

“On the broad shoulders of William Perkins, epoch-making pioneer, stood the entire school of seventeenth-century Puritan pastors and divines, yet the Puritan reprint industry has steadily bypassed him. Now, however, he begins to reappear, admirably edited, and at last this yawning gap is being filled. Profound thanks to the publisher and heartfelt praise to God have become due.”

—J. I. Packer, Board of Governors’ Professor of Theology,
Regent College, Vancouver, British Columbia

“Without a doubt, the Puritans were theological titans. The Puritan theological tradition did not emerge out of a vacuum. It was shaped by leaders and theologians who set the trajectory of the movement and shaped its commitments. William Perkins was one of those men. Perkins’s contribution to Puritan theology is inestimable, and this new reprint of his collected works is a much-awaited addition to all who are still shaped and influenced by the Puritans and their commitment to the centrality of the grace of God found only in Jesus Christ. Even now, every true gospel minister stands in debt to Perkins, and in his shadow.”

—R. Albert Mohler Jr., president, The Southern
Baptist Theological Seminary

“The list of those influenced by the ministry of William Perkins reads like a veritable Who’s Who of the Puritan Brotherhood and far beyond. This reprinting of his works, so long unobtainable except by a few, is therefore a publishing event of the first magnitude.”

—Sinclair B. Ferguson, professor of systematic theology,
Redeemer Theological Seminary, Dallas

“The father of Elizabethan Puritanism, Perkins presided over a dynasty of faith. The scope of his work is wide, yet on every topic he treats one discovers erudition and deep reflection. He was the first in an amazing line of ministers at Cambridge University’s main church. A pastor to pastors, he wrote a best-seller on counseling, was a formative figure in the development of Reformed orthodoxy, and a judicious reformer within the Church of England. I am delighted to see Perkins’s works made available again for a wide audience.”

—Michael Horton, J. Gresham Machen Professor of Theology
and Apologetics, Westminster Seminary California

“William Perkins was a most remarkable Christian. In his relatively short life he was a great preacher, pastor, and theologian. His prolific writings were foundational to the whole English Puritan enterprise and a profound influence beyond his own time and borders. His works have become rare, and their

republishing must be a source of real joy and blessing to all serious Christians. Perkins is the first Puritan we should read.”

—W. Robert Godfrey, president, Westminster Seminary California

“This is a welcome collection of the gospel-saturated writings of William Perkins. A faithful pastor, Puritan leader, prolific author, and lecturer, Perkins defended the doctrines of the Protestant Reformation throughout his life. Giving particular emphasis to *solus Christus* and *sola Scriptura*, these Reformed doctrines drove him as a pastor to preach the unsearchable riches of God’s truth with confidence and assurance. Sadly, Perkins is unknown to the modern Christian. However, throughout the centuries, the writings, meditations, and treatises of this Puritan luminary have influenced Christians around the world. It is my hope that many will be introduced and reintroduced to the writings of this Reformed stalwart. May his zeal for gospel advance awaken a new generation of biblical preachers and teachers to herald the glory of our sovereign God in this present day.”

—Steven J. Lawson, president, OnePassion Ministries, and professor of preaching at The Master’s Seminary

“Relatively few in the church’s history have left a written legacy of enduring value beyond their own time. Perkins is surely among that select group. Reformation Heritage Books is to be commended for its commitment to making his *Works* available in this projected series, beginning with this volume.”

—Richard B. Gaffin Jr., professor of biblical and systematic theology emeritus, Westminster Theological Seminary

“Christians have heard about William Perkins, especially that he was an extraordinary preacher whose sermons made a deep impression on Cambridge and that they were still impacting the town in the decades that followed Perkins’s death at a mere forty-four years of age in 1602. He was at the heart of the revival of truth and holy living that made the Reformation a glorious work of God. He was the outstanding Puritan theologian of his time, but most of us have not had the opportunity to study his works because of their rarity. After more than three hundred years, this ignorance is going to be ended with the remarkable appearance during the next decade of the complete works of this man of God. We are looking forward to their appearance very much. There will be sufficient gaps between their publication to ensure a sincere attempt at imbibing the truths of each volume, and then we face the challenge of translating Perkins’s teaching into flesh-and-blood living.”

—Geoff Thomas, pastor, Alfred Place Baptist Church, Aberystwyth, Wales

The Works of
WILLIAM PERKINS

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VOLUME 6

A Golden Chain

*A Christian and Plain Treatise of the Manner and
Order of Predestination*

A Treatise on God's Free Grace and Man's Free Will

A Fruitful Dialogue Concerning the End of the World

*The Antidicson of a Certain Man of Cambridge, Along With a Short
Treatise that Fully Explains Dickson's Wicked System of Artificial Memory*

*A Handbook on Memory and the Most Reliable Method
of Accurate Recall*

EDITED BY JOEL R. BEEKE AND GREG A. SALAZAR

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Joel R. Beeke and Derek W. H. Thomas



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*Thanks to Rod MacQuarrie who has carefully reworked the charts in this volume to give them a sharper look; Perkins's original punctuation and capitalization have been retained in the charts for historical purposes.

General Preface



William Perkins (1558–1602), often called “the father of Puritanism,” was a master preacher and teacher of Reformed, experiential theology. He left an indelible mark upon the English Puritan movement, and his writings were translated into Dutch, German, French, Hungarian, and other European languages. Today he is best known for his writings on predestination, but he also wrote prolifically on many doctrinal and practical subjects, including extended expositions of Scripture. The 1631 edition of his English *Works* filled over two thousand large pages of small print in three folio volumes.

It is puzzling why his full *Works* have not been in print since the early seventeenth century, especially given the flood of Puritan works reprinted in the mid-nineteenth and late twentieth centuries. Ian Breward did much to promote the study of Perkins, but Breward’s now rare, single-volume compilation of the *Work of William Perkins* (1970) could only present samplings of Perkins’s writings. We are extremely pleased that this lacuna is being filled, as it has been a dream of many years to see the writings of this Reformed theologian made accessible again to the public, including laymen, pastors, and scholars.

Reformation Heritage Books is publishing Perkins’s *Works* in a newly typeset format with spelling and capitalization conformed to modern American standards. The old forms (“thou dost”) are changed to the modern equivalent (“you do”), except in Scripture quotations and references to deity. Punctuation has also been modernized. However, the original words are left intact, not changed into modern synonyms, and the original word order retained even when it differs from modern syntax. Pronouns are capitalized when referring to God. Some archaic terms and obscure references are explained in the editor’s footnotes.

As was common in his day, Perkins did not use quotation marks to distinguish a direct quotation from an indirect quotation, summary, or paraphrase, but simply put all citations in italics (as he also did with proper names). We have removed such italics and followed the general principle of placing citations in quotation marks even if they may not be direct and exact quotations. Perkins generally quoted the Geneva Bible, but rather than conforming his quotations to any particular translation of Scripture, we have left them in

his words. Scripture references in the margins are brought into the text and enclosed in square brackets. Parenthetical Scripture references in general are abbreviated and punctuated according to the modern custom (as in Rom. 8:1), sometimes corrected, and sometimes moved to the end of the clause instead of its beginning. Other notes from the margins are placed in footnotes and labeled, "In the margin." Where multiple sets of parentheses were nested within each other, the inward parentheses have been changed to square brackets. Otherwise, square brackets indicate words added by the editor. An introduction to each volume by its editor orients the reader to its contents.

The projected *Works of William Perkins* will include ten volumes, including four volumes of biblical exposition, three volumes of doctrinal and polemical treatises, and three volumes of ethical and practical writings. A breakdown of each volume's contents may be found inside the cover of this book.

If it be asked what the center of Perkins's theology was, then we hesitate to answer, for students of historical theology know that this is a perilous question to ask regarding any person. However, we may do well to end this preface by repeating what Perkins said at the conclusion of his influential manual on preaching, "The sum of the sum: preach one Christ by Christ to the praise of Christ."

—Joel R. Beeke and Derek W. H. Thomas

Preface to Volume 6 of William Perkins's Works

William Perkins (1558–1602), often called the “father of Puritanism,” laid the foundations of Puritan piety by digging deep into the biblical doctrine of divine predestination. What many have dismissed as an irrelevant or even irreverent doctrine was for him and generations of Puritans after him the bedrock on which they built their faith. This solid foundation was, in Perkins’s opinion, none other than Christ Himself.

In this doctrine we draw near to the heart of the Puritan conception of the gospel. Iain Murray says, “The doctrine of election was vital to the Puritans; they believed with Zanchius that it ‘is the golden thread that runs through the whole Christian system,’ and they asserted that a departure from this truth would bring the visible church under God’s judgment and indignation.”¹ Predestination was not mere orthodox theology for the Puritans, but was essential to the gospel and to godliness.²

Perkins has been evaluated by many scholars.³ They have offered positive as well as negative commentary about his political, ethical, revivalistic, and

1. Iain Murray, “The Puritans and the Doctrine of Election,” in *Puritan Papers, Volume One, 1956–1959*, ed. D. Martyn Lloyd-Jones (Phillipsburg, N.J.: P&R, 2000), 5. See Girolamo Zanchi, *The Doctrine of Absolute Predestination* (Conway, Ark.: Free Grace Press, 2012), ch. 5. Parts of this preface have been adapted with permission from Joel R. Beeke, “William Perkins on Predestination, Preaching, and Conversion.” In *The Practical Calvinist: An Introduction to the Presbyterian and Reformed Heritage, in Honor of D. Clair Davis*, 183–213. Edited by Peter A. Lillback (Fearn, Scotland: Christian Focus, 2002); and Joel R. Beeke, “William Perkins on Predestination,” in *A Puritan Theology* by Joel R. Beeke and Mark Jones (Grand Rapids: Reformation Heritage Books, 2014), 117–31.

2. Dewey D. Wallace, Jr., *Puritans and Predestination: Grace in English Protestant Theology, 1525–1695* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982), 43–44.

3. Dissertations and theses that contribute to an understanding of Perkins’s theology include Ian Breward, “The Life and Theology of William Perkins” (PhD diss., University of Manchester, 1963); William H. Chalker, “Calvin and Some Seventeenth Century English Calvinists” (PhD diss., Duke University, 1961); Lionel Greve, “Freedom and Discipline in the Theology of John Calvin, William Perkins, and John Wesley: An Examination of the Origin and Nature of Pietism” (PhD diss., Hartford Seminary Foundation, 1976); Robert W. A. Letham, “Saving Faith and Assurance in Reformed Theology: Zwingli to the Synod of Dort,” 2 vols. (PhD diss., University

ecclesiastical interests. Some have offered contradictory assertions about his theological stand, particularly in the area of predestination.⁴ For example,

of Aberdeen, 1979); R. David Lightfoot, "William Perkins' View of Sanctification" (ThM thesis, Dallas Theological Seminary, 1984); Donald Keith McKim, *Ramism in William Perkins's Theology* (New York: Peter Lang, 1987); C. C. Markham, "William Perkins' Understanding of the Function of Conscience" (PhD diss., Vanderbilt University, 1967); Richard Alfred Muller, "Predestination and Christology in Sixteenth-Century Reformed Theology" (PhD diss., Duke University, 1976); Charles Robert Munson, "William Perkins: Theologian of Transition" (PhD diss., Case Western Reserve, 1971); Willem Jan op 't Hof, *Engelse piëtistische geschriften in het Nederlands, 1598–1622* (Rotterdam: Lindenberg, 1987); Joseph A. Pipa, Jr., "William Perkins and the Development of Puritan Preaching" (PhD diss., Westminster Theological Seminary, 1985); Victor L. Priebe, "The Covenant Theology of William Perkins" (PhD diss., Drew University, 1967); Paul R. Schaefer, Jr., "The Spiritual Brotherhood on the Habits of the Heart: Cambridge Protestants and the Doctrine of Sanctification from William Perkins to Thomas Shepard" (PhD diss., Keble College, Oxford University, 1994); Mark R. Shaw, "The Marrow of Practical Divinity: A Study in the Theology of William Perkins" (PhD diss., Westminster Theological Seminary, 1981); Rosemary Sisson, "William Perkins" (MA thesis, University of Cambridge, 1952); C. J. Sommerville, "Conversion, Sacrament and Assurance in the Puritan Covenant of Grace to 1650" (MA thesis, University of Kansas, 1963); Young Jae Timothy Song, *Theology and Piety in the Reformed Federal Thought of William Perkins and John Preston* (Lewiston, New York: Edwin Mellin, 1998); Lynn Baird Tipson, Jr., "The Development of a Puritan Understanding of Conversion" (PhD diss., Yale University, 1972); J. R. Tuftt, "William Perkins, 1558–1602" (PhD diss., Edinburgh, 1952); Jan Jacobus van Baarsel, *William Perkins: eene bijdrage tot de Kennis der religieuse ontwikkeling in Engeland ten tijde van Koningin Elisabeth* (s-Gravenhage: H. P. De Swart & Zoon, 1912); William G. Wilcox, "New England Covenant Theology: Its Precursors and Early American Exponents" (PhD diss., Duke University, 1959); James Eugene Williams, Jr., "An Evaluation of William Perkins' Doctrine of Predestination in the Light of John Calvin's Writings" (ThM thesis, Dallas Theological Seminary, 1986); Andrew Alexander Woolsey, "Unity and Continuity in Covenantal Thought: A Study in the Reformed Tradition to the Westminster Assembly" (PhD diss., University of Glasgow, 1988).

4. Perkins's critics—both positive and negative—agree that he provided a major link in Reformed thought between Beza and the Westminster Confession. Those who view that linkage as largely negative include Perry Miller (*Errand into the Wilderness* [Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1956]); Karl Barth (*Church Dogmatics*, III/4 [Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1961], 8); Basil Hall ("Calvin Against the Calvinists," in *John Calvin*, ed. G. E. Duffield [Appleford, England: Sutton Courtney Press, 1966], 19–37); Robert T. Kendall, *Calvin and English Calvinism to 1649* (Oxford: Oxford University Press); "Living the Christian Life in the Teaching of William Perkins and His Followers," in *Living the Christian Life* [London: Westminster Conference, 1974]; "John Cotton—First English Calvinist?," *The Puritan Experiment in the New World* [London: Westminster Conference, 1976]; "The Puritan Modification of Calvin's Theology," in *John Calvin: His Influence in the Western World*, ed. W. Stanford Reid [Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1982], 199–214; Chalker and Knappen as noted above. Scholars who have reacted positively to Perkins include F. Ernest Stoeffler (*The Rise of Evangelical Pietism* [Leiden: Brill, 1965]); Ian Breward ("William Perkins and the Origins of Puritan Casuistry," *Faith and a Good Conscience* [London: Puritan and Reformed Studies Conference, 1962]; "The Significance of William Perkins," *Journal of Religious History* 4 [1966]: 113–28; "William Perkins and the Origins of Puritan Casuistry," *The Evangelist Quarterly* 40 [1968]: 16–22); Richard Muller ("Perkins' A Golden Chaine: Predestinarian System or Schematized *Ordo Salutis*?," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 9, no. 1 [1978]: 69–81; "Covenant and Conscience in English Reformed Theology," *Westminster Theological Journal* 42 [1980]: 308–34; *Christ and the Decree*:

confusion exists on Perkins's Christological emphasis in predestination. Marshall M. Knappen faults Perkins for following Calvin too closely in Christological predestination, while Ian Breward believes Perkins strayed from Calvin at this point. Breward says that the "work of Christ was discussed within the context of predestination rather than providing the key to the decrees of God."⁵

In a recent seminal study on Perkins, W. B. Patterson builds on the work of R. T. Kendall and Breward by demonstrating how Perkins's works on predestination and salvation were staple texts used by English and Continental Churches.⁶ Although Patterson's work provides a thorough investigation of Perkins's printed works and consistently links Perkins's life and thought to the broader political and ecclesiastical themes of the Elizabethan period, it is not without problems. For example, Patterson's downplaying of both Perkins's participation in proto-Presbyterian assemblies and Perkins's discontentment with the established church's doctrine and discipline, led him to argue that Perkins's doctrine of predestination was wholly consistent with Article 17 of the Thirty-nine Articles (on predestination) and, in our opinion, to erroneously conclude "there is little to link Perkins" to the Elizabethan Puritan movement.⁷ In reality, Perkins believed that though the Thirty-nine Articles did not err on the doctrine of predestination, they also did not treat the doctrine with sufficient precision.

Perkins walked the tightrope of Reformed experiential theology, balancing his doctrine so as not to fall into either the abyss of fatalism nor the pit of man-centered religion. While Perkins cannot escape all charges of promoting confusion with his theology, his synthesis of decretal and experimental predestination is Christologically stable and a natural outgrowth of early Calvinism. It is particularly faithful to the theology of Theodore Beza, which promotes a

Christology and Predestination in Reformed Theology from Calvin to Perkins [Grand Rapids: Baker, 1988]; Mark R. Shaw ("Drama in the Meeting House: the concept of Conversion in the Theology of William Perkins," *Westminster Theological Journal* 45 (1983): 41–72; "William Perkins and the New Pelagians: Another Look at the Cambridge Predestination Controversy of the 1590s," *Westminster Theological Journal* 58 [1996]: 267–302; Joel R. Beeke (*The Quest for Full Assurance: The Legacy of Calvin and His Successors* [Edinburgh: Banner of Truth, 1999]); Greve, Markham, Munson, op 't Hof, Pipa, Priebe, Schaefer, Sommerville, Song, van Baarsel, and Woolsey, as noted above. See Shaw, "The Marrow of Practical Divinity," 4–29 for a summary of interpretations of Perkins's thought.

5. M. M. Knappen, *Tudor Puritanism: A Chapter in the History of Idealism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939), 374–76; Ian Breward, intro. and ed., *The Work of William Perkins*, vol. 3 of The Courtenay Library of Reformation Classics (Abingdon, England: Sutton Courtenay Press, 1970), 86.

6. W. B. Patterson, *William Perkins and the Making of a Protestant England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 64–89.

7. Patterson, *William Perkins*, 49, 86–89. W. B. Patterson, "William Perkins as the Chief Apologist for the Church of England," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 57 (2006): 252–69. See also Joel R. Beeke and J. Stephen Yuille, *William Perkins* (Darlington, U.K.: Evangelical Press, 2015).

healthy combination of Reformed theology and piety.⁸ William H. Chalker is wrong in his assertion that Perkins kills Calvin's theology as is Kendall's thesis that Beza—and thus Perkins—differ substantially from the Genevan Reformer. Rather, Richard Muller says rightly, "Perkins's thought is not a distortion of earlier Reformed Theology, but a positive outgrowth of the systematic beginnings of Protestant thought."⁹

This essay will introduce readers to Perkins's predestinarian works set forth in this volume in three ways. First, it will provide a brief overview of each work in this volume and the historical contexts in which these works were forged. As we will see, the first three works in this volume—*A Golden Chain*, *A Christian and Plain Treatise of the Manner and Order of Predestination*, and *A Treatise on God's Free Grace and Man's Free Will*—are Perkins's works on predestination. The second three works—*A Fruitful Dialogue Concerning the End of the World*, *A Short Treatise that Fully Explains Dickson's Wicked System of Artificial Memory*, and *A Handbook on Memory and the Most Reliable Method of Accurate Recall*—focus on Perkins's defense of Ramistic methodology and the logical framework he used to refute false doctrine. Second, this introduction will explore two features of Perkins's methodology—how he marshalled Scripture, as well as patristic and medieval sources in support of the doctrines he championed and how he sought to demonstrate to his readers the pastoral comforts that predestination affords the believer. Finally, this essay will examine three of Perkins's major contributions in the area of predestination: his Christological, supralapsarian focus; his metaphor of predestination as a golden chain that runs from eternity past to eternity future; and his emphasis on preaching as bringing in the elect.

Content, Context, and Methodology of Perkins's *Works*, Volume Six

In many ways, the Puritan movement was first of all a movement for the reformation of the mind. "The Puritans were educators of the mind," writes J. I. Packer; "the starting point was their certainty that the mind must be instructed and enlightened before faith and obedience become possible."¹⁰ The Puritans' primary method for reforming doctrine was through writing books, as well as the formulation and use of creeds and confessions in catechizing. N. H. Keeble notes how Puritanism "was an intrinsically bookish movement.... Religious works comprised at least half of 100,000 or so titles that represented the total output of the press from the accession of Elizabeth in 1558 to the end of the

8. Breward, "Introduction" to *Work of Perkins*, xi.

9. Muller, "Perkins' *A Golden Chain*," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 9, no. 1 (1978): 69–71, 79–81.

10. J. I. Packer, *A Quest for Godliness: the Puritan Vision of the Christian Life* (Wheaton: Crossway, 1990), 69.

seventeenth century. Of these, a very significant proportion" were written by Puritans.¹¹ Indeed, the Puritans, beyond nearly any movement in history "revalued not only the book, but the act of reading."¹²

Since Perkins was, according to Philip Benedict, "England's first systematic Reformed theologian to attain international stature," many of the foundational principles of the system of Puritan doctrine can be traced back to him.¹³ This is particularly true of Perkins's doctrine of predestination.

Three Works on Predestination: Historical Background

The first three works in this volume are those treatises in which Perkins most fully expounds his doctrine of predestination. Perkins's most famous work and one in which he first articulated his doctrine of predestination was *Armilla Aurea* (1590)—a work which was subsequently translated into English as *A Golden Chain* (1591), by Robert Hill, one of Perkins's students.¹⁴ Perkins's *Golden Chain* was a response to a predestinarian controversy that began in 1570 between the leading Calvinist theologians in Cambridge and two anti-Calvinists—Peter Baro (1534–1599; a French Protestant, who held the Lady Margaret Professorship of Divinity) and William Barrett (c. 1561–c. 1630; a prominent English divine and Fellow of Caius College), who were opposing Calvinist doctrine.¹⁵ Perkins's work was intended to refute the false doctrinal

11. N. H. Keeble, "Puritanism and Literature," in John Coffey and Paul C. H. Lim, eds., *The Cambridge Companion to Puritanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 309.

12. Keeble, "Puritanism and Literature," 311.

13. Philip Benedict, *Christ's Churches Purely Reformed: A Social History of Calvinism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 2; Breward, "Introduction" to *Work of Perkins*, xxiv.

14. *Armilla aurea: id est, Miranda series causarum et salutis & damnationis iuxta verbum Dei: Eius synopsis continet annexa tabula* (Cantabrigiae: Iohannis Legatt, 1590); William Perkins, *A Golden Chaine, or the description of theologie, containing the order of the causes of saluation & damnation, according to Gods worde. A viewe of the order wherof, is to be seene in the table annexed. Written in Latin by William Perkins, and translated by another. Hereunto is adioyned the order which M. Theodore Beza used in comforting troubled consciences* (Cambridge: John Legate, 1591). Patterson, *William Perkins*, 69–70. For a list of Perkins's writings, see Munson, "William Perkins: Theologian of Transition" (PhD diss., Case Western Reserve University, 1971), 231–34; McKim, *Ramism in William Perkins's Theology*, 335–37.

15. See Peter Baro, *In Jonam prophetam praelectiones* 39. *In quibus multa pié doctéque disseruntur & explicantur* (London: John Day, 1579); Andreas Hyperius, *A Speciall Treatise of Gods Providence, and of comforts against all kinde of crosses & calamities to be fetched from the same. With an exposition of the 107. Psalme. Heerunto is added an appendix of certaine sermons & questions, (containing sweet & comfortable doctrine) as they were uttered and disputed ad clerum in Cambridge, by Peter Baro*, trans. John Ludham (London: Iohn Wolfe, 1588); Patterson, *William Perkins*, 70; Jean-Louis Quantin, *The Church of England and Christian Antiquity: The Construction of Confessional Identity in the 17th Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 171. For manuscript accounts related to the dispute, particularly Laurence Chaderton's interview of William Barrett, see Lambeth Palace Library, MS 2550, 164r–167v. For secondary

positions being put forth by Baro and Barrett and to assist others who were wrestling with these complex doctrinal issues.¹⁶ The conflict escalated in 1595 when Barrett delivered a series of sermons at Great St. Mary's Church that more directly opposed Calvinist doctrine. As a result, Archbishop John Whitgift, William Whitaker (the Regius Professor of Divinity), Laurence Chaderton (Head of Emmanuel College), and others formally opposed Barrett, called on him to recant, and drafted the Lambeth Articles. While Article 17 of the Thirty-nine Articles addressed predestination generally, if rather ambiguously, the Lambeth Articles sought to articulate plainly the particulars of predestinarian doctrine, and especially the doctrine of "double predestination."

While it does not appear that Perkins was ever formally a part of the cohort that opposed the anti-Calvinists in 1595, Perkins's works on predestination both before and after the conflict were intended to refute their theology.¹⁷ It is a testimony to Perkins's resolve to continue defending predestination against false doctrine that three years after the disputes, Perkins published his second treatise on predestination, *De preaestinationis modo et ordine* (1598).¹⁸ It was also published three times in Basel (1599, 1603, and 1613) and once in Hanae (1603).¹⁹ The work was translated into English and published posthumously by Francis Cacot and Thomas Tuke in 1606 as *A Christian and Plain Treatise of the Manner and Order of Predestination*.

Shortly following its publication the Dutch theologian Jacob Arminius began reading *De preaestinationis*.²⁰ Arminius had previously studied under

accounts of the theological disputes of the 1590s in Cambridge see H. C. Porter, *Reformation and Reaction in Tudor Cambridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958), 277–413; Peter Lake, *Moderate Puritans and the Elizabethan Church* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 201–42; David Hoyle, *Reformation and Religious Identity in Cambridge, 1590–1640* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2007), 71–86; Nicholas Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists: The Rise of English Arminianism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 29–36; 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), 101–23. On the use of Pelagianism as a polemical weapon in the 1590s disputes in Cambridge, see Mark R. Shaw, "William Perkins and the New Pelagians: Another Look at the Cambridge Predestination Controversy of the 1590s," *Westminster Theological Journal* 58 (1996): 267–301.

16. Patterson, *William Perkins*, 71.

17. Patterson, *William Perkins*, 79, 82.

18. William Perkins, *De preaestinationis modo et ordine* (Cantabrigiae: Iohannis Legatt, 1598).

19. William Perkins, *A Christian and Plaine Treatise of the Manner and Order of Predestination, and of the largenes of Gods grace* (London: William Welby and Martin Clarke, 1606); Patterson, *William Perkins*, 81.

20. Carl Bangs, *Arminius: A Study in the Dutch Reformation* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1971), 83, 115, 186–205; Patterson, *William Perkins*, 84–85.

the Calvinist scholastic Theodore Beza (1519–1605).²¹ As such, according to Carl Bangs, he originally “bought the book eagerly, for he was an admirer of Perkins, but read it with dismay.”²² Arminius immediately wrote to Perkins to express his concern and to request a conference in which the two would debate the various issues set forth in his book.²³ Since Perkins died in 1602, Perkins and Arminius never debated each other,²⁴ but Arminius wrote his own response, *Examination of Perkins's Little Book on the Order and Mode of Predestination* (published posthumously in 1612), which became “in many respects his most important single composition.”²⁵

Arminius was likewise discontent with Perkins's final work on predestination, *A Treatise of God's Free Grace and Man's Free Will* (1602).²⁶ Like Perkins's earlier works, *A Treatise of God's Free Grace* was steeped in Perkins's love for Ramistic methodology as it sketched the relationship between God's grace and the state of the human will in the four estates of redemption—“innocency, corruption, regeneration, and glorification.”²⁷ Arminius went on to teach at Leiden University from 1603 to 1609 and to challenge Calvinist views on the doctrine of predestination. Following his death in 1609, Arminius's followers wrote the Five Articles of their famous *Remonstrance* (1610). The work's title gave rise to the name given to Arminius's followers (the “Remonstrants”) and the treatise itself outlined a view of predestination that was opposed to the predestinarian doctrine being advanced by most Reformed theologians throughout England and the Continent. A conflict ensued between Arminius's followers

21. On Arminius, see Peter Bertius, *The Life and Death of James Arminius, and Simon Episcopius. Professors of divinity in the University of Leyden in Holland. Both of them famous defenders of the doctrine of Gods universal grace, and sufferers for it* (London: Francis Smith, 1673); Bangs, *Arminius*; Keith D. Stanglin and Thomas H. McCall, *Jacob Arminius: Theologian of Grace* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012). Also see James Arminius, *The Works of James Arminius*, trans. James Nichols, 3 vols. (London: Longman and Co., 1825–28).

22. Bangs, *Arminius*, 209.

23. Bangs, *Arminius*, 209; Patterson, *William Perkins*, 85.

24. For a comparison of Perkins's and Arminius's views, see Richard A. Muller, *God, Creation, and Providence in the Thought of Jacob Arminius: Sources and Directions of Scholastic Protestantism in the Era of Early Orthodoxy* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1991), 22–23, 43, 187–88, 264–66; Keith D. Stanglin, *Arminius on the Assurance of Salvation: The Context, Roots, and Shape of the Leiden Debate, 1603–1609* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 68, 131–32, 136, 170–71, 179, 182–83, 185, 211–13, 215–17, 223–23, 234; Stanglin and McCall, *Jacob Arminius*, 73, 99, 103, 113, 115–16.

25. Iabobi Arminii, *Examen modestum libelli, quem D. Gulielmus Perkinsius apprime doctus theologus, edidit ante aliquot annos de praedestinationis modo & ordine* (Leiden: Godfrid Basson, 1612); Bangs, *Arminius*, 206.

26. Michael Jinkins, “William Perkins (1558–1602),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

27. McKim, *Ramism in William Perkins's Theology*, 96; Leif Dixon, *Practical Predestinarians, c. 1590–1640* (Surrey, U. K.: Ashgate, 2014), 271.

(the “Remonstrants”) and Dutch Calvinists (the “Counter-Remonstrants”), and the Synod of Dordrecht (Dort) was called to resolve the divisions within the church.²⁸

The impact on the Synod of Dort of Perkins's earlier controversy with Arminius can scarcely be overstated. As Patterson correctly observes, “it is no exaggeration to say that the issues discussed at Dort and ultimately resolved—at least to the satisfaction of the majority of the delegates—were in larger measure those raised by Perkins and Arminius at the turn of the century.” Indeed, “the year before the synod met, Arminius's *Examen modestum* was published in a Dutch translation along with a [Dutch] translation of Perkins's *De Predestinationis modo et ordaine*.”²⁹ It is not surprising that Perkins was cited quite regularly at the Synod of Dort. For example, in one session Franciscus Gomarus—“who had been educated for a time at Cambridge University when Whitaker and Perkins were in their pomp”—attempted to demonstrate that the English Church had supported supralapsarianism by arguing “that both Dr Whitaker and Mr Perkins had determined the contrary, whom he took to be such men as would not dissent from the Confession of the Church of England.”³⁰

Use of Patristic and Medieval Sources

Two facets of Perkins's methodology in his predestinarian works are worth noting. First, in his polemic against anti-Calvinism he paralleled anti-Calvinist claims with Pelagianism and bolstered his arguments by using patristic and medieval sources.³¹ Pelagianism was a fifth-century heretical movement arising from the teachings of the British theologian Pelagius, who insisted on man's ability to achieve salvation through human effort, unassisted by divine grace. Pelagius's doctrines were opposed in the early 410s by Augustine of Hippo and were officially denounced in 418 at the Council of Carthage.³²

In his *Golden Chain*, Perkins avowed that he was contending against both the “old and newe Pelagians; who place the cause of Gods predestination in

28. Patterson, *William Perkins*, 86. On the Synod of Dort, see Aza Goudriaan and Fred van Lieburg, eds., *Revisiting the Synod of Dort (1618–1619)* (Leiden: Brill, 2011).

29. Patterson, *William Perkins*, 86; Bangs, *Arminius*, 209.

30. *The British Delegation at the Synod of Dort (1618–1619)*, ed. Anthony Milton (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005), xxxii, 225; John Hales, *Golden Remains of the Ever Memorable Mr. John Hales of Eton College* (London: Robert Pawlet, 1973), Rr1r.

31. Quantin, *Church of England*, 171–72.

32. F. L. Cross and E. A. Livingstone, eds., *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 130, 1257. For a succinct but fine treatment of these disputes, see Peter Brown, *Augustine of Hippo* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000), 341–53. For an English edition of Augustine's anti-Pelagian writings see Augustine, *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Volume 5: Augustine: Anti-Pelagian Writings, First Series*, ed. Philip Schaff (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson Publishers, 1994).

man,” and the “Semipelagian Papists, which ascribe Gods Predestination, partlye to mercye, and partly to mens foreseen preparations and meritorious works.”³³ Perkins's use of quotations from patristic and medieval sources is most evident in his *A Christian And Plain Treatise of the Manner and Order of Predestination*. Indeed, the work contains over two hundred citations from Church Fathers such as Augustine, Jerome, Gregory the Great, Cyril of Alexandria, Prosper of Aquitaine, and Fulgenius; medieval theologians such as Bernard of Clairvaux, Anselm, Thomas Aquinas, Peter Lombard, and Hugh St. Victor; and Reformers such as John Calvin, Theodore Beza, and Peter Martyr Vermigli.

Given that Augustine was Pelagius's chief opponent, it is no surprise that Augustine was Perkins's most frequently cited author.³⁴ However, Arnoud Visser and Jean Louis Quantin have convincingly argued that in post-Reformation England “‘Augustinianism’ [was] far from a coherent, unequivocal conception.”³⁵ For example, by examining the marginal notes from Thomas Cranmer's, Peter Martyr Vermigli's, and William Laud's personal editions of Augustine, Visser has demonstrated that ministers from different confessional traditions detached Augustine's anti-Pelagian works from their historical context. Instead, they employed vastly different reading and citation practices that were closely linked with their own personal and polemical agendas. This allowed them to draw opposite conclusions about the same works and thus to exploit Augustine's authority.³⁶ Indeed, Perkins's own opponent, Peter Baro, likewise claimed he had Augustine's support.³⁷ This is why Perkins's ultimate aim in his writings was to ground his arguments not on human authorities, but on Scripture alone.³⁸ As Perkins articulated in his *Godly and Learned Exposition upon the Whole Epistle of Jude*, “traditions can never settle the conscience, for though divers [plausible doctrines] are found in the writings of the Fathers, yet they were the subject of error, and so might and did erre in them,” which he then contrasted with Scripture as the “perfect rule of faith and manners: It is of all things to be beleued or done to saluation (2 Tim. 3.16).”³⁹

33. William Perkins, *A Golden Chaine, or the description of Theologie, containing order of the causes of Salvation and Damnation* (London: John Legate, 1591).

34. Cf. Dixon, *Practical Predestinarians*, 72. Also see David M. Barbee, “A Reformed Catholic: William Perkins' use of the church fathers,” (PhD diss., The University of Pennsylvania, 2013), 204–259.

35. Arnoud Visser, *Reading Augustine in the Reformation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 7. On the depicting of one's views as Augustinian, rather than Calvinistic, see Quantin, *Church of England*, 176. For later examples, see *British Delegation at the Synod of Dort*, 216.

36. Visser, *Reading Augustine*, 106–13. Also see Quantin, *Church of England*, 18, 173.

37. Patterson, *William Perkins*, 71.

38. Patterson, *William Perkins*, 73.

39. William Perkins, *Godlie and Learned Exposition upon the Whole Epistle of Jude* (London: Thomas Man, 1606), 18. Puritans William Whitaker and John Rainolds also noted the fallacy of

Nevertheless, Perkins's commitment to Scripture as the ultimately authority was supplemented by his extensive knowledge of patristic and medieval sources. He used these citations to substantiate his arguments and to show that his position was a model of apostolic and orthodox faith. In this way, Perkins's use of citations from these sources shielded him from those who would argue that he was merely projecting these terms onto his opponents. By outlining similarities between the views of Pelagius and those of his opponents and appealing to the testimony of divines over the whole of church history, Perkins's aim was to instill confidence in his readers that the Calvinist position would prevail. Moreover, Perkins was not only charging his opponents with error, but with circulating heretical views that had been condemned by the universal church throughout church history.

Perkins's approach was adopted by later English Calvinists in the 1620s as they opposed the English anti-Calvinist Richard Montague.⁴⁰ Later anti-

grounding one's arguments on human authority. John Rainolds, *The Summe of the Conference betweene Iohn Rainoldes and Iohn Hart: Touching the Head and the Faith of the Church* (London: Iohn Wolfe, 1584), 36, 490, 584; William Whitaker, *An Answer to the Ten Reasons of Edmund Campian the Iesuit* (London: Cuthbert Burby and Edmund Weaver, 1606), Gg2v–3r; also see Joshua Rodda, *Public Religious Disputation in England* (Abingdon: Ashgate), 51–52; Lake, *Moderate Puritans*, 100–1; Quantin, *The Church of England and Christian Antiquity*, 74.

40. For Montague's anti-Calvinist works see Richard Montague, *A Gagg for the New Gospel? No: a New Gagg for an Old Goose* (London: Matthew Lownes and William Barrett, 1624); Richard Montague, *Appello Caesarem: A Iust Appeale from two uniuert informers* (London: Matthew Lownes, 1625). For the replies to Montague by Puritans and English Calvinists, see John Yates, *Ibis ad Caesarem* (London: Robert Milbourne, 1626); Samuel Ward, *Gratia discriminans* (Londini: Robert Milbourne, 1626); George Carleton, *An Examination of Those Things wherein the Author of the late Appeale holdeth the doctrines of the Pelagians and Arminians, to be the doctrines of the Church of England* (London: William Turner, 1626). (This work was eventually revised and enlarged in a second edition with a rejoinder: George Carleton, *The Second Edition, Revised and Enlarged by the Author. Whereunto also there is annexed a ioynt attestation* [London: William Turner, 1626]). See also Walter Balcanquhall, *Ioynt Attestation, avowing that the Discipline of the Church of England was not Impeached by the Synode of Dort* (London: Robert Milbourne, 1626). Balcanquhall's work is an appendix to the second edition of Carleton's *Examination*; Anon., *Suffragium collegiale theologorum* (Londini: Robert Milbourne, 1626), which is signed by Thomas Goad, Samuel Ward, Walter Balcanquhall, George Carlton, and John Davenport; Francis Rous, *Testis veritatis: The Doctrine of King Iames our late Saveraigne of famous Memory* (London: W. Jones, 1626); Anthony Wotton, *A Dangerous Plot Discovered* (London: Nicholas Bourne, 1626); Henry Burton, *A Plea to an Appeale: Trauersed Dialogue Wise* (London: W. Jones, 1626); Richard Bernard, *Rhemes against Rome* (London: Robert Milbourne, 1626); Matthew Sutcliffe, *A Briefe Censure upon an Appeale to Caesar* (Oxford: s. n., 1626); Daniel Featley, *Parallellismus nov-antiqui erroris Pelagiarminianii* (Londini: Robert Milbourne, 1626); Daniel Featley, *A Parallel: of New-old Pelagiarminian Error* (London: Robert Milbourne, 1626); Daniel Featley, *A Second Parallel together with a Writ of Error Sued against the Appealer* (London: Robert Milbourne, 1626). Also see British Library, Harleian MS 390, 83r–v. For a helpful summary of these works, see Peter Milward, *Religious Controversies in the Jacobean Age* (London: Scholar Press, 1973), 41–43;

Arminian authors traced the origins of Arminianism in England to the Cambridge debates of the 1590s. And since Arminius had responded to Perkins's arguments originating from these debates, later Calvinists regarded these disputes as a precursor to the Montague debate.⁴¹

Pastoral Motivations and Practical Applications

A second feature of Perkins's methodology is the pastoral motivation and desire for practical application that underpinned his predestinarian works. Although historians have long acknowledged that there was a strong link for

Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists*, 155–56; Jay T. Collier, *Debating Perseverance: The Augustinian Heritage in Post-Reformation England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), ch. 4. Jonathan Adkins has classified the various responses to Montague, placing ministers in one of three categories. See Jonathan Atkins, "Calvinist Bishops, Church Unity and the Rise of Arminianism," *Albion* 18 (1986):423.

41. For the extensive secondary literature related to this dispute and debates between the Calvinists and anti-Calvinists in England see Nicholas Tyacke, "Puritanism, Arminianism and Counter-revolution," in Conrad Russell, ed., *The Origins of the English Civil War* (London: Macmillan, 1973), 119–41; Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists*; Nicholas Tyacke, "Debate: The Rise of Arminianism Reconsidered," *Past & Present* 115 (1987): 201–16; White, *Predestination*; Peter White, "The Rise of Arminianism Reconsidered," *Past & Present* 101 (1983): 34–54; Peter White, "Debate: The Rise of Arminianism Reconsidered: A Rejoinder," *Past & Present* 115 (1987): 217–29; Peter White, "The *Via Media* in the Early Stuart Church," in Kenneth Fincham, ed., *the Early Stuart Church* (Basingstoke, U.K.: Macmillan, 1993), 211–30; William Lamont, "Comment: The Rise of Arminianism Reconsidered," *Past & Present* 107 (1985): 227–31; Peter Lake, "Calvinism and the English Church 1570–1635," *Past & Present* 114 (1987): 32–76; Peter Lake, "Predestinarian Propositions," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 46 (1995): 112–13; Kenneth Fincham, *Prelate as Pastor: The Episcopate of James I* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990); Conrad Russell, *The Causes of the English Civil War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990); Anthony Milton, *Catholic and Reformed: The Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought, 1600–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); David Como, "Puritans, Predestination and the Construction of Orthodoxy in Early Seventeenth-Century England," in Peter Lake and Michael Questier, eds., *Conformity and Orthodoxy in the English Church, c.1560–1660* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2000), 64–87; David Como, "Predestination and Political Conflict in Laud's London," *Historical Journal* 46 (2003): 263–94; Charles Prior, *Defining the Jacobean Church: The Politics of Religious Controversy, 1603–1625* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Judith Maltby, *Prayer Book and People in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Kevin Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992); Kevin Sharpe, "The Personal Rule of Charles I," in Howard Tomlinson, ed., *Before the English Civil War: Essays on Early Stuart Politics and Government* (New York: Macmillan, 1984), 53–78; Kevin Sharpe, "Archbishop Laud," *History Today* 33 (1983): 26–30; Mark Kishlansky, "Charles I: A Case of Mistaken Identity," *Past & Present* 189 (2005): 48–49; Sheila Lambert, "Richard Montagu, Arminianism and Censorship," *Past & Present* 124 (1989): 36–68; Hillel Schwartz, "Arminianism and the English Parliament, 1624–1629," *Journal of British Studies* 12 (1973): 41–68; David Hoyle, "A Commons Investigation of Arminianism and Popery in Cambridge on the Eve of the Civil War," *Historical Journal* 29 (1986): 419–25; Atkins, "Calvinist Bishops, Church Unity, and the Rise of Arminianism," 411–27.

Perkins and other Puritan ministers between predestination and pastoral issues such as assurance of salvation, recent studies have clarified our understanding of these issues. Leif Dixon modified Kendall's famous distinction between experimental and credal predestinarians.⁴² Dixon redefined "experimental predestinarians" as "practical predestinarians," arguing that Perkins and other ministers challenged believers to find personal assurance primarily in order that they might please God rather than simply achieve inward confirmation of salvation. Dixon challenged the assumption that issues of predestination were inextricably tied to spiritual angst by demonstrating that Perkins and other Puritan divines (such as Richard Greenham and Richard Rogers) stressed pursuing outward expressions of good works rather than inward navel gazing. In a chaotic and uncertain culture, the doctrine of predestination provided a stabilizing source of comfort and assurance.⁴³

For Perkins, the differences over predestination between him and his opponents were not merely doctrinal, but also deeply pastoral. Patterson highlights that whereas *A Golden Chain* is "in part about predestination it is more fundamentally about what it means to experience salvation," it "is pastorally oriented, in the sense of being directed to the practical needs of the parishioners seeking help in their spiritual journey."⁴⁴ In Perkins's mind, a salvation that was in any way dependent on man's volition was extremely precarious. By contrast, by maintaining that salvation was ultimately dependent on the will of God, predestination provided ultimate comfort and security for the believer. In this way, as Arnold Hunt has convincingly shown, the doctrine of predestination was

42. According to Kendall, "experimental predestinarians were mainly pastors who not only believed but vigorously stressed that one's election *may* be known by experimental knowledge; indeed it *must* be known lest one deceive himself and, in the end, be damned." By contrast, "credal predestinarians" is a "term used to designate the position of the majority of bishops... who, though not generally known for their stress upon experimental divinity, were none the less predestinarian in their theology as a whole." Kendall, *Calvin and English Calvinism*, 79–80; also see 8–9. Richard Muller has been arguably the strongest critic of Kendall's argument. See Richard Muller, *The Unaccommodated Calvin: Studies in the Foundation of a Theological Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 17, 159, 172; Richard Muller, *After Calvin: Studies in the Development of a Theological Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 83; Richard Muller, *Calvin and the Reformed Tradition: On the Work of Christ and the Order of Salvation* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2012), *passim*.

43. Dixon, *Practical Predestinarians*, 7, 11–12, 15. On similar ideas, see Leif Dixon, "William Perkins, 'Atheism,' and the Crises of England's Long Reformation," *Journal of British Studies* 50 (2011): 790–812. Also see, Michael Winship, "Weaker Christians, Backsliders, and Carnal Gospels: Assurance of Salvation and the Pastoral Origins of Puritan Practical Divinity in the 1590s," *Church History* 70 (2001):462–81; Lake, "Calvinism and the English Church 1570–1635," 39; Joel R. Beeke, *The Quest for Full Assurance of Faith: The Legacy of Calvin and His Successors* (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth, 1999), 31–33, 83–86.

44. Patterson, *William Perkins*, 75.

not confined to the debates of elite academicians, but was a matter of critical importance for ministers who wanted the laity to benefit spiritually from the comfort and assurance to be found in predestination.⁴⁵

Ramistic Methodology

The latter three works of this volume focus on Perkins's defense of Ramistic methodology and the biblical framework for logic he used to refute false doctrine. In 1584, Perkins became entangled in what would be identified later by historians as one of the most heated controversies during this time, over the relationship between the use of various systems of memory and false doctrine. Perkins's opponent was the philosophical writer and political agent, Alexander Dickson (*bap.* 1558, *d.* 1603/4). Although Dickson was born in Scotland and educated at St. Andrews, at some point between 1577 and 1583 he spent several years studying on the Continent, probably in Paris. During this time, he was heavily influenced by the Italian cosmologist and hermetic philosopher, Giordano Bruno (*c.* 1548–1600), and his philosophies on the art of memory. As a result, in 1584 Dickson published an influential philosophical treatise shadowing Bruno's mnemonic theories entitled, *De umbra rationis & iudicii, sive* (The Shadow of Reason and Judgment), based on Bruno's own *De umbris idearum* (On the Shadows of Ideas).⁴⁶

In 1584, Perkins wrote two works refuting Dickson—*Antidicsonus* (The Antidickson) and *Libellus de memoria, verissimaque bene recordandi scientia* (A Handbook on Memory and the Most Reliable Method of Accurate Recall).⁴⁷

45. Hunt, *The Art of Hearing*, 342–89.

46. Alexander Dickson, *Alexandri Dicsoni arelii de vmbra rationis & iudicij, sive de memoriae virtute Prosopopeia* (Londini: Thomas Vautrollerius, 1683 [sic] 1584).

47. G. [William] P. [Perkins], *Antidicsonus. Accessit libellus, in quo dilucidè explicatur impia Dicsoni artificiosa memoria* (Londini: Henricus Midletonus, 1584). G. [William] P. [Perkins], *Libellus de memoria, verissimaque bene recordandi scientia. Huc accessit eiusdem admonitiuncula ad A. Disconum [sic], de artificiosæ memoriæ, quam publicè profitetur, vanitate* (Londini: Robert Waldengrave, 1984). There are some since at least the 19th century, who have falsely attributed Perkins's work to the English divine Gerard Peeters. David Crankshaw, "Gerard Peeters (*bap.* 1562?, *d.* 1598)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*; Peter Beal, "Alexander Dicsone [Dickson] (*bap.* 1558, *d.* 1603/4)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. One possible reason that readers (especially those familiar with Perkins's writings) might doubt Perkins's authorship is Perkins's use of strong language throughout his refutations of Dickson. However, we should bear in mind that Perkins's polemicism was motivated by a strong pastoral concern to protect the English Church from harmful ideologies that threatened the spiritual well-being of the sheep. On the dynamics of polemicism in this period, see Joshua Rodda, *Public Religious Disputation in England, 1558–1626* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014). Perkins's writings against Dickson are translated in this volume for the first time into English, for which we express gratitude to the quality work of David Noe.

According to Francis Yates, in Perkins's dedication of *Antidicsonus* to Thomas Moufet, he articulated the difference between himself and Dickson, namely that "there are two kinds of arts of memory, one using places and 'umbræ,' [Dickson's] the other by 'logical disposition as taught' by Peter Ramus [Perkins's]." According to Perkins, "the former is utterly vain; [and] the latter is the only true method."⁴⁸ However, the main reason why Perkins chose to oppose strenuously Dickson was his conviction that his system of memory was not only erroneous, but spiritually harmful. Perkins's concerns were ultimately rooted in his conviction that Dickson's approach was connected with "a hermetic religious cult" (i.e., relating to the occult or pseudo-science of alchemy), Roman Catholic uses of images, and idolatry.⁴⁹ Indeed, Dickson even mockingly flaunted Perkins's labelling him a "Scepsian" (one who employs "the zodiac in his impious artificial memory") by including it in the title of his reply to Perkins, *Heii Scepsii defensio*.⁵⁰ James Worthen and Reed Hunt's summary of the dispute is worth quoting at length:

Perkins was a theologian and Puritan leader who advocated for Peter Ramus's organizational mnemonic techniques. Thus, the dispute between Dickson and Perkins was just as much about religion as it was about mnemonic techniques. Specifically, as led by Perkins, the Puritans associated imagery-based mnemonic techniques with the occult as well as with the Catholic Church. Making an argument similar to that which they directed at the Catholic Church for the veneration of saints, the Puritans maintained that the use of mental imagery amounted to heresy as it reflected a form of idol worship. Moreover, the Puritans were especially opposed to the use of the zodiac symbols in Bruno's mnemonic system.⁵¹

As noted previously, Ramistic methodology was a key component of Perkins's doctrinal and homiletical approach.⁵² However, Perkins's defense of Ramistic methodology in his dispute with Dickson demonstrates the ways in

48. Francis A. Yates, *The Art of Memory* (London: Pimlico, 1992), 265.

49. Beal, "Alexander Dickson."

50. Alexander Dickson, *Heii Scepsii Defensio pro Alexandro Dicsono Arelio aduersus quendam G.P. Cantabrigien* (Londini: Thomas Vautroullierius, 1584); Beal, "Alexander Dickson."

51. James B. Worthen and R. Reed Hunt, *Mnemonology: Mnemonics for the 21st Century* (New York: Psychology Press, 2011), 6. Also see Yates, *The Art of Memory*, 261, 266–67; Also see Marsha Keith Schuchard, *Restoring the Temple of Vision: Cabalistic Freemasonry and Stuart Culture* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 204–5. For other literature on this dispute see Walter J. Ong, *Rhetoric, Romance, and Technology: Studies in the Interaction of Expression* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1971), 112; Paolo Rossi, *Logic and the Art of Memory: The Quest for a Universal Language* (London: Continuum, 2000), 280.

52. For the best study on Perkins's Ramistic methodology see Donald K. McKim, *Ramism in William Perkins's Theology* (New York: Peter Lang, 1987).

which Perkins and the Puritans sought to reform the mind not merely through formulating biblical doctrine, but by restoring the connection between the very purpose of man's God-given intellect and the appropriate use of logic and reason.

Likewise, Perkins's *A Fruitful Dialogue Concerning the End of the World* (1587), was concerned with the folly of pagan approaches to knowledge, particularly astrological predictions about the end of the world. The work itself is a dialogue between two characters—"Christian" and "Worldling," the latter who was vexed with the conviction that the world would end the following year. Perkins had "'Christian' point to all the times in the past when prognosticators were wrong in predicting the world's end."⁵³ Thus, although the genre of the work was different from the others in this volume, his single-minded conviction concerning the folly of worldly means of knowledge remained the same.

Christ-centered Supralapsarian Predestination

Primarily concerned with the conversion of souls and subsequent growth in godliness, Perkins believed that a biblical experience of God's sovereign grace in predestination was vital for spiritual comfort and assurance. He believed that salvation worked out experimentally in the souls of believers was inseparable from sovereign predestination in Christ. Far from being harsh and cold, sovereign predestination was the foundation upon which experimental faith could be built.⁵⁴ It offered solid ground for hope to the true believer.

In the introduction to his *A Golden Chain*, Perkins identified four viewpoints on this matter:

- The old and new Pelagians, who place the cause of predestination in man, in that God ordained men to life or death according to His foreknowledge of their free-will rejection or receiving of offered grace.

53. McKim, *Ramism in William Perkins's Theology*, 58.

54. Experimental or experiential preaching addresses how a Christian experiences the truth of scriptural doctrine in his life. The term *experimental* comes from *experimentum*, meaning trial, and is derived from the verb *experior*, to know by experience, which in turn leads to "experiential," meaning knowledge gained by experiment. Calvin used experimental and experiential interchangeably, since both words indicate the need for measuring experienced knowledge against the touchstone of Scripture. Experimental preaching seeks to explain in terms of biblical truth how matters ought to go, how they do go, and what the goal of the Christian life is. It aims to apply divine truth to the whole range of the believer's personal experience as well as in his relationships with family, the church, and the world around him. Cf. Kendall, *Calvin and English Calvinism*, 8–9; Joel R. Beeke, "The Lasting Power of Reformed Experiential Preaching," in *Feed My Sheep: A Passionate Plea for Preaching*, ed. Don Kistler (Morgan, Pa.: Soli Deo Gloria, 2002), 94–128; Joel R. Beeke, *Reformed Preaching: Preaching the Word from the Heart of the Preacher to the Heart of His People* (Wheaton, Ill. Crossway, 2018).

- The Lutherans, who teach that God chose some to salvation by His mere mercy but rejected the rest because He foresaw they would reject His grace.
- The semi-Pelagian Roman Catholics, who ascribe God's predestination partly to mercy and partly to foreseen human preparations and meritorious works.
- Finally, those who teach that God saves some merely of His mercy and damns others entirely because of man's sin, but that the divine predestination concerning both has no other cause than His will.

Perkins concluded, "Of these four opinions, the three former I labour to oppugn [oppose] as erroneous, and to maintain the last, as being truth which will bear weight in the balance of the sanctuary."⁵⁵ The latter expression refers to a scale, figuratively applied to assigning each truth its proper weight according to Holy Scripture. Perkins thereby declared his intention of presenting a biblical and balanced theology of predestination. Decretal theology exalts God and abases man. Experimental theology identifies the saved by the fruition of election in a life of faith and increasing holiness, "a life consonant with God's choice," as Irvonwy Morgan said.⁵⁶ In Perkins's theology, the decree in Christ and the experience in Christ are conceptually and realistically linked together.

Predestination for the Glory of God Alone

The terms supralapsarian and infralapsarian concern the logical order of God's decree related to man's eternal state. Sometimes supralapsarianism is called "high Calvinism." Supralapsarian literally means "above or before the fall" and infralapsarian means "below or after the fall" (Latin *supra* = above; *infra* = below; *lapsus* = fall). Supralapsarians believe that the decree of divine predestination must logically precede the decree concerning mankind's creation and fall in order to preserve the absolute sovereignty of God. Infralapsarians maintain that the decree of predestination must logically follow the decree of creation and the fall, believing it to be inconsistent with the nature of God for Him to reprobate any man without first contemplating him as created, fallen, and sinful.⁵⁷

55. Breward, ed., *Work of Perkins*, 175–76. Cf. Michael T. Malone, "The Doctrine of Predestination in the Thought of William Perkins and Richard Hooker," *Anglican Theological Review* 52 (1970): 103–17.

56. Edmund Morgan, *Puritan Spirituality: Illustrated from the Life and Times of the Rev. Dr. John Preston* (London: Epworth Press, 1973), 25.

57. See Joel R. Beeke, "Did Beza's Supralapsarianism Spoil Calvin's Theology?," *Reformed Theological Journal* 13 (Nov. 1997): 58–60; William Hastie, *The Theology of the Reformed Church*

Perkins was a supralapsarian more for practical than metaphysical reasons. Adhering to high Calvinism for the framework of his predestination and practical theology, Perkins believed that accenting the sovereignty of God and His decree gave God the most glory and the Christian the most comfort. This emphasis also served as the best polemic against Lutherans and semi-Pelagian Roman Catholics such as Robert Bellarmine (1542–1621), and anti-predestinarians in England such as Peter Baro and William Barrett. Though greatly indebted to Calvin, Perkins also relied upon such theologians as Theodore Beza, Girolamo Zanchi (1516–1590), Zacharias Ursinus (1534–1583), and Caspar Olevianus (1536–1587).⁵⁸ Freely admitting that he had consulted these writers (he even appended a work of Beza to his *Golden Chain*), Perkins nonetheless used his gifts to add to the treasury of high Calvinism.

It is impossible to understand predestination without realizing that God's decrees flow from the inner life of the triune God. Perkins defined God's glory as "the infinite excellency of his most simple and most holy divine nature."⁵⁹ Proceeding from this internal glory, God's decree, as well as its execution, aims at "the manifestation of the glory of God."⁶⁰ Perkins wrote, "The decree of God, is that by which God in himself, hath necessarily, and yet freely, from all eternity determined all things (Eph. 1:11; Matt. 10:29; Rom. 9:21)."⁶¹ Predestination, which is only God's decree insofar as it concerns man, is that "by which he hath ordained all men to a certaine and everlasting estate: that is, either to salvation or condemnation, for his own glory."⁶²

Predestination is the means by which God manifests His glory to the human race. Election is God's decree "whereby on his own free will, he hath ordained certain men to salvation, to the praise of the glory of his grace."⁶³ Reprobation is "that part of predestination, whereby God, according to the most free and just

(Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1904); Klaas Dijk, *De Strijd over Infra- en Supralapsarisme in de Gereformeerde Kerken van Nederland* (Kampen: Kok, 1912).

58. W. Stanford Reid, *John Calvin: His Influence in the Western World* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1982), 206–7; Kendall, *Calvin and English Calvinism*, 30–31, 76; Otto Grundler, "Thomism and Calvinism in the Theology of Girolamo Zanchi" (PhD diss., Princeton Theological Seminary, 1960), 123; Wallace, *Puritans and Predestination*, 59; Lyle D. Bierma, *German Calvinism in the Confessional Age: The Covenant Theology of Caspar Olevianus* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1996), 176–81. Cf. C. M. Dent, *Protestant Reformers in Elizabethan Oxford* (Oxford: University Press, 1983), 98–102.

59. *Works*, 1:13.

60. *Works*, 1:15.

61. *Works*, 1:15.

62. *Works*, 1:16.

63. *Works*, 1:24.

purpose of his will, hath determined to reject certain men unto eternal destruction, and misery, and that to the praise of his justice.”⁶⁴

Like Beza, Perkins held a supralapsarian position of denying that God, in reprobating, considered man as fallen. Perkins supported this belief with Beza's argument (drawing on Aristotle) that the end is first in the intention of an agent. Thus God first decided the end—the manifestation of His glory in saving and damning—before He considered the means, such as creation and the fall. Ultimately, predestination must not be understood in terms of what it does for man, but in terms of its highest goal—the glory of God. Absolute sovereignty in double predestination for the pure glory of God: this is the heartbeat of Perkins's theology.

Answering Objections: The Predestining God is Righteous

As a theological tightrope walker, Perkins knew that his view prompted two objections: (1) it makes God the author of sin; (2) it diminishes the role of Christ.⁶⁵

In addressing the first objection, Perkins adamantly rejected the idea that God is the author of sin. God decreed the fall of man, but He did not cause man to sin. Perkins insisted that the Scriptures teach that God ordains all that shall come to pass.⁶⁶ We must not think that man's fall was by chance, or by God's failure to foreknow it, or by barely winking at it, or by allowing it against His will. Rather, man fell away from God, “not without the will of God, yet without all approbation of it.”⁶⁷ In other words, God had a good purpose for the fall, although He did not see the fall as good.

God's decree did not cause Adam's sin. The decree of God “planted nothing in Adam, whereby he should fall into sin, but left him to his own liberty, not hindering his fall when it might.”⁶⁸ If it is objected that man cannot have liberty not to sin if God decreed the fall, Perkins distinguished the necessity of infallibility and the necessity of compulsion. As a consequence of God's decree, what He decreed will infallibly come to pass. But the voluntary acts of the creature are in no way coerced or compelled by God's secret decree. God works through means as secondary causes. He does not handle men as if they were mindless

64. *Works*, 1:106.

65. Twentieth-century theologians also made the accusation that supralapsarian predestination subordinates Christ to the decree, diminishing Him to a mere “carrier of salvation”—that He plays no active role since the decree of predestination is made prior to grace (e.g., J. K. S. Reid, “The Office of Christ in Predestination,” *Scottish Journal of Theology* 1 [1948]:5–19, 166–83; James Daane, *The Freedom of God* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1973], ch. 7).

66. *Works*, 1:15.

67. Breward, ed., *Work of Perkins*, 197–98.

68. *Works*, 2:619.

stones, but moves their wills by working through their understanding.⁶⁹ The devil and Adam—not God—are responsible for sin. The proper cause of the fall, according to Perkins, was “the devil attempting our overthrow, and Adam’s will, which when it began to be proved by temptations, did not desire God’s assistance, but voluntarily bent itself to fall away.”⁷⁰

This raises the question of how God executed His decree that man would fall without God compelling man to sin. Perkins’s answer is that God withheld from Adam the grace of perseverance. God gave Adam a righteous human will, a revelation of God’s commandment, and the inward ability to will and do what is good. But God did not give Adam the grace to persevere in willing and doing good under temptation. Nor can He be blamed for withholding this grace because God owes no man any grace, and God had good purposes for withholding it.⁷¹ Perkins used the illustration of an unpropped house in a windstorm. As an unsupported house would fall with the blowing of the wind, so man without the help of God falls. Thus, the cause of the fall is not the owner but the wind.⁷²

Here then, said Perkins, is the biblical balance. Though the decree of God “doth altogether order every event, partly by inclining and gently bending the will in all things that are good, and partly by forsaking it in things that are evil: yet the will of the creature left unto itself, is carried headlong of [its] own accord, not of necessity in itself, but contingently that way which the decree of God determined from eternity.”⁷³

Answering Objections: Christ is the Heart of Predestination

As for the charge that supralapsarianism subordinates Christ, Perkins firmly maintains that not election considered absolutely, but election *in Christ* draws the line of separation between the elect and reprobate. Contrary to accusations, Perkins emphasizes Christ-centered predestination. For Perkins, salvation is never focused on a bare decree, but always upon the decreed and decreeing Christ. The election and work of Christ is not commanded by God’s decree; rather, it is voluntarily chosen by the Son. Franciscus Gomarus (1563–1641) would state at the Synod of Dort, “Christ in accordance with his divine nature also participated in the work of election,” but he may not be called “the

69. *Works*, 2:619.

70. *Works*, 2:607.

71. *Works*, 1:160; cf. 1:16; 2:611.

72. Munson, “William Perkins: Theologian of Transition,” 79.

73. *Works*, 2:621.

foundation” of election.⁷⁴ Perkins went even further; he showed no qualms stating that Christ is the foundation, means, and end of election:

Election is God’s decree whereby of his own free will he hath ordained certain men to salvation, to the praise of the glory of his grace.... There appertain three things to the execution of this decree: first the foundation, secondly the means, thirdly the degrees. The foundation is Christ Jesus, called of his Father from all eternity to perform the office of the Mediator, that in him all those which should be saved might be chosen.

Q. How can Christ be subordinate unto God’s election seeing he together with the Father decreed all things?

A. Christ as he is Mediator is not subordinate to the very decree itself of election, but to the execution thereof only.⁷⁵

Elsewhere Perkins wrote of “the actual or real foundation of God’s election, and that is Christ: and therefore we are said to be chosen ‘in Christ.’ He must be considered two ways: as he is God, we are predestinated *of him*, even as we are predestinated of the Father and the holy Ghost. As he is our Mediator, we are predestinated *in him*.”⁷⁶

Perkins went on to say that this act of predestination has “no inward impulsive cause over and beside the good pleasure of God: and it is with regard to Christ the Mediator, in whom all are elected to grace and salvation; and to dream of any election out of him, is against all sense: because he is the foundation of election to be executed, in regard of the beginning, the means, and the end.”⁷⁷

Perkins wrote, “The ordaining of a Mediator is that, whereby the second person being the Son of God, is appointed from all eternity to be a Mediator between God himself and men. And hence it is that Peter saith, that Christ was foreknown before the foundation of the world. And well saith Augustine, that Christ was predestinated to be our head. For howsoever as he is the substantial word (*logos*) of the Father, or the Son, he doth predestinate with the Father, and the Holy Ghost; yet as he is the Mediator, he is predestinated himself.”⁷⁸

With approval, Perkins quoted Cyril of Alexandria (c. 376–444), who wrote, “Christ knoweth his sheep, electing and foreseeing them unto everlasting life.” He also cited Augustine of Hippo (354–430), who wrote, “Christ by his secret dispensation hath out of an unfaithful people predestinated some to everlasting

74. G. C. Berkouwer, *Divine Election*, trans. Hugo Bekker (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1960), 143.

75. Breward, ed., *Work of Perkins*, 197–98.

76. *Works*, 1:282.

77. *Works*, 1:283.

78. *Works*, 2:608.

liberty, quickening them of his free mercy: and damned others in everlasting death, in leaving them by his hidden judgement in their wickedness.”⁷⁹

Perkins was more Christ-centered in his predestinarianism than most scholars realize. Breward is correct in saying that Perkins’s “definition of theology was a combination of Peter Ramus and John Calvin, and the arrangement of the whole work [*A Golden Chain*], prefaced as it was by a formidable looking diagram, owed a good deal to Ramistic categories of arrangement and Aristotelian logic.”⁸⁰ But Breward errs in failing to recognize how Perkins centered predestination on Christ. Muller more accurately observes that prior to Perkins’s time, no one had so meticulously placed the Mediator in such a central relation to the decree and its execution. The *ordo salutis* originates and is effected in Christ.⁸¹

A Golden Chain from Sovereign Pleasure to Sovereign Glory

In *A Golden Chain*, Perkins stressed that the will of God in Christ is immovable, not only in its sovereign decree, but also in the execution of that sovereign decree. The title page expresses this conviction by describing *A Golden Chain* as: “The Description of Theology, Containing the order of the causes of Salvation and Damnation, according to God’s word.”⁸² The “Table” shows that Perkins taught that God not only decreed man’s destiny but also the means through which the elect might attain eternal life, and without which the reprobate could not be saved. At the top of the chart is the triune God as the source of the decree. At the bottom is God’s glory as the goal of the decree. On the left is a line or chain of the steps by which God saves His elect. On the right is a line or chain by which the reprobate descend into damnation for their sins. In the center is a line representing the work of Christ the Mediator in His humiliation and exaltation. Perkins drew lines connecting the work of Christ to every step of the order of salvation to show that all of salvation is in Him.⁸³

The Foundation of Decretal Execution: Jesus Christ

Predestination does not affect anyone apart from the work of Jesus Christ. Without Christ, man is totally hopeless. Christ is the foundation of election,

79. *Works*, 2:607.

80. Breward, introduction to *Work of Perkins*, 85–86.

81. Muller, “Perkins’s *A Golden Chain*,” 76.

82. *Works*, 1:9.

83. See Perkins’s chart in *Works*, 1:11. For an exposition of Perkins’s chart, see Cornelis Graafland, *Van Calvijn tot Barth: Oorsprong en ontwikkeling van de leer der verkiezing in het Gereformeerd Protestantisme* (s-Gravenhage: Boekencentrum, 1987), 72–84. Both Beza’s chart and Perkins’s chart were recently reproduced in Lillback, ed., *The Practical Calvinist*, 580–83. Perkins’s chart may also be found in Breward, ed., *Work of Perkins*, 169.

as the center of Perkins's chart shows. He is predestined to be Mediator. He is promised to the elect. He is offered by grace to the elect. And, finally, He is personally applied to their souls in all His benefits, natures, offices, and states.⁸⁴

This Christ-centeredness is what sets Perkins's theological chart apart from Beza's *Tabula*. Perkins's chart is similar to Beza's in showing the following contrasts:

- God's love for His elect versus His hatred for the reprobate
- Effectual calling versus ineffectual calling
- The softening of the heart versus the hardening of the heart
- Faith versus ignorance
- Justification and sanctification versus unrighteousness and pollution
- The glorification of the elect versus the damnation of the reprobate

Kendall errs in stating that "Perkins's contribution to Beza's chart was merely making it more attractive and more understandable."⁸⁵ The greatest contrast between Beza's and Perkins's tables is the center of the diagram. The central column of Beza's table is empty between the fall and the Final Judgment. By contrast, the center of Perkins's table is filled with the work of Christ as "mediator of the elect." Christ is thus central to predestination and its outworking in the calling, justification, sanctification, and glorification of the elect.⁸⁶

The Means of Decretal Execution: The Covenants

After introducing Christ as the foundation of election, Perkins explains how predestination is carried out through the covenants. Although his chart does not show this connection, a major part of his discussion falls under covenantal headings.⁸⁷ Perkins taught that God established a covenant of works with Adam in Paradise, thus setting a covenantal context for the fall.⁸⁸ Similarly He made the covenant of grace as the context for the salvation of the elect. In a dipleuric (two-sided) view of the covenant of grace, the pact between God and man implies mutual, voluntary interaction between God and man. This view is consistent with Perkins's emphasis on apprehending Christ to open the door for the application of His benefits. To this Perkins added a monopleuric

84. Cf. *Works*, 2:608.

85. Reid, *John Calvin*, 204–5.

86. Muller, "Perkins's *A Golden Chaine*," 76–77.

87. Shaw, "The Marrow of Practical Divinity," 124. Shaw concludes that "the background of Perkins's covenant of grace was election in Christ as its formal cause and the work of Christ as its material cause."

88. *Works*, 1:32.

(one-sided) view of the covenant as a testament in which sinners are made heirs through God's gracious and unmerited gift of salvation in Christ.

Perkins offered this view of the covenant as a way to relieve the tension between God's sovereignty and man's responsibility. Without the covenant of grace, man cannot fulfill God's demands, whereas with it, man finds his will renewed through the Holy Spirit to the point that he is capable of choosing repentance. In Perkins's diagram, man becomes active in "mortification and vivification" which lead to "repentance and new obedience." According to Richard Muller, for Perkins, conversion is "the point of reconciliation" at which the monopoleuric and dipoleuric aspects of covenant theology can unite. This "allowed the Christian life" to be "systematized" and "stated as a vast series of cases of conscience." It also allowed "the covenant to be presented in the form of" a voluntary act "by the regenerate in their search for personal assurance." The greatest case of conscience would naturally be whether a man be a child of God or no, that is, "whether a man" is savingly brought into "the covenant of grace and converted."⁸⁹

Consequently, Perkins could say that though faith and repentance are the conditions of the covenant of grace, man is totally incapable of initiating or meriting the covenant relation through any goodness or obedience in himself. Ultimately, the decree of election and the covenant of grace stand upon the good pleasure of God. God chose to be in covenant with man; God initiates the covenant relation; God freely, out of His sovereign will alone, brings man into the covenant of grace by granting him the conditions of faith and repentance. The decreeing, establishing, and maintaining of the covenant are all dependent on the free grace of God. Man does not bind or tame God by the covenant, as Perry Miller implied.⁹⁰ Rather, God binds Himself to man in covenant.

For Perkins the covenant of grace from a divine perspective is one-sided and initiated by grace. God's dealings with Abel and Cain, Isaac and Ishmael, and Jacob and Esau are examples of His role as the divine Initiator of the covenant. From them we learn that "when God receives any man into covenant of eternal life, it proceeds not of any dignity in the man whom God calleth, but from his mercy and alone good pleasure. . . . As for the opinion of them that say, that foreseen faith and good works are the cause that moved God to choose men to salvation, it is frivolous. For faith and good works are the fruits and effects of God's election."⁹¹

89. Muller, "Covenant and Conscience," 310–11.

90. Perry Miller, *Errand in the Wilderness* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978), 48–98.

91. *Works*, 1:279, 281.

Since God's covenant is made with man, apart from any effort put forth by him, "in this covenant we do not so much offer, or promise any great matter to God, as in a manner only receive." In its fullest manifestation, the covenant is the gospel itself as well as "the instrument, and, as it were, the conduit pipe of the holy Ghost, to fashion and derive faith unto the soul: by which faith, they which believe, do, as with an hand, apprehend Christ's righteousness."⁹² Far from being capricious, God's covenant assures man that God can be counted on graciously to fulfill the golden chain of salvation in the hearts of the elect (Rom. 8:29–30). Thus the covenant of grace forms the heart of salvation itself. Perkins wrote, "We are to know God, not as he is in himself, but as he hath revealed himself unto us in the covenant of grace; and therefore we must acknowledge the Father to be our Father, the Son to be our Redeemer, the holy Ghost to be our comforter, and seek to grow in the knowledge and experience of this."⁹³

Without abandoning the Calvinist view of God's eternal decrees, Perkins's covenant emphasis helps us to focus on God's relationship with man. By focusing on the covenant, Perkins and other Puritans reduced the inscrutable mystery of God's dealings to laws that are somewhat understandable to us. They saw, though through a glass darkly, the movement of God's secret counsels in the revealed covenants, and His concern for man particularly in the covenant of grace. While retaining Calvin's concern for the glory of God, Perkins offered more emphasis on the conversion of man. As F. Ernest Stoeffler says, "Hand in hand with this reorientation goes his...concern for the practical aspects of Christianity which is typical of all Pietistic Puritanism."⁹⁴ This is particularly evident in Perkins's *Golden Chain*, of which the vast majority is devoted to practical concerns rather than theoretical aspects of theology.

The Degrees of Decretal Execution: Calling, Justification, Sanctification, Glorification

According to Perkins, God shows "degrees of love" in carrying out election in Jesus Christ by means of covenant, that is, steps by which He puts into action His eternal love. By "degree" Perkins did not mean that God loves one Christian more than another, but that He works their salvation in various steps from sin to glory.

Effectual calling, the first part of the process, represents the saving grace "whereby a sinner being severed from the world, is entertained into God's family."⁹⁵ The first part of effectual calling is a right hearing of the Word by

92. *Works*, 1:70.

93. *Works*, 2:258.

94. Stoeffler, *The Rise of Evangelical Pietism*, 55.

95. *Works*, 1:77.

those who were dead in sin; their minds are illuminated by the Spirit with irresistible truth. The preaching of the Word accomplishes two things: “the Law shewing a man his sin and the punishment thereof, which is eternal death” and “the Gospel, shewing salvation by Christ Jesus, to such as believe.” Both become so real that “the eyes of the mind are enlightened, the heart and ears opened, that he [the elect sinner] may see, hear, and understand the preaching of the word of God.”⁹⁶

The second part of this process is the breaking of the sinner's heart. Under the preaching of the Word, it is “bruised in pieces, that it may be fit to receive God's saving grace offered unto it.” To accomplish this, God uses four “principal hammers”:

- The knowledge of the law of God,
- The knowledge of sin, both original and actual, and its due punishment,
- Pricking the heart with a sense of the wrath of God, and
- Despairing of human ability to gain eternal life.⁹⁷

The product of effectual calling is saving faith, which Perkins defines as “a miraculous and supernatural faculty of the heart, apprehending Christ Jesus being applied by the operation of the holy Ghost, and receiving him to itself.”⁹⁸ The act of receiving Christ is not something that man does in his own strength; rather, by Spirit-wrought faith the elect receives the grace that Christ brings, thereby bringing the believer into union with every aspect of Christ's saving work through faith. As Munson says, “Faith then saves the elect, not because it is a perfect virtue, but because it apprehends a perfect object, which is the obedience of Christ. Whether faith is weak or strong does not matter for salvation rests on God's mercy and promises.”⁹⁹

According to Perkins, God “accepts the very seeds and rudiments of faith and repentance at the first, though they be but in measure, as a grain of mustard seed.”¹⁰⁰ Once a sinner has been effectually called, he is justified. Justification, as the “declaration of God's love,” is the process “whereby such as believe, are accounted just before God, through the obedience of Christ Jesus.” The foundation of justification is the obedience of Christ, expressed in “his Passion in life and death, and his fulfilling of the Law joined therewith.” Christ frees the elect from the twofold debt of fulfilling the law “every moment, from our first beginning, both in regard of purity of nature and purity of action,” and of making

96. *Works*, 1:78.

97. *Works*, 1:79.

98. *Works*, 1:79.

99. Munson, “William Perkins: Theologian of Transition,” 100.

100. *Works*, 1:79–80.

“satisfaction for the breach of the law.” Christ is our surety for this debt, and God accepts His obedience for us, “it being full satisfaction.” Justification thus consists of “remission of sins, and imputation of Christ’s righteousness.”¹⁰¹ It is experienced subjectively when a sinner is brought in his conscience before God’s judgment seat, pleads guilty, and flees to Christ as his only refuge for acquittal.¹⁰² Justification is clearly a judicial, sovereign act of God’s eternal good pleasure.

Justification includes other benefits as well. Outwardly it offers reconciliation, afflictions that serve as chastisements rather than punishments, and eternal life. Inwardly, it offers peace, quietness of conscience, entrance into God’s favor, boldness at the throne of grace, an abiding sense of spiritual joy, and intimate awareness of the love of God.¹⁰³

Sanctification, the third part of this process, received more attention from Perkins than any other part. He defined sanctification as that work, “By which a Christian in his mind, in his will and in his affections is freed from the bondage and tyranny of sin and Satan and is little by little enabled through the Spirit of Christ to desire and approve that which is good and walk in it.”¹⁰⁴ Sanctification has two parts. “The first is mortification, when the power of sin is continually weakened, consumed, and diminished. The second is vivification, by which inherent righteousness is really put into them and afterward is continually increased.”¹⁰⁵ Sanctification includes a changed life, repentance, and new obedience—in short, the entire field of “Christian warfare.”¹⁰⁶ All the benefits of salvation that begin with regeneration are tied to a living relationship with Jesus Christ, to whom the believer is bound by the Holy Spirit.¹⁰⁷

Perkins taught that just as a fire without fuel will soon go out, so God’s children will grow cold and fall away unless God warms them with new and daily supplies of His grace.¹⁰⁸ Victor Priebe says, “Sanctification, then, is dependent upon a moment by moment renewal as the believer looks away from himself and his deeds to the person and work of Christ. Mortification and vivification are evidence of that most vital and definitive reality—union with Christ upon

101. *Works*, 1:81–82.

102. *Works*, 2:204.

103. *Works*, 1:368.

104. *Works*, 1:370.

105. *Works*, 1:370.

106. *Works*, 1:85.

107. *Works*, 1:83, 370.

108. Thomas F. Merrill, ed., *William Perkins, 1558–1602, English Puritanist—His Pioneer Works on Casuistry: “A Discourse of Conscience” and “the Whole Treatise of Cases of Conscience”* (Nieuwkoop, The Netherlands: B. DeGraaf, 1966), 103.

which all reception of grace depends. . . . It is unquestionably clear that sanctification is the result of the activity of divine grace in man."¹⁰⁹

After sanctification comes the final step: glorification. This part of God's love is "the perfect transforming of the saints into the image of the Son of God," Perkins said. Glorification awaits the fulfillment of the Last Judgment, when the elect shall enjoy "blessedness . . . whereby God himself is all in all to his elect." By sovereign grace the elect will be ushered into perfect glory, a "wonderful excellency" that includes beholding the glory and majesty of God, fully conforming to Christ, and inheriting "the new heavens and the new earth."¹¹⁰

The Descent of the Reprobate towards Hell

Perkins's chart reveals that he developed reprobation nearly as carefully and meticulously as he did election. Indeed, the dark chain of reprobation from man's perspective is really a golden chain from God's perspective, for it, too, issues in the glory of God at the last.

Reprobation involves two acts. The first act is God's decision to glorify His justice by leaving certain men to themselves. This act is absolute, based on nothing in man but only the will of God. The second act is God's decision to damn these men to hell. This second act is not absolute, but based on their sins. It is the act of God's righteous hatred against sinners. Therefore, Perkins did not teach that God damns men arbitrarily; no one will go to hell except those who deserve it for their sins.¹¹¹

Perkins saw reprobation as a logical concomitant of election. He wrote, "If there be an eternal decree of God, whereby he chooseth some men, then there must needs be another whereby he doth pass by others and refuse them."¹¹²

Two differences of emphasis exist between reprobation and election, however. First, God willed the sin and damnation of men but not with the will of approval or action. God's will to elect sinners consisted of His delight in showing grace and His intent to work grace in them. But God's will to reprobate sinners did not include any delight in their sin, nor any intent to work sin in them. Rather, He willed not to prevent their sinning because He delighted in the glorification of His justice.¹¹³ Second, in executing reprobation, God primarily passes over the reprobate by withholding from them His special, supernatural grace of election. Perkins even speaks of God permitting the reprobate to fall into sin. By using infralapsarian language such as "passing over" and "permitting,"

109. Priebe, "Covenant Theology of Perkins," 141.

110. *Works*, 1:92, 94.

111. *Works*, 1:105; 2:612.

112. *Works*, 1:287.

113. *Works*, 2:613–14.

Perkins again shows his tendency to move from a supralapsarian view of God's decree to an infralapsarian conception of its execution.¹¹⁴

According to Perkins, there are two types of reprobates: those who are not called, and those who are called, but not effectually. Those with no calling proceed from "ignorance and vanity of mind" to "heart hardening" to "a reprobate sense" to "greediness in sin" to "fullness of sin."¹¹⁵ Those who are called may go as far as "yielding to God's calling"—which may include "a general illumination, penitence, temporary faith, a taste, [and] zeal"—before they "relapse" into sin by means of "the deceit of sin, the hardening of the heart, an evil heart, an unbelieving heart, [and] apostasy." Ultimately, also the ineffectually called are led to "fullness of sin," so that the two streams of reprobates become one prior to death. For the reprobate, all calls remain ineffectual because all fail to bring them to Christ. Taken captive by their own sins, of which the greatest sin is "an unbelieving heart," the reprobate make themselves ripe for divine judgment and damnation.¹¹⁶

However, no one should conclude that his present sins and unbelief prove him to be reprobate of God. Rather, he should seek God's grace and place himself under the means of grace, especially the preaching of the Scriptures.

Understanding the covenantal grace in Christ and God's inescapable wrath outside of this grace inevitably prompts questions, such as, "Am I one of God's favored elect? How can I avail myself of the salvation wrought in Christ? How can I be sure that I have true faith? If reprobates can also behave in ways that seem motivated by grace, how can I know whether I am a child of God?"¹¹⁷ These questions lead to the crucial task of preaching.

Preaching: Bringing in the Elect

No Puritan was more concerned about preaching than William Perkins.¹¹⁸ Preaching was uniquely honored by God "in that it serveth to collect the church and to accomplish the number of the elect" and also "it driveth away the wolves from the folds of the Lord."¹¹⁹ In essence, Perkins's goal was to help preachers realize their responsibility as God's instruments to reveal and realize election and the covenant. Biblically balanced preaching was paramount, for the Word preached is the power of God unto salvation, without which there would be no

114. *Works*, 2:611–618; Graafland, *Van Calvijn tot Barth*, 80.

115. *Works*, 1:107.

116. See chart on *Works*, 1:11.

117. Chalker, "Calvin and Some Seventeenth Century Calvinists," 91.

118. See his preaching manual, *The Arte of Prophesying*.

119. *Works*, 2:645.

salvation.¹²⁰ Perkins taught that preaching is “the mighty arm” by which God “draws his elect into his kingdom and fashions them to all holy obedience.”¹²¹ The Word evidences its divine power in that “it converteth men, and, though it be flatly contrary to the reason and affections of men, yet it winneth them unto itself.”¹²² With such a high view of preaching, Perkins did not hesitate to assert that the sermon was the climax of public worship.

Munson writes, “Perkins’ golden chain of the causes of salvation . . . is linked to the elect through the instrument of preaching.”¹²³ As we observed earlier, the covenant is the means by which God executes His decree.¹²⁴ Perkins wrote, “The covenant of grace, is that whereby God freely promising Christ, and his benefits, exacts again of man, that he would by faith receive Christ, and repent of his sins.”¹²⁵ It promises “that now for all such as repent and believe in Christ Jesus, there is prepared a full remission for all their sins, together with salvation and life everlasting.”¹²⁶ This gospel must be preached (Rom. 10:14). It is the “allurer of the soul, whereby men’s froward minds are mitigated and moved from an ungodly and barbarous life unto Christian faith and repentance.”¹²⁷ Therefore, Perkins said, “The gospel preached is . . . that ordinary means to beget faith.”¹²⁸ So we see that for Perkins the gospel is preached to all men without distinction. It views all men as possibly elect and demands a response. This accounts for the detailed exposition of the way of salvation and for the almost tangential treatment of reprobation in Perkins’s work. *A Golden Chain* asks all men to inquire within themselves for signs of election as they encounter the means of grace.

Since the elect are only known to God, Perkins assumed that everyone who listened to a sermon could potentially be gathered into gospel grace. He thus pressed every sinner to accept God’s offer of salvation in Christ. The gospel promise must be offered freely to every hearer as a “precious jewel,” Perkins said.¹²⁹

120. *Works*, 1:83.

121. Quoted in Munson, “William Perkins: Theologian of Transition,” 197.

122. *Works*, 2:650.

123. Munson, “William Perkins: Theologian of Transition,” 183.

124. *Works*, 1:31.

125. *Works*, 1:70.

126. *Works*, 1:70.

127. *Works*, 2:645.

128. *Works*, 1:71.

129. Breward, ed., *Work of Perkins*, 300.

Plain and powerful preaching of Scripture was not merely the work of a man, but a heavenly intrusion where the Spirit of the electing God speaks.¹³⁰ Perkins said, “And every prophet is...the voice of God...in preaching.... Preaching of the word is prophecy in the name and room of Christ, whereby men are called into the state of grace, and conserved in it (2 Cor. 5:19–20).”¹³¹

Conclusion: Reformed Scholastic Piety

Perkins earned the titles of both “scholastic, high Calvinist” and “father of pietism.”¹³² His theology affirms divine sovereignty in the predestination decree of the Father, the satisfaction made by Christ for the elect, and the saving work of the Spirit. Yet, Perkins never allows sovereignty to prevent a practical, evangelical emphasis on the individual believer working out his own salvation as hearer of the Word, follower of Christ, and warrior of the conscience. Divine sovereignty, individual piety, and the gospel offer of salvation are always in view.

Perkins's emphasis on sound doctrine and the reform of souls influenced Puritanism for years to come.¹³³ J. I. Packer writes, “Puritanism, with its complex of biblical, devotional, ecclesiastical, reformational, polemical and cultural concerns, came of age, we might say, with Perkins, and began to display characteristically a wholeness of spiritual vision and a maturity of Christian patience that had not been seen in it before.”¹³⁴ Contemporary scholars have called Perkins “the principal architect of Elizabethan Puritanism,” “the Puritan theologian of Tudor times,” “the most important Puritan writer,” “the prince of Puritan theologians,” “the ideal Puritan clergyman of the quietist years,” “the most famous of all Puritan divines,” and have classed him with Calvin and Beza as third in “the trinity of the orthodox.”¹³⁵ He was the first theologian to be more widely published in England than Calvin and the first English Protestant theologian to have a major impact in the British isles, on the continent, and in

130. *Works*, 2:670; William Haller, *The Rise of Puritanism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938), 130–31.

131. *Works*, 2:646.

132. Heinrich Hepppe, *Geschichte des Pietismus und der Mystik in der reformierten Kirche namentlich in der Niederlande* (Leiden: Brill, 1879), 24–26.

133. Richard Muller, “William Perkins and the Protestant Exegetical Tradition: Interpretation, Style, and Method,” in William Perkins, *A Commentary on Hebrews 11*, ed. John H. Augustine (New York: Pilgrim Press, 1991), 72.

134. Packer, “An Anglican to Remember,” 4.

135. John Eusden, *Puritans, Lawyers, and Politics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1958), 11; Knappen, *Tudor Puritanism*, 375; Haller, *Rise of Puritanism*, 91; Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, 125; Paul Seaver, *The Puritan Lectureships: The Politics of Religious Dissent, 1560–1662* (Palo Alto, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1970), 114; Christopher Hill, *God's Englishman: Oliver Cromwell and the English Revolution* (New York: Harper & Row, 1970), 38; Packer, “An Anglican to Remember,” 1.

North America. Little wonder that Puritan scholars marvel that Perkins's rare works remain largely unavailable until now.¹³⁶

Though Reformed theologians continued to debate supralapsarianism versus infralapsarianism, they remained unified in the basic lines of predestinarian doctrine. Richard Sibbes (1577–1635) wrote that regardless of where they fell on the lapsarian question, all his fellow Reformed divines agreed,

first, that there was an eternal separation of men in God's purpose; secondly, that this first decree of severing man to his ends, is an act of sovereignty over his creature, and altogether independent of anything in the creature as a cause of it, especially in comparative reprobation, as why he rejected Judas and not Peter. Sin foreseen cannot be the cause, because that was common to both, and therefore could be no cause of severing. Thirdly, all agree in this, that damnation is an act of divine justice, which supposeth demerit; and therefore the execution of God's decree is founded on sin, either of nature or life, or both.¹³⁷

One might object, as did Erasmus centuries ago, that predestination should not be preached because it will discourage saints from assurance of their salvation and encourage the wicked to sin. Zanchius replied to such objections with the insights of Luther and Bucer:

- God teaches us predestination in His Word, and we must not be ashamed of His doctrine but proclaim it with reverence and trust in His wisdom.
- This doctrine humbles our pride and magnifies God's grace for it shows us that we can do nothing to save ourselves—God alone saves sinners.
- Faith by nature receives doctrines of God which it cannot see and fully comprehend by human reasoning.
- Election comforts and sustains the saints with God's unchangeable love for them when Satan attacks with doubts and accusations.
- Predestination reveals the infinite glory and sovereignty of the eternal and unchangeable God so that we know Him and worship Him.
- Predestination guards the gospel of salvation *by grace alone*.
- This doctrine brings us a vibrant vision of God's special love for His people in Christ Jesus which is the joy of His people and fuel of their love to Him.

136. Louis Wright, "William Perkins: Elizabethan Apostle of 'Practical Divinitie,'" *Huntington Library Quarterly* 3 (1940): 171; Mosse, *The Holy Pretense*, 48.

137. Richard Sibbes, preface to Paul Bayne[s], *An Entire Commentary upon the Whole Epistle of St Paul to the Ephesians* (Edinburgh: James Nichol, 1866), 2.

- Predestination moves God's people to diligent holiness of life.¹³⁸

Perkins's predestinarian theology did not make him cold and heartless when dealing with sinners and saints in need of a Savior. Rather, his warm, biblical theology and scholastic piety set the tone for Puritan "practical divinity" literature that would pour forth from the presses in the seventeenth century. It inspired generations of preachers to call men to turn from sin to a loving Savior, and to follow Him through trials to glory.

—Joel R. Beeke and Greg A. Salazar

138. Jerome Zanchius, *The Doctrine of Absolute Predestination* (Perth, Scotland: R. Morison Jr., 1793), 97–107.

A Golden Chain
Or,
The Description of
Theology:

Containing the order of the causes of Salvation and Damnation,
According to God's Word. A view whereof is to be seen in the Table annexed.

Written in Latin by William Perkins, and translated by another

Hereto is adjoined the order which M. Theodore Beza used
in comforting afflicted consciences.

Cambridge
Printed by John Legate,
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And are to be sold at the sign of the Sunne in Paules Churchyard in London

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To the Christian Reader

Christian reader,

There are at this day four several opinions of the order of God's predestination. The first is of the old and new Pelagians, who place the causes of God's predestination in man in that they hold that God did ordain men either to life or death according as He did foresee that they would by their natural free will either reject or receive grace offered. The second of them, who (of some) are termed Lutherans, which teach that God, foreseeing how all mankind being shut up under unbelief would therefore reject grace offered, did hereupon purpose to choose some to salvation of His mere mercy without any respect of their faith or good works and the rest to reject, being moved to do this because He did eternally foresee that they would reject His grace offered them in the gospel. The third, Semi-Pelagian papists, which ascribe God's predestination partly to mercy and partly to men's foreseen preparations and meritorious works. The fourth, of such as teach that the cause of the execution of God's predestination is His mercy in Christ in them which are saved, and in them which perish, the fall and corruption of man—yet so as that the decree and eternal counsel of God concerning them both has not any cause besides His will and pleasure. Of these four opinions, the three former I labor to oppugn¹ as erroneous and to maintain the last as being truth, which will bear weight in the balance of the sanctuary.

A further discourse whereof here I make bold to offer to your godly consideration. In reading whereof, regard not so much the thing itself penned very slenderly as my intent and affection who desire among the rest to cast my mite into the treasury of the Church of England and for want of gold, pearl, and precious stone to bring a ram's skin or two and a little goat's hair to the building of the Lord's tabernacle (Ex. 35:23).

The Father of our Lord Jesus Christ grant that according to the riches of His glory you may be strengthened by His Spirit in the inner man, that Christ may dwell in your heart by faith, to the end that you, being rooted and grounded in love, may be able to comprehend with all saints what is the breadth and length

1. *Oppugn*: to oppose a statement or argument. All word definitions are taken from *The Oxford English Dictionary* (Online edn.; Oxford, 2010–2017).

and height thereof, and to know the love of Christ which passes knowledge, that you may be filled with all fullness of God [Eph. 3:16–19]. Amen.

Farewell, July 23, the year of the last patience of saints, 1592.

Yours in Christ Jesus,

William Perkins

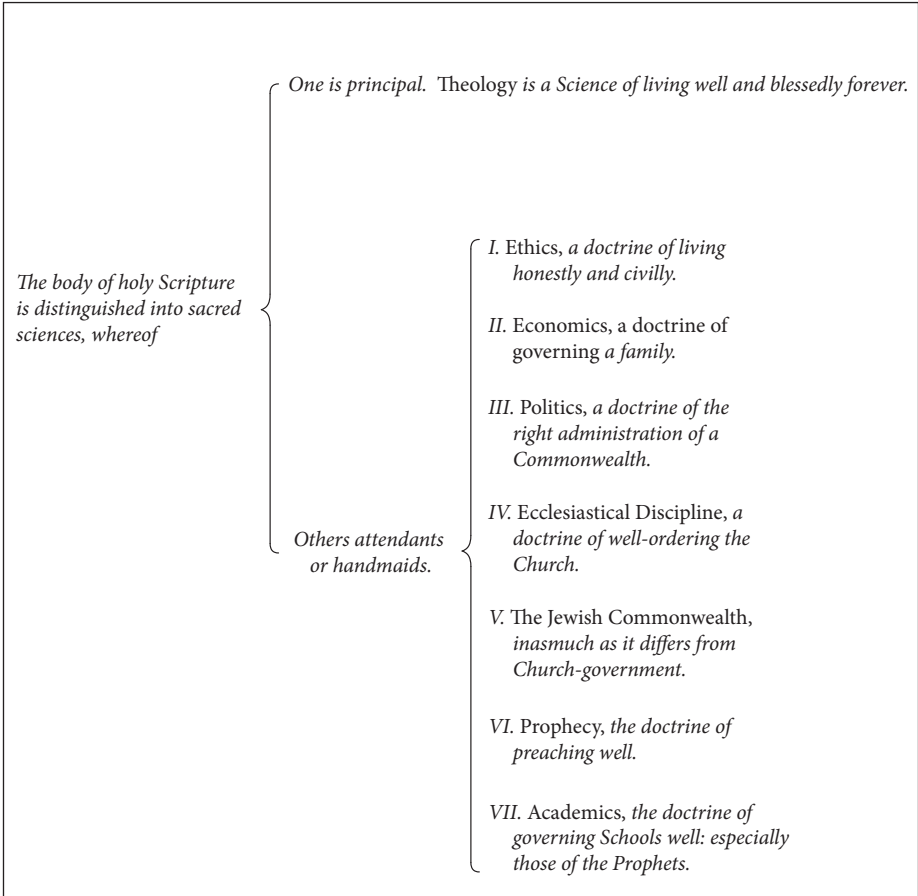


FIGURE 1: The Body of Holy Scripture Distinguished Into Sacred Sciences

Chapter 1

Of the Body of Scripture and Theology

The body of Scripture is a doctrine sufficient to live well.

It comprehends many holy sciences, whereof one is principal; others are handmaids or retainers.

The principal science is theology.

Theology is the science of living blessedly forever. Blessed life arises from the knowledge of God: “This is life eternal, that they know thee to be the only very God, and whom thou hast sent, Christ Jesus” (John 17:3). “By his knowledge shall my righteous servant”—viz., Christ—“justify many” (Isa. 53:11). And therefore it arises likewise from the knowledge of ourselves, because we know God by looking into ourselves.

Theology has two parts: the first, of God; the second, of His works.

Chapter 2

Of God and the Nature of God

That there is a God, it is evident (1) by the course of nature; (2) by the nature of the soul of man; (3) by the distinction of things honest and dishonest; (4) by the terror of conscience; (5) by the regiment of civil societies; (6) the order of all causes having ever recourse to some former beginning; (7) the determination of all things to their several ends; (8) the consent of all men well in their wits.¹

God is Jehovah Elohim. “And Elohim spake to Moses, and said unto him, I am Jehovah: and I appeared unto Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, by the name of God Almighty, but by my name Jehovah was I not known unto them” (Ex. 6:2–3). “If they say unto me, what is his name? What shall I say unto them? And God answered Moses, I am that I am. Also he said, Thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel, I am hath sent me unto you. And God spake further to Moses, Thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel, Jehovah Elohim, etc., hath sent me unto you” (3:13–15). In these words, the first title of God declares His nature; the second, His persons.

The nature of God is His most lively and most perfect essence.

The perfection of the nature of God is the absolute constitution thereof whereby it is wholly complete within itself. “I am that I am” (Ex. 3:14). “God that made the world, and all things that are therein, seeing that he is the Lord of heaven and earth, dwelleth not in temples made with hands, neither is worshiped with men’s hands as though He needed anything, seeing he giveth to all life and breath, and all things” (Acts 17:24–25).

The perfection of His nature is either simpleness or the infiniteness thereof.

The simpleness of His nature is that by which He is void of all logical relation in arguments. He has not in Him subject or adjunct. “As the Father hath life in himself, so hath he given to the Son to have life in himself” (John 5:26); conferred with, “I am the way, the truth, and the life” (John 14:6). “But if we walk in his light, as he is light” (1 John 1:7); conferred with verse 5, “God is light, and in him is no darkness.” Hence it is manifest that to have life and to be life, to be in light and to be light in God are all one. Neither is God subject to generality

1. This paragraph does not appear in the 1591 edition, but is found in the 1631 edition.