, 1651). An 8th ed. was printed in 1636 for Samuel Man in London.

[63] Catechisms: Green, *Christian's ABC*, 74, 78, 249, 696; Alexander F. Mitchell, *Catechisms of the Second Reformation: With Historical Introduction and Biographical Notices* (London: James Nisbet, 1886), lxxviii. Providence: Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England*, 10, 12, 14, 16, 30; B. Rajan, *Paradise Lost & the Seventeenth Century Reader* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1947), 146. Salvation: Michael P. Winship, *Making Heretics: Militant Protestantism and Free Grace in Massachusetts, 1636-1641* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), 22, 251-2; Rajan, *Paradise Lost*, 91, 160; Philip C. Almond, *Adam and Eve in Seventeenth-Century Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 10; C. A. Patrides, "Milton and the Protestant Theory of the Atonement," *PMLA* 74, no. 1 (Mar. 1959): 11. Ministry: Frank Luttmer, "Persecutors, Tempters and Vassals of the Devil: The Unregenerate in Puritan Practical Divinity," *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 51 (Jan. 2000): 48, 54; Peter Lewis, *The Genius of Puritanism* (Morgan: Soli Deo Gloria, 1996), 39; Ceri Sullivan, "The Art of Listening in the Seventeenth Century," *Modern Philology* 104 (2006): 60; Evelyn Tribble, "'The Chain of Memory': Distributed Cognition in Early Modern England," *Scan Journal* 2, no. 2 (Sept. 2005): 3-4.

Orthodox Tenets" in the 1630s.[64] Much later, Robert Wallace gave a most negative

caricature through selective quotations. Gerald R. Cragg also noted Parr failed to escape

"the determinism in which his rigid definitions had trapped him."[65] In contrast, Dewey

Wallace speaks of Parr's moderate Calvinism and his conviction that predestination was a

"comfortable" doctrine. J. L. Wilson uses Parr's treatment of surpralapsarianism as an

indication of the rising influence of Beza.[66] This work will be analyzed in Chapter Five.

In 1618, he published a small book on private prayer entitled *Abba Father*, to

which was appended a sermon on the redemption of time.[67] As Cecile Jagodzinski notes,

in this book he refuses to condemn "a set forme of prayer" and defends its use in the

public worship service; however, he still encourages extemporaneous private prayer.[68]

This book is meant to teach "beginners" unaccustomed with such private prayer to pray.[69]

Throughout he stresses the spirituality of prayer, the importance of pleading the work of

Christ Jesus, and being familiar with God's Word to know what to pray for. At the time it

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[64] William Prynne, *Anti-Arminianisme, or The Church of Englands old antithesis to New Arminianisme*, 2d ed. (London, 1630), 91, 99, 106, 112, 142, 209. Prynne also cites Parr's expositions on Romans.

[65] Robert Wallace, *The doctrines of predestination, reprobation, and election* (London: Hamilton, Adams, & Co., 1880), 85; Gerald R. Cragg, *Freedom and Authority: A Study of English Thought in the Early Seventeenth Century* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1975), 156.

[66] Dewey Wallace, *Puritans and Predestination*, 144, 82, 47; J. L. Wilson, "Catechisms and Their Use Among the Puritans," in *One Steadfast High Intent: Puritan and Reformed Studies Conference 1965* (London, 1965), 40. A passing reference to Parr on election is also in Peter Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead in Reformation England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 147-48.

[67] Parr, *Abba Father: or, A plaine and short direction concerning private prayer. Also, sundry godly admonitions concerning Time, and the well using of it* (London: Samuel Man, 1618).

[68] Cecile M. Jagodzinski, *Privacy and Print: reading and writing in seventeenth-century England* (University of Virginia Press, 1999), 39; Parr, "To the Christian Reader," in *Abba Father*. Durston says it was a radical separatist position to oppose all prescribed forms of prayer and many "conforming puritans continued reluctantly to use the Prayer Book's set forms" at the time (Christopher Durston, "By the Book or with the Spirit: The Debate over Liturgical Prayer During the English Revolution," *Historical Research* 79, no. 203 [Feb. 2006]: 52-53).

[69] Parr, "To the Christian Reader," in *Abba Father* (1618), sig. A5+2^r, p. 100.

was even recommended to be read in the Netherlands by Jacobus Koelman.[70] Numerous scholars have referenced this book in their studies of prayer, as the work of a "godly," "protestant," "Puritan," or "Anglican" writer, to support of a range of arguments about prayer, piety, and psychology.[71] His "Short and godly Admonitions concerning Time" stresses the command to use time in doing good and seeking the Lord. Urgency fills the work, as evidenced in his call: "Pray, pray, pray; repent, repent, repent."[72] These two works show his strong concern for personal piety that evidences itself in a life that seeks the Lord and follows his will.

His largest series of works are his expositions of Romans, which eventually covered Romans 1:1-2:2 and chapters 8 through 16 in over 1000 pages. In his first publication of expositions in 1618 on Romans 8-11, he states they were the fruit of his weekday lectures on Romans. The new edition of 1620 added Romans 12 and in 1622 a new volume of expositions on Romans 13-16 was published. His exposition of Romans 1:1-2:2 was added to his works, which were first published in 1632. None of Parr's works have been reprinted since the seventeenth-century, though in 1862, Charles Spurgeon

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[70] Jacobus Koelman, *The Duties of Parents*, trans. John Vriend, ed. M. Eugene Osterhaven, Classics of Reformed Spirituality (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2003), 93.

[71] Elizabeth Clarke, *Theory and Theology in George Herbert's poetry* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 102; Kate Narveson, "Profession or Performance? Religion in Early Modern Literary Study," in *Fault Lines and Controversies in the Study of Seventeenth-Century English Literature*, ed. Ted-Larry Pebworth and Claude J. Summers (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2002), 125-26; Richard Rambuss, *Closet Devotions* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998), 104, 106; Philip C. McGuire, "Private Prayer and English Poetry in the Early Seventeenth Century," *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 14, no. 1 (Winter 1974): 65-68; Kenneth Charlton, *Women, Religion and Education in Early Modern England* (London: Routledge, 1999), 73; Effie Botonaki, "Early Modern Women's Diaries and Closets: 'Chambers of choice Mercies and beloved retirement,'" in *Recording And Reordering: Essays on the Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Diary and Journal*, ed. Dan Doll and Jessica Munns (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2006), 39-41, 45, 47, 56; Daniel R. Woolf, *The Social Circulation of the Past: English Historical Culture, 1500-1730* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 40; Gary A. Stringer, ed. *The Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne: The Holy Sonnets* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005), 355; Roy Walter Williams, "The Puritan Concept and Practice of Prayer: Private, Family and Public" (Ph.D. diss., University of London, 1982), 101, 212, 216, 267.

[72] Parr, *Abba Father*, 131.

lauded Parr's "scarce work upon the Romans" and said it was "well deserving of a reprint."[73] John Owen, Dr. Williams, and Spurgeon all comment on the rich value of the content of the work and the awkwardness of the style.[74] In current scholarship, his commentary surfaces most often in connection with his view of the eschatological conversion of the Jews, but rarely concerning predestination.[75] This work will be analyzed in Chapter Four.

As a whole, his writings have a strong pastoral focus. All of his works are directed to a lay rather than a scholarly audience with the professed aim of God-glorifying edification. They cover two fundamental activities of spiritual life, namely, "private prayer" and "Study of the Word," and the all-encompassing nature of spiritual life as "redeeming the time." They put into print two main activities of pastoral ministry:

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[73] C. H. Spurgeon, "Papers from my note book. No. X.," *The Baptist Magazine*, June 1862, 370-371.

[74] John Owen, "Translator's Preface," in John Calvin, *Commentary on the Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Romans*, in *Calvin's Commentaries,* vol. 19 (1849; reprint, Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 2003), vi ("His style is that of his age, and appears quaint now; but his thoughts are often very striking and truly excellent, and his sentiments are wholly in accordance with those of the Reformers"); William Orme, *Bibliotheca Biblica: A Select List of Books on Sacred Literature; with Notices Biographical ...* (London: Adam Black, 1824), 341; William Thomas Lowndes, *British Librarian; Or, Book-collector's Guide* (London: Whitaker and Co., 1842), 256 (Parr is "equally remarkable for soundness of sentiment, familiarity of illustration, and want of taste in style and composition"); Charles H. Spurgeon, *Commenting & Commentaries* (1876; reprint, Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1981), 172 ("The style is faulty, but the matter is rich and full of suggestions").

[75] Eschatology: Iain Murray, *The Puritan Hope* (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth, 1971), 46-50, 63, 66, 69-71, 76, 85; Kenneth Gentry Jr, "Postmillenialism," in *Three Views on the Millennium and Beyond*, ed. Darrell Bock (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1999), 18; Nabil I. Matar, "George Herbert, Henry Vaughan, and the Conversion of the Jews," *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 30, no. 1 (Winter 1990): 80, 90; Erroll Hulse, "The Puritans and the Promises," in *God is Faithful: Papers read at the 1999 Westminster Conference* (London: Westminster Conference, 1999), 114; Christopher Hill, "'Till the conversion of the Jews,'" in *The Collected Essays of Christopher Hill* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1986), 285, 294. Predestination: Murray, "Puritans and the Doctrine of Election," 8. Murray's quote of Parr on the comfort of predestination is included in I. D. E. Thomas, compiler, *The Golden Treasury of Puritan Quotations* (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth Trust, 1997), 84. For other references to Parr's expositions see Eric J. Carlson, "Good Pastors or Careless Shepherds? Parish Ministers and the English Reformation," *History* 88, issue 291 (July 2003): 430-31; idem, "The Boring of the Ear: Shaping the Pastoral Vision of Preaching in England, 1540-1640," in *Preachers and People in the Reformations and the Early Modern Period*, ed. Larissa Taylor (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 265, 267, 271, 277-78; David Zaret, "The Use and Abuse of Textual Data," in *Weber's Protestant Ethic*, ed. Hartmut Lehmann and Guenther Roth (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1993), 264.

preaching and catechizing. They show a concern for a grounded understanding of scriptural doctrine, genuine spiritual experience of salvation, and moral uprightness.

Elnathan Parr in Context

Due to the character of his writings as outlined above, the general assumption among scholars is that Parr was a Puritan. Echoing Murray, Erroll Hulse calls him "the best-known Puritan expositor of Romans," and Green one of the "'godly' authors."[76] Numerous others call him a Puritan, while Jeffery Johnson groups him among the "moderate puritans."[77] Older descriptions in lists of notable graduates from Cambridge are more neutral, such as "an industrious Writer," "an eminent Divine," or one of the "learned writers."[78]

As Tyacke and Collinson indicate, the precise definition of Puritanism in relation to the Church of England generally is difficult to define and the precise categorization of some individuals may be impossible to ascertain.[79] There is a general sense among scholars that, by Parr's time, Puritanism had shifted focus from institutional reform to

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[76] Hulse, "Puritans and the Promises," 114; Murray, *Puritan Hope*, 46; Green, *Christian's ABC*, 78.

[77] Arnold Hunt, "The Lord's Supper In Early Modern England," *Past and Present* 161 (Nov. 1998): 76; Narveson, "Profession or Performance?" 126 ("puritan"); Orme, *Bibliotheca Biblica*, 342 ("learned Puritan minister"); David Zaret, *The Heavenly Contract: Ideology and Organization in Pre-revolutionary Puritanism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 95 ("One Puritan preacher"), 143 ("Puritan authors"); Luttmer, "Persecutors, Tempters and Vassals," 48 ("puritan"); Jon Butler, "Thomas Teackle's 333 Books: A Great Library on Virginia's Eastern Shore, 1697," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d Series, vol. 49, no. 3 (July 1992): 460 ("minor Puritan writers").

[78] Thomas James, *An account of King's College-Chapel, in Cambridge* (Cambridge: J. Archdeacon, 1779), 71; Joseph Wilson, *Memorabilia Cantabrigiæ: Or, An Account of the Different Colleges in Cambridge; Biographical...* (London: C. Clark, 1803), 119; Thomas Harwood, *Alumni Etonenses; or, a catalogue of the provosts & fellows of Eton College & King's College, Cambridge* (Birmingham: T. Pearson, 1797), 201; Anthony Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, vol. 2, 96; cited in John Holmes, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Books, in the Library of John Holmes, F.S.A.* (Norwich: Matchett, Stevenson, and Matchett, 1828), 306; Edmund Carter, *The History of the University of Cambridge, From its Original to the Year 1753* (London, 1753), 149.

[79] Tyacke, *Aspects of English Protestantism*, 90, 134; Collinson, *English Puritanism*, 7-11.

being godly leaven within the church through the promotion of personal piety.[80] During

1620s another shift occurred in which its opponents increasingly sought to equate

doctrinal Calvinism with Puritanism.[81] Numerous studies identify predestination or at

least a heightened emphasis on predestination and its related doctrines and piety as the

core of Puritanism.[82] Especially those who desire to benefit from the Puritans today stress

an intense and all-embracing Reformed piety as a leading characteristic of Puritanism.[83]

What can be said is that Parr shared the Puritan concerns for an intense godliness fed by a

Reformed theology, even while he opposed the nonconformist insistence on ecclesiastical

reform.

Parr's opposition to separatism and nonconformity and his devotion to the

Monarch made him a loyal son of the Church of England. Separatism appears a very

distant second to "popery" and ahead of Anabaptism and Arminianism on the list of his

most frequent polemical targets. He often labels separatists as "Brownists." Robert

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[80] Tyacke, *Aspects of English Protestantism*, 111; Collinson, *English Puritanism*, 32; Marshall, *Reformation England*, 124-126; Mark R. Shaw, "William Perkins and the New Pelagians: Another Look at the Cambridge Predestination Controversy of the 1590s," *Westminster Theological Journal* 58, no. 2 (1996): 267-301. However note John Morgan's caution about ignoring the reality that Puritanism from the start was concerned for godliness (John Morgan, *Godly Learning: Puritan Attitudes towards Reason, Learning, and Education, 1560-1640* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986], 19-20).

[81] Tyacke, *Aspects of English Protestantism*, 134; Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists*, 186, 245; Peter Lake and Kenneth Fincham, "The Ecclesiastical Policy of King James I," *The Journal of British Studies* 24, no. 2 (Apr. 1985): 204-205.

[82] Shaw, "Perkins and the New Pelagians," 271; Wallace, *Puritans and Predestination*, xi, 29, 37; Christopher Marsh, *Popular Religion in Sixteenth Century England* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998), 121; Doran and Durston, *Princes, Pastors, and People*, 84; Cragg, *Freedom and Authority*, 150; Conrad Russell, *The Crisis of Parliaments: English History, 1509-1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), 168; Peter Lake, "Defining Puritanism – again?" in *Puritanism: Transatlantic Perspectives on a Seveneenth-Century Anglo-American Faith*, ed. Francis J. Bremer (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1993), 24.

[83] Joel R. Beeke and Randall J. Pederson, *Meet the Puritans: With a Guide to Modern Reprints* (Grand Rapids: Reformation Heritage Books, 2006), xv-xix; Lewis, *Genius of Puritanism*, 11; James I. Packer, *A Quest for Godliness: The Puritan Vision of the Christian Life* (Wheaton, IL: Crossway Books, 1990), 36; Leland Ryken, *Worldly Saints: The Puritans As They Really Were* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1986), 11. See also Wallace, *Puritans and Predestination*, 44; Cohen, *God's Caress*, 4; Marshall, *Reformation England*, 137.

Browne (1550?-1633) convinced his followers that to remain in the Church of England was to be in league with the wicked and therefore established separate congregations, though he himself later returned to the Church of England.[84] David Zaret claims Parr "gently criticized" the separatists.[85] However, Parr calls them "silly ones," "rash censurers" whom God has permitted to "runne into *dvers pernicious errours,*" ones who "absurdly deny and contemne all *Canons* and *Constitutions* concerning *order,*" "factious ones" who defame their "reverend mother," the church, and "convey the poyson of their schismaticall opinions, under a pretence and shew of puritie and zeale."[86] This opposition to separatism was shared by other Puritans as well, most notably by Perkins and presumably by the large majority of Puritans who labored within the Church of England.[87] As such, Parr's polemical stance would fit with Daniel Doerksen's Jacobean "*via media*" or Lake's "moderate Puritan" middle way lying between Roman Catholicism and Separatism.[88]

What does distinguish him from numerous Puritans is his vocal opposition to nonconformity. He often addresses nonconformity in the context of separatism because "many also among us, finding fault with the government of the Church, and not being

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[84] Timothy George, *John Robinson and the English Separatist Tradition* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1982), 32-45; Milward, *Religious Controversies of the Elizabethan Age*, 35-38; Collinson, *English Puritanism*, 17-19.

[85] Zaret, *Heavenly Contract*, 95.

[86] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 358; idem, *[Rom. 13-16]*, 4, 114, 338, 344. See also idem, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 252, 254, 330, 491, 492, 506; idem, *[Rom. 13-16]*, 27, 104, 105, 118, 169, 178, 236, 299, 335-36.

[87] Collinson, *English Puritanism*, 18; W. van 't Spijker, "Puritanisme: Theologische hoofdlijnen en vertegenwoordigers," in *Het Puritanisme: Geschiedenis, Theologie en Invloed*, ed. W. van 't Spijker, R. Bisschop, W. J. op 't Hof (Zoetermeer: Uitgeverij Boekencentrum, 2001), 329-330; W. B. Patterson, "William Perkins as Apologist for the Church of England," *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 57, no. 2 (Apr. 2006): 252-269. White's use of opposition to separatism as evidence of a non-calvinist Anglican via media is unjustified (White, "The *Via Media* in the Early Stuart Church," 216-217).

[88] Daniel W. Doerksen, *Conforming to the World: Herbert, Donne, and the English Church Before Laud* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1997), 21; Lake, *Moderate Puritans*, 7.

reclaymed by admonition have turned Brownists."[89] He rebukes those who make an issue

of wearing vestments, making "a certaine gesture," honoring the terms "priest" and

"prelate," kneeling at the sacrament, observing holy days besides the Sabbath, and

bowing or taking off the hat at the name of Jesus.[90] Grievances against these practices lie

at the root of early Puritan nonconformity. However, Parr argues these are things are

"neither *commanded* nor *forbidden;* therefore their appointment and observation is

indifferent; and so the Church hath power, and the Christian Magistrate, to constitute

them as things serving to the promoting of the worship of God."[91] At the same time he

rebukes those who needlessly wound the weak conscience of nonconformists, refuse to

yield for the sake of the welfare of the church, and exalt certain forms as "*a necessary*

worship of God," rather than simply "a *comely rite* and ceremony."[92] In this way, the

Calvinist Parr opposed nonconformity for its damaging divisiveness. As Dewey Wallace

notes, Parr and others demonstrate the problem of establishing a binary division between

"moderate" Anglican conformity and Calvinist Puritan nonconformity.[93] As Lake argues,

conformists were within the ranks of those considered Puritans in the early seventeenth-

century.[94]

Related to his opposition to nonconformity is his strong support of the English

Royal house, including King James I. His pious patron, Lady Jane Cornwallis, had

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[89] Parr, *[Rom. 13-16]*, 169.

[90] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 531; idem, *[Rom. 13-16]*, 30, 132, 137, 158, 159, 143, 181, 210, 211, 219, 231. Elsewhere he states the Catholics have too many holy-days and cautions: "Neglect not thou the holy daies appointed in our Church, but yet make a difference betweene the Lords day and them" (ibid., 137).

[91] Parr, *[Rom. 13-16]*, 137.

[92] Parr, *[Rom. 13-16]*, 182, 186, 189.

[93] Wallace, *Puritans and Predestination*, 37, 53-54. For the problematic nature of such a division see also Green, *Christian's ABC*, 350; Lake, "Calvinism and the English Church," 70; Tyacke, *Aspects of English Protestantism*, 133-34, 264.

[94] Lake, *Moderate Puritans*, 9, 14, 243-261.

connections with the royal family, including Charles I.[95] His son-in-law and successor,

Thomas Howchine, resigned as Rector of Palgrave during the Civil War apparently due

his Royalist sympathies.[96] Parr considered it a great mercy to have "our most learned,

most wise, most religious, most mighty King *Iames*" and exhorted obedience to him

whom he elsewhere called "the tenderest *Father* of the true Church, and the greatest

defender of the faith upon earth."[97] He also highly commended "His Maiesties elegant

Exposition upon the Lords Prayer."[98] He approvingly attributes a decline in

nonconformist and Arminian agitation to King James and the Bishops.[99] While the

Calvinism of King James has been subject to debate among scholars, Parr is another

example of a strong predestinarian voice giving strong support for the King.[100]

    While Parr's esteem of the King and opposition to nonconformity may distance

him from the "typical" Puritan, his pastoral concerns aligned him closely with them, as

already suggested by his published works. He also repeatedly rebukes despisers of those

who might be labeled with the "puritan" epithet. He reproves those who are not ashamed

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[95] Moody, *Jane Lady Cornwallis*, 16-17, 22, 25-27.

[96] Doughty, *Betts of Wortham*, 98.

[97] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 120, 534; idem, *[Rom. 13-16]*, 3, 9, 14, 19, 108; idem, *Abba Father*, 76. He also stated James I is "unmatchable for mildnesse of government, vigilancy, care for the good of all his Subjects, deepenesse fo judgement, soundnesse of Religion and (together with many other blessings, whereby wee are blessed in him) for incomparable learning; having to the admiration of the world, with his owne Pen, defended and advanced the truth" (idem, *Grounds*, 315).

[98] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 616. White claims this work favours a Durham House type of churchmanship (White, "The *Via Media* in the Early Stuart Church," 227).

[99] Parr, *[Rom. 13-16]*, 108.

[100] Those who downplay his Calvinism include: White, "The Rise of Arminianism reconsidered," 38-45; Sheila Lambert, "Richard Montagu, Arminianism and Censorship," *Past and Present* 124 (Aug. 1989): 36-68. Those who maintain his doctrinal Calvinism include: Tyacke, "The Rise of Arminianism reconsidered," 210-11; Wallace, *Puritans and Predestination*, 82; and more moderately, Lake, "Calvinism and the English Church," 49-56; Lake and Fincham, "Ecclesiastical Policy of King James I," 169-207. For broader coverage see Kenneth Fincham, *Prelate as Pastor: The Episcopate of James I* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990); James Doelman, *King James I and the Religious Culture of England* (Rochester: D. S. Brewer, 2000).

to live in filthiness, but would be to "goe to a Sermon, to be strict in their conversation, &c." He exhorts: "Let us not be ashamed to be true Protestants, in word and deed."[101] He laments that for many "Devotion is Hypocrisie with them, and Zeale, madnesse" and "scoffe the children of God for their simplicitie, and holy profession."[102] He exhorts, "neither wrong them which have the Spirit, by odious nicknames" and not to despise them because they are few.[103] He repeatedly stressed the importance of Sabbath observance and warned against Sabbath desecration, which Collinson has defined as a major Puritan concern in the Stuart period and John Primus as the "heartbeat of Puritan Christianity."[104] More generally, he laments the dichotomy between sound knowledge and ungodly practice, stressing the need to experience and live out of what is taught.[105] He repeatedly warns of presumption and self-deception and uses the practical syllogism of godliness evidencing the possession of salvation and ungodliness evidencing the lack of salvation, which is also considered a leading Puritan characteristic under the influence of Perkins.[106] These themes align him more closely with Puritan concerns of godliness.

What is known of Parr's life and ministry indicates he was both a well-educated theologian and a pastor focused on the spiritual welfare of his rural parish. His opposition to popery and nonconformity could place him in White's Anglican *via media*; however,

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[101] Elnathan Parr, *A Short View of the Epistle to the Romans*, in *The Workes of that faithfull and painfull Preacher, Mr. Elnathan Parr*, 4th ed. (London: Ed. Griffin and Wil. Hunt, 1651), 14. Hereafter: Parr, *[Rom. 1]*. Concerning contempt for sermon-goers, see also idem, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 240-41.

[102] Parr, *[Rom. 1]*, 36; idem, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 298, 29, 85, 126, 552; idem, *[Rom. 13-16]*, 314.

[103] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 45, 242.

[104] E.g. Parr, *Grounds* (1651), 22, 26, 27, 32, 45, 47, 50, 62; idem, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 43, 73, 172, 321, 327, 458, 470; Collinson, *English Puritanism*, 32; John H. Primus, *Holy Time: Moderate Puritanism and the Sabbath* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1989), 147.

[105] E.g. Parr, *[Rom. 1]*, 9; idem, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 306, 331, 446, 485, 490, 566.

[106] Kendall, *Calvin and English Calvinism*, 8; Beeke, *Quest for Full Assurance*, 83-98. Regarding presumption and self-deception, see Parr, *Grounds*, 224; idem, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 210, 340, 392-93, 418. Regarding the practical syllogism, see pp. 83-90 and 161-166 below.

his spiritual and theological convictions suggest an affinity with the heart of Calvinistic Puritanism. He demonstrates how easily categorization of early Stuart theologians and pastors can become caricaturization.

CHAPTER 3: ELNATHAN PARR'S PRINCIPLES OF TEACHING

The general principles governing Parr's ministry will be examined before dealing with his specific treatment of predestination. His statements about the ministry in his exposition of Romans show he considered his primary function to be a pastor, his chief aim the glory of God and salvation of sinners, and his main method the preaching and teaching of Scripture. His treatment of predestination functions within this framework.

View of the Pastoral Ministry

Scholars of pastoral ministry in early seventeenth-century England tend to focus either on the pastoral implications of specific theologies or specific issues related to the broad topic of pastoral ministry. Tom Webster deals with the relationship between the expectations for early Stuart "godly clergy" and their social interaction as a body to convey basic elements of early seventeenth-century pastoral ministry, albeit with some socio-psychologically induced distortion.[1] While Green argues for an overarching continuity of practice between the pre- and post-Reformation clergy, numerous observe the significance of the shift from a pre-Reformation sacramental focus to a post-Reformation teaching focus in pastoral ministry.[2] Eric Carlson argues this shift did not diminish the value of the ministry but gave it great importance and urgency in making

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[1] Tom Webster, *Godly Clergy in Early Stuart England: The Caroline Puritan Movement c.1620-1643* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). See pp. 101-103 regarding male-female aspects of ministry and p. 100 for confusion regarding reconciliation.

[2] Ian Green, "'Reformed Pastors' and '*Bons Curés*': The Changing Role of the Parish Clergy in Early Modern Europe," in *The Ministry: Clerical and Lay,* ed. W. J. Sheils and Diana Wood, Studies in Church History (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989), 249-286; Neal Enssle, "Patterns of Godly Life: The Ideal Parish Minister in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century English Thought," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 28, no. 1 (Spring 1997): 3-28; Patrick Collinson, "Shepherds, Sheepdogs, and Hirelings: The Pastoral Ministry In Post-Reformation England," in *The Ministry: Clerical and Lay*, 185-220.

preaching the primary instrument through which God gave and fed saving faith.[3] Morgan

argues the focus on the Word led to an increased emphasis on learning and "enthusiasm"

or piety.[4] Several further develop this shift by focusing on the "professionalization" of the

clergy in the seventeenth-century.[5] Regarding the content of ministry, while some such as

Haigh, Marsh, and Stachniewski argued that predestinarian doctrine was inherently

unpastoral, Horton Davies argues that Puritan preachers were indeed "shepherds,

sustaining the sheep with solid provender, high in theological vitamins, often indigestibly

so, but a great strengthening after the starvation diet they were used to," and Carlson,

among others, argues that "godly Calvinist ministry was self-consciously pastoral."[6]

The assertion that "godly," "calvinist," and "pastoral" fit together during this

period certainly holds for Parr. He saw calling, learnedness, and piety as requisites for the

pastoral ministry. Ministry is that "whereby men of unblameable conversation, able and

apt to teach, being lawfully called, doe administer holy things in publique Prayer, and

thankes-giving, dispensing the Word and Sacraments."[7] A minister is not only to "finde

his heart moved by God" but also be "competently qualified with learning, godlines,

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[3] Carlson, "Boring of the Ear," 260-63, 293; Morgan, *Godly Learning*, 81-84; Green, "'Reformed Pastors' and '*Bons Curés*,'" 252.

[4] Morgan, *Godly Learning*, ch. 5-7. Morgan tends to see these two themes as a tension-creating duality (e.g. p. 139). On godliness and learning see also Muller, "Calling, Character, Piety, and Learning: Paradigms for Theological Education in the Era of Protestant Orthodoxy," in *After Calvin*, 105-121.

[5] Stewart A. Dippel, *The Professionalization of the English Church from 1560 to 1700: Ambassadors for Christ*, Studies in Religion and Society, vol. 44 (Queenston: Edwin Mellen Press, 1999), 67-93; Rosemary O'Day, *The English Clergy: The Emergence and Consolidation of a Profession, 1558-1642* ([Leicester]: Leicester University Press, 1979).

[6] Sources arguing it was unpastoral include: Haigh, "The taming of the Reformation," 577-81; Marsh, *Popular Religion in Sixteenth Century England*, 121; Stachniewski, *Persecutory Imagination*, 20-21, 240; Morgan, *Godly Learning*, 25-26. Sources contra Haigh include: Carlson, "Good Pastors or Careless Shepherds," 424; Collinson, "Shepherds, Sheepdogs, and Hirelings," 199-200 (though on p. 220 he concludes the protestant ministry in post-Reformation England was a failure). Sources arguing it was pastoral include: Horton Davies, *Worship and Theology in England: From Cranmer to Hooker, 1534-1603* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970), 296; Arie Baars, "De Puriteinse Pastor," in A. Baars and P. de Vries, *Waarheid en Godzaligheid* (Rotterdam: Stichting Lectori Salutem, 1993), 5-32.

[7] Parr, *Grounds*, 317.

discretion, utterance," and be recognized and ordained by the church.[8] According to Parr, both piety and learning, an internal call by God and external call by the church are required for ministers.

Parr states the goal of ministry is "the glory of God, and good of men."[9] Neither receiving financial rewards or human approbation nor attaining to great learning alone are proper goals.[10] The "chiefest glory" of a minister is "winning mens soules, plucking them out of the fire, and making them obedient to *God*."[11] This aim involves not only bringing sinners into a state of salvation but leading them to thrive "in faith and godly life" and thus provoke others to follow them.[12] This goal glorifies God.

Ministers are to perform a variety of activities, preaching being a chief one. Parr uses the Lord Jesus as a pattern for a ministry involving "*praying, preaching, watching, fasting, doing good*, and *adorning* his ministery with a most *holy life*."[13] He also mentions the duty of catechizing.[14] Elsewhere he narrows the duties to preaching, administering the sacraments, and exercising discipline.[15] Several places he indicates there are "two parts of the Duty of a Minister, to preach, and to pray for his people."[16] In most places he stresses the importance of preaching as "the chiefe honour and beauty of a Minister" and means

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[8] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 283; idem, *Grounds*, 318 (inward calling and learning); idem, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 517 (learning); idem, *[Rom. 13-16]*, 280 (godliness); idem, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 511-12 (differing gifts among ministers).

[9] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 510.

[10] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 521; idem, *[Rom. 13-16]*, 278.

[11] Parr, *[Rom. 13-16]*, 278.

[12] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 363.

[13] Parr, *[Rom. 13-16]*, 257.

[14] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 524.

[15] Parr, *[Rom. 13-16]*, 17.

[16] Parr, *[Rom. 1]*, 8; see also idem, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 246; idem, *[Rom. 13-16]*, 251.

of salvation.[17] Peter Lewis and Carlson do well to appeal to Parr among others to show

the Puritan stress on preaching as the chief means of salvation.[18]

The content of preaching and the ministry generally must be God's Word. He

exhorts, "Preach then, but not thy selfe, or thy owne devices, but the sincere Word of

God. For as he which counterfeyteth the Kings coine is guilty of treason, so shalt thou be

guilty if thou tenderest to the people such Doctrines which have not the image, the

superscription, and stampe of the Spirit, according to the Word."[19] Hearers are not to

prescribe what ministers are to preach,[20] but pray they may hear the "whole counsel of

God."[21] Ministers are to "prove their Doctrine" not by the "Fathers, Councels, ...[and] the

Church on earth" but by Scripture.[22] A faithful ministry is a ministry of the Word.

More specifically, the ministry must convey law and gospel. He claimed that, if

Paul lived in Parr's day of abounding wickedness, "how would hee *thunder* the

iudgements of God."[23] Parr confesses this was his practice.[24] As Carlson noticed, Parr

exhorted his readers to come to sermons to "suffer the sacrificing knife to cut the throat of

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[17] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 286; see also idem, *[Rom. 1]*, 15; idem, *[Rom. 13-16]*, 269.

[18] Lewis, *Genius of Puritanism*, 39; Carlson, "Boring of the Ear," 271, 277-78. On the protestant and especially Puritan stress on preaching, see Tae-Hyeun Park, *The Sacred Rhetoric of the Holy Spirit A Study of Puritan Preaching in a Pneumatological Perspective* (Apeldoorn: Theologische Universiteit Apeldoorn, 2005), 41, 135, 205, 289; Davies, *Worship and Theology in England: From Cranmer to Hooker, 1534-1603*, 294-301; Baars, "De Puriteinse Pastor," 7-18. For a lengthy defence of the primacy of preaching see Samuel Hieron, *The Preachers Plea: Or, A Treatise in forme of a plaine Dialogue, making known the worth and necessary use of Preaching* (London: for Simon Watterson, 1604), 1-181.

[19] Parr, *Grounds*, 321-22.

[20] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 152, 189.

[21] Parr, *Grounds*, 9.

[22] Parr, *[Rom. 1]*, 18; see also idem, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 327, 481.

[23] Parr, *[Rom. 13-16]*, 81.

[24] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 288; idem, *[Rom. 1]*, 20.

thy lusts."[25] Yet, he repeatedly stressed that preaching may never be denunciation alone. In fact, he rebukes both those hearers who "out of a pride and presumption of their owne righteousnes above others," only want the condemning law to be preached, and those preachers who consider "no sentence to be zealously delivered, unless Damnation and Damned be at the end of it."[26] Sin must be reproved in the hearers, so that "being convinced of sinne, they may sue for pardon and Justification by the faith of Jesus."[27] Like Paul, preachers must preach sin and curse, "but they must not leave men under the curse to despaire.... wee are to set open the gate of mercy upon their repentance, by preaching the glad tidings of the Gospell. This is the speciell duty of our office."[28] Elsewhere he stresses that the "essentiall duty of a Minister, is to preach the gospel" in distinction from the law.[29] Therefore hearers are to desire to hear sin reproved and "above all, desire to heare of Christ Jesus, and the Mercy of God in him."[30] To summarize, "The Law must be preached, but principally the Gospell....He which wisely mingleth these two, is the best preacher."[31] This concern for law and gospel keeps the charge that a Puritan predestinarian system induced legalism from applying to Parr.[32]

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[25] Parr, *[Rom. 13-16]*, 275; cited in Carlson, "Good Pastors or Careless Shepherds," 430; idem, "Boring of the Ear," 265.

[26] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 152, 151; see also p. 309 where he calls this a "butcherly kind of preaching" rather than a pastoral one. Carleson notes this in Parr as well (Carlson, "Good Pastors or Careless Shepherds," 431).

[27] Parr, *[Rom. 1]*, 20.

[28] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 309.

[29] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 286.

[30] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 152; cf. idem, *[Rom. 13-16]*, 347 ("Christ is the scope and summe of the Gospell, and as *Paul* desired to know nothing but Christ crucified, and gloried in nothing else, so he preached nothing else").

[31] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 309.

[32] Those who make such charges include: Henning Graf Reventlow, *The Authority of the Bible and the Rise of the Modern World* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985), 129, 134; Kendall, "Living the Christian Life," 55; J. B. Torrance, "Strengths and Weaknesses of the Westminster theology," in *The Westminster Confession in the Church Today*, ed. Alasdair I. C. Heron (Edinburgh: Saint Andrew Press, 1982), 46-47;

God's Word, and law and gospel in particular, must not only be expounded but also applied.[33] Application is to fit the situation and condition of society.[34] More particularly it must take into account that "All persons are not in the same Estate: some repent, some are Impenitent. All, both Repentant and Impenitent, are not in the same degree."[35] Not only are there categories of people, but also of applications, including "Consolations, Threatenings, &c."[36] He reflects Perkins' concern for application and for that application to deal with a variety of spiritual conditions in a variety of ways.[37]

Not only the content but also the manner of ministry was important to Parr. Frequently this minister, who is described as *that* "*faithfull and painfull Preacher*" in the title of his works, exhorts to be diligent and take pains in ministerial work. He says, "One of the greatest commendations of a good Minister, is to be *painfull*."[38] Ministers "must imploy all their wit, care, study, learning, art" in their office. According to Parr, "his most and maine study must be for Divinitie, that he may winne and save soules."[39] This

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E. R. Gane, "The Exegetical Methods of Some Sixteenth-Century Puritan Preachers: Hooper, Cartwright, and Perkins," *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 19 (1981): 21-36, 99-114. It is implied by J. W. Blench, *Preaching in England in the Late Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries: A Study of English Sermons 1450-1600* (New York: Barnes & Noble Inc., 1964), 305-317. Perkins himself gave a prominent place to the distinction between law and gospel (William Perkins, *The arte of prophecying*, trans. Thomas Tuke [London: Felix Kyngston, 1607], 99-102).

[33] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 42.

[34] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 42.

[35] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 43.

[36] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 42; see also p. 43.

[37] Perkins, *Arte of prophecying*, 99-125.

[38] Parr, *[Rom. 13-16]*, 287; see also idem, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 360. This was the first characterization of a servant of Christ listed in "The Directory for the Publick Worship of God," in *The Westminster Confession of Faith* (Glasgow: Free Presbyterian Publications, 1997), 381.

[39] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 520; see also idem, *[Rom. 13-16]*, 288.

diligence also involves engaging in frequent preaching.[40] Painstaking care and whole-hearted dedication are to characterize the minister.

In relation to the congregation, his manner must combine love, boldness, and humility. Preachers are to "use loving and friendly words to winne their Auditors."[41] At the same time, he comments that "These times require bold teachers, for sinne is growne impudent, and sinners have whores foreheads."[42] He was certainly not one of Haigh's pastors who shifted from Calvinism to accommodate to their hearers.[43] By virtue of his God-given authority, a minister may be bold in addressing sin. At the same time, as a man, "a Minister must behave himself humbly and modestly in his calling."[44] In contrast to Haigh's claims, Parr fits with Carlson's contention that "godly Calvinist ministry was self-consciously pastoral."[45]

This combination of love, boldness, and humility is the fruit of the godly life which is essential. He exhorts, "if thou preachest well and livest ill, thou buildest with thy tongue, and pullest downe with thy hands."[46] A godly life is "a great attractive to winne unto the Gospell."[47] Enssle and Baars note this stress in pastor generally, and Knapp in the expositor of Scripture.[48]

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[40] Parr, *[Rom. 1]*, 11, 14; idem, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 361, 362, 522. Regarding the need for frequent preaching see idem, *[Rom. 13-16]*, 269; idem, *[Rom. 1]*, 15.

[41] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 59.

[42] Parr, *[Rom. 1]*, 13; see also p. 20; idem, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 204, 299; idem, *[Rom. 13-16]*, 271.

[43] Haigh "Taming of the Reformation," 572-88. David Zaret also argues an increasing emphasis on God's covenant softened predestination and made Puritan theology more popular (Zaret, *Heavenly Contract*, 153, 161). Morgan echoes Zaret's view (Morgan, *Godly Learning*, 26, 35-36).

[44] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 519; see also idem, *[Rom. 13-16]*, 269.

[45] Carlson, "Good Pastors or Careless Shepherds," 424.

[46] Parr, *Grounds*, 322; see also idem, *[Rom. 13-16]*, 204, 274; idem, *[Rom. 1]*, 40.

[47] Parr, *[Rom. 13-16]*, 280.

[48] Enssle, "Patterns of Godly Life," 7-9; Baars, "De Puriteinse Pastor," 27-30; Knapp, "Understanding the Mind of God," 51-62. His contemporaries stress the same: Perkins, *Arte of*

In Calvinistic fashion, Parr stresses that ministerial results are not guaranteed by a ministry's right manner and content, but by God's sovereign grace. Drawing especially from Romans 10 and 1:15-16, he emphasizes that God is the one who saves through the preaching.[49] He reminds his hearers that "Our voyce can say, Repent; but its God onely that gives Repentence."[50] This power is "not from the Preacher." Therefore "Sermons and Exhortations thrive as God will."[51]

This efficacy in turn is rooted in God's decree to save the elect. James Daane claims that "Reformed doctrine of election has at times imperilled the very possibility of preaching the gospel."[52] Such a claim is an old one. Parr acknowledges that "some think that this doctrine also annihilates preaching," in that if people are predestinated to their eternal lot the gospel call is superfluous. In this view, preaching the gospel and teaching predestination are mutually exclusive. His simple response is that "the end of preaching is not to make the Reprobates, Elect; but that the Elect thereby should attaine the fore-purposed, and promised salvation."[53] Like other contemporaries and even the church father Augustine, he was convinced that Gospel preaching is the God-ordained means whereby he executes his electing purposes.[54] Contrary to Duffy and in agreement with

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prophecying, 136-142; Richard Bernard, *The faithfull shepheard the shepheards faithfulnesse* (London: Arnold Hatfield, 1607), 88, 90-93; "Directory for the Publick Worship," 381.

[49] Parr, *[Rom. 1]*, 5, 15; idem, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 281-82, 286; idem, *[Rom. 13-16]*, 280; idem, *Grounds*, 219, 224, 253, 317-18.

[50] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 292; see also pp. 486, 510, 178-79.

[51] Parr, *[Rom. 1]*, 16.

[52] Daane, *Freedom of God*, 19.

[53] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 183; see also p. 179. Kimedoncius answers the same objection that by this doctrine "the ministerie of the word is overthrowne, and cleane taken away" (Jacob Kimedoncius, "A Booke of Gods Predestination," in *Of the Redemption of Mankind: Three Bookes* [London: Felix Kingston, 1598], 358).

[54] Thomas Wilson, *A commentary on the most divine epistle of St. Paul to the Romans* (London: E. Cotes, 1653), 305; William Cowper, *Heaven opened vvherein the counsaile of God, concerning mans saluation, is yet more cleerely manifested* (London: Thomas Snodham, 1619), 359; Saint Augustine, *A*

Park and others, God's election, as a decree executed by means especially of the preached Word, was an incentive to minister because it ensured that pastoral ministry would not be in vain.[55] Predestination is a motivation for pastors to preach the gospel because the God who predestinated the end also purposed to use preaching as a means to secure that end.

Parr's view of the pastoral ministry involves a concern for learnedness and piety in the minister, Scriptural content and manner in ministry, explanation and application in preaching, and ministerial encouragement from the doctrine of predestination. As such, it coheres with what Muller and Morgan have argued concerning the harmony of learning and piety.[56] While Enssle does well to state that the practice of ministry did not match up to the ideal, it is safe to expect Parr strove for this ideal in his ministry, including those times when he taught predestination.[57] If this was Parr's theory of pastoral ministry and his treatment of predestination functions within his pastoral ministry as part of the Scriptures to be taught, we may expect him to treat it in a diligent, loving, bold, and humble way, expounding and applying what he is convinced is the teaching of Scripture with a variety of uses for a variety of hearers.

Treatise on the Predestination of the Saints, in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, Series I, vol. 5, ed. Philip Schaff (New York: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1886), 538-539.

[55] Eamon Duffy, "The Long Reformation: Catholicism, Protestantism and the multitude," in *England's Long Reformation, 1500-1800*, ed. Nicholas Tyacke (London: UCL Press, 1998), 41; Park, *Sacred Rhetoric*, 106-110; MacCulloch, *Later Reformation*, 71-72. This conviction was present during the English Reformation already: M. T. Pearse, *Between Known Men and Visible Saints: A Study in Sixteenth-Century English Dissent* (London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1994), 201; Philip E. Hughes, *Theology of the English Reformers* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1980), 130.

[56] Muller, "Calling, Character, Piety, and Learning," 119-121; Morgan, *Godly Learning*, 88, 120, 140.

[57] Enssle, "Patterns of Godly Life," 5. Collinson is even more critical of the "credibility gap" between the ideal and the real (Collinson, "Shepherds, Sheepdogs, and Hirelings," 189, 196, 199).

Propriety of Teaching Predestination

Parr's principles of ministry guide his response to the question of the propriety of

teaching and preaching predestination. Various opinions existed in his day and persist in

scholarship today concerning this issue. Already in the 1610s there were considerable

discussions about predestination as well as pressure to desist from preaching it. In August

1622, King James I decreed through the Archbishop of Canterbury:

> That no Preacher of what title soever, under the Degree of a Bishop or
> Deane, at the leaste, doe from hence forth presume to preach in any
> popular auditory, the deepe points of Predestination, Election,
> Reprobation, or of the universality, efficacy, resistibility or irresistibility
> of Gods grace, but rather leave those theames to bee handled by learned
> men, and that modestly and moderately by use and application; rather then
> by way of positive Doctrine, as being fitter for Schooles and Universities
> then for simple auditories.[58]

In 1626 and 1628, Charles I would make similar pronouncements.[59] According to

Wallace, the English Arminians urged this silence to avoid being attacked.[60] However,

Jeanne Shami argues both that the directions of 1622 were "practically unenforceable,"

especially outside London, and that already before 1622 only a small proportion of extant

sermons treat predestination.[61] Parr's sermons on Romans 9, which deal most with

predestination, were preached shortly before 1622. A marginal note in Romans 8:32

states that "this was preached in the time of the great drought Anno 1615," meaning the

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[58] James I, *King James his letter and directions to the Lord Archbishop* ([London]: Thomas Walkeley, 1642), 3.

[59] Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists*, 102-3.

[60] Wallace, *Puritans and Predestination*, 90.

[61] Jeanne Shami, *John Donne and Conformity in Crisis in the Late Jacobean Pulpit* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2003), 1, 67. In defense of the Directions of 1622, Archbishop Abbot stated, "The usual scope of very many preachers is noted to be a serving up in points of divinity too deep for the capacity of the people" (George Abbot, "Archbishop Abbot's Letter regarding Preaching, 1622," in David Cressy and Lori Anne Ferrell, eds., *Religion and Society in Early Modern England: A Sourcebook* [New York: Routledge, 1996], 138).

sermons on Romans 9 were preached in that year or shortly after. That he preached these

sermons before 1622 means their content was not influenced by official constraints.

Differences about predestination also spilled over into the censorship of the press.

Like Kevin Sharpe, Sheila Lambert argues that even into the 1630s censorship carried

little weight, since books and sermons "of all complexions were preached and printed."[62]

In contrast, Tyacke argues for a Calvinist dominated book censorship in England prior to

the 1620s and for an increasing censorship of clear Calvinism emerging with the rise of

Laudianism.[63] Recently, S. Mutchow Towers also argued that by 1637 censorship

succeeded in ensuring that new publications no longer emphasized preaching and "the

absolute nature of the double decree of predestination" among other things.[64] Parr's

Grounds of Divinitie was first printed in 1614 and his expositions of Romans 9 in 1618.

Both were published in London. These works continued to be reprinted into the 1630s;

however, this is of little significance since reprints did not require relicensing until

1637.[65] Parr's works, which treated predestination, were published shortly before the rise

of Laudianism and whatever anti-Calvinist press censorship may have developed.

Parr was convinced that predestination was to be preached because it is part of the

Word preached. In his homiletical commentary, he stated that predestination is a doctrine,

"of which we are not to be ignorant, because it is revealed."[66] By "we" he meant clergy

and laity. "There is a predestination of men," he wrote, "and because revealed, it is

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[62] Lambert, "Richard Montagu, Arminianism and Censorship," 68; Kevin Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 651, 654.

[63] Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists*, 184; idem, "Anglican Attitudes: Some Recent Writings," 143-145; Lambert, "Richard Montagu, Arminianism and Censorship," 38-42.

[64] S. Mutchow Towers, *Control of Religious Printing in Early Stuart England* (Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 2003), 281. She agrees with and refers to Fincham, *Early Stuart Church, 1603-1642*, 13-15.

[65] Towers, *Control of Religious Printing*, 9.

[66] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 110, 176.

lawfull, yea, necessary to be taught."[67] God does not reveal anything without a purpose. Though all the workings of the decree are not revealed and therefore not to be pried into, the existence of the decree is revealed and therefore to be known. Ministers must follow Paul's example in Romans 9:17, by showing from Scripture that God predestinates.[68]

This reason for preaching predestination is the application of the standard principle that Scripture is to shape the content of pastoral ministry. Hearers are to pray that their pastors "may be faithfull in delivering the whole counsel of God unto us."[69] In the doctrine of God, Parr stated that the God who dwells in an inaccessible light "hath revealed himself so far as he saw fit for us to understand."[70] He added that "to understand so much as his pleasure is, we should know, and is necessary to life, is possible through his infinite goodnesse by his Word."[71] These statements about God apply to the specific aspects of God's being and work as well, including His work of predestination.

This argument for the need to preach predestination was a standard Reformed argument. The *Canons of Dort*, which were drafted during Parr's ministry, confess:

> As the doctrine of election by the most wise counsel of God was declared by the prophets, by Christ Himself, and by the apostles, and is clearly revealed in the Scriptures both of the Old and the New Testament, so it is still to be published in due time and place in the Church of God, for which it was peculiarly designed.[72]

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[67] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 176.

[68] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 189.

[69] Parr, "A Short and Plain Exhortation to the Study of the Word, with siverall directions for the hearing and reading of the same: very necessary for these times," in *Grounds*, 4. Parr differs from those who restrict "whole counsel" to God's "revealed will" and not his "secret decree" (John Brinsley, *The Preachers Charge, and Peoples Duty About Preaching and Hearing the Word* [London: for Robert Bird, 1631], 8).

[70] Parr, *Grounds*, 38.

[71] Parr, *Grounds*, 60.

[72] *Canons of Dort*, in *The Psalter* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), I.14.

Among others, Calvin, Jerome Zanchius, and Amandus Polanus also stressed it must be preached because Scripture reveals it.[73] Peter Martyr Vermigli rebukes those who do not preach it because "this they can not do without great injury unto the holy ghost: as though he would teach any thing, which chould either be unprofitable, or hurtful."[74] The English theologians Thomas Tuke, Gervase Babington, and Thomas Palfreyman before Parr, John Boughton, John Downame, and Richard Crakanthorpe with Parr, and Henry Hibbert after Parr make similar points.[75] Thomas Wilson stated the need to preach predestination even more strongly than Parr, calling failure to do so "sinne," since it is "part of God's revealed will," which belongs to us according to Deuteronomy 29:29.[76] Like many others, Parr's basic reason for teaching predestination was that Scripture did so.

Most objections to teaching the Reformed doctrine of predestination arose from its apparently harmful pastoral effects. Calvin already spoke about "dogs," who bark at the doctrine with their accusations against God, and "hogs," who use it as a license to

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[73] John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, vol. 2, ed. John T. McNeill, trans. Ford L. Battles (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1960), III.xxi.4; Jerome Zanchius, *The Doctrine of Absolute Predestination Stated and Asserted* (New York: George Lindsay, 1811), 165-171; Amandus Polanus, *A Treatise of Amandus Polanus, concerning Gods eternall predestination* (Cambridge: John Legat, 1599), 1-2.

[74] Peter Martyr Vermigli, *Most learned and fruitfull commentaries of D. Peter Martir Vermilius Florentine, professor of diuinitie in the schole of Tigure, vpon the Epistle of S. Paul to the Romanes*, trans. H. B. (London: Iohn Daye, 1568), fol. 259ʳ.

[75] Thomas Tuke, *The high-vvay to heauen: or, the doctrine of election, effectuall vocation…* (London: Nicholas Okes, 1609), 9-10; Gervase Babington, *A Sermon Preached at Paules Crosse the second Sunday in Mychaelmas tearme last* (London: Thomas Este, 1590), 6-7; Thomas Palfreyman, *The treatise of heauenly philosophie* (London: William Norton, 1578), 74; John Boughton, *God and man. Or, a treatise catechisticall wherein the sauing knowledge of God and man is plainely, and breifely declared* (London: Samuel Man, 1623), 25; John Downame, *The summe of sacred diuinitie: First, Briefly & Methodically Propounded: And then More Largly & cleerely handled and explaned* (London: William Barret, 1620), 283-84; Richard Crakanthorpe, *A sermon of predestination* (London: Thomas Lownes, 1623), 1-3; Henry Hibbert, *Syntagma theologicum; or, a treatise, Wherein is concisely comprehended the Body of Divinity, and the Fundamentals of Religion* (London: John Clark, 1662), 90, 92.

[76] Wilson, *Romans* (1653)*, 309, 336.

wallow in sin.[77] From the defenses Reformed theologians gave of their view of predestination, Haigh infers that it was "highly unpopular" among the common people due to its negative effects of fear, agony, and melancholy.[78] Doran supposes that apart from Puritan circles, preachers avoided this doctrine due to its potential "danger."[79] According to Lake, the English delegation at the Synod of Dort was "anxious to modify and moderate the language" of the Canons out of a desire to be "pastoral and edificational."[80] R. T. Kendall suggests Sibbes' "pastoral concern" made him "almost prefer that men forget about the decrees of predestination."[81] Rather than simply recognize that certain pastors avoided or even opposed this doctrine, numerous scholars, such as Kendall, Marsh, Craig, and Hirst, have argued the orthodox doctrine of predestination to be essentially unpastoral.[82]

Though pastoral concerns did lead some to pass by or modify this doctrine in their ministries, labeling the Reformed view of predestination "unpastoral" is a false generalization. Differences of opinion existed at the time concerning the profit or harmfulness of preaching predestination. Like numerous others, Parr was convinced that the doctrine was of great pastoral value. In his expositions of Romans he states that "they which deny it, or would not have it taught, bereave men of a principall stay under the

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[77] John Calvin, *Thirteene Sermons of Maister Iohn Calvine, Entreating of the Free Election of God in Iacob, and the reprobation in Esau* (London: Thomas Man, 1579), sigs. 25^v, 26^r.

[78] Haigh, "Taming of the Reformation," 577-80. Contra Haigh see Peter Lake, "Richard Kilby: A study in Personal and Professional Failure," in *The Ministry: Clerical and Lay*, ed. W. J. Sheils and Diana Wood, Studies in Church History, vol. 26 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989), 225.

[79] Doran and Durston, *Princes, Pastors, and People*, 195.

[80] Lake, "Calvinism and the English Church," 56; Anthony Milton, *Catholic and Reformed: The Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought 1600-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 418.

[81] Kendall, *Calvin and English Calvinism*, 103. In response, see Dever, *Richard Sibbes*, 108-109.

[82] Kendall, *Calvin and English Calvinism*, 209-212; Marsh, *Popular Religion in Sixteenth Century England*, 121; Cragg, *Freedom and Authority*, 151; Derek Hirst, *England in Conflict, 1603-1660* (London: Arnold, 1999), 38, 39.

Crosse."[83] Predestination gives profound support for those in affliction. He also states that

it ought to be taught in the church "because it is the very foundation and ground-worke of

all our certainty, and assurance in Christ, concerning heavenly things."[84] Parr's other

beneficial uses of predestination, which will be treated in Chapters 4 and 5, include hope,

humility, warning, comfort, gratitude, sanctification, and praise. Other English

theologians, such as Tuke, Babington, Crakenthorpe, Wilson, James Ussher, Edward

Leigh, and Thomas Horton, also stress that predestination is a profitable doctrine to be

taught.[85] According to Downame, it ought to be taught because it is "the roote of all

Pietie, and the Base of our comfort."[86] In his conviction that predestination was pastoral

Parr stood in a well-established tradition including Calvin, John Bradford, Vermigli,

Bernardino Ochino, and Amandus Polanus, who said it must be preached not simply

because it is revealed truth but especially because it is beneficial.[87] Various scholars have

done well to register this conviction concerning its pastoral benefit.[88]

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[83] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 110.

[84] Parr, *Grounds*, 282.

[85] Tuke, *The high-vvay to heauen*, 6, 8-9; Babington, *A Sermon Preached at Paules Crosse*, 6, 17-21; Crakanthorpe, *A sermon of predestination*, 2-3; Wilson, *Romans* (1653)*, 340, 350; James Ussher, *A Body of Divinitie, or The Summe and Substance of Christian Religion, Catechetically propounded, and explained, by way of Question and Answer…composed long since by James Usher* (London: Tho. Downes, 1645), 92; Edward Leigh, "The third booke," in *A treatise of divinity consisting of Three Bookes* (London: E. Griffin, 1646), 5-6; Thomas Horton, *Forty six sermons upon the whole eighth chapter of the epistle of the apostle Paul to the Romans* (London: A. Maxwell, 1674), 476.

[86] John Downame, *The summe of sacred diuinitie*, 284.

[87] Calvin, *Institutes*, III.xxi.1-4; Vermigli, *Romanes*, fol. 259^r ("this they can not do without great injury unto the holy ghost: as though he would teach any thing, which chould either be unprofitable, or hurtful"), fol. 265^v; John Bradford, "Defence of Election," in *The Writings of John Bradford*, vol. 1 (1848; reprint, Edinburgh: Banner of Truth, 1979), 308, 311; Bernardino Ochino, *Fouretene sermons of Barnardine Ochyne, concernyng the predestinacion and eleccion of god: very expediente to the settynge forth of hys glorye among hys creatures*, trans. by A.C (London: John Day & Wylliam Seres, 1551), sigs. A.ii.+4^v – B.iiii.^{r}; Polanus, *Concerning Gods eternall predestination*, 4-5.

[88] Wallace, *Puritans and Predestination*, 43-55; Cohen, *God's Caress*, 9; Benedict, *Christ's Churches Purely Reformed*, 303; Muller, *The Unaccommodated Calvin*, 151 (Calvin); Carl R. Trueman, *Luther's Legacy: Salvation and English Reformers, 1525-1556* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 275 (John Bradford); Beeke, "William Perkins on Predestination and Preaching," 45-46 (Perkins).

This focus on the practical benefit of teaching predestination agrees with the more general principle that all of God's Word is beneficial. The "*whole* and *every part* of [Scripture] is *profitable, usefull*, and *necessary*," according to Parr.[89] Therefore, in the preface to his *Grounds of Divinitie*, he stated that practical applications are "the praise and life of Knowledge."[90] While treating the doctrine of God, he stated that "knowledge without wise application and use, is hurtfull to them that are endued therewith."[91] Consequently, he exhorted all who read and studied Scripture to do so with prayer for the Spirit who "leadeth unto the knowledge and practice of all truth."[92] Every doctrine, including predestination, comes from God and is therefore profitable.

At times, Parr makes statements which seem to imply that this doctrine may be legitimately left behind when a preacher exchanges the university classroom for the pulpit. On one occasion he says predestination is "rather soundly to be explaned in the Schooles, then daily to be inculcated in every Pulpit."[93] Elsewhere he says, "The doctrine of Faith and Repentence is (God be thanked) to be had in every place: if any mans ability and gifts will serve him to travell in the controverted points of Predestination, free-will, Church-governments, &c. he may: but still let him not forget to *thinke soberly according to the measure dealt unto him*."[94] These statements would seem to fit with the theory that the teaching of predestination was generally confined to the universities and some centers

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[89] Parr, *[Rom. 13-16]*, 246. See 2 Timothy 3:16.

[90] Parr, "To the Courteous Reader," in *Grounds*, sig. A4ᵛ.

[91] Parr, *Grounds*, 61.

[92] Parr, "A Short and Plain Exhortation to the Study of the Word," in *Grounds*, 28.

[93] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 176. Without specifying their content, he also states that "Our hearers desire to heare new and subtill discourses, and things fitter for the *Schooles*, then for the *Pulpit*" (Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 490).

[94] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 494.

of fervent Puritanism.[95] However, in the first quotation, his contrast between the classroom and the pulpit is qualified by his reference to "daily" preaching in "every Pulpit." In the second, he draws a distinction between the clearer and more obscure doctrines so as to encourage more weight to be given to the clearer doctrines and painful study to precede the teaching of more obscure doctrines. Such statements are cautions against an excessive fixation upon predestination which would assign it a prominence in preaching which it does not have in Scripture. These statements should not be turned against his practice of treating the doctrine. Instead, they show that his belief in the propriety of preaching predestination was not a license to let it become the central theme of the ministry. If there was such a thing as predestination becoming "the central point of an airtight theological system" in his day,[96] Parr did not condone it in his theory concerning the propriety of teaching predestination.

According to Parr, predestination was to be preached because it was scriptural and beneficial. Contrary to scholars such as Haller and Bray, neither scholasticism nor philosophical speculation, but a concern to do justice to Scripture's treatment of predestination drove him to teach it.[97] The proof of his commitment to teaching predestination as part of the whole counsel of God is his expositions of Romans, which arose from his sermons, and his catechetical manual, *The Grounds of Divinitie*. Shortly

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[95] Bernard, "The Church of England, c.1579-c.1642," 183-206; Doran and Durston, *Princes, Pastors, and People*, 27; Lake, "Calvinism and the English Church," 39-41; Green, *Christian's ABC*, 386; White, "The *Via Media* in the Early Stuart Church," 218; Brian Cummings, *Grammar and Grace: The Literary Culture of the Reformation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 314.

[96] Wallace, *Puritans and Predestination*, 60; also McGrath, *Reformation Thought*, 141. For a response, see Richard A. Muller, "The Myth of Decretal Theology," *Calvin Theological Journal* 30 (1995): 159-167.

[97] Haller, *Rise of Puritanism*, 83-85; John S. Bray, *Theodore Beza's Doctrine of Predestination* (Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1975), 69; McGrath, *Reformation Thought*, 141; and, to a lesser extent, Wallace, *Puritans and Predestination*, 58.

before the 1622 prohibition to preach predestination and the increasing censorship of the press in the 1630s, Parr was convinced of its propriety for the "meaner sort."[98]

Manner of Teaching Predestination

Not only does Parr prescribe the teaching of predestination, but also gives directions concerning the manner of doing so. As could be expected, the general principles governing pastoral ministry also function in this specific aspect of ministry. On the one hand, drawing from Paul's rebuke in Romans 9:20 of those who object to predestination, Parr exhorts, "If thou beest a Preacher, put on Pauls spirit: bee godly-bold, to reprove gain-sayers."[99] Ministers are to "propound no false doctrines" and "seek not to please curious and itching eares."[100] He does not fit Haigh's trend of ministers shifting from orthodox predestinarianism due to "popular demand."[101] Boldness is required in preaching it. At the same time, he stresses preaching in such a way that the preacher may "winne the affections of the Auditors both to us and our doctrine." He noted that Paul spoke of the Jews' reprobation with tears that welled out of his love for them.[102] Firm boldness and loving concern are to mark the teaching of predestination.

Parr also calls ministers to "speak the truth, though it displease, yet with sobriety and wisdom."[103] He applies this general call to predestination, which is to be taught

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[98] Parr, "To the Courteous Reader," in *Grounds*, sig. A4+1ᵛ.

[99] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 204; see also pp. 230, 299.

[100] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 525.

[101] Haigh, "Taming of the Reformation," 572-588; see also D. Bruce Hindmarsh, *The Evangelical Conversion Narrative: Spiritual Autobiography in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 39.

[102] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 151; cf. Andrew Willet, *Hexapla: that is, a six-fold commentarie vpon the most diuine Epistle of the holy Apostle S. Paul to the Romanes* ([Cambridge]: Cantrell Legge, 1620), 432.

[103] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 151.

"soberly and discreetly."[104] Sober teaching heeds the exhortation: "let the light of the

Scripture be the rule, and not thy blinde reason."[105] Sobriety refuses to go beyond

Scripture. Thus, predestination is to be preached "according (not to the curious inventions

of men) to the Scripture, in as much as the wisedome of God hath revealed it."[106] He had

no desire to explain "every quiddity of men concerning Reprobation."[107] Repeatedly, he

warns against speculation and idle curiosity.[108] He even states that to ask "superfluous

questions" about God "is a very sicknesse of the mind."[109] Preachers must submit to the

limits of God's revelation.

This caution demonstrates that contemporary scholars were certainly not the first

to oppose abstract scholasticism and excessive speculation. Not only the "milder"

Reformer, Heinrich Bullinger, the moderate preacher, John Donne, and the anti-Calvinist

Bishop, Richard Montagu, but also the staunchly Calvinist pastor, Parr, was before

them.[110] Parr was not a lone Calvinist voice: Cartwright, Ussher, Leigh, William

Bucanus, and Beza himself also follow Calvin in warning of the danger of fruitless

curiosity and speculation concerning predestination.[111] In his argument against the

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[104] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 176; also idem, *Grounds*, 282 ("This doctrine is to bee taught in the Church soberly, and discreetly").

[105] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 176.

[106] Parr, *Grounds*, 282-283.

[107] Parr, *Grounds*, 307.

[108] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 490, 525; idem, *Grounds*, 62, 72.

[109] Parr, *Grounds*, 60.

[110] Heinrich Bullinger, *Fiftie godlie and learned sermons, divided into five decades, containing the chiefe and principall points of Christian Religion*, trans. H. I. (London: Ralph Newberie, 1587), 642; Shami, *John Donne and Conformity*, 280-83; Richard Montagu, *A gagg for the new Gospell? No: A New Gagg for an Old Goose* (London: Thomas Snodham, 1624), 178. Scholars observing and opposing speculation include: White, *Predestination, Policy and Polemic*, 21; McGrath, *Reformation Thought,* 141.

[111] Calvin, *Institutes*, III.xxi.1-2; Thomas Cartwright, *Christian religion: substantially, methodicalli[e,] [pla]inlie, and profitablie treatised* (London: Thomas Man, 1611), 15 ("Wee must not subject it to our shallow and base capacitie, to measure it by our reason, considering that the will of God, from whence the decree commeth, is unsearchable"); Ussher, *A Body of Divinitie,* 52 ("we must not

caricature of post-Reformation scholasticism, Muller notes Leigh did the same.[112] Lake

does well in noting that "exclamations at the impropriety of too close a cross questioning

of the divine will were common to both" Calvinists and anti-Calvinists.[113] Contrary to the

suggestions of Doran, Durston, and Green, not a fear of the doctrine's dangerous

character but the limits of Scripture's light and his own apprehension of that light

restrained him from going further into these depths.[114]

This principle not only checks proud speculators from going beyond Scripture, but

also spurs the slothful to learn more of God's revelation – an application that is too often

forgotten by the scholarship frightened by the abstractness of post-Reformation

treatments of predestination. Concerning the mystery of the Trinity, Parr stressed: "We

may not be ignorant of it, nor curious in inquiring into that which is not manifested; both

are very hurtful."[115] Already near the beginning of his catechetical explanation of

predestination, he stated the doctrine was to be taught "in as much as the wisedome of

God hath revealed it, and then we are bound to take knowledge of it."[116] Faith desires to

search out not only the plain but also the more obscure teachings of Scripture, all the

while exercising sobriety in keeping within the bounds of Scripture. This conviction fits

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curiously search after the knowledge of [the secret will of God], but worship and reverence it."); Leigh, "The third booke," 11; William Bucanus, *Institutions of Christian religion framed out of Gods word, and the writings of the best diuines* (London: George Snowdon, 1606), 450; Theodore Beza, *The treasure of trueth touching the grounde worke of mans his salvation, and chiefest pointes of Christian Religion*, trans. John Stockwood (London: Thomas Woodcocke, 1576), sigs. I.v.+1ᵛ, I.v.+2ʳ.

[112] Muller, *After Calvin*, 31-32.

[113] Peter Lake, *Anglicans and Puritans? Presbyterianism and English Conformist thought from Whitgift to Hooker* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1988), 189. Lake also speaks of Richard Hooker's "convoluted and highly rationalist arguments." Morgan notes that Montagu "accused the Puritans of being too unlearned to comprehend his [subtle and scholastical?] arguments" concerning predestination (Morgan, *Godly Learning*, 15).

[114] Doran and Durston, *Princes, Pastors, and People*, 195; Green, *Christian's ABC*, 386.

[115] Parr, *Grounds*, 63, 60 ("the Scriptures must be the bounds of our thoughts and speech of God; and withal we are bound to know what therein is reveiled of him").

[116] Parr, *Grounds*, 282-83; also idem, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 110, 176.

with the general pastoral principle Samuel Hieron notes: "As it is curiositie to enquire

into that which God hath concealed, so it is unthankfulnesse not to take notice of

whatsoever he hath left written for our learning."[117] It also fits with William Zepper's

general exhortation for auditors not to "loath or neglect" points they do not understand in

sermons by saying "things that are above us doe not belong unto us," but humbly to seek

to understand God's Word.[118]

The other main directive concerning the manner of teaching predestination is to

follow the purpose of Scripture, namely, spiritual profit rather than mental entertainment.

As established already in the section on the propriety of preaching predestination,

predestination is beneficial. The implication for the manner of teaching it is that this

benefit must be conveyed. For example, Parr exhorts: "Do thou labour more to make thy

election sure upon good grounds, than to conceive every quiddity of men concerning

Reprobation."[119] His concern was for his readers to profit from this doctrine rather than

"conceive" the answer to every trivial objection against it. The teaching of predestination

was to be guided by its goal: to lead people to delight in the grace of election.

Parr's comments about the manner of teaching predestination fit within the

Reformed tradition. Calvin called for a sober teaching of it.[120] Zanchius exhorted that it

be "delivered by the preacher as it is delivered in Scripture; and no otherwise."[121]

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[117] Hieron, *The Preachers Plea*, 43. He also speaks against a preaching that "filleth mens heads with a world of idle questions" (p. 252).

[118] William Zepper, *The art or skil, well and fruitfullie to heare the holy Sermons of the Church* (London: Felix Kingston, 1599), 132-133, 81-84; see also Stephen Egerton, *The Boring of the Eare* (London: William Stansby, 1623), 48-49, 66.

[119] Parr, *Grounds*, 307.

[120] John Calvin, *Commentary on the Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Romans*, trans. John Owen, in *Calvin's Commentaries*, vol. 19 (1849; reprint, Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 2003), 365 (s.v. Rom. 9:20), 444 (s.v. Rom. 11:33); see also idem, *Institutes*, III.xxiii.5.

[121] Zanchius, *Absolute Predestination*, 165.

Arguing from the effect it may have, Wilson said reprobation must be preached, "but warily and with circumspection, as the mindes of the people be not estranged from God by the rash handling of it."[122] Arguing from the unsearchableness of the topic, Horton exhorted that it be treated "with all fear and reverence, and trembling."[123] The *Canons of Dort* and the *Westminster Confession of Faith* make both arguments, the latter stating that that "the doctrine of this high mystery of predestination is to be handled with special prudence and care."[124] These guidelines for the manner of handling predestination are not implicit recognitions of the lethal nature of their formulations, as some scholars suggest, but recognitions of the lofty nature of the doctrine and the reserved character of Scripture's revelation of it. In harmony with his tradition, Parr indicates that predestination should be clearly and forcefully, soberly and wisely preached for it to have blessed effects within the hearers.

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[122] Wilson, *Romans* (1653)*,* 350; see also Downame, *The summe of sacred diuinitie*, 283.

[123] Horton, *Forty six sermons*, 485.

[124] "The Confession of Faith agreed upon by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster," in *Westminster Confession of Faith* (Glasgow: Free Presbyterian Publications, 1997), III.viii (cited proof texts are Rom. 9:20, Rom. 11:33 and Deut. 29:29); *Canons of Dort*, I.14.

CHAPTER 4: ELNATHAN PARR'S EXPOSITIONS OF ROMANS

Introduction

The examination of predestination in Elnathan Parr's expositions of Romans demonstrates both the exegetical basis and the practical outworking of his teaching. In handling what has been considered one of the most determinative doctrines of post-Reformation theology, this examination provides an important testing point of scholarly assessments of post-Reformation biblical interpretation. As noted in Chapter 1, numerous scholars continue to insist that a rigid, scholastic dogmatism dominated post-Reformation exegesis, while a growing number of studies have argued that a broad range of tools were applied to the text to discern its meaning in order to develop and apply doctrine.[1]

While these scholars tend to focus on the theory of exposition, its chief exercise was embodied in the preached and published sermon. As Muller indicates, biblical exposition was practiced within the context of and for the good of the church.[2] Therefore it is not surprising that sermons were "the preeminent literary genre in earlier seventeenth-century England," according to P. G. Stanwood.[3] The preeminence of the sermon as a literary genre is reflective of its preeminence in the worship of God among the English Reformed, as various scholars indicate.[4] Numerous commentaries of the

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[1] See pp. 5-7 above.

[2] Muller, *Post-Reformation Reformed Dogmatics*, 2:483, 505-506; see also Shim, "Biblical Hermeneutics and Hebraism," 295-296.

[3] P. G. Stanwood, "Critical Directions in the Study of Early Modern Sermons," in *Fault Lines and Controversies in the Study of Seventeenth-Century English Literature,* ed. Ted-Larry Pebworth and Claude J. Summers (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 2002), 140; see also Douglas Bush, *English Literature in the Earlier Seventeenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1952), 296.

[4] Horton Davies, *The Worship of the English Puritans* (1948; reprint, Morgan: Soli Deo Gloria Publications, 1997), 182-203; R. Bruce Bickel, *Light and Heat: The Puritan View of the Pulpit* (Morgan: Soli Deo Gloria, 1999), 7-13; Lewis, *Genius of Puritanism*, 19-20, 34-47.

period even originated from the commentator's sermons, thereby ensuring that they expounded the meaning of the text in a way that conveyed both doctrine and practical instruction to their readers.[5] A prime way of assessing the character of seventeenth-century English biblical exposition is to examine the sermons and homiletical commentaries produced in the period, including those of Parr.

Some scholars are very critical of the sermons of this period. J. W. Blench casted himself as the first person to do a serious study of the topic, since the earlier study of W. F. Mitchell was concerned "purely with style."[6] However, Blench has little analysis of the Puritan expository method and discovers a "predominantly literal" exegesis packaged in a rather "colourless style."[7] Drawing on several Puritan preachers, E. R. Gane argues that the "most characteristic exegetical approach was the proof-text method," in which phrases or texts "became stepping-off places for discussion of favorite doctrines."[8] John Moorman echoes that "much of their [Puritan] preaching was theological, in support of Protestant doctrines of predestination, justification and election."[9] According to Grant and Tracy, during this period "Scripture no longer speaks to the heart but to the critical

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[5] E.g., Edward Elton, *The great mystery of godlinesse opened being an exposition upon the whole ninth chapter of the epistle of Saint Paul to the Romans* (London: J. L., 1653); Wilson, *Romans* (1653); William Sclater, *A Key to the Key of Scripture: or, An Exposition with Notes, vpon the Epistle to the Romanes; the three first Chapters*, 2d ed. (London: T.C., 1629). This was a well-established tradition by Parr's time: see, e.g., Heinrich Bullinger, *A hundred sermons vpon the Apocalipse of Iesu Christ* (London: Iohn Daye, 1573); Rudolf Gwalther, *Certaine godlie homelies or sermons vpon the prophets Abdias and Ionas conteyning a most fruitefull exposition of the same*, trans. Robert Norton (London: Henrie Bynneman, 1573).

[6] Blench, *Preaching in England*, xiii. He cites W. F. Mitchell, *English Pulpit Oratory from Andrewes to Tillotson* (London, 1932).

[7] Blench, *Preaching in England*, 58, 170.

[8] Gane, "Exegetical Methods of Some Sixteenth-Century Puritan Preachers," 36, 104.

[9] John R. H. Moorman, *The Anglican Spiritual Tradition* (Springfield: Templegate Publishers, 1985), 79.

intellect."[10] Those who argue for exegetical dogmatism in Scripture interpretation also tend to argue that the related preaching was unpastoral and abstract.

In contrast, though Leland Ryken finds some moralizing tendencies, Davies critiques them for "prolixity" and "pedantry," and Baars for an overuse of scholastic distinctions, they and James Packer argue that the chief concern of Puritan preachers was to convey the truth of the text to the hearts and lives of the congregation.[11] In more depth and with considerable competence, Joseph Pipa analyzes the roots and impact of William Perkins on preaching and the exposition of Scripture, concluding his method of sermon construction, known as the "new reformed method," enabled him to convey the meaning of the text, though it was in danger of leading to a lack of unity within the sermon.[12] Thus, scholars differ over whether the "Puritan" method was characterized by dogmatic proof-texting, extreme literalism, or actual Scripture exposition. An examination of the exposition of texts concerning predestination, the ostensible chief culprit of dogmatism, provides an opportunity to assess these claims.

The value of Parr's work is that it originates from his parish sermons and retains a sermonic form even though it was modified from what he preached. The title of his exposition of Romans 8 through 11 states that it is the "the substance of neere five yeeres Week dayes SERMONS." In his dedication of them to Nathaniel Bacon, he describes

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[10] Grant and Tracy, *Interpretation of the Bible*, 97.

[11] Ryken, *Worldly Saints*, 98-99, 191-195; Davies, *Worship of the English Puritans*, 200; idem, *Worship and Theology in England: From Andrewes to Baxter and Fox, 1603-1690* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), 161-176, 529-533; idem, *Worship and Theology in England: From Cranmer to Hooker, 1534-1603*, 305, 308, 324; Packer, *Quest for Godliness*, 105 (the "soundness of their method is unquestionable"); idem, "The Puritans as Interpreters of Scripture," in *Puritan Papers: 1956-1959* (Phillipsburg: P&R Publishing, 2000), 191-202; Baars, "De Puriteinse Pastor," 13.

[12] Joseph A. Pipa, "William Perkins and the Development of Preaching" (Ph.D. diss., Westminster Theological Seminary, 1985), 120.

them as the "poore labours" which Bacon had heard "uttered by voice."[13] While Green

notes that most published sermons were preached in leading cities and therefore little is

known of what type of preaching went on in the many rural parishes, these sermons were

preached in such a parish.[14] At the same time, the form differs in that writing cannot

"expresse that lively Energy of the voyce, which consists in Utterance and action" and

"The stile must needs lose something, because I have endevoured to abbreviate many

things in vvriting; which I took more liberty in speaking to deliver."[15] As various scholars

have noted, the printed sermon was usually not a transcript of what was preached.[16] This

certainly holds for Parr, since his work is entitled "expositions" rather than "sermons,"

contains numerous marginal notes and references, and has a concise style.[17] In contrast to

those who augmented their preached sermons upon publication, Parr claims to have

condensed them. Thus, it could be expected that he likely treated on the pulpit what he

treated in his commentary, even if his precise form and style differed.

As some of the first expositions of Romans written in English, Parr's expositions

provide an ideal opportunity to analyze the nature of English preaching on predestination.

In his preface to Calvin's commentary, the nineteenth-century translator, John Owen,

identifies Parr's commentary as the first "published in this country, composed in

English."[18] This statement is inaccurate both because Parr's published expositions

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[13] Parr, "To the Very Noble and Religious Gentleman...," in *[Rom. 8-12]*, sig. A2.

[14] Green, *Print and Protestantism*, 208-209, 215.

[15] Parr, "To the Very Noble and Religious Gentleman...," in *[Rom. 8-12]*, sig. A2.

[16] Herr, *The Elizabethan Sermon*, 75-85; Webster, *Godly Clergy in Early Stuart England*, 105 (readers tended to be more spiritually committed than congregations); Collinson, "Shepherds, Sheepdogs, and Hirelings," 206 (printed sermons tended to be more sophisticated); Green, *Print and Protestantism*, 208 (printed sermons tended to be a "carefully polished and augmented version" of what was preached).

[17] As Green notes, "expositions" were printed sermons more often (Green, *Print and Protestantism*, 221).

[18] Owen, "Translator's Preface," in Calvin, *Epistle to the Romans*, vi.

covered only around two thirds of the epistle and because Andrew Willet published an

extensive commentary on the whole epistle in 1611 and Thomas Wilson in 1614.[19] The

first English survey of Romans was William Tyndale's *A compendious introduccion.*[20]

The first extensive English commentaries were translations of Vermigli (1568) and

Calvin (1583).[21] Romans 8 was one of the most popular chapters, with expositions of it

by John Hooper (1551), John Hedlambe (1579), Edward Philips (1607), William Cowper

(1609), and Edward Elton (1623).[22] After Parr, few new works expounded this Epistle as

a whole. While several works appeared on especially Romans 8 for edification and

Romans 9 for theological dispute, William Day's commentary in 1666 appears to be the

only other English commentary on Romans printed in the seventeenth-century, apart from

its exposition within larger sets of commentaries and annotations, such as those of

Giovanni Diodati, the Westminster Divines, John Mayer, Henry Hammond, Matthew

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[19] In 1618 Parr published expositions on chapters 8 through 11, in 1619 on chapters 8 through 12, and in 1622 on chapters 13 through 16. His *Works,* first published in 1632, added a commentary on Romans 1:1-2:2. Andrew Willet, *Hexapla, that is, A six-fold commentarie vpon the most diuine Epistle of the holy apostle S. Paul to the Romanes...* (Cambridge: Cantrell Legge, 1611); Thomas Wilson, *A commentarie vpon the most diuine Epistle of S. Paul to the Romanes* (London: W. Iaggard, 1614).

[20] William Tyndale, *A compendious introduccion, prologe or preface vn to the pistle off Paul to the Romayns* (Worms: P. Schoeffer, 1526). His introduction of Romans 9 is almost a paraphrase of Luther (Martin Luther, *A methodicall preface prefixed before the Epistle of S. Paule to the Romanes very necessary and profitable for the better vnderstandyng of it*, trans. W. W. [London: Thomas Woodcocke, 1594]). Note also Thomas Palfreyman, *[A Paraphrase vppon the epistle of the holie apostle S. Paule to the Romanes]* (London: Henry Bynneman, 1572).

[21] Vermigli, *Romanes* (1568); John Calvin, *A commentarie vpon the Epistle of Saint Paul to the Romanes,* trans. Christopher Rosdell (London: Iohn Harison & George Bishop, 1583). Note also the publication of the more controversial Anthony del Corro, *A theological dialogue: Wherin the Epistle of S. Paul the Apostle to the Romanes is expounded* (London: Thomas Purfoote, 1575). Hargrave classifies him as an anti-Calvinist (O. T. Hargrave, "The doctrine of predestination in the English Reformation" [Ph.D. diss., Vanderbilt University, 1966], 215-220).

[22] John Hedlambe, *An exposition of the whole eight chapiter to the Romaines, expounded by Ihon Hedlambe...* (London: Robert Walley, 1579); John Hooper, *Godly and most necessary annotations in ye .xiij. chapyter too the Romaynes* (Worceter: J. Oswen, 1551); Edward Philips, *Certain godly and learned Sermons* (London: Arn. Hatfield, 1607), 391-512; William Cowper, *Three heauenly treatises vpon the eight chapter to the Romanes* (London: Thomas Snodham, 1609); Edward Elton, *The triumph of a true Christian described* (London: Richard Field, 1623).

Poole, and John Trapp.[23] As Green notes, Romans was one the most popular books for commentators.[24] This popularity likely stems from the common recognition that Romans is the "Catechisme of Christian Religion; the Key, and the Abridgement of all Divinity," to use Parr's words.[25] As such, Romans yielded the main loci of theology, including predestination.

Expository Method

The New Reformed Method

The structure of Parr's expositions follows what is known as the "new Reformed method" of preaching advocated in William Perkins' classic work, *The arte of prophecying*. Parr begins with the analysis of the text, draws one or more doctrines from the text, provides some references to other texts that confirm this doctrine, and then concludes with a series of pastoral uses that apply the doctrine to his readers. If there is substance to Tae-Hyeun Park's observation of a shift in weight from exposition to

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[23] On Romans 8, see Hugh Binning, *The sinners sanctuary* (Edinburgh: George Swintown and James Glen, 1670); Thomas Jacombe, *Several sermons preach'd on the whole eighth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans* (London: W. Godbid, 1672); Horton, *Forty six sermons* (1674); Thomas Manton, *A second volume of sermons preached by the late reverend and learned Thomas Manton in two parts* (London: J. Astwood, 1684); Alexander Hamilton, *A cordial for Christians traveling heavenward* (Edinburgh: George Mosman, 1696). On Romans 9, see Elton, *Mystery of godlinesse*; as well as the polemical books: John Goodwin, *An exposition of the nineth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans* (London: John Macock, 1653); Samuel Loveday, *The hatred of Esau, and the love of Jacob unfoulded* ([London]: John Clowes, 1650). The entire commentary: William Day, *A paraphrase and commentary upon the epistle of Saint Paul to the Romans* (London: S. Griffin, 1666). Expositions of Romans within larger series: John Mayer, *A commentarie upon All the Epistles of the Apostle Saint Paul* (London: John Haviland, 1631); Giovanni Diodati, *Pious and learned annotations upon the Holy Bible* (London: Miles Flesher, 1648); John Downame et al, *Annotations upon all the books of the Old and Nevv Testament*, 3d ed. (London: Evan Tyler, 1657); John Trapp, *Annotations upon the Old and New Testament* (London: Robert White, 1662); Henry Hammond, *A paraphrase, and annotations upon all the books of the New Testament*, 3d ed. (London: J. F., 1671); Matthew Poole, *Annotations upon the Holy Bible* (London: John Richardson, 1683).

[24] Green, *Print and Protestantism*, 116.

[25] Parr, *[Rom. 1]*, 1. For the important place given to Romans, see Perkins, *Arte of prophecying*, 26; John Rainolds, *A Letter of Dr. Reinolds to his friend, concerning his advice for the studie of Divinitie* (London: Iohn Beale, 1613), sig. A5+1ᵛ; Morgan, *Godly Learning*, 115; Muller, *After Calvin*, 106, 113.

doctrine between Perkins and the *Westminster Directory of Public Worship*, Parr clearly

gravitates to giving more weight to exposition than the systematic delineation of the

doctrine derived from the text.[26] The doctrine of the text serves as little more than a

narrow doorway between the exposition and application of the text. He expounds the text

and applies the doctrine of the text. Thus, it would be unfair to label his method dogmatic

rather than exegetical or dry rather than edifying. As he says to his reader, "I have

endevoured plainely to open the words; diligently to unfold the Argument; briefly to

comprise the doctrine; and (beeing evidently proved) livelily to apply the same."[27] The

emphasis is on expounding the words and argument of the text in order to come to a

doctrine rather than an extended exposition of the doctrine distilled from the text.

In his expositional style, Parr differs from various others, as could be expected

from Muller's survey of post-Reformation exegesis.[28] The works of Calvin, Vermigli, and

Day proceed through the text without a standard pattern of sections and give less explicit

pastoral application. Mayer focuses on textual and theological issues that rise from the

text. Willet is more technical and thematic with his sixfold division of each chapter.

Diodati, Downame, Poole, and Trapp provide a running commentary in the form of

concise annotations. Cowper's more sermonic prose is less structured than that of Parr.

Elton and Horton not only avoid citing other sources, but are also more expansive and

sermonic in their explicit expositions, doctrines, reasons, and uses. Within the Puritan

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[26] Park, *Sacred Rhetoric*, 290.

[27] Parr, "To the Christian Reader," in *[Rom. 8-12]*; see also ibid., title page (an exposition "wherein the Text is diligently and Methodically resolved, the sence given: and many Doctrines thence gathered, are by lively uses applied, for the benefit of Gods Children").

[28] Muller, "Biblical Interpretation in the 16th & 17th Centuries," 140-146. For variety of method within Reformed expository preaching, see James Thomas Ford, "Preaching in the Reformed Tradition," in *Preachers and People in the Reformations and the Early Modern Period*, ed. Larissa Taylor (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 70.

sermonic form, Parr engages in careful exposition that dialogues with other expositors on a higher level and more concise way than could be expected in an oral sermon.

That dogmatism is not inherent in this method is evidenced by where he does and does not deal with predestination or even use terms relating to predestination. In chapter one of Romans, he only mentions the terms "elect" and "reprobate" in passing five times, noting for example that the "Beloved of God" addressed in verse seven are those who share in the "the speciall love of God, with which he embraces his Elect in Christ,"[29] and that the address of God as "my God" is what "puts a difference betweene Beleevers and Reprobates."[30] When verse 28 states that God "gave them over to a reprobate mind," he states the action must be understood in the context of their ungodliness and that it is not a reference to "reprobate as opposed to Election," but of a mind "approving of nothing which is right and good," as Beza explains.[31] Parr refuses to launch from the word "reprobate" in the text into a dogmatic treatment of "reprobation." Consistent with his exposition of verse 28, his uses do not point the readers to God's decree but to the danger of an ungodly life and wicked mind.[32] Since Romans 1 does not deal with predestination, Parr does not treat it, but only mentions predestinarian terms on a few occasions.

In his exposition of Romans 13-16, he uses predestinarian terms such as the cognates of "elect," "reprobate," "predestinate," and God's "decree" only around 16 times over the space of its 349 pages.[33] He only mentions these terms in passing because

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[29] Parr, *[Rom. 1]*, 5.

[30] Parr, *[Rom. 1]*, 7.

[31] Parr, *[Rom. 1]*, 36. He cites Beza. See *The New Testament of our Lord Iesus Christ, Translated out of Greeke by Theod. Beza….,* trans. L. Tomson (London: Christopher Barker, 1577), s.v. Rom. 1:28 (fol. 235ʳ).

[32] Parr, *[Rom. 1]*, 36-37.

[33] Parr, *[Rom. 13-16]*, 119, 121, 125, 142, 161, 162, 166, 185, 199, 241, 242, 293, 328, 329, 346, 349.

these chapters do not deal with predestination. He only uses the terms when they serve to

clarify who is referred to in the text or how a divine action relates to the divine will in

particular texts. He did not preach predestination because it was his central dogma, as

William Haller affirmed concerning the Puritans.[34] A predestinarian dogma cannot be

said to hold his exposition in bondage, neither can his Puritan method be said to lead him

to impose a dogmatic predestinarian grid on the text.

Sample Expositions of Predestination

The correlate to not treating predestination where it is absent in the text is his

refusal to impose a non-predestinarian grid that would overlook the doctrine where it is

present. When a text raises predestination, Parr handles this doctrine in his exposition and

uses. Several examples of his method which combines exposition and application may be

of value.

The first example is his treatment of Romans 8:29a, "For whom he did foreknow,

he also did predestinate to be conformed to the image of his Son."[35] In his introduction to

Romans, he established that Romans 8 offers consolation "to all that are regenerate," with

verses 1-17 focused on indwelling sin and verses 18-30 on affliction.[36] Verse 28 is a "new

argument to comfort and encourage us under the Crosse, taken from the profit the Crosse

brings."[37] In his exposition, he first sets verse 29 in the context of verse 28, showing that

verse 29 enlarges on the comfort in verse 28 by clarifying the purpose of God mentioned

in verse 28. He then breaks down the verse into its subject and predicate. The subject,

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[34] Haller, *Rise of Puritanism,* 83-85.

[35] For his explanation of Romans 8:29a, see Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 109-112. Parr generally uses the Authorized Version of 1611, though he alters it on occasion.

[36] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, sig. B2.

[37] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 106.

"foreknown," means they are known with God's knowledge of love from eternity. The predicate is divided into the "act" of predestination and "the determination of the act," namely, conformity to Christ. He analyzes the word "predestinate" as being comprised of "destinate," meaning to "appoint to a certain end," and "pre-," meaning this was done beforehand. He notes that the verb "predestinate" in Scripture is always used of election, though "divines" speak of it as including election and reprobation. He then explains election as the "separation of the chosen out of the masse fallen" and "an ordination of them to life, and the means of life." The goal is conformity to the Son of God as something begun here and perfected hereafter.

Having expounded the text he derives three doctrines, to which he appends several other supporting texts to confirm the truth of them:

1. There is a Predestination
2. The cause of Predestination is Gods fore-knowing and free love.
3. All such as are elected, are predestinated to bee conformed to Christ.

These three doctrines are merely a reformulation of the text itself and show no evidence of speculative dogmatizing. They also build on each other to convey the thrust of the text, namely, that divine predestination is unto conformity to Christ.

This thrust is applied by three uses that focus on conformity to Christ. First, "we should be comforted under the Crosse, because it is a Conformity with Christ"; second, "Christ is our Absolute Example to follow"; and third, "As thou wouldest be like Christ in glory, so endevour to be like him in holinesse." These uses are not inferences from the doctrines derived from the text and therefore one step removed from the text, but they flow from the text itself.

That English Reformed exposition contained variety within overarching unity is indicated by a comparison of Parr with some of his contemporaries on Romans 8:29a. The basic exposition of Elton, Horton, Wilson, Philips, Vermigli and Calvin is very

similar to Parr; however, they differ in emphasis and detail. Being more expansive, Elton

deals with both predestination and conformity to Christ in more detail. Unlike Parr and

like Horton, Elton stresses the certainty of predestination for the comfort of the believer

and the sovereignty of it to the confutation of Pelagians and Arminians.[38] Philips includes

a treatment of reprobation.[39] Deriving the element of love from the word

"foreknowledge," Wilson brings out not only the freeness of God's love but also the

obligation to love Him in return.[40] On the other hand, a considerable portion of Vermigli

and Calvin's exposition is devoted to showing that the word "foreknow" does not mean

God elects on the basis of foreseen works.[41] Parr fits within the broad stream of the

Reformed understanding of this text.

Another example of Parr's method is his exposition of Romans 9:14-16: "What

shall we say then? Is there unrighteousness with God? God forbid. For he saith to Moses,

I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy, and I will have compassion on whom I

will have compassion. So then it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of

God that sheweth mercy."[42]As usual, he begins by setting these verses within Paul's

broader argument in Romans 9. Verses 14-18 answer the objection against God's

dealings with Jacob and Esau, as representatives of elect and reprobate persons.[43] The

challenge of injustice is raised in verse 14a and answered in verses 14b-16. Concerning

the objection, he presents two streams of interpretation, the one stating it arises from the

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[38] Elton, *Triumph of a true Christian*, 655-676; Horton, *Forty six sermons*, 474-481. Vermigli does the same (Vermigli, *Romanes*, fol. 226^v).

[39] Philips, *Certain godly and learned Sermons*, 347.

[40] Wilson, *Romans* (1653)*,* 307.

[41] Vermigli, *Romanes*, fols. 225^v-226^r; Calvin, *Epistle to the Romans*, 317-318.

[42] For his entire exposition of verse 16, see Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 183-188.

[43] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 132.

time of the decree and the other from the "unequal dealing with equals." He agrees with the later alternative on the basis that Paul deals with the persons and not the time of the decree in verse 15.

Paul's answer first gives a general denial of the charge and then a specific argument to prove "God is not uniust in electing" (vv.15-16) and "he is not uniust in reprobating (vv.17-18). Paul's quotation of Exodus 33:19 is often understood to show that election flows from his mercy and therefore God is not unjust. However, Parr argues "it is better and more plainely to be understood" by focusing on the "authority of God." He then gives a Ramist break-down of the Aristotelian model of justice as taken "generally" and "specially," specially being "either Commutative or Distributive: in both is equalitie. In the first; Arithmeticall, of Quantitie. In the second; Geometricall; of Proportion." He states that communitative justice is not in God and "distributive justice" is not "properly" in God.[44] God's justice must be considered as he is "God or Judge or Lord." He covers this scholastic terrain to conclude that the text is stressing God's justice as Lord, who has authority over all to do as he will. The objection views God as judge, while Paul's answer views God as Lord.[45] Verse 16 then concludes that because predestination is wholly attributed to God's will, the human will is excluded in the words "not of him that willeth" and good works are excluded in the words "him that runneth."

The doctrine from these verses is "Though God save some, and condemn others, yet he is just."[46] Though the text does not speak of condemnation, it is in the immediate context. The main clause of the doctrine captures Paul's response to the objection in verse

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[44] On the various aspects of justice, see Richard A. Muller, *Dictionary of Latin and Greek Theological Terms: Drawn Principally from Protestant Scholastic Theology* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1985), s.v. *iustitia*.

[45] Cf. Elton, *Mystery of godlinesse*, 116.

[46] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 187.

14a. After citing several texts to confirm this truth, Parr presents five uses, which reach back to his exposition of the text. The first is to "Imitate Pauls zeale when God is challenged by uniust persons," as evidenced by Paul's exclamation "God forbid!" (v.14b). The second use is "In all things acknowledge God to be iust, though thou understand not the reason of things done by him." Paul does not give a reason why God elects one and reprobates another, but ascribes it to the will of the "chiefe Lord," as sufficient reason to silence the objection. The third use is more theological: "Mercy presupposeth misery: therefore, when we were elected, we were considered as miserable." The fourth is the comforting truth that the state of the elect is certain because it is based on God's unchanging and irresistible will. The final use is the polemical refutation of Arminius who holds "it is in mans power to bee saved if he will."[47]

Like his exposition of Romans 8:29a, his exposition of Romans 9:14-16 evidences careful attention to the precise language of the text, the argument of Paul in the immediate context, and the whole scope of Scripture. His doctrine does not separate the uses from the text. Instead, his uses proceed through the text, the first drawing from verse 14b, the second through fourth from verse 15, and the fifth use from verse 16. At the same time, he evidences more scholastic precision in his treatment of God's justice and a broader range of uses than his exposition of Romans 8:29a. This precision concerning, for example, God's distributive justice can already be found in Vermigli's commentary as well, albeit not as developed, showing Parr's continuity with the Reformers.[48]

Parr's uses of these verses also cohere with those of others. His first use is heavily employed in Calvin's exposition of verse 14, which also develops and assaults the natural

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[47] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 187-188.

[48] Vermigli, *Romanes*, fol. 259ᵛ.

enmity of man against this doctrine.[49] His second use of submission to the absolute divine

will is stressed by Calvin and Elton.[50] He shares his less common third use with Wilson,

showing their infralapsarian sensitivities.[51] His fourth use about the certainty of salvation

is mentioned by Vermigli and Elton,[52] while his final use is a common refutation of

pelagian or semi-pelagianism. Especially Vermigli argues at length against free will and

predestination being based on foreseen works.[53]

These sample expositions indicate Parr's concern for the precise language of the

text as well as the logical development of Paul's argument. Even after stating the doctrine

derived from the text, he does not simply derive uses from the doctrine as an isolated

proposition, but reaches back into the exposition of the text to develop his uses. In doing

so he fits within his exegetical tradition even while feeling free to defend his own

understanding of certain textual elements.

General Characteristics

Two general characteristics of Parr's expositions relate to his teaching of

predestination. First, he explored the doctrine in considerable depth within his homiletical

commentary. At one point, unlike some others, he mentions that a text provided

opportunity to treat various topics, but that he refrained because his intention was to write

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[49] Calvin, *Epistle to the Romans*, 353-357; Elton expands even more on this point (Elton, *Mystery of godlinesse*, 113-115, 118-119); Wilson addresses the offensiveness of this doctrine to the natural man (Wilson, *Romans* [1653]*,* 343-344); Palfreyman rebukes such pride (Palfreyman, *A Paraphrase vppon the epistle*, fols. 34^v-35^r).

[50] Calvin, *Epistle to the Romans*, 355-356; Elton, *Mystery of godlinesse*, 117; see also Wilson, *Romans* (1653)*,* 345.

[51] Wilson, *Romans* (1653)*,* 346.

[52] Vermigli, *Romanes*, fol. 261^r; Elton, *Mystery of godlinesse*, 126, 134.

[53] Vermigli, *Romanes*, fols. 261^r-263^r; see also Calvin, *Epistle to the Romans*, 357; Wilson, *Romans* (1653)*,* 346, 347-348; Downame, *Annotations*, s.v. Rom. 9:16; Mayer, *A commentarie upon All the Epistles*, 90, 93-95.

"a briefe Commentarie, not a volume of Common places."[54] In distinction from the *locus* method in Melanchthon's commentaries, which analyzed the text to elicit "standard topics" or "*loci communes*" from the text without expounding each verse in detail, Parr proceeds with an analysis of each clause, without loosing sight of the overall argument of the text and the doctrines to be derived from them.[55] His preaching was expository, rather than topical: he did not use texts as prefaces to treatments of general doctrines, as Gane claims was standard.[56] At the same time, his aim for clarity led him to deal with the meaning of the text in considerable detail. While considerable by today's standards, his depth is not untypical of his day. Edward Elton's exposition of Romans 9 is well over twice as long as that of Parr; however, Parr still delved into what he calls an "almost bottomlesse depth of abstruse and hidden mysteries."[57]

As noted already, Parr used numerous scholastic distinctions to clarify the doctrine of predestination. In a use dealing with the freedom of the will, he distinguishes between "liberty of contrariety or contradiction," the necessity of "coaction" and of "immutability," as well as natural, moral, and supernatural actions.[58] He uses these distinctions to explain the scriptural teachings that the liberty of the will remains in the natural man even while he is unable to choose what is good. Elsewhere, Parr maintains that "in reprobation our ilnesse is excluded, as a speciall personall discretive cause: not as

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[54] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 155. This is a contrast with Dr. Sutton who gave an extensive treatment of predestination in his lecture on Romans 11:2 which text only mentions God's foreknowledge (Thomas Sutton, *Lectures vpon the eleventh chapter of The Romans* [London: Nicholas Bourne, 1631], 49-79).

[55] On the locus method see Muller, "Biblical Interpretation in the 16th & 17th Centuries," 130; idem, *After Calvin*, 10, 43, 50. Ibid., 214 cites Robert Kolb, "Teaching the Text: The Commonplace Method in Sixteenth Century Lutheran Biblical Commentary," *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 49 (1987): 571–585.

[56] Gane, "Exegetical Methods of Some Sixteenth-Century Puritan Preachers," 36, 104.

[57] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 149; Elton, *Mystery of godlinesse*.

[58] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 198-99; Vermigli speaks of a necessity of compulsion, inward propensity, and consequence (Vermigli, *Romanes*, fol. 270ʳ).

a necessary condition, or generall meritorious cause, without the which God will not reprobate any."[59] Here Parr utilizes distinctions to clarify how Romans 9:18 can trace both election and reprobation to the mere will of God, and at the same time can see reprobation as a just act of God. In his use of this technical terminology, he may differ from what Shawn argues about Beza, namely, that his sermons were "rarely technical."[60] Yet, his scholastic distinctions are not the evidence of arid speculation but of a pastoral concern that his people rightly understand the doctrine of predestination.

Reasoning from principles was not used as a parallel source of theology to faith in Scripture, as Armstrong, McGrath, Kendall, and Hall argue.[61] Instead, logic is what Parr's contemporary Richard Bernard called "an especiall handmaid by the assistance of Gods spirit, to serve for great use in reading the Scriptures, in interpreting & laying them open unto others."[62] In fact, Elton argues from Paul's inference in Romans 9:16 of his quotation of Exodus 33:19 in Romans 9:15 that "such deductions, such consequences, such conclusions, and applications must be drawn from [Scripture], as Gods holy truth will bear."[63] Rational argumentation served as a tool in the believing exposition of Scripture, enabling Parr to treat the text in considerable depth.

A second general element of his expository method relates to his use of sources. Scholars such as Norman Sykes have observed that Puritans had an "aversion to the quotation of human authors in favour of exclusive dependence upon Holy Scripture," in

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[59] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 194; see also p. 179; cf. Muller, *Dictionary of Latin and Greek Theological Terms*, s.v. causa.

[60] Wright, "Pastoral Use of the Doctrine of God's Sovereignty," 3.

[61] Armstrong, *Calvinism and the Amyraut Heresy*, 40-41; McGrath, *Reformation Thought*, 141; Kendall, *Calvin and English Calvinism*, 41, 74; Hall, "Calvin against the Calvinists," 25-27.

[62] Bernard, *The faithfull shepheard*, 25; On the use of logic as a tool, see Morgan, *Godly Learning*, 106-112; Muller, *Post-Reformation Reformed Dogmatics*, 2:497-500.

[63] Elton, *Mystery of godlinesse*, 128.

contrast to conformist preachers.[64] As Hieron indicates, the issue was more the quoting of

them in sermons than use of them in a preacher's preparations.[65] Since Parr's works are

entitled "expositions," there is likely more interaction with cited sources than would be

present in his sermons. Frequently the margin notes sources which are not even named in

the body of the exposition. Yet, throughout his around 1000 pages of exposition of

Romans there are over 1000 references to named sources, including church fathers,

medieval doctors, Protestant Reformers, and post-Reformation theologians. As Peter

White notes was common during the period, Augustine is most cited generally (c.125

times) as well as in the context of predestination.[66] Next comes Chrysostom with around

85, Ambrose with around 55, Aquinas with around 49, Beza with around 47, Hierome

with around 46, and Calvin with around 37 citations throughout the work. In the context

of predestination, those cited at least four times are Ambrose, Anselm, and Vermigli;

three times are Chrysostom, Aquinas, Beza; two times are Gregory, Piscator, Tremelius,

Pareus, and one time are Leo, Bernard, Calvin, Gellius, and Rupertus.[67] He cites church

fathers most often, then Reformers, Medieval theologians, and post-Reformation

theologians. That he cites a theologian does not mean he agrees with him. For example,

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[64] Sykes, "The Religion of the Protestants," 184; Mary Morrissey, "Scripture, style and persuasion in seventeenth-century english theories of preaching," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 53, no. 4 (Oct. 2002): 695-696; Gane, "Exegetical Methods of Some Sixteenth-Century Puritan Preachers," 110, 112; Horton Davies, *Like Angels from a Cloud: The English Metaphysical Preachers, 1588-1645* (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1986), 46.

[65] Hieron, *The Preachers Plea*, 182-194. The Puritan Bernard allowed for a moderate use of citations in preaching (Bernard, *The faithfull shepheard*, 59) and Perkins was more critical (Perkins, *Arte of prophecying*, 98-99, 132-33). Morgan does well to realize this distinction between the study and the pulpit (Morgan, *Godly Learning*, 121-141).

[66] White, "The Rise of Arminianism Reconsidered: A Rejoinder," 226. For citations of Augustine in the context of Predestination, see Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 179, 180, 186, 188, 195, 200, 212.

[67] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 160, 161, 174, 175, 177, 180, 183, 184, 188, 189, 195, 200, 201, 202, 212, 214, 215, 223, 229, 230, 231, 241, 268. Elsewhere in his expositions he cites Bernard, Gualter, Zanchius, Robert Rollock, Musculus, Lyra, Olevianus, and Perkins, among many others.

he always disagrees with Bellarmine,[68] and feels free to agree or disagree with

Chrysostom, Ambrose, Aquinas, Beza, and Calvin. Often in his exposition he will present

various interpretations and then adopt one of them or give his own which differs from

them all. Though throughout he also refers to "heathen" philosophers and historians, such

as Plato, Plutarch, Pliny, Seneca, Socrates, Aristotle, Virgil, and Tully, in the context of

predestination he only cites Socrates as an illustration.[69] While he notes that "No

Philosopher deserved the title of wise: they are vaine and foolish saith *Paul*," he uses

them to show that what they learned from the light of nature condemns how some in his

audience think and live.[70]

His use of sources indicates his breadth of learning, openness to learn from a

range of sources, and his concern for accurate exposition as fundamental for profitable

application. His critical interaction with a wide breadth of sources in his homiletic

commentary evidences what John Morgan has called "godly learning."[71] He is a far cry

from Farrar's characterization of post-Reformation exegesis in which "difference of

exegetical opinion became, not only an intellectual error, but a civil crime."[72] He was

willing to dialogue with various even Reformed interpretations of the text. With its

weight on patristic citations, Parr's exposition would agree with Lake, in contrast to

White, that the quotation of patristics is no proof of moderation in distinction from strict

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[68] Parr, *[Rom. 1]*, 31; idem, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 336; idem, *[Rom. 13-16]*, 153, 282.

[69] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 212. For other sources see ibid., 300, 385, 386, 451, 475, 516, 519, 521, 542, 547, 549, 593; idem, *[Rom. 13-16]*, 33, 41, 56, 76, 79, 126, 266; idem, *[Rom. 1]*, 25, 37, 39.

[70] For their blindness see Parr, *[Rom. 1]*, 30; idem, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 291, 300; for their usefulness see Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 547, 598; idem, *[Rom. 13-16]*, 26, 76, 294. Hieron says Paul cites them for the same purpose (Hieron, *The Preachers Plea*, 192).

[71] Morgan, *Godly Learning*, 101, 113-120, 127, 134-137.

[72] Farrar, *History of Interpretation*, 371.

Calvinism.[73] Instead, he aligns with van Asselt and Muller's view that Puritanism

involved a complex process of transmission and transformation of the entire theological

tradition.[74] Parr's "learned and paineful preaching"[75] expounded Scripture with studied

attention to the exegetical tradition.

Parr's exposition of predestination in his commentaries on Romans demonstrates

his adherence to his principle that the minister is to preach the Word of God. He did not

engage in mental gymnastics to leap from texts that are silent about predestination to an

exposition of the doctrine or to elude the doctrine when it is present in the text. The "new

Reformed method" of his commentaries was used to expound texts concerning

predestination in some depth, using logical tools and human sources to further clarify the

meaning of the text. This exposition which concluded in the formulation of one or more

"doctrines" was the foundation of his "uses," which will be covered in the next section.

Doctrine had to be "evidently proved" and clear in the mind before it could be "livelily"

applied in Parr's pastoral "uses."[76]

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[73] Lake, "Calvinism and the English Church," 62-63.

[74] W. J. van Asselt, "Puritanism Revisited: Een Poging tot Evaluatie," *Theologia Reformata* 44 (2001): 224, 228; Muller, *After Calvin*, 53-55. Van Kleek observes the same in Andrew Willet (VanKleeck, "Hermeneutics and Theology in the 17th Century," 25-32).

[75] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 362; see also p. 485.

[76] Parr, "To the Christian Reader," in *[Rom. 8-12]*.

Applicatory Uses

General Framework

Parr's aim in lecturing on predestination was to affect his congregation with this doctrine. He lamented that "The aime of most, both Preachers and hearers, is to *seeme* witty and learned, not *to be* trully godly and religious."[77] Elsewhere he adds, "Many account it a great blessing, and so it is, to have a learned, faithfull, and painfull Teacher; But they must know that if *Christ himselfe* were *their Minister;* it would be no advantage to them, unless they *beleeve* and obey his doctrine."[78] Parr's purpose in expounding predestination was not to appear learned or deliver a package of dry dogma but to bring his audience to see and experience the significance of this doctrine for their own souls and lives. As he said to his reader in his preface, "If thou readest herein, read to profit thy soule; which if thou doe not; we are both losers."[79] This pastoral purpose conflicts with the notion that this period viewed Scripture as a deposit of stones used to build a cold dogmatic system.[80]

Two formative elements determined the content of "uses" in Puritan preaching: the types of people addressed and the kinds of application conveyed. Perkins listed seven "chief ways of applications" directed to seven types of hearers, ranging from the "ignorant and unteachable," through those who have been humbled, to believers, noting

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[77] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 490.

[78] Parr, *[Rom. 13-16]*, 258.

[79] Parr, "To the Christian Reader," in *[Rom. 8-12]*.

[80] Grant and Tracy, *Short History of the Interpretation of the Bible*, 97; Stuhlmacher, *Historical Criticism and Theological Interpretation of Scripture*, 36.

in the end that there will be a mixture in each congregation.[81] Citing 2 Timothy 3:16,

Perkins then dealt with "kinds of Application," which are divided into mental uses for the

belief of the truth and confutation of error and practical uses for guidance in life through

consolation and exhortation and for the correction of life through admonition. He

concluded that "every sentance of the Scripture" will provide opportunity for these

applications.[82] Richard Bernard dealt with the Redargutine (i.e. refuting error) and

Instructive uses concerning faith, the Instructive and Corrective uses concerning love, and

the Consolatory use concerning hope.[83] He then stated that uses are to be distributed

according to the varying spiritual conditions of the hearers.[84] John Wilkins divided

application into doctrinal and practical. Practical uses are then divided into the correction

of manners (through dissuasion and direction) and instruction in righteousness (through

consolation and exhortation).[85] The later Westminster Assembly's directions on

preaching approached application by the categories of information, "confutation of false

doctrines," "exhortation to duties," "publick admonition," comfort, and self-

examination.[86] The common homiletical theory of Parr's period called for manifold uses

applied to a multifarious audience.

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[81] Perkins, *Arte of prophecying*, 99-121. These are types of hearers within a congregation, not seven "types of congregations" as Morgan states (Morgan, *Godly Learning*, 137).

[82] Perkins, *Arte of prophecying,* 122-125.

[83] Bernard, *The faithfull shepheard*, 59-69. These four standard uses are patterned after 2 Timothy 3:16 and echo the triad of faith, hope, and love which is embodied in the medieval quadriga (Muller, "Biblical Interpretation in the 16th & 17th Centuries," 128-129). Hyperius also links the elements of 2 Timothy 3:16 to the triad of faith, hope, and love (Andreas Hyperius, *The practise of preaching, otherwise called the Pathway to the pulpet* [London: Thomas East, 1577], fol. 19^v).

[84] Bernard, *The faithfull shepheard*, 70-77.

[85] John Wilkins, *Ecclesiastes, or, A discourse concerning the gift of preaching as it fals under the rules of art* (London: Samuel Gellibrand, 1646), 15-19.

[86] "Directory for the Publick Worship," 379-81; cf. Elton, *Mystery of godlinesse*, 71 ("it is justifiable…for the Preacher to say unto his hearers, this is a point of doctrine…word of comfort…word of terrour, this of Instruction, this of Exhortation, (and the like)").

Parr himself worked within this framework which paid attention to the spiritual variety within his audience. In his preface to his exposition of Romans 8 through 12, he indicated his main aims in application were "to comfort the distressed sinner; to humble the obstinate; and to exhort and provoke the penitent to more obedience."[87] Here Parr spoke of three main categories of hearers: "the distressed sinner," the "obstinate," and "the penitent" believer. While Parr is less specific, his categories cover the same range as those of Perkins. Elsewhere he noted that preaching is to address the Word distinctly to the poor and rich, wise and unwise, good and bad, penitent and impenitent, and even "drunkards, and such wretches."[88]

His prefatory statement also specified three main categories of use: comforting, humbling, and inciting godliness. Elsewhere he noted that these categories have application to the whole congregation: "When we exhort to repentance, wee exhort *every one*: when we reprove pride, we reprove it *in all*, &c... Whether we exhort, promise, threaten, command, so *we* must preach, and so ought *you* to heare, as if spoken to you every one by name."[89] Yet, the thrust of particular uses is often directed to those in particular spiritual conditions. As he wrote:

> It is our part to *instruct* the ignorant, to *confirme* the weak, to *comfort* the troubled conscience, to *terrifie* the rebellious, to preach *mercy* to the penitent, to thunder out *iudgments* against the impenitent: to *commend* the good, to *reprove* the bad; to *encourage* the zealous, to *put in minde* the negligent and forgetfull: and it is your duty *meekely* to heare and *readily* to reforme, that you may be blessed.[90]

This variation in the type and address of uses is reflected in his commentary, including his treatment of predestination. No rigid pattern of uses exists, but they can be loosely

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[87] Parr, "To the Christian Reader," in *[Rom. 8-12]*.

[88] Parr, *[Rom. 1]*, 12-13.

[89] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 487; see also idem, *[Rom. 1]*, 12-13.

[90] Parr, *[Rom. 13-16]*, 272; see also idem, *[Rom. 1]*, 12.

categorized as uses of information, confutation of error, self-examination, warning, exhortation, and comfort. Each of these categories will be examined separately.

Use of Information

The most general use is aimed to inform. It involves an objective statement of a truth relating to predestination. The address of these uses is not stated. A superficial reading of his expositions may suggest this is one of the most common uses, so as to imply a disconnection between the objective scholastic exposition of predestination and his hearers' lives. However, such an inference would both run contrary to Parr's stated aim of preaching and ignore his prefatory statement that his expositions were more condensed then the sermons that he delivered. What might appear a use of information often has the germ of another use embedded in it, which germ may have been expanded in his preached sermons. This would fit with what he said concerning the uses in his *Grounds of Divinitie*: "I have not observed every thing, nor so pressed any thing, but that I leave much more to be gathered and observed, by such which are accustomed to Meditation."[91] The occasional informational use does appear very remote, such as his treatment of Vermigli's question: "whether God can dispense with his owne Lawes."[92] Yet, most are evidently applicable to the situation of his hearers.

The situation of the hearers gives significance to these informational uses. The shortest informational use is: "there is Election, and Reprobation." In a context where these doctrines were theoretically or, more so, practically denied, this statement became a confrontation of error. The second shortest use is: "The Certainety of Salvation followes

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[91] Parr, *Grounds*, sig. A4ᵛ.

[92] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 174-5.

Election."[93] This use may be a comfort to those with trials and doubts,[94] a source of humility to all believers, or a confutation of error to those who deny the perseverance of the regenerate.[95] Similarly, the use that "Man falne, is the subiect of Predestination" may be an implicit criticism of the supralapsarian position that was held by some.[96] Other informational uses are implicit warnings and comforts. One use states: "The Elect are beloved, the Reprobates are hated. The love of God includes all his favors, his hatred, all plagues and curses."[97] Though stated in the third person, it has profound consequences for each hearer, since they will either prove to be elect or reprobate. Similar statements elsewhere are followed by warnings to the impenitent and comforts to the penitent.[98] The particular significance of these uses is related to the particular situations and conditions of his hearers which are not specified in these uses.

His use of information is based on the traditional view that orthopraxy must be grounded in orthodoxy. Right understanding is foundational for right living. Faith must know the truth to embrace it and be affected by it.

Use of Confuting Error

Parr's second category of uses aimed to defend the doctrine of predestination from error. Already in his word to the reader, he indicated "divers and dangerous Positions of the Romanists, and of Arminius [are] oppugned" in his expositions of Romans 8 through

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[93] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 341.

[94] E.g. Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 146, 188.

[95] E.g. Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 181, 188.

[96] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 194.

[97] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 176.

[98] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 209-211.

12.[99] Contrary to Daane's opinion that controversy was required to make predestination a topic of (necessarily polemical) exposition, this use was Parr's least frequent use, even though some of these uses are lengthy in order to give an adequate explanation and refutation of opposing views.[100] Parr's practice agrees with the contemporary cautions made concerning unedifying polemical debates in sermons.[101]

That he mentioned the Arminians in his foreword and not the Separatist Brownists, whom he spent at least as much energy opposing, suggests both a general awareness of and opposition to Arminianism within his readership. This polemic is not surprising given the presence of an Arminian type of theology in England, as evidenced in the Cambridge controversies of the 1590s, as well as the international controversy over James Arminius' views, which came to a climax with the Synod of Dort in 1618, the year Parr first published his exposition of Romans 9.[102] At the same time, in a work first published in 1622, he locates the current controversy over "the doctrine of *Arminians*" in the Netherlands and controversy about "*Church-discipline*, and *ceremonies*" in England, implying doctrinal Arminianism was not the most pressing issue in Jacobean England and

[99] Parr, "To the Christian Reader," in *[Rom. 8-12]*. Milton indicates that the attacks by moderate Calvinists helped "vindicate their own position in the eyes of their puritan supporters" (Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, 423).

[100] Daane, *Freedom of God,* 22. Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 115, 176, 179-80, 188, 198-200, 310-311, 338-39.

[101] Especially Bernard calls for much restraint in this "Redargutine" use lest it breed cold contention rather than edification (Bernard, *The faithfull shepheard*, 61-63). See also "Directory for the Publick Worship," 380; J. A. Caiger, "Preaching – Puritan and Reformed," in *Press Toward the Mark: papers read at the Puritan and Reformed Studies Conference, 19th and 20th December 1961* (London, 1962), 52.

[102] See Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists*, 87-105; Stanglin, "'Arminius *Avant la Lettre*,'" 51-74. For the influence of Arminianism in the 1610s in England, see Wallace, *Puritans and Predestination*, 79-104; David Como, "Puritans, Predestination and the Construction of Orthodoxy in Early Seventeenth-Century England," in *Conformity and Orthodoxy in the English Church, c. 1560-1660*, ed. P. Lake and M. Questier (Rochester: Boydell Press, 2000), 67-71; Joseph Gavin, "The York House Conference, 1626: A Watershed in the Arminian-Calvinist-Puritan Debate over Predestination," in *Trinification of the World* (Toronto: Regis College Press, 1978), 280-311; Tyacke, *Aspects of English Protestantism*, 270-72.

at least suggesting a general Reformed consensus amid Arminian pressures in England.[103]

Though the later Laudianism was undoubtedly broader than theological Arminianism,

Parr's refutations support Tyacke's contention that English "Arminianism" was not

merely a liturgical sacramentalism, but also an opposition to Calvinist predestinarian

doctrine.[104]

He sees Catholicism and Arminianism as two related enemies of the faith and

therefore at times lumps "the opinion of the Papists, and Arminius" together.[105] This

supports those who argue the link between them in England was also doctrinal.[106] The

polemical line against Roman Catholic doctrine and practice was pervasive within

English Protestantism and intensified within Puritanism.[107] Parr's main concern remains

the polemical line, which the Reformers directed against the "Papist (semi-)

pelagianism," but also adds refutations of Arminius.[108]

Parr opposes several errors found most clearly among Papists but also present

among Arminians. The first error maintains there is "a power in the will, of it selfe not to

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[103] Parr, *[Rom. 13-16]*, 108; see also p. 344.

[104] Tyacke, *Aspects of English Protestantism*, 222-23, 227, 262; idem, *Anti-Calvinists*, 245.

[105] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 198.

[106] Stanglin, "'Arminius *Avant la Lettre*,'" 71; David G. Mullan, "Theology in the Church of Scotland 1618-c.1640: A Calvinist Consensus?" *Sixteenth Century Journal* 26.3 (1995): 609; Steere, "Joseph Hall Defends the Via Media," 765; Shaw, "Perkins and the New Pelagians," 290.

[107] MacCulloch, *Later Reformation*, 66; Marshall, *Reformation England*, 127, 131; Wallace, *Puritans and Predestination*, 61-64, 82; Barry Reay, "Popular Religion," in *Popular Culture in Seventeenth-Century England*, ed. Barry Reay (London: Routledge, 1988), 107. Milton acknowledges the widespread presence of anti-Catholicism but argues many popular vestiges of Rome remained (Anthony Milton, "A Qualified Intolerance: the Limits and Ambiguities of Early Stuart Anti-Catholicism," in *Catholicism and Anti-Catholicism in Early Modern English Texts*, ed. Arthur Marotti [New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999], 85-115); Lake argues Puritan anti-Catholic polemics expressed both protestant zeal and implicit loyalty to the Church of England (Lake, *Moderate Puritans*, 6, 55-76).

[108] In the context of predestination, Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 112, 179, 189, 193, 198, 242, and 269 are against papists; 176, 180, 188, 198, and 199 are against Arminians. At times he is milder towards the Arminians, recognizing them as part of the Protestant church (Parr, *[Rom. 13-16]*, 108, 344).

sin."[109] As indicated above, this leads him to use several distinctions to prove that "a neccessitie of sinning and free-will may stand together."[110] He then addresses the pastoral implications of this refutation. God still exhorts us to choose good so that we would see our weakness and "seeke the setting free of our wills from evil unto good; which is onely by the power of God." The necessity to sin no more excuses men's sin in God's sight than the adder's necessity to sting excuses its sting in men's sight. We have voluntarily "layd this necessity upon us." Therefore Parr ends his lengthy polemic against Arminius with the warning: "If thou smartest for thy faults, thanke thy abominable and wicked life, of which thou art the Cause: GOD the Avenger."[111]

A related error makes foreseen works, merit, or faith the cause of election.[112] That "the cause of Gods chusing is his will" confutes the common opinion of the Jesuits, namely, "that the praescience of the co-operation of our Free-will with grace, and of our finall perseverance, is the cause of Election." He notes that this view "comes neere to Pelagius, but is farre from Paul."[113] This truth also confutes Arminius who makes foreseen faith a "motive cause to election." Elsewhere Parr calls this "the monstrous opinion of Arminius" found in Arminius' analysis of Romans 9, which he cites.[114] The distinction between the Arminian and Catholic view of foreknowledge leads Parr to be more critical of the Catholic foreknowledge of merits; however, he considers both opinions to be destructive to the church.

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[109] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 198; see also p. 188.

[110] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 199. See pp. 67-68 above.

[111] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 200-201.

[112] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 111, 115.

[113] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 179-80.

[114] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 176-177.

A final error is "universal election." By equating the circle of the elect with that of the called, Romans 8:30 "explodes" the doctrine of "universal election." He uses this truth to urge his readers to strive to be called and so know their election.[115] Here he does not specify who holds this position; however, elsewhere, he attributes the idea that "God's purpose [is] to save all" to the Pelagians, the Papists "partly," as well as the Lutherans, and Arminius. He then explains texts referring to salvation for "all men" in an orthodox Reformed way.[116] Thomas Rogers claims the "Catabaptists" and "Familists" held that all were elect.[117] Parr does not spend much time explaining the opposing views or defending his view on this point of a universal decree.

These polemical uses were common in other expositions of predestination in Romans. In Calvin's sermon on predestination during the Bolsec controversy his main use is understandably the confutation of error, whereas his sermons on Jacob's election and Esau's reprobation have virtually no explicit polemical uses.[118] His commentary on Romans contains numerous polemical thrusts against Pelagians and Schoolmen.[119] Parr's contemporary, Elton is more frequent in giving polemical uses, often making it his first use. He opposes the views of free will, universal election, the merit of good works, God's

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[115] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 115, 432; Elton, *Triumph of a True Christian*, 694-97.

[116] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 432.

[117] Thomas Rogers, *The faith, doctrine, and religion, professed & protected in the Realm of England, and dominions of the same: Expressed in 39 Articles…* (Cambridge: Iohn Legatt, 1607), 74. In a sermon on election and reprobation, Thomas Newhouse opposes this universal decree at great length for its "frivolous and absurd" distinctions (Thomas Newhouse, *Certaine sermons preached by that Reuerend and Iudicious Diuine Master Thomas Newhouse, late Preacher of Gods word in the Citie of Norwich* [London: Felix Kingston, 1614], 4-28).

[118] W. H. Neuser, "Calvin the Preacher: His Explanation of the Doctrine of Predestination in the Sermon of 1551 and in the Institutes of 1559," *Hervormde Teologiese Stud* 54 (1998): 60-103. A Dutch translation of Calvin's sermon on 18 December 1551 is included as an appendix to this article (pp. 79-103); Calvin, *Thirteene Sermons*, fol. 25^v. On this controversy see Holtrop, *The Bolsec Controversy on Predestination*.

[119] Calvin, *Epistle to the Romans,* 349, 350, 357, 358, 359, 362, 363.

choosing and rejection occurring in time, and predestination being based on foresight.[120]

In Romans 11:11-23 Elton explicitly opposes not only Arminians and Papists, but also

Anabaptists, whom Parr does not mention in the context of predestination.[121] On the other

hand, Parr's other contemporary, Wilson, prefers to oppose wrong beliefs briefly and

frequently, without identifying who hold them, though he does mention the "Papists,"

"Pelagians," and Lutherans.[122] Though the manner and weight varied among them, Parr's

use of confutation agrees with that of other expositors.

Parr makes clear that salvation is at stake in the polemic concerning the natural

ability of man and election being based on foreseen faith or works. Due to their false

opinions, the papists "build their salvation on a rotten foundation" and therefore shall be

put to shame.[123] The gulf between the Papist and Protestant understanding of salvation

generally is as great as "between Hell and *Abrahams* bosome."[124] Parr must blow away

the contrary popish opinion like chaff with the truth that "election and salvation are of

Grace, not of Merit" because "many ignorant soules say, that they hope to be saved by

their serving God…. They know no other Divinity but this, which is Popish and naturall."

However, "Trust perfectly on the grace of God, saith Peter; if we trust to any thing else, it

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[120] Elton, *Mystery of godlinesse*, 86, 117, 125, 181 (foresight); 131,132-133 (free will); 84, 151 (universal election); 94, 201, 202 (merits); 109, 153 (timing).

[121] Elton, *Mystery of godlinesse*, 83, 86, 109, 151, 153, 176, 179, 194 (Anabaptists); 84, 86, 117, 125, 151, 153, 179 (Arminians); 86, 94, 102, 130, 132-33, 151, 154, 172, 202 (Papists). Concerning the Anabaptists on Predestination see Andrew Penny, *Freewill or Predestination: The Battle over Saving Grace in Mid-Tudor England* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1990), 29-38; John Knox, *An Answere to a great number of blasphemous cavillations written by an Anabaptist, and adversarie of Gods eternall Predestination* (London: Thomas Charde, 1591).

[122] Wilson, *Romans* (1653)*, 307, 337, 338, 339, 341, 344, 346, 348, 350, 362.

[123] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 269-70.

[124] Parr, *[Rom. 1]*, 18.

wil lay us in the dust, and be as a broken reed."[125] The main polemical uses refute Roman Catholic and Arminian error to defend the sovereign and gracious character of salvation as it is rooted in predestination. Recognizing the gracious character of salvation is essential to the being of faith.[126] Pastoral concern motivates him in his polemical uses.

The grace of election and the correlate grace of perseverance are also essential for the well-being of faith. The papists err in holding that believers cannot be assured of their faith. Paul knew his election by his faith and obedience as its fruits; however, the papists "most uncomfortable" doctrine cuts off assurance by thrusting people on their inherent righteousness for salvation.[127] He rebukes both Arminians and papists for destroying the possibility of assurance by undermining the foundation of salvation in election which guarantees the preservation of the elect in salvation.[128]

In connecting the freeness of salvation and sureness of assurance with election, Parr agrees with what Wallace has found earlier in the English Reformation.[129] As John Bradford wrote, election "overthrows the most pestilent papistical poison, the doubting of God's favour, which is the very dungeon of despair and contempt of God."[130] This "poison" was codified by the Council of Trent's declaration that "No one, moreover, so long as he is in this mortal life, ought so far to presume as regards the secret mystery of

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[125] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 339 (Rom. 11:6). Elton uses very similar wording under Rom. 9:11 (Elton, *Mystery of godlinesse,* 95-6).

[126] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 394-95, 49.

[127] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 311. Parr then says this doubting faith is not genuine faith and therefore not saving faith, based on James 1:6-7.

[128] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 394-395, 49, 71, 96, 310, 569. Stanglin argues that Arminius sought to provide a basis for assurance as well (Keith D. Stanglin, "'To Comfort the Afflicted and Upset the Secure': Jacobus Arminius and the Roots of the Leiden Debate over the Assurance of Salvation" [Ph.D. diss., Calvin Theological Seminary, 2006], 286).

[129] Wallace, *Puritans and Predestination*, 27, see also pp. 6-7, 19; Trueman presents a more nuanced picture, indicating the early Reformers defended the freeness of grace with a stress on human depravity, while Bradford in particular stressed the doctrine of election (Trueman, *Luther's Legacy*, 248).

[130] Bradford, "Defence of Election," 308.

divine predestination, as to determine for certain that he is assuredly in the number of the predestinate."[131] Variations of this anti-Catholic polemic regarding faith and assurance were common among Parr's contemporaries.[132] This concern for errors that rob believers of assurance puts a question mark behind the assertion that assurance "withered" under post-Reformation preachers.[133] Instead, Parr's uses of confuting error appear driven by a love for the truth and a realization that a right understanding of the truth is foundational for an effective pastoral ministry where faith and assurance flourish. His polemical uses served pastoral purposes.

Use of Self-Examination

The "post-Bezan" call to self-examination has been subject to serious critique due to its supposed negative effects on assurance. Kendall has argued that "experimental predestinarianism" was dominated by the practical syllogism and produced troubled souls by stressing the danger of temporary faith and making works the grounds of assurance.[134] Citing Kendall, White also sees "experimental predestinarianism" as "preoccupied with the problems of assurance and how to distinguish between the regenerate and

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[131] *The canons and decrees of the sacred and oecumenical Council of Trent*, ed. and trans. J. Waterworth (London: Dolman, 1848), 39-40. It also declared: "If any one saith, that a man, who is born again and justified, is bound of faith to believe that he is assuredly in the number of the predestinate; let him be anathema" (p. 46 [Canon XV]).

[132] Elton, *Mystery of godlinesse*, 102, 130, 132, 172; Wilson, *Romans* (1653)*,* 363; Mayer, *A commentarie upon All the Epistles*, 78-79; Richard Fairclough, "The Nature, Possibility, and Duty of a true believer's attaining to a certain knowledge of his effectual vocation, eternal election, and final perseverance to glory. OR: The papal doctrine in denying the possibility of assurance is false, and hath a dangerous tendency to destroy the true peace and comfort of souls in the certain hopes of everlasting happiness," in *Puritan Sermons: 1659-1689*, vol. 6 (Wheaton: Richard Owen Roberts, 1981), 372-427.

[133] T. F. Torrance, *Scottish Theology*, 59.

[134] Kendall, "Living the Christian Life," 47; idem, *Calvin and English Calvinism*, 8, 54, 68, 80; see also Doran and Durston, *Princes, Pastors, and People*, 23, 84; Morgan, *Godly Learning*, 21, 24, 122.

unregenerate."[135] This focus on the marks of election has led to charges of legalism, introspection, and tormenting anxiety.[136] In contrast to these voices, Beeke refutes the charges of "morbid introspection and anthropocentrism" by arguing that a changing pastoral and theological context led the post-Reformation pastors to formulate assurance within a more Trinitarian framework that paid attention to the subjective experience of grace while maintaining the primacy of the objective revelation of God in Christ.[137]

In his exposition of Romans, Parr does not fit Kendall's generalization concerning the dominance of self-examination.[138] Unlike the prefatory letter to Elton's exposition of Romans 9, Parr's prefatory letter mentions nothing about self-examination explicitly.[139] As was done already in the Reformation period,[140] Parr does call all to self-examination

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[135] Kendall, *Calvin and English Calvinism*, 123; cited in White, *Predestination, Policy and Polemic*, 290; see also p. 89.

[136] Legalism: J. B. Torrance, "Strengths and Weaknesses of the Westminster theology," 46-47; L. T. Grant, "Puritan Catechising," *Journal of Presbyterian History* 46, no. 2 (1968): 115-116; Holmes Rolston, III, *John Calvin versus the Westminster Confession* (Richmond, Virginia: John Knox Press, 1972), 6; Stephen Strehle, "Calvinism, Augustinianism, and the Will of God," *Theologische Zeitschrift* 48 (1992): 235-36. Introspection: Hindmarsh, *Evangelical Conversion Narrative*, 36; Green, *Christian's ABC*, 354, 355; Michael P. Winship, "Weak Christians, Backsliders, and Carnal Gospelers: Assurance of Salvation and the Pastoral Origins of Puritan Practical Divinity in the 1580s," *Church History* 70, no. 3 (Sept. 2001): 477; Doran and Durston, *Princes, Pastors, and People*, 84. Agony: Doran and Durston, *Princes, Pastors, and People*, 23; Robert Middlekauff, "Piety and Intellect in Puritanism," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d series, 22.3 (July 1965): 459; Jeremy Schmidt, *Melancholy and the Care of the Soul: Religion, Moral Philosophy and Madness in Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2007), 53; Cragg, *Freedom and Authority*, 151; Timothy Scott McGinnis, *George Gifford and the Reformation of the common sort: Puritan Priorities in Elizabethan Religious Life*, Sixteenth Century Essays & Studies Series (Kirksville: Truman State University Press, 2004), 148; Kendall, "Preaching in Early Puritanism," 31.

[137] Beeke, *Quest for Full Assurance*, 273-75; see also W. van 't Spijker, "Puritanisme: Theologische hoofdlijnen en vertegenwoordigers," 236-238; Jeffrey Mallinson, *Faith, Reason, and Revelation in Theodore Beza, 1519-1605* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 231-234.

[138] Kendall, "Living the Christian Life," 47; idem, *Calvin and English Calvinism*, 8, 54, 68, 80; see also Doran and Durston, *Princes, Pastors, and People*, 23, 84; Morgan, *Godly Learning*, 21, 24, 122; Green, *Print and Protestantism*, 319; Stachniewski, *Persecutory Imagination*, 11.

[139] William Harrison, "To the Courteous and Christian Reader," in *Mystery of godlinesse* ("here thou mayest know whether thy name be written in heaven").

[140] E.g. Lamberd wrote a treatise in 1550 so that the reader might "consulte or counsel with his owne conscience and so examine the same, whether he do lyve lyke a reprobate or one that is electe of God." (John Lamberd, *Of predestination [and] election made by Joh[a]n Lamberd minister of the church of Elham* [Cantorbury: J. Mychell, 1550], sig. A.ii.).

and does distinguish between regenerate and unregenerate among his hearers; however, the call to self-examination is one of his least frequently employed categories of uses within the context of predestination. Elsewhere, its prominence elsewhere depends largely on the passage being expounded. For example his exposition of Romans 8:1-17, which contrasts flesh and Spirit contains many more calls to self-examination concerning people's spiritual state than his exposition of Romans 14, concerning the weaker and stronger brother.[141] The call to self-examination is an important but not dominant use in Parr's expositions, even though it appears more common than in Elton and Wilson.[142] Most often the call to self-examination flows from a treatment of election specifically and follows various other uses of instruction, comfort, or exhortation.

Parr uses the practical syllogism as a tool for self-examination, as was common in his day. The principle is that election is carried out in the way of effectual calling, justification, and sanctification (Rom. 8:29-30). The syllogism is as follows: All those who are called are elect; I am called; therefore I am elect. This syllogism may function because the understanding has two handmaids: the "Treasurer" and the "Conscience, as the Controler." The "treasurer" gathers the signs of election from Scripture and the "conscience" compares one's heart and life to these signs and draws the conclusion whether or not they match.[143]

The "marks" or "tokens" of election inserted into the practical syllogism center on the chief aspects of spiritual life: faith and repentance. Who is elect is "not written in

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[141] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 1-73 (see especially pp. 5, 8, 14, 27, 29, 30, 38, 39, 44, 48, 49, 53, 66, 69, 73); idem, *[Rom. 13-16]*, 123, 143, 221, 242.

[142] Elton, *Mystery of godlinesse*, 92, 101, 152, 184; Elton, *Triumph of a true Christian*, 667-68, 670; Horton, *Forty six sermons*, 339, 352, 359.

[143] Parr, *[Rom. 1]*, 36.

every ones forehead."[144] Though the most basic call is to "examine whether thou be elect

or no,"[145] the call is rarely expressed that way. He wrote, "A principall token is Effectuall

vocation."[146] As was common, he saw effectual calling as the first subjective sign of

election and fountain of all other signs.[147] Calling produces faith and repentance. These

are the "two infallible marks and effects of Election" and "Gods love tokens."[148]

Elsewhere he asks, "Is there any of the heavenly liquor in thee, as Faith, Repentance, love

to the Word? Is Christ there with his merits?"[149] Faith and repentance are placed first and

are further filled out by the latter two marks. He then proceeds to argue that just as the

contents of a vessel are indicated by the aroma they send forth, so faith is displayed by

one's walk and speech.[150] He also makes being effected by the Word preached "to a daily

increase of Godliness" a "comfortable marke of our election."[151] "Thy joy, thy care, thy

feare" as they relate to God are also marks, as well as love to God.[152]

Parr usually formulates this call in a way that fits with the particular text he is

expounding. When treating effectual calling as flowing out of and evidencing election, he

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[144] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*,182.

[145] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 315.

[146] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 224; see also p. 182.

[147] Cowper, *Heaven opened*, 342 ("This is the greatest comfort that can be given to men upon earth…which being secret in it selfe…is most manifested unto us by our effectuall calling"); Calvin, *Epistle to the Romans*, 319 ("God by his calling bears an evident testimony respecting his hidden purpose"), 324.

[148] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 316, 418, 182; cf. Elton, *Mystery of godlinesse*, 61 (Calling "infallibly evidence unto them, that God hath loved them from everlasting"), 92 ("infallible notes").

[149] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 211.

[150] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 211; cf. Elton, *Mystery of godlinesse*, 184 ("Looke to thy own heart and soul; If thou finde the Heavenly liquour, the Heavenly moysture of Faith, Repentance, Love to God, love to his Children, a care to please God, a desire to feare God, Humilitie, Patience, and all other adorning Graces").

[151] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 225.

[152] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 302, 545, 547.

asks, "Art thou called?" or elsewhere, "Examine thy election by thy inward calling."[153] In the context of God predestinating to conformity with his Son, Parr asks whether his hearer's life evidences conformity to the holiness of Christ.[154] When treating the similarities of substance and differences of use between vessels of wrath and of mercy, he calls them to "look therefore what is within: what doth God put into thee?"[155] These various calls arise from the intersection of the aspect of predestination in his text with the reality that there are regenerate and unregenerate members within his congregation.

Parr often uses marks of ungodliness as marks of being unregenerate or possibly reprobate. The content of these signs first involve a lack of faith and repentance, as indicated by a heart that is not affected by the "Threatnings & Monitions of the Word" as well as the "exhortations or intreaties of the Word."[156] Secondly – and more commonly – they involve living in sin. Scholars such as Beeke and Wallace have taken little note of this element, while Stachniewski makes it central to his thesis that Calvinism forced people to despair.[157] Just as there is set of characteristics of the regenerate there is also an opposing set of for the unregenerate, who may be reprobate. According to Parr, "If there be nothing in thee but Infidelity, Pride, Hypocrisie, Covetousnesse, &c. and they continue, without questioning, thou art a vessel of dishonour." He then adds the marks of living in "drunkennesse, whoredome, pride &c."[158] He claims the greatest "signe of a man's Reprobation and Damnation" is an abuse of predestination to excuse an ungodly

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[153] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 117, 224.

[154] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 112.

[155] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 211; Cowper, *Heaven opened*, 343 ("let us go & enter into our owne hearts").

[156] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 196, 117; cf. Wilson, *Romans* (1653)*, 352.

[157] Beeke, *Quest for Full Assurance*; Wallace, *Puritans and Predestination*, 47; Stachniewski, *Persecutory Imagination*, 26.

[158] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 211; see also pp. 111-12, 73; idem, *[Rom. 13-16]*, 242-43.

life.[159] Thus, people are not only to examine whether they have the marks of election but also whether they have the signs of possible reprobation.

These signs are not proof of eternal reprobation but of present impenitence. Since the natural state and condition of the elect is the same as that of the reprobate, there are no "infallible" marks of reprobation for anyone alive. Instead, they are marks of being unregenerate.[160] If those who have these signs experience Christ's effectual call turning them to him, they will prove to be elect. He warns against judging "*finally* of mens *future* estate," because God may still save ungodly people.[161] Yet, this does not prevent him from judging someone to be unconverted. He continues,

> If I see a man walke in drunkennesse, common swearing, whoredome, &c. I may *iudge* him to be a wicked man in this estate; and that he shall be damned if he repent not: I may *iudge* the tree by the fruit: and this is not *rash* iudgement, because it is *not mine*, but the *iudgement* of the *word* of God.[162]

Judging a person to be unconverted is not judging him to be reprobate. Various scholars confuse signs of being unregenerate with signs of being reprobate, including Stachniewski, who fails to recognize the teaching that reprobation was unknowable, and Mordechai Rotenberg, whose basic thesis assumes the identification of signs of being unregenerate with reprobation.[163]

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[159] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 115, 311.

[160] Parr, *[Rom. 1]*, 37; idem, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 480.

[161] Parr, *[Rom. 13-16]*, 121. Marshall says even (published) funeral sermons were "often markedly optimistic in tone," even though Calvinist confessed the number of elect was smaller than the number of reprobate (Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead*, 197).

[162] Parr, *[Rom. 13-16]*, 121.

[163] Mordechai Rotenberg, *Damnation and Deviance: The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Failure* (New York: The Free Press, 1978), 9, 22-23; Stachniewski, *Persecutory Imagination*, 17-60, 295; Irvonwy Morgan, *Puritan Spirituality: Illustrated from the Life and Times of the Rev. Dr. John Preston* (London: Epworth Press, 1973), 11; Peter Iver Kaufman, *Prayer, Despair, and Drama: Elizabethan Introspection* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois, 1996), 60; Zaret, *Heavenly Contract*, 16, 114. Those who note the ungodly are potentially elect include Lake, *Boxmaker's revenge*, 29; Breward, "The Life and Theology of William Perkins," 220.

Parr generally sets a wide distance between the marks of being unregenerate and regenerate. In doing so he resists Kendall's generalization that Perkins' "heavy emphasis upon temporary faith" characterized the period from Perkins to Owen.[164] Scattered throughout his expositions are warnings that outward avoidance of open sin, the performance of religious and civil duties, church membership, and temporary emotions are not marks of saving grace.[165] He also acknowledges that not all true believers are eminent in faith and holiness.[166] Yet, he repeatedly indicates the ease of discerning between the godly and ungodly. In the context of the vessels of wrath and mercy, he states: "It may easily bee knowne what we have within."[167] Exactly because God's "omnipotent power" transforms the heart, "*which Arminius stiffely denyeth,*" the difference between the natural and spiritual man "is easily discerned."[168] In fact it is as "easie to know, as to discerne darknesse from light, foule from cleane."[169] Parr's treatment of "temporary faith" may be "heavy" by today's standards; however, it is not a heavy emphasis in his use of self-examination as a whole.

Parr issues calls for self-examination indiscriminately to all, meaning its exercise must be beneficial for all. The exhortations that follow those to self-examination indicate it was either to remove a groundless security that kept people away from Christ and stir them up to seek grace or to strengthen a well-grounded assurance by leading them to

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[164] Kendall, "Living the Christian Life," 47.

[165] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 551, 565, 465, 476, 30, 547, 38, 341, 225; idem, *[Rom. 13-16]*, 302, 326.

[166] Parr, *[Rom. 13-16]*, 109; idem, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 17, 49, 95-96.

[167] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 211, 30 ("As it's easie to discerne between *Muske* and *Muck-hill* by the sent, and betweene Gall and Honey by the taste: so it's easie to discerne a spirituall man from a carnall, by their savour").

[168] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 402.

[169] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 44.

recognize God's grace within them.[170] He gives more weight to the signs of unregeneracy in the first purpose than in the second. The first purpose shows Parr thought the problem that kept people from salvation was not so much excessive introspection and anxiety as the lack thereof in a carnal security. Calls to self-examination were to awaken the lost to see the danger of their anthropocentric lives, thereby making them realize their need of a salvation grounded in Christ's work. Parr conflicts with Kendall's generalization that those after Perkins "generally did not avoid" the "pitfall" of subjectivism, due to their emphasis on self-examination.[171] This dual purpose of self-examination is often ignored by those who write about a Puritan "preoccupation" with the "problem" of the assurance of salvation with the implicit assumption that all had salvation and needed only the assurance of it.[172] The call to self-examination was the expression of Parr's pastoral concern "to *confirme* the weak [and]…to *terrifie* the rebellious."[173]

Use of Warning

Parr sounds a clear note of warning to those who live in sin. Quite often marks with an implicit or explicit call to self-examination are followed by warnings to those who fail to have a good ground for believing God has regenerated them. He fits well with what Beeke observed in Perkins, namely, that "the reprobation of the divine Potter must be preached to warn the ungodly to flee from sin and seek grace to obey" God.[174]

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[170] Parr, *[Rom. 1]*, 5, 37; idem, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 196, 224-225, 315-316, 341-342.

[171] Kendall, "Living the Christian Life," 52; idem, "The Puritan Modification of Calvin's Theology," 208.

[172] Kendall, *Calvin and English Calvinism*, 212; T. F. Torrance, *Scottish Theology*, 59, 137; Daane, *Freedom of God,* 180.

[173] Parr, *[Rom. 13-16]*, 272.

[174] Beeke, "William Perkins on Predestination and Preaching," 62.

At times he confronts the unregenerate with the doctrine of reprobation. Since he cannot equate being unregenerate with being reprobate, he makes these uses conditional and often states them in the third person. For example, he says that preaching predestination "is of use also concerning the Reprobates, to convince them, and to make them inexcusable."[175] After speaking about how reprobation involves all God's curses and election all God's mercies, he declares: "We preach Mercy: if thou be a Reprobate, it is not meant to thee…. It may bee, that when mercy is preached and powring downe, the Reprobate lookes after it, and thinkes to have it; but hee deceives himselfe…. Mercy is the childrens bread, it hangs not for the Reprobates tooth."[176] He also says: "Art thou rich? if thou beest not effectually called, thou shalt bee damned."[177] Like Humphrey Sydenham, Parr warns that God's patience has an end, for "though God hath woollen feet, yet he hath Iron hands."[178] These examples use the general truth of reprobation's execution as a warning for those who have no evidences of God's electing love.

Others issue similar warnings. For example, Elton warns about those who "will have brazen faces, and whores foreheads, and they dare stand to outfare the Preacher, and they will not be reformed…they do then provoke the Lord to give them over to Reprobation, yea to give it them under the great Seal of Heaven, thou art a Reprobate."[179] Elsewhere he warns, If thou art "hard hearted; thou art full of Pride, Hypocrisie, self love, a desire of earthly things; thou art a vessel of wrath, and fitted to destruction, and if thou go on and remain unreclaimed, though I will not determine of thy final estate, if thou so

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[175] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 179.

[176] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 210.

[177] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 223.

[178] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 218; Humphrey Sydenham, *Jacob and Esau: Election and Reprobation* (London: Printed Iohn Parker, 1626), 35.

[179] Elton, *Mystery of godlinesse*, 142.

live, and die, thou art appointed unto everlasting destruction."[180] Though Wilson warns

less frequently, he does warn those who think they are elect while strangers to "effectual

calling and good life."[181] From Romans 9:18, he concludes "a hardened heart is a sign of

a reprobate" and then admonishes "all men to beware of and strive against hardnesse of

heart, whereunto the nearer they are, the nearer they are to reprobation."[182] These

warnings are issued out of a concern that their hearers would not live in sin and end in

eternal destruction.

The Kendall school may latch onto these statements as proof that preaching a

scholastic predestination drove people to despair.[183] Stachniewski argues that the "godly

ministers" may have been considered physicians but the illnesses they needed to cure and

generally failed to cure were ones their predestinarian system had created.[184] Nathan

Johnstone is more nuanced in arguing that despair was not the normal fruit of a

predestinarian system but seen as a product of Satan's abuse of reprobation.[185] McGinnis

indicates at least George Gifford "preached more often about passing through despair

than tarrying in it."[186] Admittedly, Parr's statements are sharp in that they confront

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[180] Elton, *Mystery of godlinesse*, 184. See also pp. 143, 147, 163, 170, 174, 177, 187.

[181] Wilson, *Romans* (1653)*,* 339.

[182] Wilson, *Romans* (1653)*,* 352. He defines a "hardened heart" in this context as "habitual hardnesse being total & final, which befalleth none but castaways, when it is without feeling, and perpetual to the end of ones life."

[183] MacCulloch, *Later Reformation*, 77; Walsham, "Parochial roots of Laudianism," 629. Others who speak of Puritan theology generally inducing despair include M. MacDonald, *Mystical Bedlam: Madness, Anxiety, and Healing in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 219-224; Susan Synder, "The Left Hand of God: Despair in Medieval and Renaissance Tradition," *Studies in the Renaissance* 12 (1965): 40-41.

[184] Stachniewski, *Persecutory Imagination*, 57, 86.

[185] Nathan Johnstone, *The Devil and Demonism in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 288.

[186] McGinnis, *George Gifford and the Reformation of the common sort*, 153.

ungodly hearers with future damnation and trace the damnation of reprobate hearers to God's decree. Yet, these statements must be considered in light of three elements.

First, signs of reprobation are conditional on death in such a spiritual state, in contrast to the "infallible signs" of election. He speaks of the "certaine effects of election, which are infallible markes of the same."[187] Their infallibility rests on the unshakability of God's decree, which guarantees the preservation of the regenerate in salvation, and rests on the qualitative difference between what the believer is and what the unbeliever can ever attain. Marks of election are given to lead those who have them to the assurance of their election; however, the opposite signs are to lead those who are characterized by them to repentance. Even to those "wicked wretches" who use predestination to excuse their ungodliness, Parr says that only if they "continue thus to the end, there can be no greater signe of a mans Reprobation."[188] Similarly a hardened heart unmoved by God's Word "if it continue to the end, is a most certaine signe of Reprobation."[189] Parr argues one cannot judge another to be reprobate while he lives.[190] Though White makes this an indication of theological moderation, it is simply the outworking of Calvinist theology, as others from the period indicate.[191] These marks are always conditional and therefore bear the character of a warning rather than a pronouncement of reprobation.

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[187] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 182; see also p. 316; idem, *[Rom. 1]*, 6.

[188] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 116.

[189] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 196.

[190] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 417 ("Thou knowest a Papist or prophane person…for ought thou knowest hee may be the elect child of God"), 427-28 ("Iudge not thy neighbour for damned, though he be now a wretch: he that converted thee, can in his good time convert him also"); idem, *[Rom. 13-16]*, 121, 166.

[191] White, *Predestination, Policy and Polemic*, 86. Those who consider this standard Reformed teaching include Cohen, *God's Caress*, 88; Wallace, *Puritans and Predestination*, 47; Dever, *Richard Sibbes*, 104; Breward, "The Life and Theology of William Perkins," 220; Morgan, *Godly Learning*, 32. Cragg uses this as evidence of the pastoral uncertainty inherent in predestinarian theology (Cragg, *Freedom and Authority*, 151). Among Parr's contemporaries see: Elton, *Mystery of godlinesse*, 101, ("we may not be so bold as to say, this man, or that woman is a Reprobate"), 60, 184; Wilson, *Romans* (1653), 364; Cowper, *Heaven Opened*, 368; Calvin, *Thirteene Sermons*, sig. B.2.ʳ; Beza, *The treasure of trueth*, I.v.+3ᵛ, K.iʳ.

This means none need despair or may use reprobation as a pretext for sin. Parr only states to one who lives in sin, "thou art not in the eye of any mortall Creature Elected," implying he may be so in the eyes of God.[192] He calls antinomian fatalism "divels logick" and equates it with a spider drawing poison out of sweet flowers.[193] To those who say they find in themselves the opposite of the marks of election, he says: "Yet despaire not: but use the meanes."[194] Elsewhere he wrote to such, "I wil not bid thee dispaire, but this I say; O that thou couldst repent, and that thou wouldst submit thy selfe to the Ministry of the Word."[195] Since those who are presently lost may still be saved, there is no "certainty of reprobation" and no reason for immobilizing fatalism or "apathetic despair," contrary to Baro's argument cited by Cummings.[196]

Second, sinners are pointed to their persistence in a sinful life as a cause for God to damn them. For example he says: "If thou livest in drunkennesse, whoredome, pride &c. These things make thee fit for hell, but as for heaven, being such, thou art sure never to come there."[197] Under Romans 9:17 he says, "Thou dis-honourest God in thy life, saying with Pharaoh, Who is the Lord? …shall God lose his glory? No…he wil get himselfe glory in condemning thee."[198] Sinners are not left staring at a hidden decree concerning them, but rather the condition of their heart and life as the reason for God to

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[192] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 421.

[193] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 315; see also pp. 115-116. For the image of a Spider and flowers, see Elton, *Mystery of godlinesse*, 91; Anthony Gilby, *A briefe treatice of election and reprobation* (London: Dauid Moptid and Iohn Mather, 1575), 5.

[194] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 182.

[195] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 316.

[196] Cummings, *Grammar and Grace*, 295.

[197] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 211.

[198] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 191, 311 ("To live wickedly, and to have a profane heart, contemning all goodnesse, makes men sure indeed, but of damnation").

condemn them. His pastoral concern leads him to emphasize the execution of reprobation more than the decree itself.

Third, these warnings were often followed by exhortations, as handled in the next section of this thesis. These three aspects of his warnings demonstrate that the force of his serious warnings was directed against the specific category of the ungodly and unbelieving to drive to self-despair but not to despair of God's mercy. As Augustine already noted, predestination may lead people to despair of self-help and hope in God.[199] Cragg's castigation of Parr for his "little success" in attempting to "escape from the determinism in which his rigid definitions had trapped him" fails to recognize that no one could know he or she were reprobate.[200] Haigh noted Perkins' followers "sometimes brought fear of damnation by pitching the signs too high for workaday mortals."[201] However, Parr's point was to show that the godliness "workaday mortals" worked up on their own was insufficient and thereby to drive them to the God of grace.

Use of Exhortation

The exhortative use of God's predestination is by far the most common. Parr's exaltation of God's sovereign good pleasure does not bind him to abstract descriptions of God's work, but impels him to exhort his hearers to action. Almost half of Parr's numbered uses have exhortation as their main or subordinate thrust. God-focused exhortations surround and often follow Parr's calls to introspective self-examination. Thus Parr's emphasis on exhortation conflicts with Kendall's generalization that an emphasis on self-examination led to subjectivism. At the same time, it could be construed

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[199] Augustine, *A Treatise on the Predestination of the Saints*, 544.

[200] Cragg, *Freedom and Authority*, 156.

[201] Haigh, "Taming of the Reformation," 581.

as support for his contention that "legalism is bound to become an epidemic" in a predestinarian system where personal piety is the source of assurance.[202]

The content of Parr's exhortations is guided by the content of the textually derived doctrine applied and the people to whom it is applied. He drives his exhortations with the force of the whole range of teaching on predestination. First, he derives exhortations from the doctrine of reprobation. The reality of reprobation leads him to exhort all his hearers to "feare to offend God, for hee can be angry."[203] They are also not to envy the wicked who prosper because their riches are "preparatives to their greater Judgement."[204] The wicked are to consider their end if they live on without repenting.[205] God's patience with the reprobate leads Parr to exhort: Consider "how long he hath suffered thee: let it move thee to repentance, and to praise his patience."[206] Everyone and especially the ungodly are called to repentance and the use of the means of grace.

He also draws exhortations from reprobation for believers specifically. When they feel "dull to praise God," reprobation is a motivation to do so, since they are "not better so much as a hayre" than the reprobate. If God saved all, he would deserve infinite praise, but how much more ought the saved to thank God and be humble before him, "seeing many are damned"?[207] Parr takes the principle that reprobation amplifies God's mercy to the elect and extends it to specific aspects of life by exhorting, "When thou seest a man

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[202] Kendall, "Living the Christian Life," 52, 55. He acknowledges there was an "attractive absence of legalism" in Perkins' writings (p. 52). However, Neelands argues Perkins' view of predestination "provides a perfect theology for a Pharisee" (David Neelands, "Richard Hooker and the Debates about Predestination, 1580-1600," *Toronto Journal of Theology* 17, no. 1 [2001]: 196).

[203] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 215; see also p. 206; cf. Wilson, *Romans* (1653)*,* 358; Calvin, *Epistle to the Romans*, 368.

[204] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 217.

[205] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 190; cf. Wilson, *Romans* (1653)*,* 352.

[206] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 213; see also p. 219.

[207] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 221; see also p. 179; cf. Elton, *Mystery of godlinesse*, 60; Wilson, *Romans* (1653)*,* 350; Vermigli, *Romanes*, fol. 277ʳ; Calvin, *Epistle to the Romans*, 368-69.

Lunatique…Remember that God offereth him to thee, not onely that thou shouldest be compassionate…but also to make him thy glasse to behold the mercy of God to thy selfe…. be from hence thankefull."[208] He also applies this doctrine in an exemplaric way. Like Vermigli, he says that, if God is patient to the reprobate, his people ought to be patient to all.[209] Knowing that even persecuting Pharaoh's are raised up by God may give patience under persecution.[210] These exhortations cover a broad range.

Secondly, Parr bases exhortations on the doctrine of election or predestination generally. Often his uses progress so that each use builds off its antecedent use. Sometimes this progression results in the final use being somewhat removed from the precise doctrine being applied. When applying "the will of God is the cause of election and reprobation," he moves from the exclusion of merit or demerit as the moving cause, to hardening as a "meritorious cause," to examination whether one has a hard heart, to the exhortation, "Seeke therefore a soft heart." To have a soft heart one ought to hear the Word with reverence, "meditate of Gods mercy," and "pray for a softe heart."[211] In the context of calling, he stresses the importance of waiting on the Word as an instrument of God's calling.[212] The fewness of the elect ought not to deter any from seeking Christ. Rather, "inasmuch as few obtain it, wee should the more labour to be of that number."[213] Parr is moved by the doctrine of election to exhort unbelievers to seek salvation because election declares that such salvation is possible with a God who is pleased to show mercy

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[208] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 222.

[209] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 212; Vermigli, *Romanes*, fol. 278ʳ: "God with great lenity suffreth the vessels of wrath, and therefore let us apply our selves to imitate him; cf. Wilson, *Romans* (1653)*,* 359.

[210] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 190.

[211] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 194-196.

[212] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 225.

[213] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 115; cf. Cowper, *Heaven opened*, 371 ("the fewer there be to be received into the kingdome, the more we should labour to be of that number").

on sinners for no reason in them. If calling is the fruit of election and calling is through the Word and preaching, then people are to wait on the preaching and means of grace.[214] Romans 11:7 states Israel unsuccessfully sought salvation, but the elect found it. Parr uses this to teach people not only that the elect will surely be saved, but that everyone must seek salvation in the right way. He exhorts people to seek salvation "painfully" and continually "where it is to be found: that is, in Christ, in whom are all treasures."[215] The decree of election is used as an encouragement to seek the grace that flows from election and through Christ.

Predestination is also used to exhort believers specifically to sanctification. An assurance of election which does not foster godliness is a false assurance. God predestinates the elect to be conformed to his Son in glory above and in sanctification on earth. Therefore, like his contemporaries, Parr urges them to seek such conformity.[216] His readers are exhorted: "Shew thy election by thy reformation, and by thy good fruites."[217] Parr accepts their profession to be believers and challenges them to live up to that profession. He also encourages them with the fact that godliness strengthens assurance and leads to taste the "sweetenesse of God in the salvation of thy soule."[218] He appeals to an evangelical motivation: the realization that it cost God "the richest Jewel [of heaven], even Jesus Christ" to give his elect the riches of glory ought to move them to

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[214] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 224-225, 343.

[215] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 343.

[216] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 112; cf. Horton, *Forty six sermons*, 307-308; Elton, *Triumph of a true Christian*, 669; Wilson, *Romans* (1653)*,* 308.

[217] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 224-225; cf. idem, *[Rom. 1]*, 4; idem, *[Rom. 13-16]*, 68 ("Every man ought to manifest his regeneration, by the *light* of his life; nay it will be so, if once enlightned, there will be as much difference from our former estate*,* as between light and darknesse").

[218] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 395.

thankfulness.[219] Their godly life ought to manifest their thankfulness to God for electing

them.[220] God's grace "teacheth us to be gracious, not gracelesse: because of the mercies

of God, we must offer up our selves to his service."[221] These exhortations use the present

knowledge of God's electing mercy and love as powerful motivations to sanctification,

which Murray notes as a "pre-eminent use" of election among Puritans.[222]

Specific moral elements are also treated. One element is drawn from the fact that,

as the Potter, God forms people who are only clay. Parr then asks: "Dust and Ashes, and

Clay, Why spendest thou so much time in painting, powdring, pranking thy body? Thou

deckest but a piece of dyrt."[223] Another application appropriate to Parr's situation is

derived from Jacob and Esau being born at the same time and yet standing in opposite

relationships to God. Citing Gregory and Gellius, he uses this truth to show "the vanity of

Astrologers, who upon the calculation of mens Nativities, foretell of their

dispositions."[224] Vermigli, Elton, Willet, and Wilson give the same use, though Vermigli

applies it to the Manicheans, which label Parr's contemporaries may have dropped due to

its antiquity.[225] From Paul's rebuke of those who question God's justice in Romans 9:14,

Parr draws the call to "Imitate Pauls zeale when God is challenged."[226] At the same time

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[219] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 221.

[220] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 181; see also pp. 224-25.

[221] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 149.

[222] Murray, "Puritans and the Doctrine of Election," 8-9.

[223] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 206. Blench notes this was a favorite traditional theme in Elizabethan preaching (Blench, *Preaching in England*, 292). Especially Elton condemns "pride, garishness of apparel, long shagged hair" (Elton, *Mystery of godlinesse*, 130, 102, 123, 142, 159).

[224] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 177.

[225] Vermigli, *Romanes*, fol. 250ᵛ; Elton, *Mystery of godlinesse*, 78-9; Willet, *Hexapla…vpon… Romanes* (1620), [435]; Wilson, *Romans* (1653), 344. On astrology, see Reay, "Popular Religion," 111-12.

[226] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 187, 204.

he exhorts to love even the "Papist or prophane person," since he may be elect.[227] Other expositors of predestination in Romans exhort their readers to be content, recognize God's love in his gifts, have their pride humbled, be merciful and patient to others, avoid revenge, love God and their neighbour, hate sin, search the Scriptures carefully, and not forsake the visible church.[228] These examples indicate the typical Puritan concern for godliness in heart and life drawn from what is considered the most abstract doctrine in a variety of ways.

This prevalence of exhortations does not fit with the contention in the seventeenth-century, theology was "no longer viewed as a practical, moral discipline" but became an "abstract, speculative, technical science."[229] As others have noted, God's execution of predestination being through means directed people to the use of the means and predestination being unto sanctification spurred believers on in the practice of godliness.[230] His stress on the assurance of a gracious salvation in Christ impelling grateful obedience also resists Kendall's general charge of legalism.[231] Parr's exposition better fits within Cohen's argument that Puritans were not driven to piety by fear of divine wrath so much as impelled to it by the knowledge of God's electing love.[232]

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[227] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 417.

[228] Contentment: Elton, *Mystery of godlinesse*, 99; Willet, *Hexapla…vpon…Romanes* (1620), 452; Wilson, *Romans* (1653)*, 341, 356; God's love: Elton, *Mystery of godlinesse*, 107; humility: Elton, *Mystery of godlinesse*, 167-68, 177, 57; Wilson, *Romans* (1653)*, 341, 342, 346, 348, 373; mercy and patience: Elton, *Mystery of godlinesse*, 150, 187; Wilson, *Romans* (1653)*, 346, 351, 359; avoid revenge: Elton, *Mystery of godlinesse*, 193; love: Wilson, *Romans* (1653)*, 307; hatred: Wilson, *Romans* (1653)*, 358; Scripture: Wilson, *Romans* (1653)*, 340, (354); visible church: Wilson, *Romans* (1653)*, 342.

[229] Rogers and McKim, *Authority and Interpretation of the Bible*, 187.

[230] John H. Primus, *Richard Greenham: Portrait of an Elizabethan Pastor* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1998), 127; Knox, *James Ussher*, 19; Trueman, *Luther's Legacy*, 275; Wallace, *Puritans and Predestination*, 7, 16, 17, 23, 51; Lake, *Boxmaker's revenge*, 28.

[231] Kendall, "Living the Christian Life," 55; cf. Elton, *Mystery of godlinesse*, 95.

[232] Cohen, *God's Caress*, 22, 221. Cohen's approach is from a psychological perspective foreign to the Puritans themselves. See also Park, *Sacred Rhetoric*, 126.

Trueman and Kyle have observed this dynamic during the Reformation period already.[233]

Parr uses predestination as an incentive to repentance and sanctification in an evangelical

way. To summarize with the words of Calvin: some say the treatment of predestination is

"dangerous for godly minds – because it hinders exhortations, because it shakes faith,

because it disturbs and terrifies the heart itself – but this is nonsense!"[234]

Use of Comfort

While some scholars are convinced "Calvinism" generally led people to despair

and distress,[235] Marshall and Johnstone suggest this may be an "unwarranted

extrapolation from a handful of well-known cases."[236] Several generalize from a

statement of the early seventeenth-century Robert Burton that the prominence of

predestination led to despair, though Schmidt argues Bolton saw a feeling of God's wrath

as a greater source of despair than reprobation.[237] Though some still argue Calvinistic

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[233] Trueman, *Luther's Legacy*, 269; Richard Kyle, "The Concept of Predestination in the Thought of John Knox," *Westminster Theological Journal* 46, no. 1 (1984): 65.

[234] Calvin, *Institutes*, III.xxi.4. He cites Augustine, *A Treatise on the Predestination of the Saints,* Book II*: A Treatise on the Gift of Perseverance,* ch. 34.

[235] MacCulloch, *Later Reformation*, 77; Haigh, "Taming of the Reformation," 581; Marsh, *Popular Religion in Sixteenth Century England*, 121; Winship, "Weak Christians, Backsliders, and Carnal Gospelers," 477-78; Schmidt, *Melancholy and the Care of the Soul*, 53. To a lesser extent: Paul Seaver, *Wallington's World: A Puritan Artisan in Seventeenth-Century London* (Stanford: Stanford University Press: 1985), 19-20.

[236] Johnstone, *Devil and Demonism*, 288; Marshall, *Reformation England*, 137. For those who argue from extreme cases see Reay, "Popular Religion," 106; Stachniewski, *Persecutory Imagination*, 37-53; Walsham, "Parochial roots of Laudianism," 629.

[237] Dayton Haskin, *Milton's Burden of Interpretation* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994), 18-19; MacDonald, *Mystical Bedlam*, 224; Schmidt, *Melancholy and the Care of the Soul*, 54. Gowland argues he was anti-Puritan in his treatment of Puritanism and despair (Angus Gowland, *The Worlds of Renaissance Melancholy: Robert Bolton in Context* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006], 174-191) while Stachniewski argues he tried but could not escape the "hegemony of Calvinism" (Stachniewski, *Persecutory Imagination*, 253). In 1621, Burton himself does not give a prominent place to predestination as a cause of melancholy and despair, only mentioning it in passing among the "Causes of religious Melancholy" (Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy* [Oxford: Iohn Lichfield and Iames Short, 1621], 733, 773, 775).

theology was theoretically unable to give comfort,[238] many recognize at least an element of comfort was inherent in this theology, even though the debate about its effectiveness continues.[239] Parr's expositions demonstrate he used predestination to provide comfort in specific ways to specific types of people.

The use of comfort is one of the more common uses. This use is a main use in Article 17 of the 39 Articles, which confesses:

> As the godly consideration of Predestination and our Election in Christ, is full of sweet, pleasant, and unspeakable comfort to godly persons and such as feele in themselves the working of the spirit of Christ, mortifying the workes of the flesh and their earthly members, and drawing up their minde to high and heavenly things, aswell because it doeth greatly established and confirme their faith of eternal salvation to be enjoyed through Christ, as because it doeth fervently kindle their love towards God.[240]

These themes continued to echo into Parr's day. Compared with his contemporaries, Parr gives it somewhat less emphasis than Elton, whose use of "excellent and sweet comfort" forms a refrain to each stanza of doctrine in some sections of Romans 9, and gives it

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[238] MacCulloch, *Later Reformation*, 77; Munzer, "Self-Abandonment and Self-denial," 767-68.

[239] For the recognition of Puritan theoretical comfort, see Murray, "Puritans and the Doctrine of Election," 2-5, 8-9; Cohen, *God's Caress*, 221; Stanley Fienberg, "Thomas Goodwin: Puritan Pastor and Independent Divine" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1974), 12; Crompton, "Thomas Goodwin," 100; Alan Cromartie, *The Constitutionalist Revolution: An Essay on the History of England, 1450-1642* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 162; Beeke, "William Perkins on Predestination and Preaching," 11; Dewey Wallace, "George Gifford, Puritan Propoganda and Popular Religion in Elizabethan England," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 9, no. 1 (Apr. 1978): 44; Lewis, *Genius of Puritanism*, 103; Wright, "Pastoral Use of the Doctrine of God's Sovereignty," 3, 250; G. Michael Thomas, "Constructing and Clarifying the Doctrine of Predestination: Theodore Beza's Letters during, and the Wake of, the Bolsec Controversy (1551-1555)," *Reformation and Renaissance Review* 4 (2000): 13; Davies, *Worship and Theology in England: From Cranmer to Hooker, 1534-1603*, 57 (Davies also notes the original meaning of "comfort" is to "strengthen or invigorate rather than to console"). For the recognition of the Reformation theory of comfort, see Wallace, *Puritans and Predestination*, 10, 11, 41, 46; Neuser "Calvin the Preacher," 65; Muller, *The Unaccommodated Calvin*, 151-152; J. C. McClelland, "The Reformed Doctrine of Predestination according to Peter Martyr," *Scottish Journal of Theology* 8 (1955): 258, 265; Michael W. Bruening, *Calvinism's First Battleground: Conflict and Reform in the Pays de Vaud, 1528-1559* (Dordrecht: Springer, 2005), 6; Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists*, 167, 251.

[240] *Articles whereupon it was agreed by the archbishops and bishops of both prouinces, and the whole cleargie, in the conuocation holden in the yeere of our Lord God 1562* (London: Robert Barker, 1605), s.v. Article 17 (sig. B1ᵛ).

somewhat more emphasis than Wilson.[241] Most instances of comfort follow a doctrine

relating to election specifically, in which cases they often surface in the first numbered

use, in contrast to Elton who tends to make it the last use. A few instances follow the

doctrine of reprobation specifically.

Parr can only give encouragement or conditional comfort to the unbeliever. For

example he asks: "Hast thou beene a drunkard, a blasphemer, an uncleane person, &c. If

thou repentest and turnest to God, even so will he use thee" as if thou hast "been the best

children that could be."[242] There is only comfort in the way of faith and repentance. The

riches of comfort for believers ought to make the unbeliever desire to have what the

believer has. Sinclair Ferguson makes a perceptive observation regarding Puritanism:

"The *pulpit* was the creator of anxious hearts, and therefore the *pulpit* had to bring them

comfort and assurance."[243] This observation fits with Parr concern "to *comfort* the

troubled conscience, to *terrifie* the rebellious, to preach *mercy* to the penitent, to thunder

out *iudgments* against the impenitent."[244] He sought to distress and terrify the ungodly

with warnings in order to awaken in them a desire for true comfort in Christ.

Rather than discourage distressed souls with predestination, Parr wrote of how

election revealed God as a God of salvation for sinners to their encouragement. As a

comfort to "poore sinners" he argues that if God is patient to reprobates, he will be much

more patient to his own elect.[245] Those who do not see marks of election in themselves

need not despair, but ought to use the means of grace with the encouragement that God

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[241] Elton, *Mystery of godlinesse*, 49, 61, 69, 71, 87, 88, 91, 94, 96, 109, 126, 134, 142, 145, 151, 165, 178, 184, 188, 193, 198; Wilson, *Romans* (1653)*,* 309, 311, 339, 352, 353, 369.

[242] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 312.

[243] Sinclair Ferguson, *John Owen on the Christian Life* (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth Trust, 1987), 100.

[244] Parr, *[Rom. 13-16]*, 272.

[245] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 213.

makes the means effectual out of electing love.[246] In other contexts, they are exhorted to

repent and believe in Christ.[247] Even in the context of election he exhorts them not to

succumb to fatalism, but say "God hath elected me to salvation by faith and repentance;

therefore I wil endeavour to repent and believe, that so I may be saved according to

election."[248] At the same time, he elsewhere acknowledges that "In the trouble of

conscience, they wil finde it to be the hardest matter in the world to believe."[249] The

doctrine of election displays God's love for his people, which love "includes all his

favors." Therefore, he exhorts: "whatsoever thou wantest, as Faith, Repentance, &c.

Aske, and thou shalt have."[250] A God of electing love is the source of all grace, which he

will give to his elect who by nature are no different from the reprobate. This is an

encouragement for all to seek this grace from him.

Parr can then give sure comfort to those who have evidence of faith and

repentance. His doctrine enables him to declare: "he which believes and repents, is as

sure even now of salvation, as even now he were raigning with Christ in heaven."[251]

Since election is wholly dependent on the good pleasure of an almighty God, he states:

"Great comfort followes the Elect: Their state is as sure as God is sure."[252] Cowper

agrees, adding the comfort for troubled souls that the ground is sure even though the

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[246] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 182.

[247] E.g. Parr, *[Rom. 1]*, 2 ("The Mercy of God in the coverting of *Paul*, is for the comfort of sinners; *Paul* obtained mercy, despaire not thou, but beleeve"), 5, 41; idem, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 263, 270, 313 (Christ "is most gentle to all that come to him, freely healing them, and advancing them to glory. Why then doest thou deferre to come unto him for saving health… He that received Paul and Mary Magdalene to mercy, will not reject thee, if thou repentest").

[248] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 311.

[249] Parr, *[Rom. 1]*, 18.

[250] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 176, 220.

[251] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 311.

[252] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 181, 188.

"tokens are changeable."[253] Not predestination, but the lack of it would be terrifying. If salvation's certainty depended on believers, "wee must needs despaire and runne madde in trouble, because we are mutable," Parr confessed.[254] The comfort of election sparkles against the black backdrop of the radical inability of man to do good. The comfort of election is attainable for all believers precisely because the Spirit gives assurance through the exercise of faith. Paul was sure of his state and "so may all: for we have the same Spirit and Faith, though not in the same measure."[255] Thus, if "you feele that your hearts are moved to believe…, you have a most sweet testimony of the love of God, and that you shall be conformable to Christ in glory. Your salvation is built upon a stronger and nobler foundation then the very Heavens; even upon the Counsell of God."[256] Election is full of sweet comfort and its assurance is possible for every believer.

The certainty of salvation guaranteed by election is a comfort that persists in the face of all outward distresses. Election gives comfort amid social adversity. Since "Birth, degrees, and bloud…further not Election," one need not be high on the social scale to have profound comfort.[257] Rather, "the riches of glory laid up for the Elect, comforteth against our present basenesse"[258] The knowledge of election is also a comfort in affliction. It is "worth all the world, the ground of our comfort, which cheareth in all crosses." The cross is part of the conformity to Christ to which believers are

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[253] Cowper, *Heaven opened*, 355-56; Elton, *Triumph of a True Christian*, 649.

[254] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 181.

[255] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 310; cf. *Canons of Dort*, V.9-10.

[256] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 117.

[257] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 174; cf. Parr, *[Rom. 1]*, 13. Haller latches onto this theme in his somewhat sociological interpretation of Puritanism (Haller, *Rise of Puritanism*, 89).

[258] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 220; see also p. 223.

predestined.[259] Romans 8:28-30 uses predestination as a basis for comfort under the cross.[260] Specifically persecution need not be a source of fear. Elton addresses this in light of the popish threat.[261] To Parr, Romans 11:5 makes clear that "The cause why some are reserved in dangerous times is their election." God will either hide them from the enemy or give them strength to endure the wrath of the enemy.[262] Furthermore, reprobation means that one day God will glorify himself in the destruction of his enemies, including the Turk and the "Pope, who playes the Divell."[263] No affliction can destroy a comfort grounded in election.[264]

The freeness of election means that not even sin is reason for despair. Parr counsels: "Gods children onely discern a world of wickednesse in themselves…. Comfort thy self, God elected thee freely to salvation."[265] Troubled souls may see no reason for God to be merciful to them, but Parr tells them, "thy Election depends not upon thy worthiness, but upon the wil of God."[266] That the elect will never perish means the believer is "perfectly reconciled to God" and will never be the object of his wrath again.[267] Parr's predestinarian comfort has a Christological basis as well. He wrote:

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[259] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 315, 112.

[260] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 106, 112; cf. Elton, *Triumph of a true Christian*, 645; Wilson, *Romans* (1653)*,* 302; del Corro, *A theological dialogue*, fol. 79ʳ; especially Calvin, *Epistle to the Romans*, 315, 319. Calvin has a somewhat different interpretation of this passage.

[261] Elton, *Mystery of godlinesse*, 92.

[262] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 335.

[263] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 218.

[264] Drawing from the progression in the whole Epistle of Romans, Luther even states that only in the context of outward and spiritual affliction does the doctrine of Predestination become a rich comfort (Luther, *A methodicall preface*, sig. C.iiii.+3; Tyndale, *A compendious introduccion*, sig. B.v+2).

[265] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 339; Elton, *Mystery of godlinesse*, 87 (same doctrine derived from another text); Tyndale, *A compendious introduccion*, sig. B.v+2; Luther, *A methodicall preface*, sig. C.iiii.+2.

[266] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 181.

[267] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 312.

> Our estate stands upon foure brazen pillers, which are all founded upon, and upholden by Christ. 1. The Unchangeablenesse of Gods love. 2. The Immutability of Predestination. 3. The Infallibility of his Promises. 4. The continual Intercession of Christ. Al these are in Christ. In Christ he loves us: In Christ we are predestinated... So that upon these grounds whosoever stands, must needs be certaine. Yea, with reverence be it spoken: Christ must cease to be himselfe, if we be not saved.[268]

Election means that no condition or circumstance is a reason for believers to despond of God's faithfulness and determination to save them in Christ.

Parr's comforting use of predestination conflicts with Kendall's suggestion that pastoral concern would lead one who believes in predestination to "almost prefer that men forget about the decrees of predestination."[269] Rather, it joins the jubilant chorus of his time about the superlative comfort of predestination.[270] It echoes the Canons of Dort, which speak of "unspeakable consolation" flowing from God's decrees.[271] In fact, Murray cites Thomas Horton as stating that in contrast to the "Doctrines of arrogancy and presumption" which are "for the most part doctrines of despair," election gives comfort.[272] Election is a window into God's heart of enduring love for his people. Reprobation makes this love the more amazing to those who realize they are worthy of

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[268] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 146.

[269] Kendall, *Calvin and English Calvinism*, 103; see Dever for a refutation of this suggestion concerning Sibbes (Dever, *Richard Sibbes*, 108-9).

[270] Crakanthorpe, "The Epistle Dedicatory," in *A sermon of predestination* ("wherein is contained the chiefest treasures of their spirituall comfort"); Cowper, *Heaven opened,* 361 (Rom. 8:29 is "above the rest a treasure of comfort"); John Fielde, "To the right Honorable and my verie good Lorde," in John Calvin, *Thirteene Sermons*, fol. 37ʳ ("it must needes be that we be in distresse & vexation continually & without ende, & that we be as poore people stricken thorow, if we knew not that our Lord hath our salvation in his owne hande"); 28 Anthony Maxey, *Five Sermons Preached before the King* (London: Clement Knight, 1614), 28 ("O setled comfort! O sweet conceived hope of joy! That ioy, which strength of Hels tenne thousand, can never take away").

[271] *Canons of Dort*, I.6; cf. "The Confession of Faith agreed upon by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster," III.viii ("abundant consolation to all that sincerely obey the gospel").

[272] Thomas Horton; cited in Murray, "Puritans and the Doctrine of Election," 8; see also Kimedoncius, "A Booke of Gods Predestination," 364-366.

condemnation. Parr strengthens the findings of Murray, Wallace and others concerning

the comforting nature of predestination.[273]

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[273] Wallace, *Puritans and Predestination*, 47; Murray, "Puritans and the Doctrine of Election," 2-5, 8-9; Beeke, "William Perkins on Predestination and Preaching," 11.

CHAPTER 5: ELNATHAN PARR'S *GROUNDS OF DIVINITIE*

Introduction

"Their name is legion," quipped A. F. Mitchell about English catechisms published between 1600 and 1645.[1] Yet, a century after the publication of this statement in 1886, Ian Green still had to complain that little attention had been given to them.[2] T. F. Torrance's study of the official catechisms of Scotland conveys almost as much of his own theology as that of the catechisms he studied.[3] Though several cursory articles and unpublished dissertations have been published on English catechisms, which have also been touched on within the broader framework of English theology, the standard introduction has become Green's tome published in 1996.[4]

The Reformation propelled the catechetical genre to prominence by using it to disseminate Reformation teachings to the general population.[5] Green even cites J. A.

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[1] Mitchell, *Catechisms of the Second Reformation*, lx.

[2] Ian Green, "'For Children in Yeeres and Children in Understanding': The Emergence of the English Catechism under Elizabeth and the Early Stuarts," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 37, no. 3 (July 1986): 425.

[3] He does critique a degeneration from Calvin's emphasis on election in Christ and omission of election from his catechism to its abstract and scholastic treatment in the Westminster Catechisms (Thomas F. Torrance, *The School of Faith: The Catechisms of the Reformed Church* [London: James Clarke & Co., 1959], lxxvii- lxxix).

[4] Some minor or unpublished sources include: Grant, "Puritan Catechising"; J.L. Wilson, "Catechisms, and Their Use," 31-44; Unpublished dissertations and theses cited by Green (*Christian's ABC*, 3) include: P. F. Jensen, "The Life of Faith in the Teaching of English Protestants" (D.Phil. diss., Oxford, 1979), ch. 5; R. M. E. Paterson, "A Study of Catechisms of the Reformation and Post-Reformation Period" (MA thesis, Durham, 1981); P. Hutchinson, Religious Change: The Case of the English Catechism 1560-1640 (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1984); L. D. Durbin, "Education by Catechism: The Development of the Sixteenth-Century English Catechism" (Ph.D. diss., Northwestern, 1987).

[5] P. F. Jensen, "The Catechisms of Elizabethan England," *Reformed Theological Review* 39 (Jan. – Apr. 1980): 1; Fredrica Harris Thompsett, "Godly Instruction in Reformation England: The Challenge of Religious Education in the Tudor Commonwealth," in *A Faithful Church: Issues in the History of Catechesis*, ed. John H. Westerhoff III and O. C. Edwards Jr. (Wilton.: Morehouse-Barlow, 1981), 178,

Bossy's claim that the rise of catechesis may have had more impact on the people than any other sixteenth-century innovation.[6] As Leonard Grant indicates, especially the Puritans were known for their stress on catechizing.[7] According to Green, the plethora of different catechisms indicates the concern for pastors to suit their instruction to their local congregations.[8] He demonstrates that a catechism was intended to teach the basic truths of Scripture, usually by a series of questions and answers. While the most essential truths are those necessary to be believed unto salvation, most catechisms expanded beyond them to provide summaries of Scripture truth that would enable people to better study Scripture, understand its preaching, discern error, and live godly lives.[9] In Parr's own words, "Catechizing hath not so much ostentation, but yet it singularly profiteth.... It breedeth a marvellous gentle disposition in young ones, and prepareth them for an understanding, reading of the Word, and hearing it preached; neither are they fit to receive the Lords Supper, till they be well understood in the Catechisme."[10]

Scholars differ widely concerning the role of predestination in early seventeenth-century catechisms. Some argue for an increasing prominence of predestination in catechisms as the seventeenth-century progressed. Torrance argues that in catechisms there was little tendency to abstraction regarding predestination until the Westminster Catechisms introduced a "strong stress upon God's eternal and immutable decree" in a

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189-196; Bernard L. Marthaler, "The Genre Takes Shape: Reformation Catechisms," in *The Catechism Yesterday and Today* (The Liturgical Press: Collegeville, 1995), 21-32.

[6] J. A. Bossy, *Christianity in the West 1400-1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 118-20; cited in Green, "'Reformed Pastors' and '*Bons Curés*,'" 253. In contrast, Haigh argues the content of catechisms was generic and its practice largely ineffective (Haigh, "Church of England, the Catholics and the people," 246-50).

[7] Grant, "Puritan Catechizing," 117-119; see also Morgan, *Godly Learning*, 152-53.

[8] Green, "'Reformed Pastors' and '*Bons Curés*,'" 282.

[9] Green, *Christian's ABC*, 26-43. See also Collinson, "Shepherds, Sheepdogs, and Hirelings," 201-202.

[10] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 524-25.

scholastic way.[11] J. L. Wilson argues that, under the influence of Perkins, catechisms began to treat predestination more frequently and scholastically already during the time of Parr.[12] In contrast, Green's chapter on predestination notes that "relatively little Calvinism had been taught in catechisms before 1640." In his sample of sixty catechisms spanning from c.1530 to 1740, even those by Calvinistic authors often did not teach explicit Calvinism.[13] Hirst goes further to state that "most catechisms taught beginning Christians an implicitly universalist message; and many godly pastors modified their academic stress on God's will."[14] Haigh argues for a rise in predestinarian catechetical teaching that peaked between 1580 and 1610 and then declined due to popular pressure.[15] Green also implies predestination was avoided because it was "too hard for the uneducated or too disturbing."[16] However, Towers critiques Green for using a small sample, which bypassed important texts such as the catechism of Arthur Dent, to make broad generalizations, which underestimated the presence of predestinarian teaching prior to the 1630s.[17] These diverging generalizations including those Green draws from his sampling of catechisms can only be confirmed or called in question by a detailed examination of more catechetical works, such as Elnathan Parr's *Grounds of Divinitie*.

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[11] Torrance, *The School of Faith*, lxxix. W. Verboom argues the Dutch second Reformation catechisms degenerated by increasingly dividing election from the church and objectifying the confession of election (W. Verboom, *De catechese van de Reformatie en de Nadere Reformatie* [Amsterdam: Buijten & Schipperheijn, 1987], 333).

[12] Wilson, "Catechisms and Their Use Among the Puritans," 39-41.

[13] Green, *Christian's ABC*, 385, 78. This failure to discover Calvinism is also due to the narrowness of his definition of Calvinism as involving the explicit confession of double predestination, unconditional election, and irresistible and indefectible grace (p. 355).

[14] Hirst, *England in Conflict*, 39; White also downplays the presence of predestination in catechisms (White, *Predestination, Policy and Polemic*, 90).

[15] Haigh, "Taming of the Reformation," 577, 581-82.

[16] Green, "'Reformed Pastors' and '*Bons Curés*,'" 284. As support, Green cites Porter, *Reformation and Reaction*, 398-403 (which does not appear to apply to the point at hand).

[17] Towers, *Control of Religious Printing*, 279-80. Towers' claim agrees with Wallace's earlier findings (Wallace, *Puritans and Predestination*, 32-33).

This work will also be compared to various other catechisms that at least mention predestination, most of which are not contained in Green's sampling.

General Contours

As a rather popular, intermediate level work, the *Grounds of Divinitie* treats predestination within the context of the church in an orthodox Reformed manner, with Reformed theological distinctives also filtering through the rest of the work.

Location within the Catechetical Genre

Parr's catechetical work has a specific place within the catechetical genre. First, his work is situated in the mainstream of English Reformed catechetical works. Being first published in 1614, Parr's work was part of a well-established genre.[18] Most of his title could describe many works:

> The Grounds of Divinity: Plainely discovering the Mysteries of Christian Religion, propounded familiarly in divers Questions and Answers: Substantially proved by Scriptures; Expounded faithfully, according to the writings of the best Divines, and evidently applied by profitable Uses, for the help and benefit of the Unlearned which desire Knowledge.

Green notes that the term "Grounds" was common in catechism titles of the first half of the seventeenth-century.[19] These grounds were not principles derived by "Aristotelian philosophy," as McGrath argues concerning post-Reformation theology, but fundamental truths "proved by Scriptures."[20] As the title suggests, the work is intended for "the Unlearned which desire knowledge" or, as he describes them in his preface, "the meaner

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[18] Green, *Christian's ABC*, 13, 51, 61-64; Thompsett, "Godly Instruction in Reformation England," 178.

[19] Green, *Christian's ABC*, 27 ("'Grounds' could be taken to mean valid reasons or something that provided the basis of an argument…but in this context it probably meant also base or foundation").

[20] Contra McGrath, *Reformation Thought*, 141.

sort" and "the beginner," with "common capacities."[21] Out of concern about the "great ignorance of the multitude," like many others, he wrote for the common man who desired to learn and be edified.[22]

Second, Parr's work was relatively popular. A revised third edition was published in 1619. The eighth and apparently last edition was published in 1636. It also made up a significant part of his collected works, the fourth edition of which was published in 1651. In Green's extensive list of over 1300 catechetical works published between around 1530 and 1740, only 72 of them are known to have over eight editions.[23] The popularity of Parr's work means scholars cannot discredit it as merely an obscure anomaly.

Third, Parr's *Grounds* must be classified among the larger works. Catechisms varied much in size. As B. Marthaler notes, Martin Luther already set the trend for varying levels of detail with his shorter and larger catechisms.[24] Some catechisms presupposed an understanding of simpler ones and were meant to give further instruction in foundational truths. Some were intended for catechumens to memorize and others for pastors, teachers, and parents to use in preparation for catechizing others. Parr's 1619 edition is 354 octavo pages of black letter typeface. Due to its size, it overlaps with the English theological bodies of divinity that do not follow the catechetical format, and thus will be compared with them in this thesis.[25]

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[21] Parr, "To the Courteous Reader," in *Grounds*, sigs. A5^v-A6^r.

[22] Parr, "To the Courteous Reader," in *Grounds*, sig. A3^r; cf. Green, *Christian's ABC*, 74-75.

[23] Green, *Christian's ABC*, 67, part III. Less than 30 of these 72 were in print while Parr's catechism was in print.

[24] Marthaler, "The Genre Takes Shape: Reformation Catechisms," 21. The Westminster Shorter and Larger Catechisms exemplify the continuance of this dynamic.

[25] While Wilkins distinguishes "catechisms" from "Common places," he sees both as subsets of positive (versus polemical) "discourses, which treat of the body of Divinity" (Wilkins, *Ecclesiastes*, 46, 61-71). Bernard even cites Calvin's *Institutes* within the Catechetical genre (Bernard, *The faithfull shepheard*, 40) and Green includes it in his list of catechetical works (Green, *Christian's ABC*, 696).

This work's bulk is due to its inclusion of not only a standard question and answer form catechism but also an embedded exposition of it. Parr considered his general format of Question, Answer, Explanation, and Uses to be unique, though John Ball and Paul Baynes used a similar format shortly after him.[26] On its own, Parr's catechism is around 4800 words or a similar length to Ball's *A Short Catechism*.[27] Presumably, this catechism could be taught or studied with the help of the embedded explanations. In his preface, he expressed the hope that the reader would benefit from it, just like Parr "had experience of the profit of these things being delivered by lively voice." The value of this exposition derived from Parr's "ragged notes, and scattered papers" is that it provides an illustration of not simply a printed catechism, but of what teaching filled an actual catechism class.[28]

Fourth, Parr's *Grounds* differs from the typical structures for catechisms and assumes familiarity with more basic catechetical works. He does not expound the Creed, Lord's Prayer, or Decalogue, as was common. Instead he refers his readers to other works which do.[29] Yet, he does cover standard "grounds." In his own words, his work "propoundeth, proveth, and as a key openeth, and easily unlocketh the hidden Mystery and counsel of God, councerning our salvation by our Lord Jesus Christ."[30] More precisely, he covers the being of God, creation, fall, redemption, sanctification, the last things, the church, sacraments, discipline, and the magistrate. This less common structure makes his detailed treatment of predestination more explicable.

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[26] Parr, "To the Courteous Reader," in *Grounds*, sig. A3^v; Paul Baynes, *A helpe to happinesse* (London: W. Bladen, 1622); John Ball, *A short treatise contayning all the principall grounds of Christian religion, by way of questions and answers* (London: Thomas Snodham, 1624). Green notes that such a format was more common (Green, *Christian's ABC*, 578).

[27] John Ball, *A Short Catechisme. Containing the Princples of Religion. Very profitable for all sorts of People*, Thirteenth impression (London: Ed. Brewster, 1630).

[28] Parr, "To the Courteous Reader," in *Grounds*, sig. A3^r. See Green, *Christian's ABC*, 145-46.

[29] Parr, *Grounds*, 215, 235, 253.

[30] Parr, "To the Courteous Reader," in *Grounds*, sig. A4^v.

In sum, Parr's work was a popular, intermediate level introduction to the fundamentals of the Christian religion that was written for the edification of the common sort in a time when Protestant and especially Puritan catechisms were proliferating.

Influence of Predestination's Character

Apart from an explicit exposition of predestination, the usage of terms relating to predestination throughout the work indicates something of Parr's view on predestination. Bracketing his section on predestination and analyzing the way predestination filters through the rest of his book already indicates his Reformed convictions. Predestinarian terms surface in three main areas: Christ's accomplishment of redemption, application of salvation, and final judgment.

Parr begins his section on redemption by defining it as "a worke of God, whereby he hath fully delivered his Elect from sinne…by Jesus Christ, to the praise and glory of his Name."[31] Redemption is God's work for the elect. Elsewhere he says: "The second Adam (which is Christ) is the Roote, the Head, and instead of all the Elect."[32] Christ's substitutionary work was performed as representative head of his elect. Parr further addresses whom Christ purposed to save when he states that "his righteousnesse is of a sufficient merit for all the Elect; yea (if it had so pleased God) for a thousand Worlds."[33] Based on His merits, Christ continues as the intercessor in heaven "willing that it may always, be effectuall for the reconciliation of his Elect."[34] Neither man's will nor the nature of Christ's work, but the intention or pleasure of God determines that Christ's

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[31] Parr, *Grounds*, 134.

[32] Parr, *Grounds*, 202.

[33] Parr, *Grounds*, 215; cf. 212-213 ("here we have found out the Reason why the Righteousnesse of Christ should be of merit sufficient, and effectual for thousand thousands, even all the Elect").

[34] Parr, *Grounds*, 227.

satisfaction was for the elect alone, which view is popularly known as "limited atonement."[35] Parr is clear that Christ accomplished redemption for the elect alone.

Parr is also clear that redemption is efficaciously applied to the elect. Christ's will stands behind the application of salvation to the elect, who remain in misery "even till the Elect and Beloved be delivered and renued by…Jesus Christ."[36] God's sovereign power exercised through the Word effects this change. "The Gospel is preached," Parr wrote, "the righteousnesse of Christ is therein offered, withal God workes faith in the heart of his elect to receive this righteousnesse."[37] This statement implies Christ is offered generally, but only the elect whom God gives faith receive Him. They receive faith because "all the Elect, receive of [Christ's] anointing; that is, of his Spirit."[38] He "effectually calleth his Elect, delivereth them from the Devil, justifieth them, continueth them in grace," thereby ensuring they persevere in grace. Behind this grace is God's covenant with the elect.[39] These quotations show the elect owe their salvation to the God who effectually wills to give it to them as the elect. They exclude any definition of election that bases it on foreseen faith and demonstrate Parr's Reformed orthodoxy.

The last place and the place he most frequently mentioned the terms "elect" and especially "reprobate" is the doctrine of heaven and hell. Here he not only stresses that there will be a separation of the elect and the reprobate and that the elect will go to

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[35] Those who see Beza as the creator of "limited atonement" which led to a crisis of assurance of grace include: Armstrong, *Calvinism and the Amyraut Heresy*, 137-8; Kendall, *Calvin and English Calvinism*, 13-28; and Hall, "Calvin against the Calvinists," 28. In response see W. Robert Godfrey, "Reformed Thought on the Extent of the Atonement to 1618," *Westminster Theological Journal* 37 (1975): 133-171; Muller, *After Calvin*, 14; Paul Helm, "Calvin, English Calvinism and the Logic of Doctrinal Development," *Scottish Journal of Theology* 34, no. 2 (1981): 179-185; idem, *Calvin and the Calvinists*.

[36] Parr, *Grounds*, 159.

[37] Parr, *Grounds*, 224.

[38] Parr, *Grounds*, 233. Irvonwy Morgan wrongly concludes that early Stuart Calvinists opposed the idea that Christ died for all because that idea offered Christ to all (Morgan, *Puritan Spirituality*, 27).

[39] Parr, *Grounds*, 44.

heaven, but also that the reprobate will go to hell. Thus, he defines eternal death as "the most horrible condition in which the Reprobate shall be for ever in Hell." He is not afraid to speak of God's justice being glorified in his judgment on the reprobate. The section on eschatology is the main but not only place where he used the term "reprobate."[40] In the section on faith, he impresses on his readers that they need more than what reprobates have.[41] In the section on man's will, he deals with how "the reprobate sinne necessarily, and yet freely." In repentance he mentions legal convictions "may be in a Reprobate." Overall, less is said about reprobation than election and his usage of the term does not indicate his specific beliefs concerning reprobation. Yet, the usage does indicate that he believed God did reprobate and that hell is evidence of it.

Green acknowledges most catechetical authors used the term "elect," but proceeds to give the term an Arminian-leaning definition, while providing an unduly narrow definition of "Calvinism," in order to conclude that "relatively little Calvinism had been taught in catechisms before 1640."[42] Such a conclusion may not have been reached if he both examined the usage of the terms and the related concepts in catechisms. At least in Parr's case, such analysis suggests his catechism had a "Calvinist" character.

Placement of Predestination's Treatment

Proceeding to the section on predestination itself, the first issue is where Parr placed it. The placement issue has received undue attention among scholars. Basil Hall and others argue that, in contrast to Calvin's soteriological placement, Beza reverted to

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[40] Parr, *Grounds*, 260.

[41] Parr, *Grounds*, 225.

[42] Green, *Christian's ABC*, 364, 359, 362. For his definition of Calvinism, see p. 355. Concerning Calvinist writings on the life of faith, Green does acknowledge that even where "Calvinist teaching on salvation was not presented point by point…, it undeniably gave a very distinctive colouring" to them (Green, *Print and Protestantism*, 312).

the medieval scholastic placement of predestination in the doctrine of God and opened the door to speculative determinatism, through which door William Perkins walked to corrupt post-Reformation English theology.[43] Wilson argues this shift occurred in catechisms at the turn of the seventeenth-century.[44] Recently, Muller has dealt this understanding a devastating blow by arguing that no conclusions concerning predestination's definition can be drawn from its placement.[45]

Parr did not deal with predestination in the doctrine of God. He only mentioned it within God's providence to show that it is a specific aspect of providence and then said he would explain it at a later point.[46] That explanation is found after his treatment of the *ordo salutis* and in the doctrine of the church. His definition of the church includes the statement that it is "the whole Companie of them which are from everlasting predestinated to Eternall Life," which led him to ask, "What meane you by Predestination?"[47] The focused treatment follows.

In his sample of catechisms, Green found only two mentioning predestination in "Beza's placement," while the others did so in the Creed concerning the Holy Spirit and the church or in the doctrine of salvation. He concludes this was done to soften the doctrine's "apparent harshness."[48] A brief survey of English catechetical works common around the time of Parr uncovers a range of placements. In addition to Thomas

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[43] Hall, "Calvin against the Calvinists," 27, 29; Armstrong, *Calvinism and the Amyraut Heresy*, 40-41 (citing Kickel with appreciation), 136-137; J. B. Torrance, "Strengths and Weaknesses of the Westminster Theology," 40-54; Breward, "The Life and Theology of William Perkins," 201; Benedict, *Christ's Churches Purely Reformed*, 302.

[44] Wilson, "Catechisms and Their Use Among the Puritans," 39.

[45] Muller, "Placement of Predestination." For others who make similar points see Boughton, "Supralapsarianism and the Role of Metaphysics," 78; Helm, *John Calvin's Ideas*, 96.

[46] Parr, *Grounds*, 125.

[47] Parr, *Grounds*, 280.

[48] Green, *Christian's ABC*, 365-366.

Cartwright as noted by Green, Ball, Wilson, Samuel Crook, John Boughton, Stephen Dennison, James Ussher, William Gouge, and a certain I. G. do treat predestination after dealing with God's being and before God's works in time.[49] Parr also first mentions it here. Those who treat it here tend to do so more extensively than those who raise it in the context of ecclesiology. This suggests this placement was more significant than one might expect from reading Green and Muller on the catechetical genre.[50]

At the same time, contrary to Hall et al, predestination was most often taught at some later point. As the findings of Green and Muller indicate, Parr stood within a broad body of literature that dealt with or at least mentioned predestination most clearly in the doctrine of the church. Besides those listed by Green, John Yates, Samuel Browne, William Horne, Edward Dering, Robert Cawdry, William Hill, Edmund Chapman, Richard Bruch, Gervase Scarbrough, George Webbe, and Alexander Nowell raised predestination in the doctrine of the church, where Zacharias Ursinus and William Perkins himself treated predestination in their expositions of the Creed and Calvin mentioned it in his catechism.[51] Other than Yates, Browne, Perkins, and Ursinus, the

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[49] Green, *Christian's ABC*, 359; Cartwright, *Christian religion*, 16 (also included in the very popular work of John Dod, *A plaine and familiar exposition of the Ten Commandements with a methodicall short catechisme* [London: Thomas Man, 1610]); Ball, *A short treatise*, 56-58; Thomas Wilson, *An exposition of the tvvo first verses of the sixt chapter to the Hebrewes in forme of a dialogue* (London: Tho. Snodham, 1600), 18-20; Samuel Crook, *The guide vnto true blessednesse. Or, A body of the doctrine of the Scriptures, directing man to the sauing knowledge of God* (London: John Pindley, 1613), 10-11; Stephen Denison, *A compendious catechisme Wherein are briefly expounded, the Apostles Creed, the ten Commandements and the Lords Prayer, together with other fundamentall points of Christian religion* (London: Richard Field, 1621), 2-3; Boughton, *God and man*, 25-31; William Gouge, *A short catechisme, wherein are briefly laid downe the fundamentall Principles of Christian Religion. Needfull to be knowne of all such as come the Lords Table*, 3d ed. (London: John Beale, 1621), sig. A3+3^v; I. G., *The Christians profession, or A treatise of the grounds and principles of diuinity by way of question and answer* (London: T. P., 1630), 9-12; Ussher, *A Body of Divinitie*, table of contents; cf. Green, *Christian's ABC*, 360; Fesko, *Diversity Within the Reformed Tradition*, 247-248.

[50] Muller, "Placement of Predestination," 207.

[51] John Yates, *A Modell of Divinitie, Catechetically Composed* (London: John Legatt, 1623), 257-59; Samuel Browne, *The summe of Christian religion shewing the vndoubted truth holy practice, and heauenly comfort therein contained* (London: Richard Badger, 1630), B4+1^v - B4+2^r; William Horne, *A Christian exercise, containing an easie entrance into the principles of religion and the chiefest points of our*

authors mention election without formally defining it, though some, such as Cawdry do give a description of it that reflects distinctively Reformed theology.

A variety of other placements also exist. Alexander Grosse deals with predestination at the beginning of the *ordo salutis*.[52] Several follow Beza's actual catechetical placement of predestination in the context of redemption as an explanation of who are saved.[53] Others treat it within the contexts of the sacraments and assurance.[54]

saluation in Christe (London: Robert VValde-graue, 1585), sig. C3^r; Edward Dering, *A briefe & necessary instruction verye needefull to bee knowen of all housholders* (London: J. Awdely, 1572), sigs. C.i^v-ii^r; Robert Cawdry, *A shorte and fruitefull treatise, of the profite and necessitie of catechising* (London: Thòmas Dawson, 1580), fol. 82, sig. K.v.; William Hill, *The first principles of a Christian* (London: Edward Griffin, 1616), B3^r; Edmund Chapman, *A catechisme with a prayer annexed meete for all Christian families* (London: Ch. B., 1583), sig. A.iiii.+1^v; Richard Bruch, *The life of religion: or Short and sure directions teaching how to 1 beleeue aright. 2 Liue aright, & 3 pray aright* ([London]: Iohn Beale, 1615), 85; Gervase Scarbrough, *The summe of all godly and profitable catechismes reduced into one* (London: George Eld, 1623), 19; George Webbe, *A briefe exposition of the principles of Christian religion* (London: Ber. Alsop, 1617), sig. C2; Alexander Nowell, *A catechisme, or first instruction and learning of Christian religion* (London: Iohn Daye, 1571), fol. 43^v; William Perkins, *An Exposition of the Symbole or Creede of the Apostles*, in *The works of that Famous and Worthie Minister of Christ…W. Perkins* (London: John Legat, 1605), 345-350; Zacharias Ursinus, *The Commentary of Dr. Zacharias Ursinus on the Heidelberg Catechism*, trans. G. W. Williard (1852; reprint, Presbyterian & Reformed, n.d.), 293-303; Calvin, *The catechisme, or maner to teach children the Christian religion* (London: Felix Kingston, 1598), sig. B4+2^v – B4+3r. On this placement of Ursinus and Perkins see Richard A. Muller, "Perkins' *A Golden Chaine:* Predestinarian System or Schematized *Ordo Salutis*?" *Sixteenth Century Journal* 9, no. 1 (1978): 80.

[52] Alexander Grosse, *A fiery pillar of heavenly truth shewing, the way to a blessed life: composed by way of catechisme* (London: John Bartlett, 1641), sigs. A4^r-B3^v. This is contrary to Green's claim that Grosse dealt with predestination in the doctrine of God (Green, *Christian's ABC*, 366). In one of his works, Perkins deals with it here as well (William Perkins, *A Golden Chaine: or, The Description of Theologie*, in *Works of…W. Perkins*, 16-17).

[53] Theodore Beza, *A booke of Christian Questions and answers. Wherein are set foorth the cheef points of the Christian Religion in maner of an abridgment* (London: William How, 1574), fols. 75-89; idem, *A little catechisme, that is to say, a short instruction touching christian religion, set forth by Theodorus Beza* (London: Hugh Singleton, 1578), sigs. A.iii.^{r}, A.iiii.^{r}; Thomas Wilson, *The Childes trade or, The Beginning of the Doctrine of Christ* (London: I. Bartlet, 1645), sig. A5^r; Hugh Peters, *Milk for babes, and meat for men, or, Principles necessary, to bee known and learned, of such as would know Christ here, or be known of him hereafter* ([Amsterdam: Successor of G. Thorp], 1630), 9-10; Henry Vesey, *The scope of the scripture Wherein the ignorant are taught the sauing knowledge of God and of themselues. By short questions and answers* (London: W.I., 1621), 19; Richard Bernard, *A double catechisme* (Cambridge: Iohn Legate, 1607), 17-18; William Cranshaw, *Milke for babes. Or a North-countrey catechisme Made plaine and easie, to the capacity of the simplest* (London: Nicholas Okes, 1622), 27. On Beza's placement of predestination in the method of teaching theology, see Richard A. Muller, "The Use and Abuse of a Document: Beza's *Tabula Praedestinationis*, The Bolsec Controversy, and the Origins of Reformed Orthodoxy," in *Protestant Scholasticism*, 53-55.

[54] John Frewen, *Certaine choise grounds, and principles of our Christian religion* (London: Roger Pott, 1621), 317-320; John Craig, *A short summe of the whole catechisme wherein the question is propounded and answered in fewe words, for the greater ease of the common people, and children*

Edward Elton waits until the closing section on eschatology before defining election and reprobation, while A. Gee attaches its treatment as a virtual appendix.[55] It is noteworthy that differing placements are even found within a single author's writings within the catechetical genre. For example, Wilson places it in the doctrine of God in one catechism and in the context of faith in another.[56] These findings confirm Muller's thesis that placement was guided by one's pedagogical pattern rather than theological position.[57]

That Parr treats predestination in ecclesiology and not theology proper does not set him apart from his orthodox contemporaries, but may even make him a follower of Perkins in this regard. Parr's usage of predestinarian terms places him within scholastic Reformed orthodoxy with its "doctrine of a 'limited atonement,'" in J. B. Torrance's words, yet he does not treat predestination in the doctrine of God, which Torrance claimed was the root problem of "limited atonement," showing little can be inferred from placement.[58] Neither does his placement mean that fear or shame moved him to hide it deep in his work. Green suggests that authors like Elton, who placed predestination later

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(London: Thomas Orwin, 1589), fols. 48-50; Richard Coxe, *A short catechisme Very necessary, for the plaine vnderstanding of the principall points of Christian religion* (London: Edw: All-de, 1620), sig. B4+3ᵛ; William Crompton, *An explication of those principles of Christian religion, exprest or implyed in the catechisme of our Church of England, set downe in the Booke of Common Prayer* (London: I.L[egat], 1633), 305.

[55] Edward Elton, *A forme of catechizing set downe by questions and answers* (London: Edward Griffin, 1616), sig. G7ʳ; A. Gee, *The ground of Christianity. Composed in manner of a dialogue between Paul and Titus* (London: Nathaniel Fosbrooke, 1614), 150-166; William Hinde, *A briefe and plaine catechisme* (London: A. M., 1620), 35.

[56] Wilson, *An exposition of the tvvo first verses*, 18-20; idem, *The Childes trade*, sig. A5ʳ; See also Stephen Egerton, "A forme of examining such as are to receive the Lord's supper," in *A briefe methode of catechizing* (London: F. Kingston, 1610), 32-33 (predestination in the beginning of the ordo salutis); idem, "A briefe methode of catechizing," in *A briefe methode of catechizing*, 2 (predestination in the doctrine of God); Josias Nichols, *An order of houshold instruction* (London: Thomas Man, 1595), sigs. D2ʳ, D4+1ʳ, D4+3ʳ, F4+4ʳ, G4ʳ.

[57] Muller, "Placement of Predestination," 206-208.

[58] J. B. Torrance, "Strengths and Weaknesses," 47; T. F. Torrance, *Scottish Theology*, 137, 146; Armstrong, *Calvinism and the Amyraut Heresy*, 137-8. Conversely, Richard Hooker's "suspect" views on predestination were treated in the doctrine of God (Neelands, "Richard Hooker and the Debates about Predestination," 196).

on, did so as an "afterthought" or "a precaution…against being accused of having omitted such a focal doctrine."[59] This suggestion does not hold for Parr.

Extensiveness of Predestination's Treatment

The extensiveness of Parr's treatment of predestination is proof he was not ashamed of it. Five of his 89 questions specifically treat predestination. These questions and answers contain around 300 words or six percent of the catechism embedded in the work. When the work is taken as a whole, the section covers 30 of 354 pages or eight percent of the 1619 edition. The basic catechism, then, gives considerable attention, while the embedded explanation is disproportionately expansive. He spends more time on predestination than sanctification (25 pages), the sacraments (23 pages), and God (20 pages), and less time than the broad topics of creation (52 pages), the need for redemption (48 pages), and the nature of redemption (41 pages). Though a doctrine's weight cannot be determined by a word-count, Parr did give this doctrine considerable attention. This makes Wilson's reference to Parr's *Grounds* in his argument that early Elizabethan catechisms avoided the "labyrinth" of predestination curious at best.[60]

Parr's voice was a loud one in the general silence Green notes, when he says that apart from the universities and capital there was little debate over or even discussion of predestination. He says that in the "non-controversial religious literature prepared for non-specialists, one finds either a loud silence…[or] a stress on faith and repentance, good works as a fruit of faith, and use of the means," which stress Calvinists and non-

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[59] Green, *Christian's ABC*, 365-366. In Elton's case this suggestion does not hold, since he published sermons on Romans 9, which expound predestination at length (Elton, *Mystery of godlinesse*).

[60] Wilson, "Catechisms and Their Use Among the Puritans," 39.

Calvinists shared.[61] Others share this observation, which fits with White's thesis.[62] While

Green may do well to caution about assuming Cambridge, Oxford, or London were

representative of England generally, and while Parr was certainly not the norm, Parr, who

lived in rural Suffolk and wrote to common people, did lead his readers deep into the

doctrine of predestination. Since the universities set trends by educating clergy, Parr's

voice should not be surprising, even if his level of detail is. As such, Parr supports

Merritt's rejection of the "sharp discontinuity between the worlds of university and parish

religion" in early Stuart England.[63]

The extensiveness of his treatment distinguishes him from others who did not

even use the terms "predestination," "election," or "reprobation," and those who used

them without defining them. In his sampling, Green found only five or six catechisms

which contained "explicit questions and answers on the divine decree as the basis of

double predestination," and another nine which had "oblique references" to the decree.[64]

Green does acknowledge that most authors used the term "elect."[65] When their usage

leaves ambiguities, the intended meaning of the terms should be drawn from other works

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[61] Green, *Christian's ABC*, 356; idem, "'England's Wars of Religion'? Religious Conflict and the English Civil Wars," in *Church, Change and Revolution: Transactions of the Fourth Anglo-Dutch Church History Colloquium,* ed. J. Van Den Berg and P. G. Hoftijzer (New York: E. J. Brill, 1991), 104.

[62] White, *Predestination, Policy and Polemic*, 140; idem, "The Rise of Arminianism reconsidered," 54; Hirst, *England in Conflict,* 39; Doran and Durston, *Princes, Pastors, and People*, 26, 195; Sharpe, *Personal rule*, 298-300, 383-9; Bernard, "The Church of England, c.1579-c.1642."

[63] Merritt, "The Pastoral Tightrope," 144, 151. Wallace also states many catechisms conveyed a theology that involved "the underlying importance of predestination" (Wallace, *Puritans and Predestination*, 32-33). Other longer treatments include: Beza, *A booke of Christian Questions*, fols. 75-89 (of 90 pages); Grosse, *A fiery pillar*, sigs. A4ʳ-B3ᵛ (15 of 94 pages); Boughton, *God and man*, 25-31 (of 185 pages); Wilson, *An exposition of the tvvo first verses*, 18-20 (of 88 pages); Ball, *A short treatise*, 56-59 (of 246 pages).

[64] Green, *Christian's ABC*, 359-364. For a critique of Green on this point see Cummings, *Grammar and Grace*, 286; Towers, *Control of Religious Printing*, 279-80.

[65] Green, *Christian's ABC*, 363-64. According to Green, "most interpreted the references to the elect or election in the New Testament as signifying that God had chosen to save those who, through grace, responded to the message of the Gospel and became faithful members of the church of Christ, as he knew they would."

of the same author, not a scholar's own ideas. Some supralapsarians who wrote extensively about predestination elsewhere, such as Paul Baynes and William Twisse, did not mention it in their brief catechisms.[66] This reality calls in question Peter White's argument that the failure to treat predestination in catechisms is an evidence of a more "moderate" theology.[67] Instead, this omission may be explained by the genre, which inclined Calvin not to define predestination in his catechism, while treating it at length in his *Institutes*.[68] Perkins, who only mentions the terms "elect" and "reprobate" once at the end of his brief catechism, stresses elsewhere that catechesis is to give "milk" to babes.[69] Parr's catechism gave more than milk.

That Parr did deal with predestination in detail does not indicate anything about his theological position over against those who did not deal with it. Instead, his treatment shows the flexibility of the genre and fits with the already noted purpose of his book: to give what he calls basic instruction which nevertheless presupposes the mastery of the very basics taught in simpler catechisms.

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[66] Baynes, *A helpe to happinesse*; William Twisse, *A briefe catecheticall exposition of Christian doctrine Diuided into foure catechismes* (London: Robert Bird, 1632); cf. Paul Baynes, *A commentary upon the whole Epistle of the apostle Paul to the Ephesians* (London: S. Muller, 1658), 32-68; William Twisse, *The riches of Gods love unto the vessells of mercy, consistent with his absolute hatred or reprobation of the vessells of wrath* (Oxford: Tho. Robinson, 1653).

[67] White, *Predestination, policy and polemic*, 91. In contrast, even the "moderate" Joseph Hall's extremely brief two page catechism follows the doctrine of God with God's eternal decree governing all things and later refers to God's chosen ones (Joseph Hall, "A briefe Summe of the Principles of Religion, fit to be known of such as would addresse themselves to Gods Table," in *The vvorks of Joseph Hall B. of Norwich* [London: Miles Flesher, 1647], 763-64). In his very brief catechism of things "Needfull to be knowne of all such as come the Lords Table," Gouge also defines predestination (Gouge, *A short catechisme*, sig. A3+3ᵛ).

[68] Calvin, *Institutes*, III.xxi-xiv; idem, *The catechisme*.

[69] Perkins, *Arte of prophecying,* 106-108; idem, *The foundation of Christian Religion gathered into sixe Principles* ([Cambridge]: For Iohn Porter, 1601), 39.

Content of Predestination's Treatment

The catechism embedded in Parr's work deals with predestination in five question and answers. The first three define predestination, election, and reprobation respectively; the fourth confesses the time of election; and the fifth deals with the practical implications of predestination. He groups all of these questions together and follows them with a doctrinal explanation of predestination, which he then applies with practical uses.

Parr's definition of predestination is Reformed. He defines predestination as "the eternall purpose of God concerning Man-kind fallen and corrupted, whereby for the setting forth of his glory, he appointed some to salvation, with the means whereby they should obtaine the same, which is called Election; and some to damnation, which is called Reprobation." His definition of predestination indicates it includes the decrees of election and reprobation. He defines election as "the most free and eternall Counsell of God, whereby hee chooseth some, which were falne in Adam; and predestinateth them to grace and glory by Iesus Christ." He then defines reprobation as "the most free Counsell of God, whereby hee determined, not to chuse, but to passe by some, fallen in Adam, and to leave them in their guiltinesse and corruption, & in the end to condemne them for their sinnes." He then asks: "Do you then thinke that men were ordained to life or death before they were borne? Ans. Yes verily that I doe."[70]

His definitions include the following elements: predestination involves God's purpose; this purpose is eternal; it concerns all of mankind (viewed as fallen); it aims to display God's glory; and it appoints the end of every person. In defining the object of election as being not those foreseen to believe but those fallen, election not as being simply to glory but also to grace, and reprobation as involving God's appointment and

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[70] Parr, *Grounds*, 280-81.

ordination, he does not leave room for Arminianism. In addition, predestination is God's

"most free Counsell." The word "free" brings out that this counsel is not dependent on or

conditioned by anything in or to be performed by individuals. He comes back to this

point, stressing that "nothing can be, but God willing it to be, either by effecting it, or

suffering it."[71] Both effecting and allowing something is a matter of God's will. From

Romans 9, he later stresses God's "absolute power over his creature, to do with it what he

will."[72] While some may not have preferred the emphasis that predestination concerns

fallen mankind, all Reformed theologians would have agreed with these basic statements.

Though their precise wording varied, he fits within the range of catechisms noted in this

thesis that defined predestination in a Reformed way.[73]

His general explanation of predestination is brief. He refers to his section on

God's providence as providing the theological framework for God's predestination of

man specifically. He does not consider predestination to need extensive defense because,

if we attribute the purpose to do things for certain ends to wise people, it would be

attributing folly to God to deny that he ever purposed the end and means for all he does.

He concludes that God determines all things, "appointing every thing the fit use to which

it shall serve, and the certain end to which it shall attayne, with the meanes leading

thereto."[74] His definition of predestination specifies that God predestinates the means of

salvation and is silent about the means of reprobation. This does not mean that the means

of reprobation are outside of God's control, as just indicated, but that they are not of the

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[71] Parr, *Grounds*, 284.

[72] Parr, *Grounds*, 299.

[73] This is not to say there were no anti-Calvinistic catechisms. An example is Edmund Reeve, *The communion booke catechisme expounded, according to Gods holy Word, and the established doctrine of the Church* (London: Miles Flesher, 1635), 62-67.

[74] Parr, *Grounds*, 282.

same positive nature as those of election, especially since the object of predestination is viewed as fallen. His general explanation emphasizes the wisdom and sovereignty of God in predestination and the need and profit of teaching it.

Infralapsarian Delineations

The general explanation of the doctrine of predestination covers less than three pages. What follows is the most surprising section: an over twenty-four page, amiable defense of the infralapsarian position against the supralapsarian position.

The Supra-Infralapsarian Issue

The infra- and supralapsarian positions emerged as two distinct and defined understandings of predestination during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The standard work on the debate may still be Klaas Dijk's dissertation of 1912. However, not only is it primarily confined to the Netherlands and the Synod of Dort in particular, but also his determinant for distinguishing supra- from infralapsarianism is deficient in that he explicitly denies that the root difference was the order of the decrees and argues that it was whether or not the fall was included in the decree.[75] Michael Bell draws from Dijk in his examination of the supralapsarian continental theologian Johannes Maccovius, which includes a considerable section on Twisse.[76] J. V. Fesko's recent work, which traces the issue from Augustine to the Westminster Standards, has a better determinant than that of Dijk; however, his practice of applying it lacks consistency.[77] In theory,

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[75] Dijk, *Infra- en Supralapsarisme*, 13, 30; idem, *Om 't Eeuwig Welbehagen: De leer der praedestinatie* (Delft: W. D. Meinema, 1935), 395-396.

[76] Bell, "Propter Potestatem," 132-138, 174-212.

[77] Fesko, *Diversity Within the Reformed Tradition*. For his theory see pp. xxii-xxiii. For questionable applications of this theory see pp. 65, 134, 234, 241-245.

Fesko aligns himself with Muller's definition of the issue, as being the logical order of the decrees in God's mind and the nature of the object of predestination. Supralapsarians spoke of the decree of election and reprobation as logically prior to the decree to create and permit the fall. They generally considered the object of predestination to be creatable and capable of falling (*homo creabilis et labilis*). On the other hand, infralapsarians viewed the order as creation, fall, and the choosing of some to salvation and the passing by and consequent damnation of others. As a result, they viewed the object of predestination to be created and fallen already (*homo creatus et lapsus*).[78] In this debate, Parr's clarification is important to realize: "though we cannot speake, write, or conceive of the Will of God herein, but by setting downe one thing after another; yet there is no such thing in God; but after an incomprehensible manner, he doth will all these things at once."[79] Though numerous scholars still speak as if the issue were a temporal order,[80] the real issue is the logical order of the decrees and the object of predestination.

The fact that Parr treats the lapsarian debate in his catechism is noteworthy for several reasons: the nature of similar works to that of Parr, his statements elsewhere, and the general assumptions concerning the period within scholarship. Parr's contemporaries not only generally avoided engaging in the debate but usually did not even become sufficiently specific to be placed on one of the two sides with certainty. A few decades

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[78] Muller, *Dictionary of Latin and Greek Theological Terms*, s.v. "supra lapsum."

[79] Parr, *Grounds*, 283.

[80] Those who misdefine as a temporal order include: Marshall, *Reformation England*, 128; James D. Tracy, *Europe's Reformations, 1450-1650: Doctrine, Politics, And Community* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006), 326; Fritze and Robison, *Historical Dictionary of Stuart England*, 64; Jerome Friedman, *The Battle of the Frogs and Fairford's Flies: Miracles and the Pulp Press During the English Revolution* (Palgrave: Macmillan, 1993), 277. Those who are ambiguous at best include: MacCulloch, *Later Reformation*, 63; Cummings, *Grammar and Grace*, 321.

later, Leigh was another exception who treated the debate.[81] Some, such as Grosse, lean toward the supralapsarian view.[82] Others suggest an infralapsarian leaning.[83] Yet, the standard remained to be sufficiently indeterminate to be satisfactory to both infra- and supralapsarians. For example, Cartwright speaks of the "predestination of certaine men and angels," Ball of "chusing some men," Blackwood of "appointing some," Elton of "free ordaining of some both men and Angels" both with regard to election and reprobation.[84] How these people were viewed is not defined. Though Hughes appears to restrict "double predestination" to supralapsarians, the double predestination confessed in these definitions was not unique to supralapsarians, but was also held by many infralapsarians, including Parr, as his definitions indicate.[85] The definitions of these men show they did not consider the lapsarian issue important enough to specify to what side they belonged, if they even took a side.

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[81] Leigh, "The third booke," 7-8. Paul Baynes also engages in the debate in his commentary on Ephesians 1:4 (Baynes, *A commentary upon…Ephesians*, 32-37). A few others deal with it in specialized works, e.g. Peter Du Moulin, *The Anatomy of Arminianisme* (London: Nathaniel Newbery, 1620), 91-103; Thomas Ailesbury, *Diatribae de aeterno Divini Beneplaciti circa creaturas intellectuales decreto…* (Cantabrigiae: Joann Field, 1659); William Twisse, *Vindiciae gratiae, potestatis, ac providentia Dei, hoc est, ad Examen Libelli Perkinsiani de praedestinationis modo et ordine, institutum a Jacobo Arminio, responsio scholastica, tribus libris absoluta* (Amstelodami: apud Joannem Janssonium, 1632), 1: 49-117. For a summary of Twisse's treatment see Bell, "Propter Potestatem," 173-179. I thank Dr. Muller for pointing me to Ailesbury.

[82] Grosse, *A fiery pillar*, sig. B. Beza states it explicitly (Beza, *A booke of Christian Questions*, 84).

[83] Yates, *A Modell of Divinitie*, 257; Boughton, *God and Man*, 28; William Burton, *Certaine questions and answeres, concerning the knovvledge of God* (London: Iohn Windet, 1591), fol. 58ᵛ; John Wollebius, *The abridgment of Christian divinitie* (London: John Saywell, 1650), 32-34; Bucanus, *Institutions of Christian religion*, 424.

[84] Cartwright, *Christian religion*, 16; Ball, *A short treatise*, 57-58; Christopher Blackwood, *A soul-searching catechism* (London: Giles Calvert, 1653), 6; Elton, *A forme of catechizing*, 54; see also Crook, *The guide vnto true blessednesse*, 10-11; Egerton, *A briefe methode of catechizing*, 2; Ussher, *A Body of Divinitie*, 91-92. Derek Thomas makes the same argument concerning the Westminster Confession of Faith (Derek Thomas, "The Westminster Consensus on the Decree: The Infra/Supra Lapsarian Debate," *Westminster Theological Journal*, forthcoming).

[85] Sean Hughes, "English Theologies of Predestination," 231-32, 236, 243. This point aside, his argument that "Calvinism" cannot be restricted to "bezan" supralapsarianism is valid. Green also assumes double predestination involved "unconditional, supralapsarian decrees" (Green, *Print and Protestantism*, 266).

In doing so they fit with the Lambeth Articles of 1595. At that time Peter Baro aimed to drive a wedge between the more infra- and supralapsarian leanings to weaken their combined assault on his views.[86] Keith Stanglin does well to argue that the attention Baro drew to the issue may have led theologians to preciser formulations. At the same time, the indeterminate nature of the Lambeth Articles demonstrates that Calvinists refused to let the issue divide them.[87] This trend was carried on in catechisms, general theological works, and the later Westminster Confession of Faith, as Derek Thomas argues.[88] This ambiguity fits with Bernard's general advice concerning the content of preaching: "Let it not bee a point in controversie undetermined of the Church."[89] Though Parr does not deal with it in his homiletic commentary, he stands outside the prevailing sensibilities in his catechism.

Parr's statements elsewhere also make this section a surprise. Already in his preface, he stressed that his *Grounds* was to give instruction to the simple. He wrote:

> [I] have drest it as I was able, after our homely and Country fashion for the stomacks of the unlearned, who rellish and like better of that which is plaine and easie; then either learned and deepe Treatises, which they understand not…. Some delight in toyes like Children: I should then think very ill of my self, when I should goe about to please their humor, fitter to be purged than nourished. Some (and worthily) in regard of their great acuity and judgement, like nothing (for themselves) but that which

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[86] Peter Baro, *Summary of Three Opinions concerning Predestination*, in *The Works of James Arminius*, vol. 1, trans. James Nichols and William Nichols (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1986), 92-100. Arminius would use the same tactic: James Arminius and Franciscus Junius, *A Friendly Discussion Between James Arminius & Francis Junius, Concerning Predestination*, in *The Works of James Arminius*, vol. 3, trans. W. R. Bagnall (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1956), 2-278 (see esp. pp. 22-23, 34, 40, 220-21). See also Tyacke, *Aspects of English Protestantism*, 3.

[87] Stanglin, "'Arminius *Avant la Lettre*,'" 51-74.

[88] Regarding the avoidance of lapsarian preciseness in the Westminster confession, see Thomas, "The Westminster Consensus on the Decree"; Kendall, *Calvin and English Calvinism*, 184. Richard argues it was "an inherently supralapsarian consensus document" (Richard, "Samuel Rutherford's Supralapsarianism Revealed," 27-44) and Fesko that it was a more infralapsarian leaning document (Fesko, *Diversity Within the Reformed Tradition*, 267-71).

[89] Bernard, *The faithfull shepheard*, 57.

transcendeth common capacities: I do not think my selfe able to do that which might give them satisfaction.[90]

An extended treatment of the lapsarian issue hardly appears a fitting means to fulfill this purpose. In addition, he cautions about probing too deeply into mysteries that are beyond man's capacities. For example, concerning God, he says: "The beginning of Piety, is to think aright of God; of whom to make superfluous questions, is a very sicknesse of the mind; we must therfore be carefull that we suffer not our minds to rove beyond the rules of the Word."[91] Concerning the Trinity, he stresses: "Desire not to know that which is not revealed, neither be inquisitive after such things; for that is dangerous, vanity, and pride…. *The Lord give us understanding in all things which it is our duty to know, and without the knowledge whereof we cannot be saved.*"[92] His aim is to explain Scripture to babes in knowledge and not to entertain theologians with philosophical speculations.

This section is also surprising in light of current scholarship. Green not only argues that early seventeenth-century catechetical works generally avoided a treatment of predestination but also that, the catechetical purpose to enable people to discern truth from error was carried out by positive explanations of the truth rather than critiques of errors. In works written before the 1640s, Green found nothing more than a few "barbed comments" by "godly authors" concerning moral laxity and sectarian excesses.[93] Green's finding fits with the view that the theological debates about the order of the decrees and predestination were largely confined to the universities. Como notes this was more of a private debate among theologians than a public debate.[94] If E. K. Hudson finds Arthur

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[90] Parr, *Grounds*, sig. A4+1.

[91] Parr, *Grounds*, 60.

[92] Parr, *Grounds*, 72-73.

[93] Green, *Christian's ABC*, 40; idem, *Print and Protestantism*, 193.

[94] Como, "Puritans, Predestination and the Construction of Orthodoxy," 73. See also Walsham, "Parochial roots of Laudianism," 624.

Dent's foray into "the morass of predestination and free will" in a popular work an anomaly, Parr's treatment is more of one.[95] In this section, Parr stands far outside the assumed sensibilities of an early seventeenth-century catechetical work by living at a distance from the leading centers, writing to common people, and yet dealing with the supra-infralapsarian debate in detail.

His preface states he first audibly taught his people the contents of this book.[96] Thus, the question rises: Why did he teach his rural flock about this doctrinal point which is condemned as the epitome of rigid scholastic excess? Many speculations could be summoned to answer this question; however, we may not curiously pry into Parr's mind. That he treated it suggests several things about his own understanding and his time.

First, it suggests that he considered this debate to be related to a proper understanding of Scripture. Earlier, he stated that some parts of Scripture are plain and others obscure. The obscure are to be treated with caution, but to be treated nonetheless. In fact, "the difficulty of holy Scriptures should not abate our paines; but in reason so much the more whet on our diligence," he wrote.[97] Though this debate concerns the obscure teachings of Scripture, Parr taught it because it involved the truths of Scripture nonetheless. In his general explanation of predestination, he stated that it must be taught "soberly, and discreetly according (not to the curious inventions of men) to the Scripture, in as much as the wisedome of God hath revealed it, and then we are bound to take knowledge of it."[98] This rule not only reins in human inventiveness, but also spurs on human sloth to study Scripture. That he treats it fits with Fesko's demonstration that both

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[95] E. K. Hudson, "The Plaine Mans Pastor: Arthur Dent and the Cultivation of Popular Piety in Early Seventeenth-Century England," *Albion* 25, no. 1 (Spring 1993): 32.

[96] Parr, "To the Courteous Reader," in *Grounds*, sig. A3.

[97] Parr, *Grounds*, 9; see pp. 49-51 above.

[98] Parr, *Grounds*, 282.

sides argued their case on this obscure point exegetically, and conflicts with the understanding that this debate was solely abstract philosophy.[99]

Second, that he treats the issue on a popular level suggests something about Parr's theological climate. His uniqueness in doing so indicates the lapsarian issue was not a point of popular debate. At the same time, that he engages the supralapsarian view shows it was alive in his time, as Wilson infers from Parr.[100] Green agrees with Lake and Tyacke that there were "relatively few signs of Bezan influence before 1640" in terms of "support for supralapsarianism."[101] While this appears true in catechetical treatments of predestination due to the nature of the genre, Parr indicates supralapsarianism had a certain following. On the other side, he does not explicitly deal with Arminianism in his section on predestination in his *Grounds* in contrast to his treatment of predestination in his Romans commentary which engages Arminius and makes no mention of the supralapsarians.[102] This may seem to support the argument of White and Porter that the Church of England tended to pursue a *via media* between (supralapsarian) Calvinists and anti-Calvinists. However, his infralapsarian views do not soften his view of God's absolute sovereignty, as is clear from his actual treatment of the issue.

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[99] Fesko, *Diversity Within the Reformed Tradition*, 187-196.

[100] J. L. Wilson, "Catechisms, and Their Use," 40.

[101] Green, *Christian's ABC*, 384. In contrast Boughton states: "Although the supralapsarianism in the English Church was vague in its application, it pervaded the thinking of church leaders through the sixteenth and early seventeenth century" (Boughton, "Supralapsarianism and the Role of Metaphysics," 81). Stachniewski also believes most clerics before 1628 were supralapsarianism (Stachniewski, *Persecutory Imagination*, 242).

[102] Parr, "To the Christian Reader," *[Rom. 8-12]*, sig. A3+1^r ("divers and dangerous Positions of the Romanists, and of Arminius [are] oppugned").

The Treatment of the Supra-Infralapsarian Issue

Parr's defense of infralapsarianism both maintains a clear infralapsarian position and shows an overarching agreement with supralapsarians. He demonstrates his awareness of the defining issue in the debate by explicitly addressing the order of the decrees and object of predestination. Already in his general treatment, Parr gives a logical order of the decrees. First, God "purposeth his owne glory, which is the utmost end of all things." Second, he purposes the means to his glory. He purposes to create the world and man, "to suffer him to fall," and then "out of Man-kinde fallen to chuse some in Jesus Christ…and not to chuse the rest."[103] In the first element, he does not differ from supralapsarians. With both understandings, God's purpose to glorify himself is the deepest source of all his actions because it is their ultimate end. With both Parr and the supralapsarians, God's mercy is glorified in election and his justice in reprobation. Like them, he sees creation and the fall as means to fulfill the purpose of God's glorification. However, Parr's order of the means is a classic infralapsarian formulation with predestination logically following the fall and its object being the fallen mass.

After dealing with the order of decrees, he defends his position that the object of predestination is "Man kind fallen and corrupted."[104] He begins with typical expressions of humility and willingness to submit "to the censure and iudgement of the Learned; according to the Scriptures."[105] His concern is to be faithful to Scripture. In practice, he applies logical tools to Scripture and appeals to leading authorities' expositions of Scripture.

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[103] Parr, *Grounds*, 283.

[104] Parr, *Grounds*, 284.

[105] Parr, *Grounds*, 284.

He does so to disagree with two supralapsarian understandings. His syllogistic thesis is that the object is either man "standing in his created perfection, or fallen from it: not standing: therefore fallen."[106] The first proposition is against the idea that the object is the uncreated or naked mass. He rejects this on the logical grounds that "a thing must be extant before God determine of it, but that God willeth it to be extant, else Gods decree should be of nothing."[107] The issue is not that God had to create before he predestinated, but that the decree to create was logically prior to the decree to predestinate. He reasoned from the general principle that every object exists before it is acted on. Mankind has only existed in two states: rectitude or sin. Therefore, God could only consider man in one of these two states.[108] In his syllogistic way, he argued: "the subject of Gods Predestination is not a mere Notion: But the Naked Masse is a mere Notion: Ergo the Naked Masse is not the subject of Gods Predestination."[109] This argument relies heavily on logic.

The second proposition is in contrast to the less common idea of the object being the created but not yet fallen mass. This supralapsarian view was held by William Whitaker, whom Parr highly esteemed.[110] Parr argues that the "whole tenour of the Scriptures," including Genesis 2:17, is that God promises to continue His favor to those who stand and therefore could not view man as standing and then decree to damn him. Parr is concerned that this view speculates about God's absolute right and power in a way "not agreable to his revealed will" and not honouring to His other attributes. He resists speculation on hidden

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[106] Parr, *Grounds*, 285.

[107] Parr, *Grounds*, 284.

[108] Parr, *Grounds*, 288.

[109] Parr, *Grounds*, 288-289.

[110] For Whitaker's lapsarian position see Whitaker, *Cygnea Cantio*. Though Bell's observation that most pastors were infralapsarian and the champions of supralapsarianism tended to be professors may be questionable, it holds for Parr and Whitaker (Bell, "Propter Potestatem," 136, 139).

things, citing Deuteronomy 29:29.[111] At the same time, he uses the logical argument that

inasmuch as the end moves the "efficient cause," both share the same nature. Thus, if the

end of election is to glorify God's mercy and that of reprobation to glorify His justice, then

election is an act of mercy and reprobation of justice, both of which acts presuppose sin.

Romans 9:15, 16, and 25 speak of election as a "shewing mercy."[112] Ephesians 1:4 says that

God "hath chosen us in him before the foundation of the world." Parr agreed with Beza

that the "ordination of the remedy" must follow the "consideration of the disease" and

concludes that to be chosen in Christ presupposes the fall.[113] The phrase "in Christ" also

indicates Christ was elected as the head and his unworthy body was elected in Him, the

worthy One. From this text, he speaks of Christ as the "foundation" not simply of the

"execution of the Decree of Election, but of the very making it."[114] Rather than being

abstract philosophy, this section involves Parr's application of his logical tools to

Scripture to bring out its meaning. When he does so, he cannot agree that God viewed the

object as created and not fallen or as neither created nor fallen.

After demonstrating the force of his argument, he fills his margins with references

to other works. Unlike his commentary, his *Grounds* contains only seven marginal

references to sources and around twenty-five additional references to named sources in

the body of the text, apart from the section on predestination. In the section on

predestination there are twenty-four marginal references and four additional references to

named sources in the text. All the works he cites are Latin except for Willet's work on

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[111] Parr, *Grounds*, 285-288.

[112] Parr, *Grounds*, 287, 291.

[113] Parr, *Grounds*, 290.

[114] Parr, *Grounds*, 290-291. Parr cites Calvin and Polanus on this point. For Polanus' view, see Muller, *Christ and the Decree*, 155-56.

Romans and possibly Polanus' *Substance of Christian religion*.[115] This sudden spate of

citations are to demonstrate that "if Testimonies of learned men, were in this case, either

to be numbred or pondred; the opinion of the corrupted Masse must needs be the

truth."[116] Parr begins with Augustine, proceeds to Gregory and Angelome, then to Calvin

("that thrice reverend Man"), Vermigli, Caspar Olevianus, Rudolf Gwalther, David

Pareus, Guilliame Bucanus, Daniel Tilenus, and Andrew Willet. In conclusion he says: "I

could also alledge Polanus, and Keckerman, with others, but these witnesses are

sufficient."[117] Over half of the works Parr cites are commentaries, indicating the

exegetical basis of the discussion.

　　　　An analysis of the theological positions of the witnesses Parr summons to support

his infralapsarian position is beyond the scope of this thesis. Due to its anachronistic

character, the debate about where to slot Calvin continues.[118] In contrast to Dijk, Frank A.

James and Muller argue Vermigli had an infralapsarian leaning.[119] Muller suggests

Bucanus' definition of predestination "has a supralapsarian accent, although his

subsequent definition of election and its objects is infralapsarian."[120] Robert Letham and

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[115] Amandus Polanus, *The substance of Christian religion soundly set forth in two bookes* (London: John Oxenbridge, 1597). This work was also available in Latin: idem, *Amandi Polani a Polansdorf Partitiones theologicae* (Londini: Edm. Bollifantum, 1591). Though Parr cites a Latin work, Bucanus' work was also available in English (Bucanus, *Institutions of Christian religion)*.

[116] Parr, *Grounds*, 292-93.

[117] Parr, *Grounds*, 293-97.

[118] Some stretch the evidence to argue Calvin was a clear-cut supralapsarian (Fesko, *Diversity Within the Reformed Tradition*, 65, 79; and Dijk, *Om 't Eeuwig Welbehagen*, 397), Green notes the ambiguities in Calvin (Green, *Christian's ABC*, 353-54), and others suggest he leaned toward what would become the infralapsarian view (Muller, *After Calvin*, 11).

[119] Muller, *Christ and the Decree*, 65; Frank A. James III, *Peter Martyr Vermigli and Predestination: The Augustinian Inheritance of an Italian Reformer* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 88-89. In contrast Dijk argues Martyr was supralapsarian (Dijk, *Infra- en Supralapsarisme*, 36). Sinnema notes the supralapsarian Whitaker appeals to Martyr in support of double predestination at least (Donald W. Sinnema, "The Issue of Reprobation at the Synod of Dort (1618-19) in Light of the History of this Doctrine" [Ph.D. diss., Toronto School of Theology, 1989], 89).

[120] Muller, "Placement of Predestination," 203.

Muller argue Polanus was infralapsarian.[121] Fesko argues Olevianus was infralapsarian, though Bierma argues he tended towards an supralapsarian view.[122] Dijk argues Paraeus sought a conciliatory position.[123] Anthony Milton uses Willet as an example of one who disentangled himself from Beza to adopt a more moderate infralapsarian view.[124] Twisse lists Vermigli, Pareus, Bucanus, Polanus and Tilenus, among others, as infralapsarians.[125] Parr's claim that the majority of Reformed theologians up to his time were infralapsarian agrees with the two major bodies that produced confessional documents in the first half of the seventeenth-century: the Westminster Assembly and the Synod of Dort.[126] Parr's assessment generally fits with much of the scholarship today.

The list of names he summons to support him is heavily weighted with Continental Reformed theologians whose lives overlapped that of Beza (1519-1605). He cites only one "learned man of our own Country," namely, Willet (1562-1621), though the Italian Vermigli (1499-1562) did teach at Oxford. Olevianus (1536-1587) studied under Calvin, preached in Heidelberg, and later taught in the Herborn Academy. Pareus (1548-1622) and Keckerman (ca. 1571-1608/9) were German Reformed theologians.

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[121] Robert Letham, "Amandus Polanus: A Neglected Theologian?" *Sixteenth Century Journal* 21, no. 3 (Autumn 1990): 468; Muller, "Placement of Predestination," 203. For more on Polanus, see idem, *Christ and the Decree*, 127-173. Dijk argues he was supralapsarian (Dijk, *Infra- en Supralapsarisme*, 36).

[122] Fesko, *Diversity Within the Reformed Tradition*, 211; Lyle D. Bierma, *The Covenant Theology of Caspar Olevianus* (Grand Rapids: Reformation Heritage Books, 2005), 83.

[123] Dijk, *Infra- en Supralapsarisme*, 48. Como indicates John Cotton appealed to Augustine, Calvin and Paraeus in support of his supralapsarian position (Como, "Puritans, Predestination and the Construction of Orthodoxy," 67).

[124] Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, 414-415. He cites Willet, *Hexapla…vpon…Romanes* (1611), 438-43 in contrast to Willet's *Synopsis Papismi* (1600), 820. Concerning Rom. 9:22, Willet says the issue is God's absolute right and therefore the lump may be either man as created or as created and fallen. Willet's argument is that the material cause of reprobation was sin already in the making of the decree, while its efficient cause remained God's will (Willet, *Hexapla…vpon…Romanes* [1620], 425, 438-447).

[125] Twisse, *Vindiciae gratiae*, 1:56-65; cited in Bell, "Propter Potestatem," 175.

[126] White, *Predestination, Policy and Polemic*, 184-86; Green, *Christian's ABC*, 354, 358; "Tyacke, review of *Predestination, Policy and Polemic*," 468; Fesko, *Diversity Within the Reformed Tradition*, 196-216, 262-274; Muller, *After Calvin*, 12; Armstrong, *Calvinism and the Amyraut Heresy*, 62.

Gwalther (1519-1586) succeeded Heinrich Bullinger in Zurich. Polanus (1561-1610) studied under Beza and became a professor in Basil. Bucanus (d.1603) was a Reformed professor at Lausanne. The anomaly is Tilenus (1563-1633), a French theologian who shifted from being an opposer of Arminius to a condemner of the Synod of Dort, with what even Armstrong terms "decidedly Arminian tendencies."[127] That Parr cites these theologians suggests Continental theologians did not all bow for Beza and that their various insights continued to impact English theology after Beza and Perkins.

To demonstrate how they support his view, Parr quotes their statements on predestination. His appeals to Gregory and Calvin are less clear. As cited by Perkins, Gregory states that God "hath fore-elected some, and forsaken others in their corruptions."[128] From the phrase "forsaken in their corruptions," Parr makes the likely but not necessary inference that the object of the decree is corrupt. He only quotes Calvin as saying "that the perdition which the wicked doe undergoe through predestination is most iust, because they are not unworthy to be predestinated to that condition."[129] This quote is from his section on the fall and rather removed from the infra-supralapsarian discussion. A supralapsarian would agree with Calvin here.

The rest of his supporting quotations focus on the key issue. They specify the object of predestination to be "the same whole Masse damned originally" (Augustine), "an unfaithfull people" (Angelome), "the filthy sinke" (Olevianus), "the lost and undone masse of man-kind" (Gualter), "Masse of Perdition" (Pareus), "them which are unclean

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[127] Armstrong, *Calvinism and the Amyraut Heresy*, 62. For his opposition to the Genevan influence in Scotland see Daniel Tilenus, *Paraenesis ad Scotos, Geneuensis disciplinae zelotas autore Dan. Tileno* (Londini: Nathaniele Buttero, 1620). The supralapsarian Twisse also appeals to "Tilenus himself, when he was on our side" (William Twisse, *The Doctrine of the Synod of Dort and Arles, Reduced to the Practice, with a Consideration thereof, and representation what sobriety it proceeds* [n.p., n.d.], 10).

[128] Parr, *Grounds*, 293.

[129] Parr, *Grounds*, 294; he cites Calvin, *Institutes*, III.xxiii.8.

and wicked" (Bucanus), and "the corrupted masse" (Willet).[130] Later he cites Vermigli's

exegesis of the lump in Romans 9:21 as being man in his "abiect and miserable estate."[131]

He only cites an order of the decrees from Tilenus and Pareus.[132] Though Fesko may err

in separating the issues by stating the debate was over the object of predestination and not

the order of the decrees, Parr's use of sources does lay the weight on the former issue.[133]

He uses this "cloud of learned men" as ancillary support for his "trembling"

dissent from "Maister Beza and some other [who] are flat contrary to this my opinion and

Exposition" of Scripture.[134] While he confessed, "I humblie thanke GOD that ever I saw

his workes," he feared Beza and others overreacted in seeking to safeguard the freeness

of grace against those "Sophisters" who said predestination is based on foreseen faith or

infidelity. He illustrates what they did in relation to the semi-pelagians with the example

of a sapling leaning the wrong way being over-corrected so as to lean the opposite way.[135]

This image implies Parr saw infralapsarianism as the straight and true *via media*. If he

did, his *via media* was a Reformed one, rather than the one White observed.[136]

Parr's aim was not to engage in a balancing act or simply follow the majority

opinion, but to follow Scripture as he understood it in contrast to how Beza interpreted it.

After citing his list of learned men, he dialogues with a supralapsarian interpretation of

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[130] Parr, *Grounds*, 293-297.

[131] Parr, *Grounds*, 303.

[132] Parr, Grounds, 295-297.

[133] Fesko, *Diversity Within the Reformed Tradition*, 179; Thomas seems to echo Fesko on this point (Thomas, "The Westminster Consensus on the Decree"), while Bell simply states the object of the decree became the "most important issue" (Bell, "Propter Potestatem," 2, 135-36).

[134] Parr, *Grounds*, 300.

[135] Parr, *Grounds*, 302-2. Como notes this was James Ussher's concern about William Ames as well (Como, "Puritans, Predestination and the Construction of Orthodoxy," 69-70).

[136] White, "The *Via Media* in the Early Stuart Church," 211-230. On the fundamental agreement of the supra- and infralapsarian views, see Muller, "Use and Abuse of a Document," 59; Richard Sibbes, "To the Reader," in Baynes, *A commentary upon…Ephesians*.

Romans 9. This supports Fesko's argument that the issue in the debate was not speculation versus exegesis, but of two different expositions of Scripture.[137]

For example, in connection with the treatment of Jacob and Esau in Romans 9:10-13, he first deals with the inference that predestination is logically prior to the fall, since their election and reprobation was without foresight of good or evil. Drawing on the context of these verses, he responds that Paul is dealing with the works performed after birth which the Jews "stood much upon."[138] He then continues, "Some obiect, that Paul attributeth Election, and Reprobation, to the will of God onely: and so they contrive that sin is not the cause of the decree." His response is two pronged. First, Paul is not dealing with election and reprobation "simply considered" but "relatively," namely, why Esau should be rejected and not Jacob (Rom. 9:15-18). Second, he agrees that sin is not the cause of the decree, since all would then have to be damned.[139]

The next objection is that "some thinke that Pauls attributing reprobation to the absolute power of God, convicteth our assertion of the corrupted Masse" (Rom. 9:20-22). After confessing God's absolute power over his creatures, Parr responds that Paul's assertion only "doth the more illustrate the same," because Paul uses the illustration of the potter as an argument from the less to the greater. If a potter has power to make a corrupt vessel, how much more does God have power to make vessels of wrath from a "corrupted lumpe"?[140] He then engages Beza's exposition of the lump as the "unformed and naked lumpe," by arguing that a potter's lump exists, that God formed all good and let all become corrupt, and that Scripture elsewhere uses clay as an image of an "abject

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[137] Fesko, *Diversity Within the Reformed Tradition*, 179.

[138] Parr, *Grounds*, 297-298.

[139] Parr, *Grounds*, 298-299. Willet makes a similar distinction (Willet, *Hexapla…vpon…Romanes* (1620), 442).

[140] Parr, *Grounds*, 299-300.

and miserable estate."[141] In this way, he grounds his logical argument in his exegesis

which he defends against a supralapsarian exegesis.

Parr's way of arriving at his position is best summarized by himself: "to hold the

corrupted Masse, is most agreable to the truth, as being grounded fitly upon the

Scriptures, and witnessed by many most learned and iudicious Divines, and not needing

(as doth the opinon both of the naked and pure Masse) any fine and curious distinctions to

uphold the same."[142] His argument is threefold: the infralapsarian position is scriptural,

respectable, and most logical.

The Practical Outworkings of This Treatment

This discussion is far removed from the general sensibilities of the catechetical

genre and appears unrelated to his stated aim of edification; however, after establishing

his position, he adds that this view "both best stoppeth the mouth of Reprobates…and

best setteth forth the rich grace of God to the Elect."[143] He does not build his case against

supralapsarianism on allegations of its detrimental consequences, but on a difference of

Scripture interpretation. As Bell argues, both sides on the lapsarian issue tended to

respect each other as they sought to understand what Scripture revealed about God's

decrees.[144] Yet, having established his case, Parr demonstrates the superior pastoral

implications of an infralapsarian view. The superlative, "best," does not condemn

supralapsarianism as unable to silence reprobates or set forth God's rich grace to the

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[141] Parr, *Grounds*, 302-304. For Beza's view of the lump, see Beza, *A booke of Christian Questions*, fol. 84.

[142] Parr, *Grounds*, 305.

[143] Parr, *Grounds*, 305; cf. Willet, *Hexapla…vpon…Romanes* (1620), 446 ("This is this doctrine delivered from all those cavils, and obiections; and man is found onely to be the cause of his owne ruine and destruction, but the beginning of our salvation is from God").

[144] Bell, "Propter Potestatem," 139-141.

elect, but expresses the conviction that the infralapsarian position is superior. Pastoral issues were involved not in the foundation but in the outworking of Parr's lapsarian discussion.

Infralapsarianism stops the mouths of reprobates by confronting them with the reality that there was reason in them, by virtue of the fall, for God to damn them. Unlike Willet who focuses more on how the infralapsarian position is better able to answer theoretical objections, Parr focuses on the practical objections.[145] Like the supralapsarians, Parr stresses that the moving cause of reprobation is not sin, but solely God's will. As to why God would elect one and reprobate another, no cause can be discerned other than "his will."[146] However, he also stresses that if they had not fallen, they had not been in the "necessary condition…without which God will not reprobate any."[147] Infralapsarianism is best able to show a sinner that the blame for his damnation lies on himself because God only leaves him in the misery into which he willfully plunged himself. It also exalts God's mercy to the elect by stressing that "there was matter in them also deserving reprobation." The only answer to why they were elected is God's sovereign will "without any the least respect in the creature."[148] The practical climax of his treatment of predestination is that not all are damned forever because "God is pleased out of his bottomlesse mercy to accept of some, and to elect them in Christ."[149]

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[145] Willet, *Hexapla…vpon…Romanes* (1620), 443 (Willet's view is "the safest from any inconvenience, and the fittest to give satisfaction to the contrarie obiections"). Milton speculates Willet shifted from supralapsarianism under pressure of Remonstrant objections (Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, 415).

[146] Parr, *Grounds*, 305-306.

[147] Parr, *Grounds*, 306.

[148] Parr, *Grounds*, 306.

[149] Parr, *Grounds*, 307.

In light of this conclusion, the preceding exposition and defense of the infralapsarian position not only provided the less educated with an introduction to a topic they may have heard about but never understood and provided access in English to Latin sources, but also led the readers to be personally without excuse if they were still under condemnation and without any reason for pride if they were heirs of eternal life. This entire section which seems most abstract is designed to lead his readers to have great thoughts of the God who predestinates both in reprobation and pre-eminently in election. He aims to display predestination as a diamond that reflects God's glory against the blackness of man's fall and damn-worthiness. The free and unconditional nature of election is not something to militate against but a motivation for praise to God.

His conviction about the pastoral strength of the infralapsarian position does not mean supralapsarians did not make similar applications. Beza stresses that sin lies between the ordinance and execution of reprobation, making God supremely just in damnation. He concludes: "Therefore I am not wont too marvell that anye man perisheth, but rather I marvell that Gods goodnesse can bee so great, as that all doo not perishe." He adds, "Then must the vessels of mercye praise the lord, and the vessels of wrath blame themselves."[150] Yet, like the later Francis Turretin, Parr is convinced these applications are best brought home to people through the infralapsarian view.[151] Parr deals more with these practical themes in his uses, yet already in his exposition he cannot refrain from demonstrating the practical benefit of predestination in its infralapsarian formulation.

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[150] Beza, *The treasure of trueth*, fols. 85-86; idem, *A booke of Christian Questions*, fol. 87^r; see also Baynes, *A commentary upon…Ephesians*, 37.

[151] Joel R. Beeke, "The Order of the Divine Decrees at the Genevan Academy: From Bezan Supralasparianism to Turretinian Infralapsarianism," in *The Identity of Geneva: The Christian Commonwealth, 1564-1864*, ed. John B. Roney and Martin I. Klauber (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1998), 66-67.

Pastoral Uses

Though Parr's section on the uses of this doctrine is much shorter than his doctrinal explanation of it, it is a crown rather than a tail to the larger body of doctrine. Parr's aim in his *Grounds* was to benefit his readers spiritually by God's grace. Though his commentary on Romans includes many more "uses" of predestination, the catechism embodied in his *Grounds* has one question which deals with the relationship between the decree of predestination and the means of its fulfillment in order to prevent a misuse of the doctrine. In the exposition of his catechism, he lists three uses. There is some overlap between them. For example, assurance and the practical syllogism surfaces in all three. However, this thesis will proceed through these three uses by focusing on the distinctive element in each. In the process they will be compared to his Romans commentary as well as other works in the catechetical and instructional genres. The first use focuses on the approach to predestination, the second on the doxological end of predestination, and the third on the practical exhortations flowing from predestination. Parr's applications of the doctrine of predestination demonstrate his conviction that the doctrine served the welfare of people in various spiritual conditions.

Use 1: The Approach to Predestination

Parr's first profitable use of predestination deals with the handling of the doctrine in general. He worded it this way:

> Beware of searching too farre into this deepe, without the light of the
> Word: The plaine way is the safest, and in as much as the Scripture hath
> more sparingly spoken of Reprobation than Election: Do thou labour more
> to make thy election sure upon good grounds, than to conceive every
> quiddity of men concerning Reprobation.[152]

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[152] Parr, *Grounds*, 307.

On its own, this use appears to betray the fear of predestination which Green suggests kept theologians from treating it in catechisms. Its prominence as the first use seems to lend support to this idea. However, his lengthy exposition of predestination which precedes this use is a fundamental contradiction to this suggested fear. Instead, the point of this use is twofold: first, to follow the content of Scripture in its level of detail and amount of treatment and, second, to follow the purpose of Scripture which is spiritual profit rather than mental entertainment.

Much of the content of this use has been covered in the sections on the propriety and manner of teaching predestination in Chapter 3 of this thesis.[153] A feature of this use which has not been covered is his distinction between election and reprobation. He said people must focus more on election than reprobation because Scripture does so. Several other catechisms and bodies of divinity touch on this point as well. Beza notes that reprobation "is also to be considred, but yet suche moderation being used" partly because it "is alwaies for the most part hidden from men" in the present. Since Scripture shows that people may know their election but (generally) not their reprobation more attention should be given to election.[154] Yates came to the same conclusion through a different argument. His catechism stated, "That we should not fixe our eyes upon the odious and offensive name of Reprobation, but delight our selves the more with the sweet and comfortable inspection of our Election."[155] Like Parr, he defines reprobation and yet focuses his readers on election; however, his language about the "offensiveness" of reprobation is stronger than that of Parr. Yates' language is similar to that of Leigh, who noted that Augustine and others wrote much about election and little about reprobation

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[153] See pp. 40-52 above.

[154] Beza, *The treasure of trueth*, sig. l.iiii.+1$^{\mathrm{v}}$.

[155] Yates, *A Modell of Divinitie*, 257.

because "there appears more seeming offensive harshnesse in the Doctrine of reprobation."[156] Coming closer to Parr, Hibbert argued that "seeing weak Christians are not tied to eat strong meat, they may safely let this doctrine [of reprobation] alone."[157] These theologians justify giving less attention to reprobation by the difficult or obscure character of this doctrine, while Parr does so by the extent of its revelation in Scripture. Like Parr, Downame infers that his readers should be more focused on election from the fact that God "hath not communicated the secrecies of Reprobation so plentifully, as hee hath of his Election."[158] Since this explanation is the outworking of the general principle of teaching and preaching being the echo of Scripture, it has great weight.

Parr practiced this use in his own treatment of predestination, which is more focused on election than reprobation. In doing so he sets himself in a mid-position in the spectrum of surveyed treatments of predestination. On the one side, some catechisms and bodies of divinity only deal with election.[159] Others briefly define reprobation and focus much more on election.[160] On the other side, some handle both election and reprobation at

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[156] Leigh, "The third booke," 12.

[157] Hibbert, *Syntagma theologicum*, 92. Tyndale applies this general pastoral principle to the whole topic of predestination (Tyndale, *A compendious introduccion*, sig. b.v.+3[r]; Luther, *A methodicall preface*, C.iiii.+3v). Samuel Gardiner notes this general principle, but it does not keep him from treating preaching election and mentioning reprobation (Samuel Gardiner, *A booke of angling, or fishing* [London: Thomas Purfoot, 1606], 82; Samuel Gardiner, *The Fovndation of the Faythfull. In a Sermon deliuered at Paules Crosse the 17. of Ianuarie. 1610* [London: W. W., 1611]).

[158] Downame, *The summe of sacred diuinitie*, 298-299.

[159] William Whitaker, *A short summe of Christianity Deliuered by way of catechisme* (London: Iasper Emory, 1630), sig. B-1; Gee, *The ground of Christianity*, 151ff; Nicholas Byfield, *A patterne of Wholsome words* (London: Samuel Man, 1618), 137-145; Frewen, *Certaine choise grounds*, 317-320; John Heydon, *Mans badnes & Gods goodnes, or, Some Gospel truths laid down, explained, and vindicated* (London: M. Symmons, 1647), 16-18; Bartholomäus Keckermann, *Ouranognosia. Heauenly knowledge A manuduction to theologie* ([London]: Aug. Math[ewes], 1622), 40; Wilson, *The Childes trade*, sig. A5; John Stoughton, *A Learned Treatise: In three parts, 1. The Definition of divinity, 2 The Distribution of Divinity, 3. The Happiness of man* (London: John Bellamy, 1640), 86.

[160] Palfreyman, *The treatise of heauenly philosophie*, 74-104.

some length, with only slightly more attention to election.[161] Some give equal attention to

election and reprobation.[162] Despite his theory of treating reprobation with moderation,

Beza's question and answer book focuses more on reprobation than election in his section

on predestination as he seeks to defend it from wrong interpretations.[163] In practice,

considerable variation exists, with the weight being toward election.

The reasons for this variation are not so much differences of doctrinal convictions

as other differences. A mere word count cannot determine the relative importance of a

doctrine in one's theology. Though Parr says it should be treated, some do not treat

reprobation at all due to the brevity of their works. For example, Wilson only defines

election in his brief catechism and expands on election and defines reprobation in his

larger catechism, while he deals with reprobation in some detail in his sermons on

Romans.[164] Others may not treat reprobation at all due to where they place predestination.

For example, Byfield begins the state of grace with election as its foundation, which

placement is not conducive to explaining reprobation.[165] Those who give equal treatment

to election and reprobation tend to be either concise catechisms, catechisms which treat it

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[161] Downname, *The summe of sacred diuinitie*, 283-307; Ussher, *A Body of Divinitie*, 91-93; Blackwood, *A soul-searching catechism*, 5-7.

[162] Egerton, *A briefe methode of catechizing*, 2; Cartwright, *Christian religion*, 15-16; Crook, *The guide vnto true blessednesse*, 10-12; Elton, *A forme of catechizing*, 54; Ball, *A short treatise*, 56-58; Lucas Trelcatius, *A briefe institution of the common places of sacred divinitie* (London: T. P[urfoot], 1610), 84-96; Wollebius, *The abridgment of Christian divinitie*, 31-38; Grosse, *A fiery pillar*, sig. A4ff; George Walker, *The key of saving knovvledge..., or, A dialogue wherein the chiefe principles of the Christian religion are unfolded for the enabling of Christian people, to understand the Word of God* (London: Tho. Badger, 1641), 52-55; Hibbert, *Syntagma theologicum*, 26-27, 91-92; I. G., *The Christians profession*, 9-12; Denison, *A compendious catechisme*, 2-3.

[163] Beza, *A booke of Christian Questions*, fols. 75-87.

[164] Wilson, *The Childes trade*, sig. A5; idem, *An exposition of the tvvo first verses*, 18-20; idem, *Romans* (1653)*, 337-38, 349-52; cf. idem, *A Christian dictionary*, 3d ed. (London: William Iaggard, 1622), s.v. "election," "reprobation."

[165] Byfield, *A patterne of Wholsome words*, 137-145. Crompton only defines election in the context of self-examination and assurance (Crompton, *An explication of those principles of Christian religion*, 305-307).

in the doctrine of God, theological works that aim to survey the "whole counsel of God," and works which are concerned not only to convey the riches of election but also to defend God's honor in reprobation. Yet, even in any one of these works taken as a whole the weight is on election and its execution, as is evidenced by the more common use of terms relating to election throughout and their focus on God's monument of redemption built on the foundation of election. Parr's point then that election should be treated more than reprobation is not only reflected in his own work but also in many Reformed catechisms and bodies of divinity of his time.

Since Parr was part of Reformed orthodoxy itself, his explanation for lesser attention to reprobation should have greater weight than Green's explanation that it was because of fear for its consequences.[166] At the same time, his principle also demonstrates that he did not place election and reprobation on the same level in teaching predestination. He and others conflict with James Daane's contention that the "general tendency" of seventeenth-century "scholastic reformed theology was to give election and reprobation equal footing" to the detriment of preaching and Stachniewski's claims concerning the prominence of vast treatments of "reprobate experience in puritan literature."[167] Wallace's statement that, as a result of the doctrine of predestination becoming ever more "rigid" in the Elizabethan period, reprobation "needed to be asserted with greater force than before" is a relative one that cannot be assessed without investigating the place reprobation had during the Reformation.[168] However, Parr provides a check both to the idea that reprobation became a major aspect in the teaching of his period and to the idea that a philosophical system demanded this weight. He fits

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[166] Green, *Christian's ABC*, 386.

[167] Daane, *Freedom of God*, 36; Stachniewski, *Persecutory Imagination*, 90, 224.

[168] Wallace, *Puritans and Predestination*, 60.

better with what Dever observed in Sibbes, Beeke in Perkins, and Timothy McGinnis in George Gifford.[169] He was convinced that the weight Scripture gave to a doctrine was to guide the weight it received in teaching Scripture.

Since Scripture speaks more of election than reprobation, and all that Scripture speaks is profitable, Parr's readers are exhorted to be more concerned about knowing the benefit of election than understanding the details of reprobation. This benefit is known through faith in Christ. Elsewhere Parr goes so far as to say: "Paul desired to know nothing, but Christ and him Crucified: study thou this, and how to live well. All thy life is too chort to learne this as thou shouldest: therefore trouble not thy mind with things not revealed, and too high for the measure of thy capacity; but passe them all over with O the depth!"[170] This statement should not be used as a knife to excise Parr's extended treatment of predestination from his *Grounds*, but a light that puts this treatment in a proper perspective. Predestination is important because it is revealed. Yet, more revelation focuses on "Christ and him crucified" and therefore more attention should be paid to that. This explains why many catechisms do not even explain predestination, while treating redemption at length, and why those who treat predestination tend to focus more on election. Even Parr, who treats reprobation, had no desire to have it overshadow the glory of the gospel or let it lead to fatalistic despair. Instead he desired that through the grace of the gospel his readers would know the riches of election, which he unfolded. Parr's treatment shows his pastoral heart, as shall be further seen in the next section.

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[169] Dever, *Richard Sibbes*, 103-105; Beeke, "William Perkins on Predestination and Preaching," 48-61 (preaching election), 62 (preaching reprobation); McGinnis, *George Gifford and the Reformation of the common sort*, 141 ("he generally spent more time on practical questions surrounding election… than theoretical concerns, such as the fairness of God's judgments").

[170] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 181.

Use 2: The Doxological End of Predestination

> Parr's second use is:

> If thou findest upon good grounds, that thou art elected: for ever acknowledge the rich mercy of God unto thee: who wert deepe enough in Adams transgression to be damned; if God had not of his free love discerned thee: therefore let it binde thee to all humilitie (seeing thou hast received all) and all thankefulnesse to him that hath shewed thee such mercy.[171]

Parr's second use is focused on the rich basis for comfort, motive to thanksgiving, and reason for praise that is contained in the doctrine of predestination for those who are saved. How to be assured of election will be dealt with in the next section of this thesis. At this point, the rich language of this use deserves attention.

A doxological application is embedded in Parr's very definition of predestination as God's purpose to appoint the elect and reprobate "for the setting forth of his glory."[172] Since, in predestination, "God first purposeth his owne glory, which is the utmost end of all things," the end of contemplating predestination must be God receiving glory.[173] A reference to God's glory in the definition of predestination was standard at the time. For example, Ball defines predestination as "the wise, free, iust, eternall, and unchangeable sentence or decree of God, Eph.1.11. determining with himselfe, to create and governe man for his speciall glory, viz. the praise of his glorious mercy, or great iustice."[174] Those who do not include it in their definitions, still tended to state it as the "end" or "final cause" of predestination.[175] Most specified that election is to the praise of his mercy and

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[171] Parr, *Grounds*, 307-308.

[172] Parr, *Grounds*, 280-81.

[173] Parr, *Grounds*, 283.

[174] Ball, *A short treatise*, 57.

[175] Heydon, *Mans badnes & Gods goodness*, 16 (God's glory not is specified in the definitions but later as the final cause); I. G., *The Christians profession*, 10-11 (God's glory is specified in election, not in

reprobation to that of his justice.[176] That God's glory was considered central to the doctrine of predestination suggests this "use" of glorifying God was vital in the teaching of Parr and his contemporaries. If predestination is the objective display of God's glory, doxology must be the subjective response to it.

This theme fits with what Parr says elsewhere as well. He stresses that the "beginning and end of our salvation is in God…to whom be praise for ever."[177] As the beginning that destines the end of salvation, predestination is one of the greatest reasons to praise God. Parr also states that "Redemption is a worke of God, whereby he hath fully delivered his Elect from sinne…by Jesus Christ, to the praise and glory of his Name."[178] If predestination excludes every contribution of man towards salvation, then the fact God elects and saves sinners is reason for worshipful, rather than harsh thoughts of God. More generally, this doxological use of election fits with the Parr's purpose of ministry being to bring glory to God and the purpose of God's grace to lead people heed the exhortation to "praise him, and glorifie him in thy life."[179]

Praise for what God decreed in election and gratitude for what he has done to the believer personally are bound together. In this use, he calls believers to "for ever acknowledge the rich mercy of God unto thee" personally. He did not intend self-examination to lead to a state of perpetual uncertainty and distress but to a state of continual recognition of God's mercy. This use presupposes the attainableness of

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reprobation); Peters, *Milk for babes*, 9-10 (God's glory is not specified at all); Nichols, *An order of houshold instruction*, sigs. D2ᵛ, G4ʳ (God's glory is not specified, but see also sig. F4+4ᵛ).

[176] e.g. Cartwright, *Christian religion*, 16; Ball, *A short treatise*, 57-58; Crook, *The guide vnto true blessednesse*, 10-11; Boughton, *God and man*, 26; Ussher, *A Body of Divinitie*, 91; Bucanus, *Institutions of Christian religion*, 431; Perkins, *A Golden Chaine*, 16; and Denison, *A compendious catechisme*, 2.

[177] Parr, *Grounds*, 204.

[178] Parr, *Grounds*, 134.

[179] For the pastoral Ministry see Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 283, 510; idem, *[Rom. 1]*, 5; for the purpose of salvation, see idem, *[Rom. 13-16]*, 289.

assurance. The free and unconditional nature of election is a motive for grateful praise to God. Gratitude is only intensified by the native depravity of a believer and the reality of reprobation. The believer's natural state in Adam was no better than that of the reprobate and therefore God's "free love" and good pleasure must be gratefully praised. Contrary to Marsh's affirmation that predestinarian theology joined with an emphasis on the depravity of man generated "a state of mind that was rarely happy," Parr sees these two truths fostering a state of intense and joyous gratitude to God.[180]

The theme of gratitude runs through his works. Earlier in his *Grounds* he calls those who observe "a comfortable signe of thy Redemption" to "be thankefull."[181] In his book on prayer, the first item he lists under the category of things to give thanks for is "Election, with the effects."[182] In his commentary on Romans, he writes: "Let this Doctrine [of election] also provoke thee to thankfulnesse and due praises, Which two Uses St. Augustine makes of his preaching this doctrine."[183] What is implicit in this second use in his *Grounds* concerning reprobation is made explicit in his Romans commentary, where he notes that if God would save all of mankind it would be "an Infinite cause to praise him; but Now seeing many are damned, to them which are saved, it is the more cause of thanksgiving."[184] For the assured believer, predestination is a source of praise and thanksgiving to God.

The correlate of praise to God is humility before God. If all comes freely from God, there is no room for pride. Election comes with the call of this use: "let it binde thee

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[180] Marsh, *Popular Religion in Sixteenth Century England*, 121; Doran and Durston, *Princes, Pastors, and People*, 23 ("only after many years of mental torment did some Calvinists achieve a certainty of conviction about their elect status").

[181] Parr, *Grounds*, 148.

[182] Parr, *Abba Father*, 36; see also pp. 40, 90.

[183] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 181.

[184] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 221; see also pp. 179, 191.

to all humilitie (seeing thou hast received all)." As he says elsewhere, election and salvation "teacheth us humility, because all is given of meere grace."[185] In fact, recognizing a difference between them and the reprobate leads the saved to a deeping humility, rather than a proud self-righteousness. In his commentary on Romans, he says "the Elect are stirred up the more to humility and thankefulnesse, vvhen they see their owne Nature condemned in the Reprobates."[186] A focus on God's glory and enjoyment of God's free favor leads to humility.

These lines of humble and grateful praise for predestination are prominent in instructional works by others as well. Boughton said predestination is to be taught "for stirring them up to thankfulnesse to God in heart, word, and deede."[187] In words very similar to Parr's, Byfield made his second use: "If we find assurance of our Election, we should with all thankefulnes acknowledge Gods goodnesse to us, and the riches of his free grace, as the Apostle teacheth us."[188] Parr's source, Bucanus, stated that the fruits of this doctrine are acknowledging "Gods singular goodness," "stirring up an humilitie," and "For our thankfulnesse, that we attribute the glorie of our salvation to God onely, and that we celebrate his infinite benignitie toward us."[189] Downame wrote that predestination "being the roote of all Pietie, and the Base of our comfort, then the which, none more highly exalteth the glorie of God in his Mercie and Iustice, nor throweth down the pride of Man more low."[190] Various others from John Bradford long before Parr to Hibbert

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[185] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 339.

[186] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 179; see also p. 220.

[187] Boughton, *God and man*, 25.

[188] Byfield, *A patterne of Wholsome words*, 140.

[189] Bucanus, *Institutions of Christian religion*, 449.

[190] Downame, *The summe of sacred diuinitie*, 284.

after Parr sound similar notes.[191] The *Westminster Confession of Faith* lists the

doxological element of "praise, reverence, and admiration of God" as the first thing this

doctrine "affords."[192] In doing so, it furthers the Puritan stress, encapsulated in the

Westminster Shorter Catechism, that the "Man's chief end is to glorify God."[193] Against

the backdrop of the radical and loathsome depravity of sinners, predestination sparkles

with the glories of divine love, wisdom, and power, drawing forth the response of humble

adoration in those who see it.

This use conflicts with the caricature of "experimental predestinarians" as harsh

theologians that produced troubled souls. Instead, it provides confirmation for the

findings of Wallace, Cohen and others that election, which guaranteed the gracious

character of salvation, was used as a reason for thanksgiving, joy, and humility.[194]

Crompton has observed this doxological line in Goodwin, Dever in Sibbes and Packer in

the Puritans generally.[195] Rather than leading to the "pitfall" of subjectivism, which

Kendall and his followers says marks the period after Perkins, a Spirit-worked view of

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[191] Bradford, "Defence of Election," 307-8; Ussher, *A Body of Divinitie*, 92; Blackwood, *A soul-searching catechism*, 6; Hibbert, *Syntagma theologicum*, 92; Leigh, "The third booke," 5; Burton, *Certaine questions and answeres*, fol. 52; John Bristow, *An exposition of the Creede, the Lords Prayer, the Tenne Commandements, and the Sacraments. Catechetically composed* (London: M. F., 1627), 70; Jerome Zanchius, *The Whole Body of Christian Religion*, trans. D. Ralph Winterton (London: John Redmayne, 1659), 24.

[192] "The Confession of Faith agreed upon by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster," III.8; cf. *Canons of Dort*, I, Rejection 7; II.9; I.4.

[193] "The Shorter Catechism agreed upon by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster," in *Westminster Confession of Faith*, Answer 1 (p. 287).

[194] Wallace, *Puritans and Predestination*, 46; idem, *The Spirituality of the Later English Puritans: an anthology* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1987), xx-xxi; Cohen, *God's Caress*, 116-117; Park, *Sacred Rhetoric*, 111; John F. H. New, *Anglican and Puritan: The Basis of Their Opposition, 1558-1640* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1964), 104.

[195] Crompton, "Thomas Goodwin," 99-100; Packer, *Quest for Godliness*, 138; Dever, *Richard Sibbes*, 108, 109. See also McClelland, "Predestination according to Peter Martyr," 261, 265.

predestination was the most profound cure for subjectivism by leading one to focus on

and exalt God alone and the works of God before one even existed as a subject.[196]

The objections that may arise to discredit the rich comfort and reason for praise

embedded in election is that this assurance is virtually unattainable and since it is God's

work one can do nothing to receive it. Various scholars have argued for the virtual

unattainability of assurance in Calvin's followers.[197] Such objections are addressed in

Parr's third and final use.

Use 3: The Practical Exhortations in Predestination

The third and lengthiest use in his explanation of his catechism is the most

directly related to his fifth question and answer in his catechism, which is

> Quest. Doth not this bring in a neglect of all godlinesse, and make for
> them which say: If I be predestinated to life, I shall be saved whatsoever I
> doe; If to death, I shall bee damned in like manner, therefore I will live as I
> list?
>
> Ans. God forbid: for wee teach that men are not only predestinated to the
> end, but also to the meanes. They which are ordained to Life, being also
> ordained to Grace, whereby they obtaine it: and they that are ordained to
> death, being also ordained to be left in their corruption, that they may be
> damned.[198]

The main points of the third use are its beginning and end, with its body being the

explanatory force that drives home the initial and concluding prongs of application. He

begins by warning: "Beware of that damnable speach of prophane men, who say: If I be

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[196] Kendall, "Living the Christian Life," 52; idem, "Puritan Modification of Calvin's Theology," 205; Michael T. Malone, "The Doctrine of Predestination in the Thought of William Perkins and Richard Hooker," *Anglican Theological Review* 52, no. 2 (1970): 114; Hindmarsh, *Evangelical Conversion Narrative*, 36; Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England*, 19.

[197] Lake, *Moderate Puritans*, 151-158; Hirst, *England in Conflict*, 39; Munzer, "Self-Abandonment and Self-denial," 767; Middlekauff, "Piety and Intellect in Puritanism," 459; Stannard, *Puritan Way of Death,* 41, 74. Russel argues the Puritans abandoned Calvin's contention that one's election was unknowable (Russell, *Crisis of Parliaments*, 168; idem, *Unrevolutionary England*, 202).

[198] Parr, *Grounds*, 281-82.

predestinated, and Gods decree must take effect, then I may doe what I will: for if I be appointed to salvation, I shall be saved; and if to damnation, I shall be damned, whatsoever I doe." He ends by exhorting to make one's calling and election sure.[199]

The first part of this use clears away the allegation that teaching predestination leads to spiritual passivity and ungodly activity. Parr compares this false reasoning to a man saying that if God has decreed he will live, he will live, even if he does not eat at all or eats poison, and if God has decreed he will die, he will die, regardless of what he does. "There can be nothing more sottish" than inferring that means can be neglected because of God's predestination, Parr wrote.[200] This analogy demonstrates that the God who predestined the end of each individual also ordained to work through means and therefore an awareness that God predestinates ought to lead to diligence in the means.

Parr confesses the truth of the statement that the reprobate "shall certainly be damned, doe what he can." Though Robert Wallace quoted this as proof of the determinism of Reformed orthodoxy, he ought to have noted the context of this quote.[201] Parr argued that this is true because the reprobate can and will only do what makes them worthy of damnation. They are justly left in their original sin by the God who is under no obligation to give them grace. The reprobate do not have a desire for salvation that is overruled by the desire of God. If that were the case, "there might be some colour" to this charge; however, they do not want to be saved and therefore can say nothing against God when they are given their wish. On the other hand, the elect are elected "to believe and repent," since God decrees both the means and the end. When a person takes the doctrine

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[199] Parr, *Grounds*, 308-310.

[200] Parr, *Grounds*, 308.

[201] Robert Wallace, *The doctrines of predestination*, 85.

of predestination to excuse his sinfulness and passivity, he is indicating that he has no concern for his soul and no understanding of what the doctrine should urge him to do.

This use is consistent with Parr's stress on the calls of the gospel elsewhere. The first thing he calls lost sinners to do is not engage in Christian virtues as signs of election, but turn and flee to Jesus Christ. His warning is unmistakeable: "Repent, lest thou be damned."[202] Positively, he says: "there is a Jesus, in whom it is possible for thee to obtaine mercy, For whatsoever thy sinnes have been, if it unfeignedly repenteth thee, and if thou couldst doe thy Saviour this honour as to believe in him, he would without fail doe thee this office, as to save thee; nay, he neither will or can refuse it; for it is his office."[203] He exhorts: "Sue, seeke, labour for" the redemption in Christ.[204] His strong convictions concerning predestination which are expressed even in this use are not meant to promote passivity as this use and his teaching in general evidences. Instead, the doctrine is meant to alarm and awake the ungodly from the passivity of presumption and self-reliance and spur them to flee to God for mercy. Though Lake wrote of an apparent "basic contradiction between the voluntarist rhetoric employed…and the theological presuppositions that underlay it," this emphasis on the call of the gospel fits within a predestinarian theology as the means through which God leaves the ungodly without excuse but also applies his grace in fulfillment of his electing purposes.[205]

In election God not only predestinates the end but also the means to that end. In this use, Parr writes that "whomsoever he hath elected to save, he hath elected also to

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[202] Parr, *Grounds*, 233.

[203] Parr, *Grounds*, 230.

[204] Parr, *Grounds*, 144.

[205] Lake, *Moderate Puritans*, 153. In a later work, he says the "seeming fatalism of the divine decrees" could add "urgency and piquancy" to exhortations (Lake, *Boxmaker's revenge*, 28). Park argues predestination unto the means undergirded the gospel call for Perkins (Park, *Sacred Rhetoric*, 110-111).

believe and repent, that they may be capable thereof."[206] God's fulfillment of his electing

purposes frees sinners from spiritual paralysis and enables them to believe and repent.

Therefore, none can say that because they are elect they need not believe and repent.

Those who are elect do not simply have the duty to believe and live holy, but they will

actually begin to will and to do so by the power of God's electing grace renewing them.

Parr's use against passivity was one of the more common uses in the other works

surveyed. Boughton addresses this "hellish and divellish conclusion," as does Bernard

and Grosse in their catechisms and Bucanus and Wollebius in their systematic works.[207]

Positively, Downame asserts that "no Doctrine more then this awakeneth mans securitie,

none more amazeth the dissolute and carelesse Liver" because it testifies he can have no

hope of salvation as long as he lives without evidence of God's grace. Like Parr, he also

denies that predestination should paralyze unbelievers with despair. Rather, it proclaims

salvation is possible for the greatest sinner and therefore is an encouragement to seek

grace from God.[208] While Green sees the tension between predestination and preaching

the gospel to all leading teachers to be silent about predestination, at least some at the

time, including Parr, saw the teaching of predestination as a means to stir people up to

receive the gospel.[209] They were also convinced that the believer's realization of his

election would be a spontaneous impulse to sanctification rather than carelessness. This

conviction aligns with the conviction that free justification does not lead to

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[206] Parr, *Grounds*, 309.

[207] Boughton, *God and man*, 30-31; Bernard, *A double catechisme*, 17-18; Grosse, *A fiery pillar*, sig. A4+2[v]; Bucanus, *Institutions of Christian religion*, 448; Wollebius, *The abridgment of Christian divinitie*, 38. See also Browne, *The summe of Christian religion*, sigs. B4+1[v] - B4+2[r].

[208] Downame, *The summe of sacred diuinitie*, 298.

[209] Green, *Christian's ABC*, 386; and idem, *Print and Protestantism*, 265. Murray notes the awakening and evangelical use of predestination as a common one (Murray, "Puritans and the Doctrine of Election," 8-9). See also Park, *Sacred Rhetoric*, 126.

carelessness.[210] Those who dealt with this objection were unequivocal about its deadly

and unscriptural nature.

That Parr and many others brought out this warning against a wrong conclusion

suggests this doctrine was both misused and opposed at the time. Like Grosse, Boughton,

Frewen and others, Parr simply raises this inference, without identifying who asserted it,

other than that they were "prophane men.[211] This term indicates his focus is not serious

people those who were prone to despond about their salvation. Instead, they may have

been the hypocrites he repeatedly warns for being content with hearing true doctrine,

while continuing to live in sin.[212] They may have also included those who took this

mistaken inference as a reason to reject the Reformed understanding of predestination as

Samuel Hoard and other theologians would on a theological level and numerous people

who were ignorant of Reformed theology would on a practical level.[213] John Dove calls

them "atheists."[214] The prevalence and length of Parr's third use does lend support to

Dewey Wallace and Haigh's affirmation concerning the persistence of a popular

"pelagianism" that did not understand Calvinistic teaching on predestination or

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[210] Beza, *The treasure of trueth*, sig. K.iii.ʳ; Chapman, *A catechisme with a prayer*, sig. B.i; James Leech, *A plaine and profitable catechisme* (Cambridge: John Legat, 1605), 26-27; Frewen, *Certaine choise grounds*, 324; Baynes, *A helpe to happinesse*, 260; cf. *Canons of Dordt*, I.13.

[211] Parr, *Grounds*, 281-82.

[212] Regarding hypocrisy, see Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 474, 522, 547, 564, 595.

[213] On the theological level see Samuel Hoard, *Gods Love to mankind. Manifested, Dis-prooving his Absolute Decree for their Damnation* ([London], 1633), 14, 38-44, 91-110; and Reeve, *The communion booke catechisme expounded*, 47 ("It is not possible to utter unto the full, into what a slumber, sleepe, yea death in sinfulnesse the said doctrine of Absolute Reprobation hath brought the world, wheresoever it hath beene received for a truth"). Some indicate that John Donne saw presumption as danger in the Reformed view of predestination (New, *Anglican and Puritan*, 20; Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists*, 182) and that Peter Baro was concerned about its "carnal security" (Cummings, *Grammar and Grace*, 295; Shaw, "Perkins and the New Pelagians," 292). See also Calvin's refutations in Calvin, *Institutes*, III.xxiii.

[214] John Dove, *A sermon preached at Paules Crosse, the sixt of February. 1596* ([London]: R. Dexter, 1597), 43, 61-62.

justification among the common people.[215] At the same time, it calls into question the

idea that Calvinism "tended psychologically, at least, to undermine the urgency of a

moral imperative."[216] Though numerous scholars have argued that a dipleuric covenant

theology arose to provide a basis for exhortations which was lacking in a predestinarian

system, Parr indicates that predestination itself provided such a basis in its stress on the

means through which predestination is carried out.[217] A concern for both Scriptural

doctrine and godly living led Parr to refute what he considered to be a grave

misconception.

     The positive correlate to this warning is the making of one's calling and election

sure. This element is present in all three uses. In the first use, he exhorted, "Do thou

labour more to make thy election sure upon good grounds." In the second, he made the

condition to thankful acknowledgement of grace, "if thou findest upon good grounds, that

thou art elected." What he calls for in these first two uses, he states in more detail in his

final use. He ends his section on predestination by exhorting: "Wherefore, By the workes

of Sanctification, make thy Election sure, as Peter adviseth thee: And make an end of thy

salvation with feare and trembling, as Paul counselleth thee."[218]

     He references 2 Peter 1:10, "Wherefore the rather, brethren, give diligence to

make your calling and election sure," and Philippians 2:12-13, "Wherefore, my

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[215] Wallace, "George Gifford, Puritan Propaganda and Popular Religion," 38; Haigh, "Taming of the Reformation," 577, 581; idem, "The Character of an Antipuritan," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 35, no. 3 (2004): 673-74, 684; Hudson, "The Plaine Mans Pastor," 31. Collinson cautions about the accuracy of Puritan depictions of "popular religion" due their "polemical and rhetorical motives" (Collinson, "Shepherds, sheepdogs, and hirelings," 203).

[216] Morgan, *Puritan Spirituality*, 35.

[217] Zaret, *Heavenly Contract*, 153-161; Baker, *Heinrich Bullinger and the Covenant*, 200, 214; Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, 413; Morgan, *Godly learning*, 35, 61; MacCulloch, *Later Reformation*, 77; Morgan, *Puritan Spirituality*, 36-37. In contrast to covenant softening predestination see Bierma, *Covenant Theology of Caspar Olevianus*, 183; Beeke, *Quest for Full Assurance*, 117.

[218] Parr, *Grounds*, 309-310.

beloved…work out your own salvation with fear and trembling. For it is God which worketh in you both to will and to do of his good pleasure." Especially 2 Peter 1:10 became the classic text of the practical syllogism as the means to assurance of salvation. Numerous catechisms and theological works include a reference to this text in connection with assurance and the purpose of good works.[219] Kendall sees this text as definitive of the "Experimental Predestinarian" Puritanism originating with Perkins.[220] Calvin's commentary on Philippians 2:12-13 demonstrates that this text destroys all self-confidence and self-complacency and uses God's sovereign grace as an encouragement for the believer to live a life of godly reliance on God.[221] This text provides an exhortation to perseverance based on God's continuing grace.

Parr's treatment of assurance indicates both the primacy of the objective and the necessity of the subjective element in salvation. He lays the groundwork for his use by stating that the God who elects individuals also decrees the means of salvation. These are "the merit of Christ, effectuall calling, Justification, Faith, Repentance, &c. which whosoever attaineth may certainly conclude that he is elected and shall be saved."[222]

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[219] Hill, *The first principles of a Christian,* B4ʳ; Grosse, *A fiery pillar*, sig. A4+2ᵛ; Robert Whittle, *The vvay to the celestiall paradise* (London: Edw. Griffin, 1620), 87; Ball, *A short treatise*, 56; Wilson, *An exposition of the tvvo first verses*, 19; Bristow, *An exposition of the Creede*, 30, 69; Hinde, *A briefe and plaine catechisme*, 59; Robert Openshaw, *Short questions and answeares, conteyning the Summe of Christian Religion* (London: Thomas Dawson, 1580), sig. B4ᵛ; Downame, *The summe of sacred diuinitie*, 302; Byfield, *A patterne of Wholsome words*, 140; Hibbert, *Syntagma theologicum*, 27; Leigh, "The third booke," 12; Bucanus, *Institutions of Christian religion*, 449; Gee, *The ground of Christianity*, 100.

[220] Kendall, *Calvin and English Calvinism*, 8; idem, "The Puritan Modification of Calvin's Theology," 205. According to Calvin already, Peter "speaks here of calling as the effect and evidence of election" and that "purity of life is not improperly called the evidence and proof of election" (John Calvin, *Commentaries on the Catholic Epistles*, trans. John Pringle, in *Calvin's Commentaries*, vol. 22 [1855; reprint, Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 2003], s.v. 2 Peter 1:10 [pp. 376-378]).

[221] John Calvin, *Commentary on the Epistle to the Philippians*, trans. John Owen, in *Calvin's Commentaries*, vol. 21 (1851; reprint, Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 2003), s.v. Phil. 2:12-13 (pp. 64-69); Henry Airay, *Lectures upon the vvhole Epistle of St Paul to the Philippians* (London: Edward Griffin, 1618), 412-413 (Phil. 2:12-13 opposes the "two cancres of the soule…: the one, carnall securitie, thother vaine presumption").

[222] Parr, *Grounds*, 309; cf. Muller on Polanus (Muller, *Christ and the Decree*, 158).

The foundational means is Christ's redemptive work. This objective foundation is the primary focus. Elsewhere he says: "Build, and stablish thy Conscience on this Doctrine, in as much as it sheweth such a way of justifying sinners, wherein the exact Iustice and bottomelesse mercy of God met together."[223] Christ's redemption is applied in the way of calling, justification, faith and repentance, yet even here Christ remains the focus. Justifying faith receives "that offered righteousnesse" of Christ alone to be righteous before God. He stresses that the one who bases anything of his salvation on his own works "overturneth the foundation of religion."[224] The quietness of one's conscience must "bee grounded on the rigteosnesse of Christ."[225] Self-examination then involves examining "whether thou beest redeemed and set free by Christ or no" through faith.[226] Christ's merits are the foundation of justification and the focus of a true faith that flows from God's calling. Like what Paul Shaefer observes in Perkins, Parr combined the practical syllogism with counsel to seek justification in Christ alone.[227] The faith to be discovered within one's heart is a faith that looks to Christ alone for salvation.

At the same time, true faith will subjectively transform the believer by yielding fruits of "Repentance, &c." Earlier, Parr wrote, "true faith justifies thee before God by the righteousnesse of Christ; see that thou justifie thy faith to be true, by the workes of righteousnesse and true obedience before men, and to thy own conscience, &c."[228] For this reason his last use exhorts, "By the workes of Sanctification, make thy Election

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[223] Parr, *Grounds*, 203-204.

[224] Parr, *Grounds*, 216.

[225] Parr, *Grounds*, 118.

[226] Parr, *Grounds*, 145.

[227] Paul R. Schaefer, "Protestant 'Scholasticism at Elizabethan Cambridge: William Perkins and a Reformed Theology of the Heart," in *Protestant Scholasticism*, 156, 162-64.

[228] Parr, *Grounds*, 224, 237 ("As the Sunne is declared by his light, the tree by his frute; so by thy sanctification, demonstrate thy justification, &c.").

sure." Sanctification is an evidence of salvation because "repentance properly is the effect of the Gospell, not of the Law," he says, citing Perkins.[229] One who knows this evangelical repentance "sorroweth truly for sin, and leaveth it, and followeth righteousnesse."[230] How one views the law is an indication of his spiritual state: "If the commandements of God are not grievous to thee: it is a comfortable signe of thy Redemption. Be thankefull and persevere."[231] He exhorts, "Examine therefore thy estate, whether thou be Regenerate or no, by thy love to the Law, and by thy profiting or not profiting by the same."[232] As the final link in the golden chain that is attained on earth and God's crowning work in the life of the elect, sanctification is a means of assurance.

This use of assurance was common among those who gave uses of predestination. As mentioned already, most follow the line of 2 Peter 1:10. The specific marks or signs of election can be subsumed under the headings of faith and repentance. Bucanus speaks of "true faith in Christ, effectuall through Charitie," Boughton of "faith and constant holynesse of life," Downame of "faith and newnesse of life," Ussher of "true faith and a godly life," Leigh of "a new light" (faith) and "a new life" (sanctification), Hibbert of "1. Separation from the world. 2. A sole relying upon Jesus Christ," and Egerton of "Peace of conscience, uprightness of hart."[233] Gee lays all the emphasis on faith in Christ, Byfield and Grosse lay the main emphasis on Spirit-worked godliness.[234] In Parr's *Grounds* and

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[229] Parr, *Grounds*, 246-247; He cites William Perkins, *Of the Nature and Practice of Repentance*.

[230] Parr, *Grounds*, 116.

[231] Parr, *Grounds*, 148.

[232] Parr, *Grounds*, 186.

[233] Bucanus, *Institutions of Christian religion*, 439; Boughton, *God and Man*, 27; Downame, *The summe of sacred diuinitie*, 298; Ussher, *A Body of Divinitie*, 92; Leigh, "The third booke," 13; Hibbert, *Syntagma theologicum*, 92; Egerton, *A briefe methode of catechizing*, 10.

[234] Gee, *The ground of Christianity*, 154, 161; Byfield, *A patterne of Wholsome words*, 146-150; Grosse, *A fiery pillar*, sig. A4.

comparable works the signs of election tend to be the basic elements of spiritual life, namely, both justifying faith that gives peace to the conscience and sanctifying repentance that changes the life.

Unlike others, Parr makes no reference in this use to the Holy Spirit. Frewen speaks of assurance by the "witnesse of Gods Spirit, working in him true repentance, and framing his heart to believe."[235] Also Egerton, Bucanus, Grosse, and Leigh speak of the Spirit's work in assuring of election directly and through the practical syllogism.[236] In his commentary on Romans, Parr indicates that the comfort of election is attainable for all believers because the Spirit gives assurance through the exercise of faith.[237] Elsewhere in his Grounds he does state that both faith and sanctification are worked by the Holy Spirit and that the Spirit assures through the sacraments.[238] The work of the Holy Spirit is not specified in his uses of predestination, but is elsewhere.

The flipside to assurance of election from the presence of faith and repentance is that there can be no well-founded assurance where there are no marks of God's saving grace. In his third use, Parr states that "he that wanteth [this salvation] to the end, may certainly conclude, that he shall not be saved, and therefore never was elected." Later he warns that "If thou beest not Holy in heart and affections, in life and conversation, but a prophane wretch, thou art also a damned wretch; but if thou so continuest, thou art no part of this Church, for Christ hath chosen us, that we should be holy."[239] He appeals to

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[235] Frewen, *Certaine choise grounds*, 317.

[236] Egerton, *A briefe methode of catechizing*, 10-11; Bucanus, *Institutions of Christian religion*, 445; Grosse, *A fiery pillar*, sig. A4; Hibbert, *Syntagma theologicum*, 92; Leigh, "The third booke," 12.

[237] Parr, *[Rom. 8-12]*, 310; cf. idem, *Abba Father*, 81-82 ("Seele me to the day of Redemption, shed abroad thy love in my heart, by thy holy spirit").

[238] Parr, *Grounds*, 219, 235, 331. Winship appeals to Parr as one who held assurance came through the "Spirit's witness to faith and sanctification" (Winship, *Making Heretics*, 22, 251-52).

[239] Parr, *Grounds*, 279.

Ephesians 1:4, which confesses "he hath chosen us in him before the foundation of the world, that we should be holy and without blame before him in love." His warning distinguishes between being under condemnation and not being elect. A person who is not sanctified is lost but may still be elect, in which case he will come to repentance. Only "if thou so continuest" to the end, will you prove to be a reprobate. This reality gives urgency to the call to repentance.

This conditional warning concerning the possibility of reprobation is echoed in comparable works. While on the one hand they stress that those who live a godless life cannot entertain a well-grounded hope of salvation,[240] they also maintained the distinction between signs of being reprobate and being unregenerate. Ball stressed its conditional nature by saying: "a man in this life may be assured of this election…but not of his reprobation, for he that is now prophane, may be called hereafter."[241] Downame stated that apart from the sin against the Holy Spirit "there is no certayne note of Reprobation," because as long as one lives there is "space left for repentance" and "many are called at the eleventh houre."[242] Therefore, Boughton stirs up those who find no marks of grace not to conclude they are reprobate but to use the means.[243] Of those surveyed, Grosse seems to go furthest in that he says "infallible signe can very hardly be given, but signes very probable there be eight," including God not giving his Word, not receiving the truth in love, and a spirit of slumber. Yet, also his list assumes they are conditional upon continuing in them in spite of the gospel call.[244]

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[240] Bernard, *A double catechisme*, 17; Bucanus, *Institutions of Christian religion*, 448.

[241] Ball, *A short treatise*, 56.

[242] Downame, *The summe of sacred diuinitie*, 299; see also Bucanus, *Institutions of Christian religion*, 445-46.

[243] Boughton, *God and man*, 27.

[244] Grosse, *A fiery pillar*, sig. A4+2$^{\text{r}}$.

These practical exhortations were both to lead saved people to assurance and to awaken the unregenerate to see the danger of their anthropocentric, carnally secure lives and thereby drive them out to God for his grace. The former purpose presupposes the attainability of assurance, contrary to those scholars who argue the opposite.[245] The later purpose of self-examination is often ignored by those whose analysis of the Puritan "preoccupation" with assurance implicitly assumes all had salvation and needed only the assurance of it.[246] Parr's use of the practical syllogism does not end in subjectivism but serves as a means to bring his readers before the God of law and gospel.

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[245] Lake, *Moderate Puritans*, 151-158; Hirst, *England in Conflict*, 39; Munzer, "Self-Abandonment and Self-denial,"767; Middlekauff, "Piety and Intellect in Puritanism," 459; Stannard, *Puritan Way of Death,* 41, 74.

[246] T. F. Torrance, *Scottish Theology*, 59, 137; Daane, *Freedom of God,* 180.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

Elnathan Parr's scholastic development of predestination coupled with his pastoral concern for the salvation and edification of his hearers resists the caricature of Reformed Scholasticism as being a cold and speculative system. The fact he treats predestination in his sermons on Romans and catechetical work indicates predestination was popularly taught. He preached on predestination, not as a controlling principle of theology, but as part of the "whole counsel of God" revealed in Scripture. In his sermons he was generally silent about predestination when the text was silent and expounded predestination when the text treated it. He was neither afraid nor obsessed by the doctrine of predestination as a preacher. In his sermons, he gives more weight to scriptural exposition than the systematic setting forth of doctrines. His expositions of Romans demonstrate the exegetical basis of his doctrine of predestination.

His treatment of predestination in his *Grounds of Divinitie* appears unique within the catechetical genre for treating not only predestination in detail, but also the supra-infralapsarian issue. Yet, together with the other contemporaries referred to in this thesis, he fills out Green's picture of catechetical works by challenging the generalization that little Calvinism was taught in catechisms before 1640 and that generally catechists either did not embrace or were afraid of the practical consequences of the Reformed doctrine of predestination. His work's roots in his rural ministry and its popularity also supports the view of scholars such as Tyacke that, while there may have been many less than Reformed church members and even clergy, there was not a wall of division between universities and the parishes. The Reformed truths taught in the universities worked their way into the parishes. Parr believed that this doctrine – even in details currently classified

as cold, abstract, and philosophical – was to be taught in his catechism and sermons because it was contained in Scripture and was profitable for the congregation.

His treatment of predestination situates him within the scholasticism of early Stuart Reformed orthodoxy. His sermons use various careful distinctions and defend the Reformed view against Arminian and Roman Catholic challenges. Especially his catechism's treatment of the supra-infralapsarian issue reflects his scholastic context and shows that discussions of the subtleties of the doctrine of predestination occurred within the body of Reformed theologians. His inclusion of the lapsarian issue shows the flexibility of the catechetical genre within Reformed theology. The uniqueness of Parr's popular treatment of the issue confirms that the lapsarian issue did engender some but certainly not widespread debate in English society and that popular Reformed teaching was not filled with what have been considered the abstract quiddities of Reformed theology. What is striking about Parr's treatment of the supralapsarian view is that, though he uses the illustration of a tree leaning the wrong way being bent too far the opposite way to correct it, his *via media* is not White's vague intermediate position between the supralapsarian and the Arminian, but an unabashed Reformed position that shares the same foundation with the supralapsarian view but differs on its interpretation of Scripture and use of reason in a specific point. In refusing to condemn supralapsarianism in its doctrine and outworkings, and demonstrating an overarching affinity with it, his very discussion only confirms the assertions of Beeke, Dever, and Muller that the lapsarian issue did not become a shibboleth of orthodoxy, even while demonstrating men who respected each other could strongly hold to their positions for scriptural and practical reasons.

His popular teaching of predestination evidences a strong pastoral concern that flows from his Reformed orthodoxy. He applies predestination – the seemingly most

abstract and remote aspect of theology – to the lives and hearts of his hearers in concrete ways. The cause-effect relationship between election and the application of salvation provides the basis for application. Since the purposes of predestination are carried out in time for every individual, the treatment of predestination necessarily draws attention to the hearer's current spiritual state. The hearer's state then draws him back to the decrees. Those who turn to God evidence the execution of election and are comforted and exhorted on the basis of their election and the general truth of reprobation. Those who remain ungodly have no evidence of election and therefore are warned with the general truth of reprobation and encouraged by the general truth of election.

Not only the decree-execution dynamic, but also the objective-subjective dynamic functions in his uses. His "uses" of predestination shows an important relation between the subjective and objective aspects of religion. The theme of self-examination repeatedly surfaces in his uses, especially in his catechetical work, indicating the importance of looking within. Since he believed there were elect and reprobate, such a stress is to be expected. At the same time, the subjective self-examination always had the purpose of leading a person to turn to God and look outside of one's self to God in Christ. If self-examination uncovered what is lacking within, that lack was to stir up a person to turn to Christ in the way of the means of grace to receive his grace. If self-examination discovered the grace of God within, that grace was to stir up a person to turn to God in humble and grateful praise and submission to Him. Together with others surveyed in this thesis, Parr used the practical syllogism within the framework of a variety of "uses" of predestination to direct people's focus to the righteous God to whom they must be reconciled and the gracious God, whom they must seek and come to adore.

Parr's applications do not form a rigid system, but evidence variety in structure, content, and formulation, especially in his sermons. The "problem of assurance" does not

dominate his applications, contrary to the generalization of Kendall, Torrance, and White. Uses of exhortation and comfort are the most common. Predestination impels rather than hinders his preaching of the breadth of the gospel. In his application of predestination in his catechetical work, the practical syllogism functions more prominently; however, also here the attainability of assurance is presupposed. His uses address people generally as well as specific types of people including the unbelieving, penitent, assured, rich and poor. He employs multiple types of uses, including the uses of confuting error, self-examination, warning, exhortation, comfort, and praise. The applicatory themes which Wallace, Cohen, Murray, and others have found in leading Puritans are present in Parr as well. He desires to bring this multi-faceted doctrine to bear on his multifarious congregation through multiple categories of "uses."

Ultimately Parr evidences a pastoral concern that aims to lead his readers to glory in the sovereign, electing love of God. He does so by encouraging them to focus more on the practical benefit of election than the theological details of reprobation, to be diligent in the use of the means whereby God gives grace and so to come to the (increased) exercise of faith and repentance. By faith and repentance, they will be assured of God's grace toward them, and end in humble and grateful praise to God for predestinating them to glory. The pastoral teaching of predestination was one aspect of Parr's ministry of the whole Word of God. This ministry's aim was expressed in his exhortation, "If I may adde to thy knowledge and affection, and bee a helper of thy faith and joy, give thou God the glory: I have then attained the end of my labours."[1]

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[1] Parr, "To the Courteous Reader," in *Grounds*, sig. A4+1ᵛ.

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