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**Elnathan Parr and Pastoral
Ministry in Early Stuart England**

David H. Kranendonk



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Teaching Predestination

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Preface

Like many other people, I never knew Elnathan Parr even existed. This study originated in a doctoral course on the doctrine of predestination during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. When I was assigned to write a paper, I thought it would be useful to study the pastoral uses of predestination during that period. Since Romans 9 is a key passage on predestination, I searched for commentaries on Romans and discovered a certain Elnathan Parr had written one. I became more intrigued when I discovered Parr also addressed predestination in a catechism. Hence, a paper grew into a thesis for my master of theology degree.

I thank Dr. Richard A. Muller for his helpful instruction and supervision of the preparation of this thesis. I also thank Calvin Theological Seminary and Library for their subscription to many online resources that enabled me to do much research from home. My wife also deserves my deep gratitude for her support and sacrifices while preparing this study.

While I seek to give an objective presentation of Elnathan Parr's treatment of predestination, I cannot remain detached from the theme. In my own experience, the doctrine of predestination has become a most precious wonder, even while I feel I know so little of just how glorious the doctrine is. While I focus on how predestination was treated four hundred years ago, I believe the issues handled in this study have great relevance to our age. Today these doctrines are often considered unteachable, but they are actually intended to humble us and exalt God alone.

—David H. Kranendonk
June 2011

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Treatments of English Reformed theology invariably turn to the doctrine of predestination. The reason for this is not simply that predestination is one of the teachings of Reformed theology, but also that many scholars have assigned it a large place in Reformed theology. However, opinions diverge concerning the precise nature and role of predestination in seventeenth-century English Protestant, and especially Puritan, thought, experience, and life. There are various opinions regarding predestination's relationship to exegesis, dogmatics as a whole, preaching, and pastoral care. Introspective, extrospective, cold, warm, abstruse, and practical are only a few ways the Puritan doctrine of predestination has been described. Much scholarship is hampered by contemporary prejudices and methods of thinking that are anachronistically imposed on the period. The path forward amid the confusing and conflicting claims that abound is to return to the theologians, exegetes, preachers, and pastors of the period to examine what they taught in the context of their society and antecedent theological traditions and how they viewed the doctrine of predestination's relation to exegesis, other areas of theology, and piety. This study aims to do so by focusing on the teaching of predestination by one early seventeenth-century Puritan-leaning theologian, Elnathan Parr (1577–1622). He graduated from King's College Cambridge, ministered in Sussex, and wrote several popular books, including some of the first extended English expositions of Romans and an intermediate-level catechism. Both of these works include extensive treatments of predestination.

Survey of Scholarship

Scholarship relating to predestination in early seventeenth-century England is focused on several issues: first, the nature of post-Reformation theology as a dry, rigid, and scholastic contrast to Reformation theology; second, the dominance of predestination in theology and its relation to exegesis; third, the pastoral implications of Puritan predestinarian theology; fourth, the prominence of Reformed theology among English clergy and in English society.

First, concerning the doctrine, the debate continues between a school that stresses the perceived contrast between Calvin and the Calvinists, and a rising school that argues for a greater continuity between the Reformation and post-Reformation. Some lambaste both John Calvin and post-Reformation orthodoxy for their “extreme” doctrine of predestination,¹ which did not see Christ as central in predestination² and had negative pastoral implications.³ Many, such as Basil Hall, Robert T. Kendall, Peter White, and their followers argue that under the influence of the Genevan Theodore Beza (1519–1605) and the English William Perkins (1558–1602), English Calvinistic theology degenerated into a cold rational system dominated by predestination.⁴ In the words of J. Wayne Baker, the “double predestinarian

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

2. J. K. S. Reid, “The Office of Christ in Predestination,” *Scottish Journal of Theology* 1 (1948): 5–19, 166–83.

3. Stephen R. Munzer, “Self-Abandonment and Self-Denial: Quietism, Calvinism, and the Prospect of Hell,” *Journal of Religious Ethics* 33, no. 4 (2005): 748; John Stach-niewski, *The Persecutory Imagination: English Puritanism and the Literature of Religious Despair* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1991), 17–26.

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

scheme of the new orthodoxy presented its own problems: its cold rationalism [and] its emphasis on the philosophical rather than the historical aspects of faith.”⁵

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

Though in 1983 White claimed this shift to speculative predestinarianism is “now widely accepted,” today it is subject to growing critique.⁹ Richard A. Muller and others have been strengthening their arguments that the differences between Calvin and later Calvinists

5. J. Wayne Baker, *Heinrich Bullinger and the Covenant: The Other Reformed Tradition* (Athens: Ohio Univ. Press, 1980), 208–10, 213–14. He argues that English theologians shifted from a milder Reformed stream of covenant theology to a scholastic double predestinarian Calvinism through men like Perkins.

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

7. McGrath, *Reformation Thought*, 141; Kendall, *Calvin and English Calvinism*, 29; White, *Predestination, Policy and Polemic*, 15; William Haller, *The Rise of Puritanism* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1938), 83; Munzer, “Self-Abandonment and Self-Denial,” 749; John Wroughton, *The Routledge Companion to the Stuart Age, 1603–1714*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2006), s.v. “predestination.”

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

9. Peter White, “The Rise of Arminianism Reconsidered,” *Past and Present* 101 (1983): 35.

have been exaggerated and misinterpreted and that predestination neither dominated nor ossified theology. Muller focuses on the realm of predestination, demonstrating that English Calvinism did not have predestination as a central, non-Christological dogma, and that its placement does not determine its content. In *Protestant Scholasticism: Essays in Reassessment*, Carl Trueman and others provide reassessments of scholasticism in theologians from Martin Luther to Richard Baxter. Paul Helm engages Kendall's "Calvin versus the Calvinist" argument from the perspective of definite atonement and predestination.¹⁰ This line of scholarship places predestination in the broader perspective of the various theological disciplines and the longer theological tradition.

A specific issue in predestination receiving increasing attention is the supralapsarian-infralapsarian issue.¹¹ Many see it as crowning proof that Reformed theology sunk into cold rationalism and pastoral insensitivity. As Richard Mouw writes, this debate "functions in perceptions of Reformed theology in much the same way as the 'angels on the head

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

11. Klaas Dijk, *De strijd over Infra- en Supralapsarisme in de Gereformeerde Kerken van Nederland* (Kampen, Netherlands: Kok, 1912); J. V. Fesko, *Diversity within the Reformed Tradition: Supra- and Infralapsarianism in Calvin, Dort, and Westminster* (Jackson, Miss.: Reformed Academic Press, 2001); Michael D. Bell, "Propter Potestatem, Scientiam, Ac Beneplacitum Dei: The Doctrine of the Object of Predestination in the Theology of Johannes Maccovius" (Th.D. diss., Westminster Theological Seminary, 1986); Lynne C. Boughton, "Supralapsarianism and the Role of Metaphysics in Sixteenth Century Reformed Theology," *Westminster Theological Journal* 48, no. 1 (1986): 63–96; Guy M. Richard, "Samuel Rutherford's Supralapsarianism Revealed: A Key to the Lapsarian Position of the Westminster Confession of Faith?" *Scottish Journal of Theology* 59, no. 1 (2006): 27–44.

of a pin' discussion does for medieval scholasticism."¹² Some critique both sides for their severity and scholasticism.¹³ Others have sought to present infralapsarianism as a *via media* between Arminianism and a harsh, unpastoral supralapsarianism.¹⁴ A third school, including Joel R. Beeke, Mark Dever, Gordon Crompton, and Pieter de Vries, stresses that those on differing sides of the issue had much in common and were able to minister alongside each other.¹⁵ The lapsarian issue is a valuable test case for assessing scholarship on the character of the English Reformed doctrine of predestination.

Second, the views that assign predestination a controlling position in a scholastic system have implications for biblical exegesis. Albeit in softened tones, the echoes of Frederick Farrar's antiquated *History of Interpretation* continue into the present. He argued that "liberty was exchanged for bondage...; truth for dogmatism; independence for tradition" in the "cheerless epoch" after the Reformation, partly due to a "dead theory of inspiration."¹⁶ The period is characterized by "petrified dogmas" and "sterile repetition."¹⁷ More recently, Emil Kraeling, Brian Armstrong, Jack Rogers, Robert Grant, and Jaroslav Pelikan

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

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

14. This is Tyacke's basic critique of White (Nicholas Tyacke, review of *Predestination, Policy and Polemic*, by Peter White, *English Historical Review* 110, no. 436 [Apr. 1995]: 468–69). White in turn critiques Tyacke for failing to recognize the important difference between infra- and supralapsarians (Peter White, "The Rise of Arminianism Reconsidered: A Rejoinder," *Past and Present* 115 [May 1987]: 225).

15. Joel R. Beeke, "William Perkins on Predestination and Preaching," unpublished paper (Grand Rapids, 2002), 13; Pieter de Vries, "Die mij heeft liefgehad": *De betekenis van de gemeenschap met Christus in de theologie van John Owen* (Heerenveen, Netherlands: Groen, 1999), 184; Mark Dever, *Richard Sibbes: Puritanism and Calvinism in Late Elizabethan and Early Stuart England* (Macon, Ga.: Mercer Univ. Press, 2000), 88, 101–3; Gordon Crompton, "The Life and Theology of Thomas Goodwin, D. D." (Th.D. diss., Greenville Theological Seminary, 1997), 91.

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

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

have affirmed the deadening effects of the scholastic view of inspired Scripture as a repository of dogmatic proof texts to be used in building a rigid theological system.¹⁸ Basil Hall argues, "Aristotle, dethroned by Luther, began to master biblical theology," though he does concede Beza had "grammatical competence in Greek combined with theological insight."¹⁹ As Peter Stuhlmacher writes, "Under the weight of controversy with Catholicism the pioneering exegesis of the Reformation is again completely absorbed by dogmatics."²⁰ Instead of exegesis developing doctrine, a dogmatic grid was blindly imposed on Scripture, according to these scholars.

This scholarship has met increasing opposition. David Steinmetz's seminal work on the "superiority of pre-critical exegesis" has encouraged a reassessment of Reformation and post-Reformation exegesis. Muller argues that post-Reformation exegesis built on the insights of previous generations and was used to develop dogma rather than serve as a screen to reflect preconceived dogmatic systems. Jai-Sung Shim's work on John Weemse, Henry Knapp's on John Owen, and Peter van Kleeck's on Andrew Willet provide windows into English exegesis as a whole, which demonstrate careful attention to Scripture and variation of interpretation within an overall pattern of continuity with Reformation exegesis and elements of medieval exegesis.²¹

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

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

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

21. David Steinmetz, "The Superiority of Pre-Critical Exegesis," *Theology Today* 37 (1980–81): 27–38; Richard A. Muller, *Post-Reformation Reformed Dogmatics*, vol. 2, *Holy Scripture: The Cognitive Foundation of Theology*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2003), 520–24; idem, "Biblical Interpretation in the 16th and 17th Centuries," in *Historical Handbook of Major Biblical Interpreters*, ed. Donald K. McKim (Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity, 1998), 127, 136, 151; idem, "Calvin and the 'Calvinists': Assessing

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

At the same time, scholars observe a distinctive piety associated with the Puritan view of predestination. Kendall claims that Perkins's view of predestination made the quest for assurance by way of the practical syllogism a dominant feature of this piety. He argues that Perkins's view was held by those whom he calls "experimental predestinarians," in distinction from the more common "creedal predestinarians," who confessed the Reformed doctrine of predestination but did not let it

Continuities and Discontinuities between the Reformation and Orthodoxy (Part Two)," *Calvin Theological Journal* 31 (Apr. 1996): 130–33; Jai-Sung Shim, "Biblical Hermeneutics and Hebraism in the Early Seventeenth Century as Reflected in the Work of John Weemse (1579–1636)" (Ph.D. diss., Calvin Theological Seminary, 1998); Henry M. Knapp, "Understanding the Mind of God: John Owen and Seventeenth-Century Exegetical Methodology" (Ph.D. diss., Calvin Theological Seminary, 2002); Peter W. VanKleeck, "Hermeneutics and Theology in the 17th Century: The Contribution of Andrew Willet" (Th.M. thesis, Calvin Theological Seminary, 1998).

22. Christopher Haigh, "The Church of England, the Catholics and the People," in *The Impact of the English Reformation, 1500–1640*, ed. Peter Marshall (New York: Arnold, 1997), 245; idem, "The Taming of the Reformation: Preachers, Pastors and Parishioners in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England," *History* 85 (Oct. 2000): 577. To a lesser extent see Alexandra Walsham, "The Parochial Roots of Laudianism Revisited: Catholics, Anti-Calvinists and 'Parish Anglicans' in Early Stuart England," *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 49, no. 4 (Oct. 1998): 627–29; Philip Benedict, *Christ's Churches Purely Reformed: A Social History of Calvinism* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 2002), 303.

23. Armstrong, *Calvinism and the Amyraut Heresy*; Kendall, *Calvin and English Calvinism*; Stachniewski, *Persecutory Imagination*, 17–26; Reid, "The Office of Christ in Predestination," 167–70.

shape their preaching or piety.²⁴ This distinction between creedal and experimental predestinarians has become standard in many works.²⁵ Many assume this system resulted in excessive introspection, subjectivism, uncertainty, and even terror.²⁶ Unfortunately, the “problem of assurance” has dominated the discussion of the pastoral implications of predestination. Beeke does well in arguing that a changing context led post-Reformation theologians to pay more attention to the experience of grace while maintaining the primacy of God’s objective revelation in Christ.²⁷

A growing awareness is emerging that predestination was popularly taught for a broad range of spiritual benefits. Some, such as Dewey Wallace, proceed on the Calvin-versus-the-Calvinists model concerning theology, but demonstrate that in spite of its rigid scholastic character, predestinarian theology still “gained its strength from the nourishing springs of piety.”²⁸ He has a useful chapter titled “The Piety of Predestinarian Grace,” which surveys a wide range of primary sources. Others argue for a closer harmony between doctrine and piety. Shawn Wright goes back to Beza, the purported creator of a cold and

24. Robert T. Kendall, “Living the Christian Life in the Teaching of William Perkins and His Followers,” in *Living and Christian Life: Papers Read at the Westminster Conference 1974* (London: Westminster Conference, 1974), 46–7; idem, *Calvin and English Calvinism*, 8, 79–80.

25. Dairmaid MacCulloch, *The Later Reformation in England, 1547–1603*, 2nd ed. (Basingstoke, U.K.: Palgrave, 2001), 73–77; Peter Marshall, *Reformation England: 1480–1642* (London: Arnold, 2003), 128–29; Benedict, *Christ’s Churches Purely Reformed*, 321–22; White, *Predestination, Policy and Polemic*, 95; Charles L. Cohen, *God’s Caress* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1986), 9–11.

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

27. Joel R. Beeke, *The Quest for Full Assurance: The Legacy of Calvin and His Successors* (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth, 1999), 273–75; idem, “William Perkins on Predestination and Preaching,” 47.

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

rigid system, to show that pastoral concerns moved him to teach God's sovereignty.²⁹ The dissertations of Crompton on Thomas Goodwin, Dever on Richard Sibbes, and de Vries on John Owen note in passing the comforting, doxological, and energizing themes that run through these Puritans' treatments of predestination.³⁰ Iain Murray collated many Puritan quotations, including one from Parr, to argue that the Puritans highly regarded predestination for its pastoral benefits.³¹ These scholars seek to listen to Reformed orthodoxy's own words about the pastoral uses of predestination.

A final area that continues to raise considerable debate is the extent to which a Reformed understanding of predestination was embraced and taught in England. The main lines are drawn between Nicholas Tyacke, who argues for a general Reformed consensus in the Elizabethan and early Jacobean English Church,³² and Peter White, who argues the Church of England traveled the wide pathway of theology that lay between Geneva and Rome.³³ Tyacke and others critique White for misdefining Calvinism as his own version of an explicit

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

30. Crompton, "Thomas Goodwin," 100; Dever, *Richard Sibbes*, 106–9; de Vries, *'Die mij heeft liefgehad'*, 180–82.

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

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

33. Peter White, "The *Via Media* in the Early Stuart Church," in *The Early Stuart Church, 1603–1642*, ed. Kenneth Fincham (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford Univ. Press, 1993), 211–30; idem, *Predestination, Policy and Polemic*, xiii, 140. Others who argue for or assume a form of theological *via media* between Rome and Geneva include H. C. Porter, *Reformation and Reaction in Tudor Cambridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1958), 277, 338–43; Christopher Hill, *A Nation of Change and Novelty: Radical Politics, Religion and Literature in Seventeenth-Century England* (London: Routledge, 1990), 58; Haigh, "Church of England, the Catholics and the People," 238–39, 253–54; Alan Fager Herr, *The Elizabethan Sermon: A Survey and a Bibliography* (New York: Octagon Books, 1969), 72.

supralapsarianism in order to make orthodox Reformed theologians appear less than Calvinistic.³⁴ Sean Hughes critiques both Tyacke and White for failing to recognize the range of Reformed understandings that existed.³⁵ Peter Lake and Patrick Collinson argue that Calvinism was the most prominent but not exclusive strain of theology.³⁶

The extent of popular teaching of predestination is also debated. White, George Bernard, Susan Doran, and Ian Green minimize its extent, arguing that it was a subject largely relegated to the universities, church leaders, and some fervent centers of Puritanism.³⁷ Kendall suggests that pastoral concerns made Richard Sibbes and some others avoid teaching this doctrine, though he also states that an “emphasis upon the sovereignty of God...was to characterize Puritan preaching generally.”³⁸ As noted already, others do indicate it was popularly taught. J. F. Merritt, Wallace, and even Lake argue that the contrast between university and parish concerning predestination was less than is often imagined today.³⁹

34. Peter Lake, “Predestinarian Propositions,” *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 46, no. 1 (Jan. 1995): 468–69; Tyacke, Review of *Predestination, Policy and Polemic*, 468–69; Gary W. Jenkins, *John Jewel and the English National Church: The Dilemmas of an Erastian Reformer* (Aldershot, U.K.: Ashgate Publishing, 2006), 238.

35. Sean Hughes, “‘The Problem of Calvinism’: English Theologies of Predestination c. 1580–1630,” in *Belief and Practice in Reformation England*, ed. Susan Wabuda and Caroline Litzenberger (Aldershot, U.K.: Ashgate Publishing, 1998), 229–33.

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

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

38. Robert T. Kendall, *Calvin and English Calvinism*, 103; cited with approval in White, *Predestination, Policy and Polemic*, 290. Robert T. Kendall, “Preaching in Early Puritanism with Special Reference to William Perkins’s *The arte of prophesying*,” in *Preaching and Revival* (London: Westminster Conference, 1984), 30–31 (referring to Sibbes, John Preston, John Dod, Richard Rogers, and Arthur Hildersam); idem, “Puritans in the Pulpit and ‘Such as Run to Hear Preaching,’” in *Perfecting the Church Below* (London: Westminster Conference, 1990), 90.

39. J. F. Merritt, “The Pastoral Tightrope: A Puritan Pedagogue in Jacobean London,” in *Politics, Religion and Popularity in Early Stuart Britain: Essays in Honor of Conrad Russell* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2002), 143; Wallace, *Puritans and Predestination*, 43, 46; Peter Lake, *The Boxmaker’s Revenge: ‘Orthodoxy,’ ‘Heterodoxy’ and the*

This study will investigate the popular teaching of predestination in two specific genres: sermons and catechisms. In distinction from the previously mentioned scholars who tend to treat the teaching of predestination more generally, this study focuses specifically on the pastoral use of the doctrine of predestination in preaching.⁴⁰ This study will use Parr's treatment of predestination in his expositions on Romans as a window into early seventeenth-century English Reformed preaching on this doctrine.⁴¹ The standard introduction on catechisms has become Green's tome, published in 1996.⁴² In his chapter on predestination, he notes, "Relatively little Calvinism had been taught in catechisms before 1640." In his sample of catechisms, even those by Calvinistic authors often did not teach explicit Calvinism.⁴³ The impression given by his sampling of catechisms can only be confirmed or called into question by the detailed examination of more catechetical works, including Parr's *Grounds of Divinitie*.

This survey of the current state of scholarship on the teaching of predestination in early seventeenth-century England indicates the need for a more detailed examination of the teaching of predestination by preachers of the period. Studies treating predestination often focus on the doctrinal formulations rather than the uses of predestination, which were inextricably bound to the doctrinal formulations in popular works. This method produces caricatures focused on the negative pastoral consequences of this doctrine, which appear to overlook how it was actually applied in the primary sources. This method also perpetuates the assumption that pastorally sensitive ministers avoided the subject. When the practical uses are dealt with, the focus is often too narrowly on the issue of assurance. Furthermore, little attention is given to the specific relationships between exegesis, doctrine, and

Politics of the Parish in Early Stuart London (Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 2001), 28–33; Beeke, "William Perkins on Predestination and Preaching."

40. While Beeke's "William Perkins on Predestination and Preaching" has a promising title, his essay is broader than the title suggests in that it deals with preaching as "proclaiming the Moving Work of God," which focuses on the execution of predestination (p. 47).

41. Elnathan Parr, *A Plaine Exposition vpon the Whole Eighth, Ninth, Tenth, Eleuenth, Twelfth Chapters of the Epistle of Saint Paul to the Romanes* (London: George Purslowe, 1620). Hereafter, Parr, [*Rom.* 8–12].

42. Green, *Christian's ABC*.

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

practice as well as the nature of different means of teaching. Works such as Wallace's are a synthesis of quotations culled from a variety of sources with little attention to exegetical and doctrinal development, genre, or the shape of individual presentations of the doctrine. Many claim predestination played a very important role, but few analyze how it was actually taught.

Statement of Thesis and Methodology

This study will demonstrate that Elnathan Parr's treatment of divine predestination in his homiletical commentary on Romans and in his catechism, *Grounds of Divinitie*, evidences a popular or pastoral approach to predestination in which the scholastic precision characteristic of the era does not lead to cold speculation but serves positive spiritual purposes. Parr was neither afraid of nor obsessed with this doctrine. While his popular teaching did incorporate detailed theological argumentation, including an extended examination of the supralapsarian-infralapsarian issue, his main concern was to apply this doctrine through multiple categories of uses to his diverse readership with the desire they would be led to glory in the electing love of God. He thereby contributes a more nuanced picture of an English Reformed pastor and demonstrates that—at least in his case and that of some others—predestination was taught and its applications were more varied and salutary than would be expected from a perusal of much current scholarship.

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

44. Muller, *After Calvin*, 193.

this period, a number of which have been perpetuated because of a lack of detailed examinations of the primary sources from this time.

Chapter 2 will survey Parr's life, writings, and context to demonstrate that he was a rather popular writer who stood in a certain *via media*. He was a loyal son of the Church of England who opposed separatism and debates about adiaphora while at the same time a Calvinistic preacher who shared the especially Puritan concern for orthodox doctrine and practical godliness. In treating Parr's view of the pastoral ministry and the propriety and manner of preaching predestination, chapter 3 will show both Parr's strong pastoral and applicatory thrust and his desire for ministry to echo Scripture. This view of ministry led him to strive to deal with predestination in the way that Scripture does. By analyzing Parr's commentary not only for his exegetical and doctrinal development of predestination, but especially his various types of uses, chapter 4 will argue that Parr's desire to expound and apply Scripture governs his treatment of predestination. His uses do not form a rigid system dominated by either metaphysical concerns or the problem of assurance. Instead, his uses demonstrate a wide variety of positive applications that are developed with a view to the particular truth being expounded and types of people being addressed. Chapter 5 will analyze the doctrinal explication and application of predestination in Parr's catechetical work to demonstrate that while he is more systematic and detailed in his treatment of the doctrine, the applicatory thrust is consistent with the broader applicatory thrust in his commentary. The practical syllogism receives greater attention in this work than it does in his commentary, yet even this call for self-examination only serves to lead his readers to look to God in Christ. Chapter 6 will draw conclusions concerning the general nature, weight, and propriety of preaching and catechizing on predestination according to Parr, as well as concerning the relationship between doctrine and application, the objective and subjective aspects of godliness, and the decree of predestination and its execution. In this way, this study will serve as another stepping stone on the journey to a more accurate understanding of the popular teaching of predestination in early seventeenth-century England.

CHAPTER 2

Elnathan Parr's Life and Ministry

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

Elnathan Parr in Life

Parr's biographical details place him in the mainstream of those committed to Reformation theology in early seventeenth-century England. He appears to have been born and baptized on March 3, 1577. His father, Richard Parr, was vicar of Steeple Claydon, in Buckinghamshire. Upon completing his education at the prestigious school of Eton, he received a scholarship at King's College, Cambridge, where he began studies in 1593. He graduated from this college with a B.A. in 1597, an M.A. in 1601, and a B.D. in 1615. He was a fellow of King's College from 1596 until 1600, at which time he was ordained as a priest.¹ The completion of these studies placed him among the more educated clergy.

During the 1590s, Cambridge became involved in predestinarian controversies sparked by William Barrett's chapel sermon, which was seen as an assault on Reformed orthodoxy. The sermon of this young

1. Stephen Wright, "Parr, Elnathan (1577–1622)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2004), 42:840–41. He completed studies at Eton the same year as William Sclater and a year before John Milton and Richard Montagu (Eton College, *Registrum Regale: Sive, Catalogus, I. Præpositorum Utriusque Collegii Regalis Etonensis & Cantabrigiensis...* [Eton: Jos. Pote, 1774], 18).

fellow was defended by Peter Baro, the Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity, and especially attacked by William Whitaker, Regius Professor of Divinity. Dr. Roger Goad, the Provost of King's College, where Parr studied, also played an important role in opposing any departures from Reformed orthodoxy.² The controversy led the Cambridge heads to formulate the Lambeth Articles, which set forth a Calvinist view of predestination. Despite H. C. Porter's claim that Calvinism lacked permanence and weight in Cambridge, and White's argument for a strong *via media* between the Calvinist and anti-Calvinist factions in Cambridge during the 1590s, Peter Milward considers the Lambeth Articles the "high-water mark of Calvinist orthodoxy in England."³ Lake says Archbishop Whitgift of Canterbury and the Cambridge dons shared a common Calvinistic theology, though the dons were more rigid and inclined to emphasize predestination.⁴ Tyacke and J. V. Fesko argue for a Calvinistic predominance at Cambridge, and Lynn Boughton goes so far as to speak of a "general climate of supralapsarianism and Ramism at Cambridge."⁵ The arguments of Porter and White are based on definitions of Calvinism that are too narrow,⁶ while the claims of Boughton and Fesko make too much of the supposed

2. H. C. Porter, *Reformation and Reaction in Tudor Cambridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1958), 314–16, 345, 362, 378–86, 398–403.

3. Porter, *Reformation and Reaction*, 287; Peter White, *Predestination, Policy and Polemic: Conflict and Consensus in the English Church from the Reformation to the Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1992), 101; Peter Milward, *Religious Controversies of the Elizabethan Age: A Survey of Printed Sources* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1977), 158.

4. Peter Lake, *Moderate Puritans and the Elizabethan Church* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1982), 226.

5. Nicholas Tyacke, "The Rise of Arminianism Reconsidered," *Past and Present* 115 (May 1987): 204–7; J. V. Fesko, *Diversity Within the Reformed Tradition: Supra- and Infralapsarianism in Calvin, Dort, and Westminster* (Jackson, Miss.: Reformed Academic Press, 2001), 245; Lynne C. Boughton, "Supralapsarianism and the Role of Metaphysics in Sixteenth Century Reformed Theology," *Westminster Theological Journal* 48, no. 1 (1986): 81. For the controversy see also Keith D. Stanglin, "'Arminius Avant la Lettre': Peter Baro, Jacob Arminius, and the Bond of Predestinarian Polemic," *Westminster Theological Journal* 67 (2005): 51–74. Knox even suggests that the Lambeth Articles were not altogether Calvinistic (R. Buick Knox, *James Ussher Archbishop of Armagh* [Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1967], 18).

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

supralapsarianism of the Lambeth Articles. However, it can be safely asserted that Parr was educated in a predominantly Reformed and broadly Calvinistic context.

Parr showed respect for two leading Cambridge Puritan divines, William Whitaker and William Perkins. White sees these as the constructors of a harsher sort of predestinarian theology, while Wallace adds that they were also involved in developing a distinctive Puritan piety.⁷ In a neo-Latin poem written on the occasion of the supralapsarian Whitaker's death in 1595 and included in Whitaker's works, Parr expresses a "tearful show of respect" at his death and laments the great loss the country and university suffered in his death. The poem stresses the inevitability of death in terms of the mythological Parcae, the Roman goddess of fate.⁸ Perkins was also a leading Puritan figure in Cambridge, whom Parr later approvingly cites as "our worthy Master *Perkins*."⁹ These leading teachers suggest the presence of a Puritan influence in Parr's training. Parr would carry these Calvinistic and Puritan influences into his ministry, even though he would differ from the lapsarian position of Perkins and Whitaker.

7. White, *Predestination, Policy and Polemic*, 153; Dewey D. Wallace, Jr., *Puritans and Predestination: Grace in English Protestant Theology 1525–1695*, Studies in Religion (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982), 55. For Whitaker's Puritanism see also Lake, *Moderate Puritans*, ch. 8: "William Whitaker at St John's: The Puritan Scholar as Administrator."

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

9. Elnathan Parr, *The Grounds of Divinitie... Newly Corrected, Augmented, and Enlarged* (London: Edward Griffin, 1619), 247. Hereafter: Parr, *Grounds*. See also idem, *A Plaine Exposition vpon the Whole Eighth, Ninth, Tenth, Eleventh, Twelfth Chapters of the Epistle of Saint Paul to the Romanes* (London: George Purslowe, 1620), 443. Hereafter: Parr, [*Rom. 8–12*]. According to Schuringa, Simon Oomius considered Parr to be among the crowd that "walked in Perkins' footsteps" (Gregory D. Schuringa, "Embracing Leer and Leven: The Theology of Simon Oomius in the Context of Nadere Reformatie Orthodoxy" [Ph.D. diss., Calvin Theological Seminary, 2004], 109–10).

In 1600, the Cornwallis family presented this man of “grave and reverend countenance” his main living.¹⁰ Parr continued to serve as Rector in Palgrave, located in Suffolk County, just over twenty miles south of Norwich and close to fifty miles east of Cambridge, until his death. In 1615 he also received the additional rectory of Thrandeston, a small village situated less than two miles south of Palgrave. In his correspondence he speaks of lengthy periods of sickness which confined him to his bed. In one case he was not “able to endure so much light as might serve to read one line for my comfort.”¹¹ He continued to serve under the patronage of Lady Jane Cornwallis Bacon, to whom he also dedicated his various books, until his death in 1622.

Joanna Moody refers to Parr as Lady Jane’s “private chaplain” who had a “key influence” on her.¹² As Felicity Heal and Clive Holmes indicate, Lady Jane’s Puritan sympathies are shown in her close attachment to William Greenhill and her appointment of Jeremiah Burroughs to her living in Tivetshall. Both of these were deprived of their charges in 1637 for their refusal to implement ritual innovations in their parishes. She also had her two sons trained at Cambridge under John Preston and Richard Sibbes.¹³ One interesting exchange of letters shows Parr served her as a marriage negotiator. After her husband died in 1611, the Bacon family approached Parr to help negotiate a marriage arrangement between their son, Nathaniel Bacon, and Lady Jane Cornwallis. The ensuing correspondence shows Parr’s willingness both to serve the parties involved and to risk good relations in the process. It also portrays his pastoral concern for their welfare.¹⁴ The marriage turned out to be a good one and Parr continued to be indebted to both Lady Jane

10. K. F. Doughty, *The Betts of Wortham in Suffolk: 1480–1905* (London: John Lane, 1912), 85.

11. Joanna Moody, ed., *The Private Correspondence of Jane Lady Cornwallis Bacon, 1613–1644* (Madison, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson Univ. Press, 2003), 64; Elnathan Parr, “To the Courteous Reader,” in *The Grounds of Diuinitie* (London: Samuel Man, 1614).

12. Moody, *Jane Lady Cornwallis*, 56.

13. Felicity Heal and Clive Holmes, “‘Prudentia ultra Sexum’: Lady Jane Bacon and the Management of Her Families,” in *Protestant Identities: Religion, Society, and Self-Fashioning in Post-Reformation England*, ed. M. C. McClendon, J. P. Ward, and M. MacDonald (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford Univ. Press, 1999), 112, 115, 116.

14. Moody, *Jane Lady Cornwallis*, 18–20, 61–70, 276.

and her new husband. In 1622 he still acknowledged her as “the first advancer of my studies, and estate; and so you have continued.”¹⁵

Though the earlier *Oxford Dictionary* stated he may have died in 1632, perhaps due to his works being first published in 1632, the 2004 edition states he died in 1622 and was buried at Thrandeston on November 14, 1622.¹⁶ Lady Jane Bacon continued to support Parr’s widow with a yearly allowance after his death. His successor as rector of Palgrave was his son-in-law, Thomas Howchine, who was apparently “harried and frightened into a resignation” during the civil war.¹⁷ Parr’s ministry appears to have been more stable than that of his son-in-law. As an educated Church of England rector, Parr ministered in a rural setting under the patronage of a Puritan-leaning lady.

Elnathan Parr in Print

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

His first work, *The Grounds of Divinitie*, was published in 1614. It was prefaced by “a very profitable Treatise, containing an Exhortation to the Study of the Word, with singular directions for the Hearing and Reading of the same.”¹⁸ The inclusion of this treatise evidences his conviction that theology must develop from the exposition of Scripture, rather than philosophical reasoning. He wrote this work while he was confined to his bed with sickness, which Alexandra Walsham

15. Elnathan Parr, “To the very Noble, Religious, and Most Worthy Master Nathaniel Bacon, Esquire and The Lady Jane Cornwalleys, his Wife,” in *A Plaine Exposition vpon the Whole Thirteenth, Fourteenth, Fifteenth, and Sixteenth Chapters of the Epistle of Saint Paul to the Romanes* (London: Samuel Man, 1622), sig. A2. Hereafter: Parr, [*Rom.* 13–16].

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

17. Doughty, *Betts of Wortham*, 98.

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

uses to exemplify the desire to minister through print when the pulpit was inaccessible.¹⁹ The title page of the third edition of 1619 states it was "Newly corrected, augmented, and enlarged." The last edition was published in 1651.²⁰ This work is the fruit of the catechesis of his congregation, containing a series of catechetical questions and answers with an embedded exposition of them. Scholarly references to this work surface in the context of the study of catechisms, providence, salvation, and ministry.²¹ Among those who register his treatment of predestination, William Prynne, already shortly after Parr's death, could appeal to Parr's Calvinism in support of his defense of each of his "seven Anti-Arminian Orthodox Tenets" in the 1630s.²² Much later, Robert Wallace gave a most negative caricature through selective quotations. Gerald R. Cragg also noted Parr failed to escape "the determinism in which his rigid definitions had trapped him."²³ In contrast, Dewey Wallace

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

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

21. Catechisms: Ian M. Green, *The Christian's ABC: Catechisms and Catechizing in England, c 1530–1740* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 74, 78, 249, 696; Alexander F. Mitchell, *Catechisms of the Second Reformation: With Historical Introduction and Biographical Notices* (London: James Nisbet, 1886), lxxviii. Providence: Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England*, 10, 12, 14, 16, 30; B. Rajan, *Paradise Lost and the Seventeenth Century Reader* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1947), 146. Salvation: Michael P. Winship, *Making Heretics: Militant Protestantism and Free Grace in Massachusetts, 1636–1641* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 2002), 22, 251–52; Rajan, *Paradise Lost*, 91, 160; Philip C. Almond, *Adam and Eve in Seventeenth-Century Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1999), 10; C. A. Patrides, "Milton and the Protestant Theory of the Atonement," *PMLA* 74, no. 1 (Mar. 1959): 11. Ministry: Frank Luttmer, "Persecutors, Tempters and Vassals of the Devil: The Unregenerate in Puritan Practical Divinity," *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 51 (Jan. 2000): 48, 54; Peter Lewis, *The Genius of Puritanism* (Morgan, Pa.: Soli Deo Gloria, 1996), 39; Ceri Sullivan, "The Art of Listening in the Seventeenth Century," *Modern Philology* 104 (2006): 60; Evelyn Tribble, "The Chain of Memory: Distributed Cognition in Early Modern England," *Scan Journal* 2, no. 2 (Sept. 2005): 3–4.

22. William Prynne, *Anti-Arminianisme, or The Church of Englands Old Antithesis to New Arminianisme*, 2nd ed. (London, 1630), 91, 99, 106, 112, 142, 209. Prynne also cites Parr's expositions on Romans.

23. Robert Wallace, *The Doctrines of Predestination, Reprobation, and Election* (London: Hamilton, Adams, & Co., 1880), 85; Gerald R. Cragg, *Freedom and Authority: A*

speaks of Parr's moderate Calvinism and his conviction that predestination was a "comfortable" doctrine. J. L. Wilson uses Parr's treatment of supralapsarianism as an indication of the rising influence of Beza.²⁴ This work will be analyzed in chapter 5.

In 1618, Parr published a small book on private prayer entitled *Abba Father*, to which was appended a sermon on the redemption of time.²⁵ As Cecile Jagodzinski notes, in this book he refuses to condemn "a set forme of prayer" and defends its use in the public worship service; however, he still encourages extemporaneous private prayer.²⁶ This book is meant to teach "beginners" unaccustomed with such private prayer to pray.²⁷ Throughout, he stresses the spirituality of prayer, the importance of pleading the work of Christ Jesus, and the need to be familiar with God's Word to pray for the right things. At the time, it was even recommended to be read in the Netherlands by Jacobus Koelman.²⁸ Numerous scholars have referenced this book in their studies of prayer as the work of a godly, Protestant, Puritan, or Anglican writer, to support a range of arguments about prayer, piety, and psychology.²⁹ His "Short and godly Admonitions concerning Time"

Study of English Thought in the Early Seventeenth Century (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1975), 156.

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

25. Parr, *Abba Father: or, A Plaine and Short Direction Concerning Private Prayer. Also, Sundry Godly Admonitions Concerning Time, and the Well Using of It* (London: Samuel Man, 1618).

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

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

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

29. Elizabeth Clarke, *Theory and Theology in George Herbert's Poetry* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 102; Kate Narveson, "Profession or Performance? Religion in Early Modern Literary Study," in *Fault Lines and Controversies in the Study of*

stresses the command to use time for doing good and seeking the Lord. Urgency fills the work, as evidenced in his call: "Pray, pray, pray; repent, repent, repent."³⁰ These two works show his strong concern for personal piety that evidences itself in a life that seeks the Lord and follows His will.

His largest series of works are his expositions of Romans, which eventually covered Romans 1:1–2:2 and chapters 8 through 16 in over 1,000 pages. In his first publication of expositions in 1618 on Romans 8–11, he states they were the fruit of his weekday lectures on Romans. The new edition of 1620 added Romans 12, and in 1622 a new volume of expositions on Romans 13–16 was published. His exposition of Romans 1:1–2:2 was added to his works, which were first published in 1632. John Owen, Dr. Williams, and Charles Spurgeon all comment on the rich value of the content of the work and the awkwardness of the style.³¹ Parr's style may explain why none of his works have been

Seventeenth-Century English Literature, ed. Ted-Larry Pebworth and Claude J. Summers (Columbia: Univ. of Missouri Press, 2002), 125–26; Richard Rambuss, *Closet Devotions* (Durham, N.C.: Duke Univ. Press, 1998), 104, 106; Philip C. McGuire, "Private Prayer and English Poetry in the Early Seventeenth Century," *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900* 14, no. 1 (Winter 1974): 65–68; Kenneth Charlton, *Women, Religion and Education in Early Modern England* (London: Routledge, 1999), 73; Effie Botonaki, "Early Modern Women's Diaries and Closets: 'Chambers of Choice Mercies and Beloved Retirement,'" in *Recording and Reordering: Essays on the Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Diary and Journal*, ed. Dan Doll and Jessica Munns (Lewisburg, Pa.: Bucknell Univ. Press, 2006), 39–41, 45, 47, 56; Daniel R. Woolf, *The Social Circulation of the Past: English Historical Culture, 1500–1730* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2003), 40; Gary A. Stringer, ed. *The Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne: The Holy Sonnets* (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 2005), 355; Roy Walter Williams, "The Puritan Concept and Practice of Prayer: Private, Family and Public" (Ph.D. diss., University of London, 1982), 101, 212, 216, 267.

30. Parr, *Abba Father*, 131.

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

reprinted since the seventeenth century, despite Spurgeon's statement that Parr's expositions of Romans is "well deserving of a reprint."³² In current scholarship, his commentary surfaces most often in connection with his view of the eschatological conversion of the Jews, but rarely concerning predestination.³³ This work will be analyzed in chapter 4.

As a whole, his writings have a strong pastoral focus. All of his works are directed to a lay rather than a scholarly audience. Their professed aim is God-glorifying edification. They cover two fundamental activities of spiritual life, namely private prayer and the study of the Word, as well as the all-encompassing nature of spiritual life as redeeming the time. They put into print two main activities of pastoral ministry: preaching and catechizing. They show a concern for a grounded understanding of scriptural doctrine, genuine spiritual experience of salvation, and moral uprightness.

Elnathan Parr in Context

Due to the character of his writings as outlined above, the general assumption among scholars is that Parr was a Puritan. Echoing Murray, Erroll Hulse calls him "the best-known Puritan expositor of

32. C. H. Spurgeon, "Papers from my note book. No. X.," *The Baptist Magazine*, June 1862, 370–71.

33. Eschatology: Iain Murray, *The Puritan Hope* (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth, 1971), 46–50, 63, 66, 69–71, 76, 85; Kenneth Gentry Jr., "Postmillennialism," in *Three Views on the Millennium and Beyond*, ed. Darrell Bock (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1999), 18; Nabil I. Matar, "George Herbert, Henry Vaughan, and the Conversion of the Jews," *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900* 30, no. 1 (Winter 1990): 80, 90; Erroll Hulse, "The Puritans and the Promises," in *God is Faithful: Papers read at the 1999 Westminster Conference* (London: Westminster Conference, 1999), 114; Christopher Hill, "Till the conversion of the Jews," in *The Collected Essays of Christopher Hill* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1986), 285, 294. Predestination: Iain H. Murray, "The Puritans and the Doctrine of Election," in *The Wisdom of Our Fathers: Puritan and Reformed Studies Conference 1956*, (London, 1956), 8. Murray's quote of Parr on the comfort of predestination is included in I. D. E. Thomas, compiler, *The Golden Treasury of Puritan Quotations* (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth, 1997), 84. For other references to Parr's expositions see Eric J. Carlson, "Good Pastors or Careless Shepherds? Parish Ministers and the English Reformation," *History* 88, issue 291 (July 2003): 430–31; idem, "The Boring of the Ear: Shaping the Pastoral Vision of Preaching in England, 1540–1640," in *Preachers and People in the Reformations and the Early Modern Period*, ed. Larissa Taylor (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 265, 267, 271, 277–78; David Zaret, "The Use and Abuse of Textual Data," in *Weber's Protestant Ethic*, ed. Hartmut Lehmann and Guenther Roth (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1993), 264.

Romans," and Green, one of the "'godly' authors."³⁴ Numerous others call him a Puritan, while Jeffery Johnson groups him among the "moderate puritans."³⁵ Older descriptions in lists of notable graduates from Cambridge are more neutral, such as "an industrious Writer," "an eminent Divine," or one of the "learned writers."³⁶

As Tyacke and Collinson indicate, the precise definition of Puritanism in relation to the Church of England generally is difficult to define, and the precise category of some individuals may be impossible to ascertain.³⁷ There is a general sense among scholars that, by Parr's time, Puritanism had shifted focus from seeking institutional reform to being godly leaven within the church through the promotion of personal piety.³⁸ During the 1620s another shift occurred in which the opponents of Puritanism increasingly sought to equate doctrinal Cal-

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

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

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

37. Nicholas Tyacke, *Aspects of English Protestantism c. 1530–1700* (Manchester: Manchester Univ. Press, 2001), 90, 134; Collinson, *English Puritanism*, 7–11.

38. Tyacke, *Aspects of English Protestantism*, 111; Collinson, *English Puritanism*, 32; Marshall, *Reformation England*, 124–26; Mark R. Shaw, "William Perkins and the New Pelagians: Another Look at the Cambridge Predestination Controversy of the 1590s," *Westminster Theological Journal* 58, no. 2 (1996): 267–301. However, note John Morgan's caution about ignoring the reality that Puritanism from the start was concerned for godliness (John Morgan, *Godly Learning: Puritan Attitudes towards Reason, Learning, and Education, 1560–1640* [Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1986], 19–20).

vinism with Puritanism.³⁹ Numerous studies identify predestination, or at least a heightened emphasis on predestination, and its related doctrines and piety as the core of Puritanism.⁴⁰ Especially those who desire to benefit from the Puritans today stress an intense and all-embracing Reformed piety as a leading characteristic of Puritanism.⁴¹ What can be said is that Parr shared the Puritan concerns for an intense godliness fed by a Reformed theology, even while he opposed the nonconformist insistence on ecclesiastical reform.

Parr's opposition to separatism and nonconformity and his devotion to the Monarch made him a loyal son of the Church of England. Separatism appears a very distant second to "popery" and ahead of Anabaptism and Arminianism on the list of his most frequent polemical targets. He often labels separatists as "Brownists." Robert Browne (1550?–1633) convinced his followers that to remain in the Church of England was to be in league with the wicked. He established separate congregations, though he himself later returned to the Church of England.⁴² David Zaret claims Parr "gently criticized" the separatists.⁴³ However, Parr calls them "silly ones," "rash censurers," whom God has permitted to "runne into *divers pernicious errors*," ones who "absurdly

39. Tyacke, *Aspects of English Protestantism*, 134; Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists*, 186, 245; Peter Lake and Kenneth Fincham, "The Ecclesiastical Policy of King James I," *The Journal of British Studies* 24, no. 2 (Apr. 1985): 204–5.

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

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

42. Timothy George, *John Robinson and the English Separatist Tradition* (Macon, Ga.: Mercer Univ. Press, 1982), 32–45; Milward, *Religious Controversies of the Elizabethan Age*, 35–38; Patrick Collinson, *English Puritanism*, General Studies, no. 106 (London: The Historical Association, 1983), 17–19.

43. Zaret, *Heavenly Contract*, 95.

deny and contemne all *Canons* and *Constitutions* concerning order," "factious ones," who defame their "reverend mother," the church, and "convey the poyson of their schismaticall opinions, under a pretence and shew of puritie and zeale."⁴⁴ This opposition to separatism was shared by other Puritans as well, most notably by Perkins and presumably by the large majority of Puritans who labored within the Church of England.⁴⁵ As such, Parr's polemical stance would fit with Daniel Doerksen's Jacobean *via media* or Lake's moderate Puritan middle way lying between Roman Catholicism and separatism.⁴⁶

What does distinguish him from numerous Puritans is his vocal opposition to nonconformity. He often addresses nonconformity in the context of separatism because "many also among us, finding fault with the government of the Church, and not being reclaymed by admonition have turned Brownists."⁴⁷ He rebukes those who make an issue of wearing vestments, making "a certaine gesture," honoring the terms "priest" and "prelate," kneeling at the sacrament, observing holy days besides the Sabbath, and bowing or taking off the hat at the name of Jesus.⁴⁸ Grievances against these practices lie at the root of early Puritan nonconformity. However, Parr argues these are things are "neither *commanded* nor *forbidden*; therefore their appointment and observation is *indifferent*; and so the Church hath power, and the Christian Magistrate, to constitute

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

45. Collinson, *English Puritanism*, 18; W. van 't Spijker, "Puritanisme: Theologische hoofdlijnen en vertegenwoordigers," in *Het Puritanisme: Geschiedenis, Theologie en Invloed*, ed. W. van 't Spijker, R. Bisschop, W. J. op 't Hof (Zoetermeer: Uitgeverij Boekencentrum, 2001), 329–30; W. B. Patterson, "William Perkins as Apologist for the Church of England," *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 57, no. 2 (Apr. 2006): 252–69. White's use of opposition to separatism as evidence of a non-Calvinist Anglican *via media* is unjustified (Peter White, "The *Via Media* in the Early Stuart Church," in *The Early Stuart Church, 1603–1642*, ed. Kenneth Fincham (Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1993) 216–17).

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

47. Parr, [Rom. 13–16], 169.

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

them as things serving to the promoting of the worship of God.”⁴⁹ At the same time he rebukes those who needlessly wound the weak conscience of nonconformists by refusing to yield for the sake of the welfare of the church and exalting certain forms as “*a necessary worship* of God,” rather than simply “*a comely rite* and ceremony.”⁵⁰ In this way, the Calvinist Parr opposed nonconformity for its damaging divisiveness. As Dewey Wallace notes, Parr and others demonstrate the problem of establishing a binary division between moderate Anglican conformity and Calvinist Puritan nonconformity.⁵¹ As Lake argues, conformists were within the ranks of those considered Puritans in the early seventeenth century.⁵²

Related to his opposition to nonconformity is his strong support of the English Royal house, including King James I. His pious patron, Lady Jane Cornwallis, had connections with the royal family, including Charles I.⁵³ His son-in-law and successor, Thomas Howchine, resigned as Rector of Palgrave during the Civil War apparently due to his Royalist sympathies.⁵⁴ Parr considered it a great mercy to have “our most learned, most wise, most religious, most mighty King *Iames*,” and exhorted obedience to him whom he elsewhere called “the tenderest *Father* of the true Church, and the greatest *defender* of the faith upon earth.”⁵⁵ He also highly commended “His Maiesties elegant Exposition upon the Lords Prayer.”⁵⁶ He approvingly attributes a decline in

49. Parr, [*Rom. 13–16*], 137.

50. Parr, [*Rom. 13–16*], 182, 186, 189.

51. Wallace, *Puritans and Predestination*, 37, 53–54. For the problematic nature of such a division see also Green, *Christian's ABC*, 350; Peter Lake, “Calvinism and the English Church 1570–1635,” *Past and Present* 114 (Feb. 1987): 70; Tyacke, *Aspects of English Protestantism*, 133–34, 264.

52. Lake, *Moderate Puritans*, 9, 14, 243–61.

53. Moody, *Jane Lady Cornwallis*, 16–17, 22, 25–27.

54. Doughty, *Betts of Wortham*, 98.

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

56. Parr, [*Rom. 8–12*], 616. White claims this work of King James favours a Durham House type of churchmanship (White, “The *Via Media* in the Early Stuart Church,” 227).

nonconformist and Arminian agitation to King James and the Bishops.⁵⁷ While the Calvinism of King James has been subject to debate among scholars, Parr is another example of a strong predestinarian voice giving strong support for the King.⁵⁸

While Parr's esteem of the king and opposition to nonconformity may distance him from typical Puritans, his pastoral concerns align him closely with them, as already suggested by his published works. He also repeatedly rebukes despisers of those who might be labeled with the Puritan epithet. He reproves those who are not ashamed to live in filthiness, but would be ashamed to "goe to a Sermon, to be strict in their conversation, &c." He exhorts: "Let us not be ashamed to be true Protestants, in word and deed."⁵⁹ He laments that for many, "Devotion is Hypocrisie with them, and Zeale, madnesse," and "scoffe the children of God for their simplicitie, and holy profession."⁶⁰ He exhorts, "Neither wrong them which have the Spirit, by odious nick-names," and do not despise them because they are few.⁶¹ He repeatedly stresses the importance of Sabbath observance and warns against Sabbath desecration, which Collinson has defined as a major Puritan concern in the Stuart period, and John Primus as the "heartbeat of Puritan Christianity."⁶² More generally, he laments the dichotomy

57. Parr, [Rom. 13–16], 108.

58. Those who downplay his Calvinism include: Peter White, "The Rise of Arminianism Reconsidered," *Past and Present* 101 (1983): 38–45; Sheila Lambert, "Richard Montagu, Arminianism and Censorship," *Past and Present* 124 (Aug. 1989): 36–68. Those who maintain his doctrinal Calvinism include: Tyacke, "The Rise of Arminianism Reconsidered," 210–11; Wallace, *Puritans and Predestination*, 82; and more moderately, Lake, "Calvinism and the English Church," 49–56; Lake and Fincham, "Ecclesiastical Policy of King James I," 169–207. For broader coverage see Kenneth Fincham, *Prelate as Pastor: The Episcopate of James I* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1990); James Doelman, *King James I and the Religious Culture of England* (Rochester, N.Y.: D. S. Brewer, 2000).

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

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

61. Parr, [Rom. 8–12], 45, 242.

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

between sound knowledge and ungodly practice, stressing the need to experience and live what is taught.⁶³ He repeatedly warns of presumption and self-deception, and uses the practical syllogism of godliness evidencing the possession of salvation, and ungodliness evidencing the lack of salvation, which is also considered a leading Puritan characteristic under the influence of Perkins.⁶⁴ These themes align him more closely with Puritan concerns for godliness.

What is known of Parr's life and ministry indicates he was both a well-educated theologian and a pastor focused on the spiritual welfare of his rural parish. His opposition to popery and nonconformity could place him in White's Anglican *via media*; however, his spiritual and theological convictions suggest an affinity with the heart of Calvinistic Puritanism. He demonstrates how easily categorization of early Stuart theologians and pastors can become caricaturization.

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

64. Robert T. Kendall, *Calvin and English Calvinism to 1649* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1979), 8; Joel R. Beeke, *The Quest for Full Assurance: The Legacy of Calvin and His Successors* (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth, 1999), 83–98. Regarding presumption and self-deception, see Parr, *Grounds*, 224; idem, [*Rom. 8–12*], 210, 340, 392–93, 418.