

William Perkins: Augustine's Protégé & Father of Puritan Theology

By Barry Waugh

The definition of “Puritan,” “Puritanism,” or “Puritan era” varies. In terms of an epoch defined as “Puritan,” some would say it began at the accession of Queen Elizabeth I or another point during her reign, then it terminated in the seventeenth century with an event such as the accession of Charles II, 1660. Others have delimited longer eras that include the earlier English Reformation during Henry VIII’s reign and continue to include Jonathan Edwards in the eighteenth century, or even D. Martyn-Lloyd-Jones in the twentieth. Edwards and Jones may have preached Puritan theology as expressed in the *Westminster Confession*, but defining Puritans solely as those committed to a theological system exclusive of the politics of the day does not provide the full picture. The word “Puritan” needs to be understood as a theological movement within a historical-political context because, as Patrick Collinson has expressed it, “With the repudiation of foreign, papal government, the Church of England had no distinct existence apart from the political community of England.”¹ The Puritans came into the picture as dissenters to be the “distinct existence” within the Church of England that was in fact *a church within a church*.² For this article, the Puritan era is considered to begin with the Act of Uniformity, 1559, because it gave Elizabeth power to establish church practices which led to the dissent of those who were known as “Puritans.”³

This article will take a brief look at a sample of the works of William Perkins of Christ’s College, Cambridge, as the writings of the founding father of English Puritan theology. After a short consideration of the importance of Cambridge as a Puritan enclave and Laurence Chaderton, a brief biography of Perkins will be given, some comments regarding the importance of his works, and then a statistical or quantitative analysis of the influence of Augustine in five of his treatises. One of the five treatises will be assessed with regard to

how Perkins used Augustine to develop his thought. The article will end with some concluding observations.

BACKGROUND REGARDING THE REFORMATION AND CAMBRIDGE

The English Reformation, as the Reformation in general, was dependent on a rediscovery of the theologians of the past, especially the father of fathers, Bishop of Hippo Aurelius Augustinus, 354–430. Augustine’s influence in Europe was significantly aided by the publication of his complete works as a result of what Heiko Oberman has described as “the Augustinian Renaissance in the late Middle Ages.”

The first edition of the *Opera Omnia Augustini*, published in Basel by Johannes Amerbach (d 1513) and the product of editorial teamwork stretching over the years

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1. Patrick Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1967, 1990), 22. Despite its age, Collinson’s work continues to be a beneficial resource for Puritan studies of the era.

2. As the Puritans increased in number it was realized that the Church of England could not be purified, thus movements for separation increased such as the Presbyterians and Independents.

3. As with “Christians,” “Puritans” was an epithet adopted by its followers. The end of the era is irrelevant for Elizabethan Puritanism, but the author believes, at the moment, that it was the Revolution of 1688, the Glorious Revolution, which established the joint rule of King William III of the Netherlands and Queen Mary II of England. Mary II’s father, James II, had been deposed and she and William took the throne.

between 1490 and 1506, was certainly one of the high points in the late medieval Augustinian revival.⁴

The Amerbach edition constituted eleven volumes with two-hundred sets coming from Gutenberg's movable-type wonder for distribution.⁵ The availability of the works was timely for use by the reformers as they returned to the sources, *ad fontes*. The key figures that brought reformation in England—Martin Luther, Heinrich Bullinger, Martin Bucer, Peter Martyr Vermigli, and John Calvin—were all influenced to some degree by Augustine. For example, Oberman and others have shown the debt that the Augustinian monk, Martin Luther, owed the namesake of his order.⁶ Also, John Calvin's use of the bishop's works has been quantified in the two-volumes by Luchsius Smits, *St. Augustin dans L'oeuvre de Jean Calvin*.⁷ The spread of the Reformation

through its early and second generation leaders provided an Augustinian continuity and community that would feed the English Reformation and the Puritans.

There is a paradoxical aspect to Augustine's influence upon the Reformation. He not only taught Protestants regarding good works, predestination, and the will; he provided Roman Catholicism with sources for asceticism, penance, and a hermeneutic that would be developed into the Medieval Quadriga. However, this irony helped to continue Augustine's influence through times of either Protestant or Catholic dominance because both sides turned to his works for guidance regarding doctrines unique to each's theology. An example of how the Augustinian sword cut two ways is seen in the comment of Erasmus when he contended that the pope could not proclaim a man a heretic, Martin Luther, when the fountain of his thought flowed from the father of his monastic order.⁸

Continued reform was still in the thoughts of many with the accession of Elizabeth in 1558. The importance of Augustinian studies made its way through the eleven years of Protestant-Calvinist Edward and Catholic Mary's reigns.⁹ Elizabeth I restored her father's Act of Supremacy, 1534, with modifications, and then introduced the Act of Uniformity, both in 1559. In the Act of Supremacy, Elizabeth changed the text of the vow taken by all clerics on her payroll, from the archbishop down. The vow describes Elizabeth as "the only *Supreme Governor*... in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things," but in Henry VIII's original "Supreme Head" had been in the place of "Supreme Governor."¹⁰ The Act of Uniformity repealed all of Queen Mary's legislation that had re-established Roman Catholic practices, and it commanded the use of a modified version of the *Book of Common Prayer* of 1552. Most importantly for the events that would unfold with the Puritans was the act gave Elizabeth the right to introduce additional ceremonies in the Church of England, which was a point that the Puritans came to object to vigorously.

As Elizabeth's plan for the Church of England unfolded the new or revised practices she put in place brought opposition from the Puritans. One problem garnering the Puritans' attention was the ordination of priests without a particular church to serve, and a second problem was the use of *priest* to describe a minister because it was a remnant of Catholicism.¹¹ Added to the list of practices rebuked by the Puritans was, in 1563, Archbishop Matthew Parker's revision of the *Forty-Two Articles* by diminishing some of its Protestant and Calvinistic distinctives.¹² In 1565, Elizabeth reminded all the bishops of the Church of England that they must

4. Heiko A. Oberman, *Masters of the Reformation: The Emergence of a New Intellectual Climate in Europe*, trans. Dennis Martin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 71.

5. Oberman, *Masters*, 71. In 1486 an edition of 200 copies required approximately 50 man hours per copy (Michael Pollak, "Production Costs in Fifteenth-Century Printing," *The Library Quarterly* 10 [1969]:318–330; Pollak notes that he believed his estimate was quite conservative, p 327). So, the works of Augustine constituted 11 volumes per set, multiplied by 200 sets, equals 2,200 volumes, equals 11,000 hours, or 917 man-days of labor assuming a 12 hour day. This is a rough estimate for comparison given that the number of pages in a volume could vary.

6. Oberman, *Masters*, 64–110; Heiko Oberman, *The Dawn of the Reformation: Essays in Late Medieval & Early Reformation Thought* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1992); Carl R. Trueman, *Luther's Legacy: Salvation and the English Reformers, 1525–1556* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001), 67–72; James E. McGoldrick, *Luther's English Connection: The Reformation Thought of Robert Barnes and William Tyndale* (Milwaukee: Northwestern Publishing House, [n.d.]), 109. Martin Luther, *The Bondage of the Will*, translated, introduced, and edited by J. I. Packer and O. R. Johnston, (Fleming H. Revell, 1957), 29–30; In, Luther, Martin," in *Who's Who in Christian History*, Geoffrey Bromiley comments, "This work [*Bondage of the Will*] is a powerful statement of the Augustinian position that in matters of right conduct and salvation the will has no power to act apart from the divine initiative."

7. Luchsius Smits, *St. Augustin dans L'oeuvre de Jean Calvin*. Vol. 1. *Etudé de Critique Littéraire*. Vol. 2. *Tables de Références Augustiniennes* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1957, 1958).

8. Luther, *Bondage*, 29–30.

9. Winthrop S. Hudson, *The Cambridge Connection and the Elizabethan Settlement of 1559* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1980), 75ff, notes the packing of Edward VI's advisors with Cambridge Protestants.

10. Gerald Bray, ed., *Documents of the English Reformation* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1994), 323, see the oath sworn by the archbishop, bishops, and "all and every other ecclesiastical person" regarding the queen as "Supreme Governor."

11. Collinson, *Elizabethan*, 41.

12. Collinson, *Elizabethan*, 34.

treat nonconformity with severity, and nonconformity was most often practiced by the Puritans.¹³ One of the crucial issues that prompted a response from the Puritans and unified them as a body within the Church of England was the Vestiarian Controversy of the mid-1560s. The use of clerical vestments was considered by many in the church *adiaphora*, things indifferent for salvation, but whether indifferent or not, the Puritans opposed them as remnants of Catholicism.¹⁴ Collinson observed with respect to the vestment controversy that, "After this episode, the English Church and English protestants could never again pretend to be entirely at peace."¹⁵ The repeated confrontations of Elizabeth with the Puritans disturbed the peace of the church for good as the Puritans worked for change according to *sola Scriptura*.

As Queen Elizabeth's settlement of the Church of England progressed, the ecclesiastical environment became increasingly hostile to Puritans. They found themselves less and less welcome in London, so they sought refuge for life and practice in the more remote cities such as Cambridge and its university. Cambridge, Christ's College in particular, became a sanctuary for Puritan lectures, preaching, and learning.

[C]ertainly, by 1582, various groups of like-minded Puritan clergy were capable of meeting in the equivalent of a clandestine national synod under cover of the July graduation ceremonies at Cambridge (the majority of them were Cambridge graduates), and these meetings would continue through the 1580s.¹⁶

Cambridge was a stronghold of refuge and solace for Puritans with its alumni association of underground reformers. The continued presence of ministers and scholars steeped in Calvinism and influenced by the fathers, especially Augustine, provided the milieu that earnest seekers for change in the Church of England sought.

LAURENCE CHADERTON

A key figure at Christ's College during the first years of the reign of Elizabeth was Laurence Chaderton. He was born in Oldham near Manchester about 1536 and was raised a Catholic. His education was provided by a tutor named Laurence Vaux. While Chaderton was at Christ's College he abandoned his family religious heritage for Calvinism. His father responded to the news by refusing to finance his college education.¹⁷ However, the fiscally abandoned son persevered in his studies completing his degree in 1567.

He remained at Cambridge eagerly pursuing his studies, especially in divinity, and with great care and earnestness examined and tested, by the testimony of the Fathers and the Scriptures, all declarations of the Reformed tenets which he heard publicly delivered.¹⁸

He was not only deeply read himself in the writings of the fathers, but he constantly advised and urged others to read them; and used to say that those persons would never make any great progress in literature who only learnt from analyses, and were content to spend all their time on inferior writers. He himself was encyclopedic in his reading.¹⁹

Chaderton continued at the college, first, as a fellow, which ended with his marriage in 1576, and then in several other positions including tutor.²⁰ He was devoted to his students and took great pains in their behalf.²¹ He taught logic and his lectures at Christ's College on the *Ars Logica* of Peter Ramus raised interest in his system among his students.²² However, though a talented academic who excelled at languages including Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French, Spanish, and Italian, Chaderton was known particularly for his preaching demonstrated for nearly fifty years in an afternoon lectureship in St. Clement's Church, Bridge Street.²³ In an era when it was an

13. Collinson, *Elizabethan*, 60.

14. Leo F. Solt, *Church and State in Early Modern England, 1509–1640* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 81–85.

15. Collinson, *Elizabethan*, 61.

16. Diarmaid MacCulloch, 2nd ed., *The Later Reformation in England 1547–1603* (New York: Palgrave, 1990, 2001), 43.

17. Peter Lake, *Moderate Puritans and the Elizabethan Church* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), presents a case for Laurence Chaderton's influence for the Presbyterian cause in England. Lake also points out Chaderton's ability to avoid trouble and conflict with the monarchy concerning his Puritan views.

18. William Dillingham, translated and abridged by E. S. Shuckburgh, *Laurence Chaderton, D.D., First Master of Emmanuel Translated from a Latin Memoir of Dr. Dillingham*, bound with, *Richard Farmer, D.D., Master of Emmanuel, An Essay* (Cambridge: MacMillan and Bowes, 1884), 4.

19. Dillingham, 25; unfortunately, due to the limited resources available to the author and a deadline for publication, a specific mention of Chaderton using Augustine was not located. However, for one to be expert in the fathers, one would have to know Augustine. Also, Chaderton wrote almost nothing and any resources are across the pond in jolly old England.

20. Dillingham, 35; regarding his marriage.

21. Dillingham, 5.

22. Dillingham, 5.

23. A "lecturer" served in a "lectureship" and delivered afternoon or evening lectures, lessons, or sermons in the Church of England. The lectureships provided expository preaching in churches in the afternoons and they were used by Puritans, to some degree, to get

accomplishment to live to the age of sixty, Chaderton's number of years crossed the century mark when he died, November 13, 1640. One of the stories told about him is that in the last days of his life he could read the small print of his Greek New Testament without spectacles.²⁴ With his lengthy life and proficient intellect, he served in several venues including the inaugural master of Emmanuel College, 1584–1622, the Hampton Court Conference as a Puritan before James I, 1604, and then he used his gift for languages serving with those translating the King James Bible, 1611.²⁵

WILLIAM PERKINS

William was born to Thomas and Hannah Perkins in Marston Jabbett, Bulkington, Warwickshire, in 1558. Little is known of his early life. He entered Christ's College in 1577 where his tutor, Laurence Chaderton, grew to become his close friend.²⁶ Perkins completed the B.A. in 1581, the M.A. in 1584, and was then elected a fellow the same year. Chaderton had not only influenced Perkins with his Puritan Calvinism, but he also introduced

around the Church of England system. For a study of the Puritan lectureships see Paul Seaver's, *The Puritan Lectureships: The Politics of Religious Dissent, 1560–1662* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1970); *Dictionary of National Biography* on Chaderton; Fuller, *The History of the University of Cambridge*, shows, in the 1574 and 1634 maps, St. Clements down Bridge Street next to the river and its bridge; Peter Lake, *Moderate Puritans and the Elizabethan Church*, 27.

24. Chaderton lived from the later years of the reign of Henry VIII, through Edward VI, then Mary I, followed by Elizabeth I, then James I, and well into the rule of Charles I. For the account of Chaderton's legendary eyes, see, Dillingham, *Chaderton*, 22.

25. Dillingham, 25, one of his few publications is the tract, *De Justificatione coram Deo et fidei perseverantia non intercisa*. Dillingham mentions that a copy of the tract was in the St. John's College Library, O, 11, 16 (on Election) in his day.

26. Dillingham, 35.

27. Fellows had to be single.

28. The biographical information is from Ian Breward's introduction to *The Work of William Perkins*, The Courtenay Library of Reformation Classics, vol. 3 (Appleford: Sutton Courtenay Press, 1970), 3–13; and his entry in, *Dictionary of National Biography* [abbreviated, *DNB*, henceforth], edited by Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Sidney Lee (London: University Press, 1949–50).

29. The first abridgment of Perkins's works according to Ian Breward's list in *Work*, "Editions of Perkins' Works: A Provisional List," 613–638, was published in 1654. The *DNB* notes that a Dutch edition of the three volumes was printed in 1659. *Alle werken van Mr. Wilhelm Perkins* (Amsterdam: Johannes van Zomerem, 1659–1662).

30. Breward, *Work*, xi.

31. Donald J. McKim, "Ramism in William Perkins" (Ph.D. diss, University of Pittsburgh, 1980), 57.

32. William Ames, "To the Reader," in, *Conscience, with the Power and Cases Thereof*, [n.p.], 1639.

him to the logic of Peter Ramus, which would come to play in Perkins's writings.

It is said of Perkins's conversion while he was a student at Christ's College that he overheard a mother warn her cantankerous child that if he did not straighten up and be good he would end up like "drunken Perkins." As William Perkins considered his life of profanity, recklessness, and heavy drinking that had been exposed to him by the mother's passing comment, he believed the solution was redemption through the grace of the gospel. It is sometimes strange how people come to a conviction of sin and grasp of grace; who would have thought such a comment could nail home the gospel.

Master Perkins continued as a fellow in Christ's College until he married Timothy Cradocke, July 2, 1595. The couple had seven children.²⁷ Master and Lecturer Perkins died October 22, 1602, of the "stone," which was likely a kidney stone brought on by his sedentary life of study combined with consumption of a sixteenth-century English diet washed down with ale. Perkins lived his short life in Cambridge teaching and writing, but he was especially known during his life for his ministry as lecturer in St. Andrews the Great Church where he expounded Scripture for many years.²⁸

THE WORKS OF WILLIAM PERKINS

The posthumous publication of William Perkins's collected works is foundational for the development of Puritan theology in England, the Netherlands, and then in the New England Colonies.²⁹ Ian Breward has compiled a list of Master Perkins's publications including at least fifty editions of his individual treatises, sermons, and books released in Switzerland and Germany, almost ninety in the Netherlands, and lesser numbers in France, Bohemia, Ireland, and Hungary, to which were added translations into Spanish and Welsh.³⁰ Donald J. McKim adds that Perkins's influence "came through his preaching, his students, and his writings."³¹ William Ames, one of Perkins's star pupils, found his teacher an example of doctrine and piety.

When being young I heard worthy Master Perkins, so preach in a great assembly of students, that he instructed them soundly in the truth, stirred them up effectually to seek after godliness, made them fit for the kingdom of God; and by his own ensample showed them, what things they should chiefly intend, that they might promote true religion in the power of it, unto God's glory and others' salvation.³²

Richard Muller applauded Perkins as “arguably the most prominent Reformed theologian on the English scene in the late sixteenth century. He was a preacher and teacher of considerable power whose command of doctrine was recognized on the Continent.”³³

WILLIAM PERKINS'S USE OF AUGUSTINE

Consideration of William Perkins's use of Augustine will be examined with selected treatises from his several publications. His works will be referenced as found in the three-volume edition of his collected works published, 1612–1613.³⁴ In the following list of titles, note that within the parentheses are, when the information is known, the publication date of its first edition and the city of publication. The writings of Perkins for consideration will include, *A Golden Chain: Or the Description of Theology* (1590 or 91),³⁵ *An Exposition of the Symbols or Creed of the Apostles, According to the Tenor of Scripture, and the Consent of Orthodox Fathers of the Church* (1595, Cambridge),³⁶ *A Treatise of God's Free Grace, and Man's Free-Will* (1602, Cambridge),³⁷ *The Order of Predestination in the Mind of God* (Latin 1597 or 98, London),³⁸ and *A Discourse of Conscience* (1597, Cambridge).³⁹ *A Golden Chain* was composed as a doctrinal and didactic tool built around Ramist logic; *An Exposition* explains the meaning of the Apostles Creed; *A Treatise of God's Free Grace and Man's Free Will* deals with the issue of one's freedom to choose good and God's sovereignty in salvation; and *Predestination* was written to vindicate the doctrine in opposition to the teaching of Arminius. *A Discourse of Conscience* is a handbook of pastoral guidance for ethical issues. The earliest date of publication is 1590 and the latest is a posthumous 1606.⁴⁰

HOW OFTEN PERKINS USED AUGUSTINE

The method for investigating the use of Augustine by Perkins will be accomplished through both quantitative and qualitative analyses. In the case of the quantitative analysis of the five treatises, the occurrences of Augustine's name, such as “Augustine says...,” and attributions of direct quotes, whether cited fully or not will be counted. The counts will be tallied for a simple statistical picture of Perkins's use of Augustine.

A GOLDEN CHAIN: OR THE DESCRIPTION OF THEOLOGY

This work is one of the most obvious examples of Perkins using the logic of Peter Ramus because his text was

composed with an accompanying Ramist diagram.⁴¹ The diagram and the text work together. The diagram *visually* presents the branching or divergence of sub topics, which are then divided into two or more topics, etc., and the accompanying text *verbally* explains what the diagram is presenting. Perkins's concern was to teach in a simple manner with a diagram that would help his students remember the content of their lessons and this is seen most clearly in *A Golden Chain*. Marshall Knappen has described Perkins as “not a great thinker, but he was a great preacher and clever popularizer.”⁴² Ian Breward added to Knappen's comment that by “the end of the sixteenth century he [Perkins] had replaced Calvin and Beza near the top of the English religious best-seller list.”⁴³ Perkins's popularity may have been a result of his explanations using the branching of concepts visually and textually which would have appealed to those who were marginally literate and had been taught through the artistic icons and windows in Roman Catholic churches. Ramist diagrams provided simplification of concepts in a memorable form for visual learners, preaching gave knowledge to auditory learners, and writings spoke to the literate. *A Golden Chain* is one of Perkins's most well known treatises, so considering his use of Augustine in this treatise will be especially helpful for the present analysis.

In the course of the ninety-seven pages of *A Golden Chain*, Perkins mentions Augustine twenty-four times including references to sixteen of his works. The key texts but not all of the works mentioned include, with the occurrences in parentheses, *On the Trinity* (1), *The Predestination of the Saints* (1), *City of God*

33. Richard A. Muller, “Perkins' *A Golden Chain*: Predestinarian System or Schematized *Ordo Salutis*,” *Sixteenth Century Journal* IX:1 (1978): 69.

34. William Perkins, *The Workes of that Famous and Worthy Minister of Christ in the Universitie of Cambridge, Mr. William Perkins*, 3 vols. (Vols. 1 & 2, London: John Legatt, Printer to the University of Cambridge, 1612, 1613; Vol. 3, 1613, [n.p.]: Cantrell Legge, Printer to the University of Cambridge, 1613); all citations to the works will be abbreviated, Perkins, *Works*, volume number:page number, for example, Perkins, *Works*, 1:256.

35. Perkins, *Works*, 1:9–116.

36. Perkins, *Works*, 1:121–322.

37. Perkins, *Works*, 1:720–746.

38. Perkins, *Works*, 2:606–641.

39. Perkins, *Works*, 1:517–554.

40. DNB; *New International Dictionary of the Christian Church*; and Breward, *Work*, 613–638.

41. For a sample of a Ramist diagram, see the example from the *Exposition of the Creed* at the end of this article.

42. Marshall M. Knappen, *Tudor Puritanism: A Chapter in the History of Idealism* (1939; reprint, Gloucester: Peter Smith, 1963), 374–375.

43. Ian Breward, *Work*, xi.

(1), *Confessions* (1), *Gift of Perseverance* (3), *Enchiridion* (3), and *Admonition and Grace* (1). The citations are generally spread evenly among these better known works except for the two titles with three occurrences each. On two occasions in *A Golden Chain* Perkins says something to the effect of “Augustine says...” without a specific reference. To put his usage of the bishop in perspective, the second most quoted authority was Bernard with three occurrences.

AN EXPOSITION OF THE SYMBOLS OR CREED OF THE
APOSTLES

This work is two-hundred-five pages in length or twice as long as *A Golden Chain* but Augustine’s works are mentioned only fourteen times. The most notable works referenced are, *Enchiridion* (4), *Predestination of the Saints* (2), *Confessions* (1), and *Baptism* (1). No specific citation given other than “Augustine says...” occurs twice. Once again, Perkins’s dominant use of Augustine becomes clear when it is considered that the second greatest number of citations is attributed to “Athanasius” with two occurrences. Even though there is an overall reduction in appeal to authorities in this treatise, Augustine remains number one.

A TREATISE OF GOD’S FREE GRACE, AND MAN’S FREE-
WILL

This particular publication is one of Perkins’s briefer efforts in his works because it fills only twenty-one pages. Augustine is referenced eighteen times as Perkins develops his case. Five works of particular significance mentioned are, *Of Grace and Free Will* (3), *Predestination of the Saints* (2), *Admonition and Grace* (1), *Marriage and Concupiscence* (1), and *Enchiridion* (1). No specific citation other than a reference to Augustine occurs only one time. For a standard of comparison, the second most cited source is Thomas Aquinas with two attributions. Comparison of the count of results from this work to that of the preceding treatise shows eighteen occurrences in twenty-nine pages, against fourteen occurrences in two-hundred-five pages. As Perkins moved from a more expositional work in the previous treatise to a more technical or polemical treatise, he bolstered his case with the insight of Bishop Augustine.

44. More on Augustine’s importance for the doctrine of predestination later in this article.

THE ORDER OF PREDESTINATION IN THE MIND OF GOD

Perkins’s *Predestination* is fairly short, only thirty-eight pages, but *ninety-one of two-hundred-eleven citations are from Augustine*, that is, forty-three percent of the sources noted lead to the writing of Augustine. This preponderance of notes regarding Augustine is not surprising given the foundational importance of his thought for the doctrine.⁴⁴ The most prominent of the works cited are, *Admonition and Grace* (14), *Enchiridion* (10), *Predestination of the Saints* (6), *Gift of Perseverance* (4), *The City of God* (3), *Grace and Free Will* (3), *Of Nature and Grace* (2), and *The Spirit and the Letter* (1). There are four non-specific attributions of “Augustine says...”. Perkins turned to some fifty-two other authorities 120 times with the chief of these being Gregory with only eleven occurrences. Other prominent fathers cited are, Chrysostom (9), Aquinas (8), and Anselm (6). The average occurrence of Augustinian citations is over two per page while in the three previous works the averages were one citation per four pages, per fourteen pages, and per page, respectively.

A DISCOURSE OF CONSCIENCE

Perkins’s *A Discourse of Conscience* is a particularly noteworthy treatise because of its foundational influence on the development of Puritan casuistry. Casuistry is a case-based method of reasoning, but with respect to its use for Christian piety it is simply the application of God’s Word to particular problems of Christian living as one grows in sanctification. Those using casuistry were concerned to cultivate or develop Christians’ consciences around the Word of God so they could better respond to challenging and new life situations. The work is broken down into four chapters. The first chapter defines conscience, the second describes the duties of conscience, the third discusses the types of conscience and the nature of a regenerate conscience, and the fourth sets forth how the conscience is to be used. One of the unique aspects of Perkins’s use of Augustine in this work is the minimal use of the most significant Augustinian works. Only five of the twenty-three citations to Augustine are from his more prominent writings, *On the Trinity* (2), *Admonition and Grace* (1), *Gift of Perseverance* (1), and *City of God* (1). The remaining eighteen references are divided among epistles and sermons, two unidentifiable works, and three occurrences of “Augustine says...” One work of Augustine absent from the citations which might be thought to have been used is *Confessions*. Given that *Conscience* is applied or

practical theology rather than a doctrinal treatise, the transition to using the epistles and sermons of Augustine is a case of the sources used matching the subject matter and presentation of the treatise.

THE TALLY

The total number of Augustine's works specifically cited in one or more of the five treatises written by Perkins that were quantified in the preceding paragraphs is twelve. The twelve, with their dates and Latin titles are as follows.⁴⁵

1. *On the Trinity (De Trinitate, 399–416)*
2. *The Predestination of the Saints (De praedestinatione sanctorum, 428/429)*
3. *Gift of Perseverance (De dono perseverantiae, 428/429)*
4. *City of God (De civitate Dei, 413–427)*
5. *Confessions (Confessiones, 397–401)*
6. *Admonition and Grace (De correptione et gratia, 426/427)*
7. *Enchiridion (Enchiridion ad Laurentium, 421/422)*
8. *Baptism (De Baptismo, 400–401)*
9. *Of Grace and Free Will (De gratia et libero arbitrio, 426/427)*
10. *Marriage and Concupiscence (De nuptis et concupiscentia, 419/420)*
11. *Of Nature and Grace (De natura et gratia, 413–415)*
12. *The Spirit and the Letter (De spiritu et littera, 412)*

The dates span from as early as 397 to as late as 429 with the earliest following Augustine's circa 386 conversion by eleven years. The list shows that in these five treatises by Perkins his use of Augustine's works is limited to those of his later years. Other writings of Augustine that could have been considered, such as his letters, which were cited a total of seventeen times, and his sermons, which were mentioned fifteen times, present similar usage of Augustine by Perkins with respect to their dates of composition.

When all the identifiable treatises of Augustine cited by Perkins are compiled into a table beginning with the most recent and ending with the earliest, Perkins's dominant use of the later Augustine is clear.

Date	Work	Occurrences
428/429	<i>The Predestination of the Saints</i>	9
428/429	<i>The Gift of Perseverance</i>	8
428/429	<i>Heresies</i>	1
426/427	<i>Of Grace and Free Will</i>	6
426–427	<i>Admonition and Grace</i>	16
421/422	<i>Enchiridion</i>	18

Date	Work	Occurrences
421	<i>Against Julian</i>	5
419–420	<i>Marriage and Concupiscence</i>	1
413–427	<i>City of God</i>	5
413–415	<i>Of Nature of Grace</i>	3
412	<i>Of the Spirit and the Letter</i>	1
412	<i>Punishment / Baptism of Infants</i>	2
401–405	<i>Literal Commentary of Genesis</i>	3
401–405	<i>Reply to the Letter of Petilianus</i>	1
400–401	<i>Baptism</i>	1
399–419	<i>On the Trinity</i>	3
397–401	<i>Confessions</i>	2
396	<i>Christian Doctrine</i>	1
396	<i>Questions for Simplicianus</i>	2

The table shows that William Perkins, like Calvin and others, recognized the questionable nature of the earlier teachings of Augustine. As Augustine grew in sanctification and his thinking became increasingly conformed to the Bible, the remnants of earlier influences, such as Manichaeism, were reduced in his teaching. Thus, the spectacles of redemption spoken of by Calvin found their focus for Perkins on the mature Christian works of Augustine.

The sheer volume of references to Augustine, especially in a work like, *The Order of Predestination in the Mind of God*, shows that William Perkins considered Augustine his primary source for assistance in developing, clarifying, and proving doctrine. When Perkins wanted to drive home a particular point he often presented a battery of citations from the fathers which would include Augustine. For example, in *Predestination*, page 631, he cited Ambrose, Gregory, Theodulus Presbyter, Chrysoſtom, Augustine (3 times), Prosper, and then three more times for Augustine. However, another reason for Perkins using Augustine was his desire to show that the theology of the Reformation was nothing new in that its foundation stones were established from Scripture and set through the labors of the fathers, with Augustine the father of fathers, by the early years of the fifth century.⁴⁶

HOW PERKINS USED AUGUSTINE

For the purposes of this section the analysis will be limited to Perkins's *The Order of Predestination in the Mind*

45. The Latin titles are from Mary T. Clark, *Augustine* (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1994), xii–xix; the dates of Augustine's works are her estimated dates.

46. Peter Lake, *Moderate Puritans*, 221–223, in his discussion of *The Lambeth Articles* (1595), he notes that Matthew Hutton, the Archbishop

of God. The reasons for selection of this particular work are its historical significance, its density of citations, the particular importance of Augustine for this doctrine in historical theology, and Perkins's dependence on Augustine for developing his case.

William Perkins's treatise on predestination is of particular importance because it was a key publication used by Jacobus Arminius (1560-1609) in opposing the doctrine. Perkins was particularly concerned to present and defend his understanding of predestination and reprobation in opposition to error. As might be expected, Arminius was unimpressed with the arguments presented by Perkins and accused him of making God the author of sin, which is damp ammunition that continues to be carried in the cartridge belt of Arminius's followers.⁴⁷

Augustine did not teach a doctrine of double predestination, that is, he did not see a fully equivalent election to eternal glory and an election to eternal destruction. Some would disagree, but he came about as close to affirming double predestination as he could without actually doing so. He was emphatic about sovereign, particular, active predestination to heaven; he was a bit ambiguous about predestination to hell or reprobation. However, his reticence was founded in his belief that predestination, election, and reprobation are subjects requiring delicacy and discernment as to how and to whom they should be taught. The first edition of Perkins's *Order of Predestination* was published in Latin, which would indicate that he, too, was concerned for careful handling of the doctrine as he wrote for clergy

of York, appealed to the authority of Augustine in his arguments simply because appeal to Calvin and Beza would imply there was something new in his teaching. Hutton was in disagreement with Whitgift over the doctrine of predestination.

47. Breward, *Work*, 80-90; also, Michael T. Malone, "The Doctrine of Predestination in the Thought of William Perkins and Richard Hooker," *Anglican Theological Review* 52:2 (April 1970): 103-17.

48. Frank A. James, III, *Peter Martyr Vermigli and Predestination: The Augustinian Inheritance of an Italian Reformer* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 98.

49. Alistair McGrath, 3rd ed., *Iustitia Dei: A History of the Christian Doctrine of Justification* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986, 1998, 2005), 160.

50. Clark, *Augustine*, 52.

51. Perkins, *Works*, 2:606; one of Augustine's key observations is the importance of God's justice for predestination to salvation.

52. Perkins, *Works*, 2:606.

53. The text in the Dods version of *City of God*, 478, reads as follows, italics indicate those portions omitted by Perkins, "one consisting of those who live according to man, the other of those who live according to God. And these we also mystically call the two cities, or the two communities of men, of which the one is predestined to reign eternally with God, and the other to suffer eternal punishment with the devil."

and academics. Augustine's stopping short of double predestination is affirmed by Frank A. James in his study of Peter Martyr Vermigli's contribution to the doctrine of predestination. He has observed that Augustine "is unequivocal about the doctrine of predestination, but steps lightly around the question of reprobation."⁴⁸ Alistair McGrath addresses reprobation in his discussion of predestination in relation to justification. He noted that Augustine was reticent to draw the conclusion that God predestined some to eternal life and others he predestined to destruction, to which he adds that Augustine "did not explicitly teach a doctrine of double predestination."⁴⁹ Mary Clark believes that many have viewed Augustine as a proponent of double predestination, but the assessment is based on an interpretation of him by Gottschalk in the ninth century.⁵⁰

Perkins begins *Predestination* with his definition of the doctrine. From this opening statement he expands, defines, and illumines the mystery of this manifestation of the sovereign will of God. Predestination to salvation is

the counsel of God touching the last end or estate of man out of this temporal or natural life. For as touching natural life we are all alike: and this kind of life is in the counsel of God only a preparation and step unto the spiritual and heavenly life. The supreme end of Predestination is the manifestation of God's glory, partly in his mercy, and partly in his justice.⁵¹

Having established his starting point, Perkins's next step is to affirm that the position has support from the Fathers and that he is teaching nothing new. In characteristic Perkinsian fashion the first source quoted is from Augustine, *The City of God*, 15:1.

one of these two societies of man, which we mystically call two cities, is that which is predestinated to reign eternally with God: and the other to suffer eternal punishment with the devil.⁵²

Perkins has not quoted the full text and he included no indication of his omission of a phrase from the original in each of two locations.⁵³ This section of the *City of God* would appear to present an argument for double predestination—the citizens of the city of God are the elect to salvation; the citizens of the world, the city of man, are the elect lacking salvation. To make his point, Augustine used several illustrations in *City*—Cain was born to the city of men and Abel was born to the city of God; one vessel is made to honor and the other to

dishonor; and Cain built an earthly city but Abel did not because the city of the Godly is above.⁵⁴ Perkins's reflection that "as touching natural life, we are all alike" echoes Augustine's comment that

each man, being derived from a condemned stock, is first of all born of Adam evil and carnal, and becomes good and spiritual only afterwards, when he is grafted into Christ by regeneration: so was it in the human race as a whole.⁵⁵

So, even though Perkins does not include this quote in *Predestination*, the spirit of all men being dead in trespasses and sins is clearly present in his opening lines. Following Perkins's quote of Augustine he adds more weaponry to his fortifications by quoting Gregory. The paragraph is concluded by Perkins statement that the "more learned" school-men teach that God has "predestinated some in manifesting his goodness by the rule of mercy; and damned others, in representing his perfection by the rule of justice."⁵⁶ Predestination is a two-edged sword which cuts some from humanity using one edge into the heavenly city and others via the other edge into the city of man.

Master Perkins continues his presentation stating that God's means for accomplishing predestination is through the work of creation and the permission of the fall. God created man in his own image from nothing and gave him natural life.⁵⁷ The permission of the fall is "whereby God did justly suffer Adam and his posterity to fall away, in that he did not hinder them when he was able."⁵⁸ God created and gave man life and the opportunity for continued fellowship with him but man tragically and completely fell in sin. According to Perkins, God did not hinder Adam and Eve from eating the forbidden fruit and his lack of intervention resulted in allowing the fall. Perkins goes on to clarify his position saying that this "permission of the evil of fault is by God's foreknowledge and will, but yet only for the greater good of all, which would be hindered if God did not suffer evil."⁵⁹ For Perkins, the overarching principle behind the fall in Eden is the greater good of redemption for the purpose of God's glory and this purpose is by God's will and foreknowledge.

At this point another work is appealed to in *Predestination* as Perkins quotes from the twenty-seventh chapter of Augustine's *Enchiridion*, "God hath judged better to do good with evils, than to permit no evil to be."⁶⁰ This short sentence is followed by an extensive quote from Gregory that argues the same point as the selection from Augustine.⁶¹ Augustine's statement, in

its original context, observes that God would have been fully within his rights to have deserted man in his sin and allowed him to suffer the punishment he deserved, but he goes on to say, "Certainly so God would have done, had He been only just and not also merciful, and had He not designed that His unmerited mercy should shine forth the more brightly in contrast with the unworthiness of its objects."⁶² God's *justice* required the judgement of sinners, but God's *mercy* led him to restore the elect through redemption. Augustine presents a cooperation between God's mercy and justice in that mercy was expressed through Christ's unjustly receiving the just punishment due the elect.⁶³ Perkins concludes this portion of his discussion.

That which I have said of the permission of the fall I do also say of the fall permitted; saving that *the permission is a means of the decree by itself, but the fall is a means (of accomplishing the decree) only by the ordination of God, who draws good out of evil.*⁶⁴

God is not the author of evil and his permitting the fall does not mean he authored evil through the fall. Notice here the two branches of thought in Perkins's presentation as he verbally drafts a Ramist diagram—the *fall* could be branched into its *permission* and its having been *permitted*. Perkins is careful to note that the fall was permitted; God did not ordain the fall of Adam. Salvation and reprobation were decreed from all eternity and the means of accomplishing that end was God's working good from the evil of the fall.

Predestination continues by expanding on what Perkins means by the permission of the fall through an illustration that is cumbersome with its Elizabethan English.

54. Dods, *City*, 478–479.

55. Dods, *City*, 478–479.

56. Perkins, *Works*, 2:606.

57. Perkins, *Works*, 2:606.

58. Perkins, *Works*, 2:606.

59. Perkins, *Works*, 2:606.

60. Perkins, *Works*, 2:606; *The Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers*, series 1, vol. 3:246, has it translated, "For He judged it better to bring good out of evil, than not to permit any evil to exist."

61. The quote from Gregory occupies nineteen lines of text. Gregory calls the fall of Adam, as noted by Perkins, "a happy fault," in that redemption comes.

62. *The Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers*, series 1, vol. 3:246.

63. See: *Enchiridion*, chapters 30, 31, 33, 34, 40, 41, 48, 50, and 51, for further development by Augustine. See particularly chapter 41, headed "Christ, Who was Himself Free from Sin, was Made Sin for us, that we might be Reconciled to God," which shows the way mercy and justice worked together in salvation.

64. Perkins, *Works*, 2:606, italics were added for emphasis.

Yet the will of God is not the cause of the fall, but the will of man left unto itself by God, and moved by the suggestions of Satan; which will appear by this similitude: I build a house subject to change and falling, which notwithstanding would continue many years, if it might be free from the annoyance of winds: yea, if I would not underprop it, when the storm comes, it would continue stable. But as soon as the winds begin to rage, I do not underprop it, and it is my will not to underprop it, because it is my pleasure so to do; thereupon the house being weather-beaten falls down. I see the fall, and in part I will it, because now when I could very easily have hindered the fall, yet I would not. And although thus far I do will the fall, in so much as it is my will not to hinder it: yet the cause of the fall is not to be imputed unto me, that did not underprop it, but to the winds which cast it down. So God leaving Adam unto himself, that he might be proved by temptation, and that it might appear what the creature is able to do, the Creator ceasing for a time to help and guide, is not to be accounted the cause of this fall. For he did not incline the mind to sin, he did not infuse any corruption, neither did he withdraw any gift, which he did bestow in the creation: only it pleased him to deny or not to confer confirming grace. The proper cause of the fall 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.⁶⁵

God's permitting the fall is his choosing not to intervene when Adam and Eve chose the forbidden fruit, that is God did not "prop up" Adam but held him accountable for not obeying his command and falling in sin. God did not intervene to prevent the fall. But when the fall occurred God worked the good of redemption from the evil of the fallen condition. Augustine has a similar analogy for reprobation beginning with the mass of all humanity gathered on a sinking ship. God rescues some from the doomed vessel and others are lost, but God did not cause the ship to sink.⁶⁶

Perkins goes on to say in *Predestination* that in the decree of election there is a "double act," which is one part

being the *end itself*, and the other aspect is the *means to the end*. Thus, once again Preacher Perkins picks up his verbal Ramist quill and scale to bifurcate *the decree of election* into the branches of an *end itself* and the *means to the end*. This branching is confirmed, says Perkins, by Paul in Romans 8:29, 30, when he distinguished between the decree and the execution of the decree. First, God foreknows and acknowledges men to be his own and then he predestines them from eternity to make them unto Christ.⁶⁷ He continued his development with a refutation of the teaching that foreknowledge is really foreseeing those who will believe and then electing them on the basis of their foreseen faith.

Augustine does not appear again in *Predestination* until page six hundred nine where he is enlisted to support the conclusion of Perkins that Christ's sacrificial death was exclusively and specifically for the elect, or what is known as a limited or particular atonement. He quotes Augustine, "He which spared not his own son, but gave him for us all, how hath he not also with him given us all good things? but for what us? for us which are foreknown, predestinated, justified, and glorified."⁶⁸ Then Perkins presents a rapid succession of citations from several fathers, some well known and others of lesser renown. He repeatedly used confirming sources to emphasize the importance of the issue at hand; the more important the doctrine, the greater the intellectual support from the past. Christ's death was only for the elect achieving for them the certainty of salvation; Jesus did not die for all making salvation a possibility—hypothetical universalism—to anyone who believes. Perkins says "it is apparent, that the decree of election is the cause and foundation of all saving gifts and works in men. From hence is true faith."⁶⁹ Next Master Perkins presents three short quotations from Augustine:

He did choose no man worthy, but by choosing he made him worthy.

It is the grace of God, whereby he does elect me, not because any worthiness is in me, but because it does vouchsafe to make me worthy.

And did not they also afterwards choose him, and prefer him before all the good things of this life? but they did choose him because they were chosen, they were not chosen because they chose him.⁷⁰

These last three quotes regarding unconditional election are intended by Perkins to drive the final trio of nails in

65. Perkins, *Works*, 2:606–607.

66. James, *Vermigli*, 99; James did not give a specific reference for where this illustration might be found.

67. Perkins, *Works*, 2:607.

68. Perkins, *Works*, 2:609; from Augustine's *On the Gospel of John*, tractate 45, chapter 12.

69. Perkins, *Works*, 2:610.

70. Perkins, *Works*, 2:610; the Augustine references are to *Against Julian*, *Pelagius*, book 5, and *Psalms 41*, respectively.

the coffin of Arminius's teaching. If Augustine said it, then it must be so, at least with respect to the doctrine of predestination. These three quotes from Augustine end this section of *Predestination*.

REPROBATION

Perkins next section in *Predestination* presents his teaching on reprobation, which is the other branch of the Ramist branching of the doctrine of predestination. Perkins begins his instruction with a definition.

The decree of reprobation is a work of God's providence, whereby he hath decreed *to pass by* certain men, in regard of supernatural grace, for the manifestation of his justice and wrath in their due destruction: or, it is his will, whereby he suffers some men to fall into sin, and inflicts the punishment of condemnation for sin.⁷¹

Note the similarity of Perkins's definition to the *Westminster Confession* 3:7.

The rest of mankind, God was pleased, according to the unsearchable counsel of his will, whereby he extendeth or withholdeth mercy as he pleaseth, for the glory of his sovereign power over his creatures, to pass by, and to ordain them to dishonour and wrath for their sin, to the praise of his glorious justice.

This definition is branched by Perkins in Ramist fashion as he divided reprobation into two aspects, which are *forsaking* some and *ordaining* of them to punishment.⁷² The two branches could be viewed as *passive*, and *active*. Forsaking is *passive* in that it shows a hands-off perspective, a decision not to be involved and abandon some men; ordaining is *active* in that it shows the force, involvement, or decision to destroy the reprobate. Perkins defends his definition by first considering some passages of Scripture that include Romans 9:11, 9:19–20, 11:33, and Matthew 10:15. The use of Scriptural justification before giving the wisdom of the fathers may have been designed by Perkins to make his case stronger for reprobation because Christians often come to accept the teaching of sovereign *predestination* to grace by God, but acceptance of its colleague doctrine *reprobation* by God, his active work condemning the non elect to hell is often a more difficult doctrine to accept. Perkins teaches that God chooses, shows his love to the elect, calls effectually, justifies, sanctifies, glorifies, and gives life eternal, but his general Gospel call through the preached Word given to those he has chosen not to

redeem is ineffectual. Perkins says that God's forsaking of some men, reprobation, is an "act [which] hath a final cause, but no impulsive cause out of God."⁷³ He uses "impulsive" in the sense of having force or power to impel or incite, and not in the sense of a rash or thoughtless act. God does not force the reprobate to be reprobate but he allows them to continue in their sin. God's forsaking some men is very much like God's decision not to inhibit Adam from falling in the earlier discussion of predestination to salvation (i.e. Perkins's example of the house which the owner decided not to reinforce in the storm). William Perkins does not see God's action in reprobation in the same way as he sees his action in predestination. Reprobation is more of a hands-off default than God's appointing the reprobate to destruction.

In *Predestination*, Perkins moves to the other aspect of the decree of reprobation in his binary Ramist analysis, which is ordaining the reprobate to destruction. He chose to separate *ordain to destruction* into the two branches of *simple* and *comparative*.⁷⁴ *Simple* ordination to destruction is condemning a person to punishment according to the will of God with respect to both original and actual sin. *Simple* ordination is essentially God's condemnation of individuals for sin; *comparative* ordination is God's selection of one person and not another (i.e. comparing one to another). Perkins wrote that comparative ordination to destruction is, "one man and not another, and this man rather than that, being in the like condition, is ordained to punishment."⁷⁵ At this point Augustine's thought re-enters *Predestination* as the defense from Scripture comes to an end and an appeal to the fathers begins.

God delivers no man but of his free mercy, and condemns no man but most righteously. Now why he delivers this man rather than that, let him search, who can dive into the great depth of his judgments.

71. Perkins, *Works*, 2:610.

72. Perkins, *Works*, 2:610, 611.

73. Perkins, *Works*, 2:610.

74. Perkins, *Works*, 2:611.

75. Perkins, *Works*, 2:611; this branching of concepts shows one of those cases where for the sake of Ramist method Perkins presented two branches for one truth when it appears there was really only one truth. The distinction between "simple" and "comparative" is strained in that "simple" is essentially the same as the main point—ordain them to destruction. It would seem that Perkins wanted to discuss, the comparative aspect—God's choosing one over another, but to do that as a consistent Ramist it was best if he could come up with a second aspect to balance the diagram. Could not Perkins have said "Unconditional Ordination to Destruction" and eliminated the two branches?

Why is it thus to this man, and otherwise to this? O man, who are you that you dare dispute with God?⁷⁶

Perkins uses Augustine to affirm comparative ordination to destruction. The Augustinian quotes in *Predestination* are followed with one from Gregory and another from Fulgentius. Augustine is once again used by Perkins to prove that he is not teaching new doctrine, but rather that his doctrinal interpretation is at least as old as Father Augustine. Following a short paragraph of further discussion, he concludes his analysis of predestination. The remainder of *Predestination* is dedicated to Perkins discussing and refuting accusations made against his teaching regarding predestination and reprobation.

William Perkins abundant use of Augustine is for the qualitative purpose of showing the historicity of his own teaching and to refute the accusation that his teaching is new. His pattern in his approach was to state the doctrine he is going to teach, develop it according to Ramiist methodology, affirm its orthodoxy with both Scripture and authorities, and then conclude that he had proven his point.

William Perkins's use of Augustine would be perpetuated in Puritanism, at least partially, through the use of the North African bishop's works by his star student, friend, and colleague, William Ames. It is known that Ames had a set of Augustine's *Opera Omnia* on his desk at Christ's College and the manifestation of Augustine's thought in Ames's teaching can be traced back to his tutor, William Perkins.⁷⁷ The association of Perkins and Ames in Christ's College was about a year because Perkins went on to his lecturing in St. Andrew the Great Church.⁷⁸ However the two continued close contact in Cambridge because the church is just across St. Andrew's Street from the college. Jan van Vliet has commented regarding the influence of Perkins on Ames, "much of Perkins's thought on philosophy, pedagogy, theology, and piety he passed on to his protégé."⁷⁹

76. The Augustinian sources cited by Perkins are, "Book 1. 2nd, *Simplicianum*, question 2" (or 1, it is unclear).

77. The information regarding Ames and Augustine's works was obtained through conversation with Jan van Vliet several years ago. Dr. van Vliet had corresponded with E. S. Leedham-Green of Cambridge University who informed him that Ames had a set of Augustine "sitting on his desk." Leedham-Green is the author of *Books in Cambridge Inventories: Book-Lists from Vice-Chancellor's Court Probate Inventories in the Tudor & Stuart Periods*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), and *A Concise History of the University of Cambridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

78. van Vliet, *Reformed System*, 6.

79. van Vliet, *Reformed System*, 6.

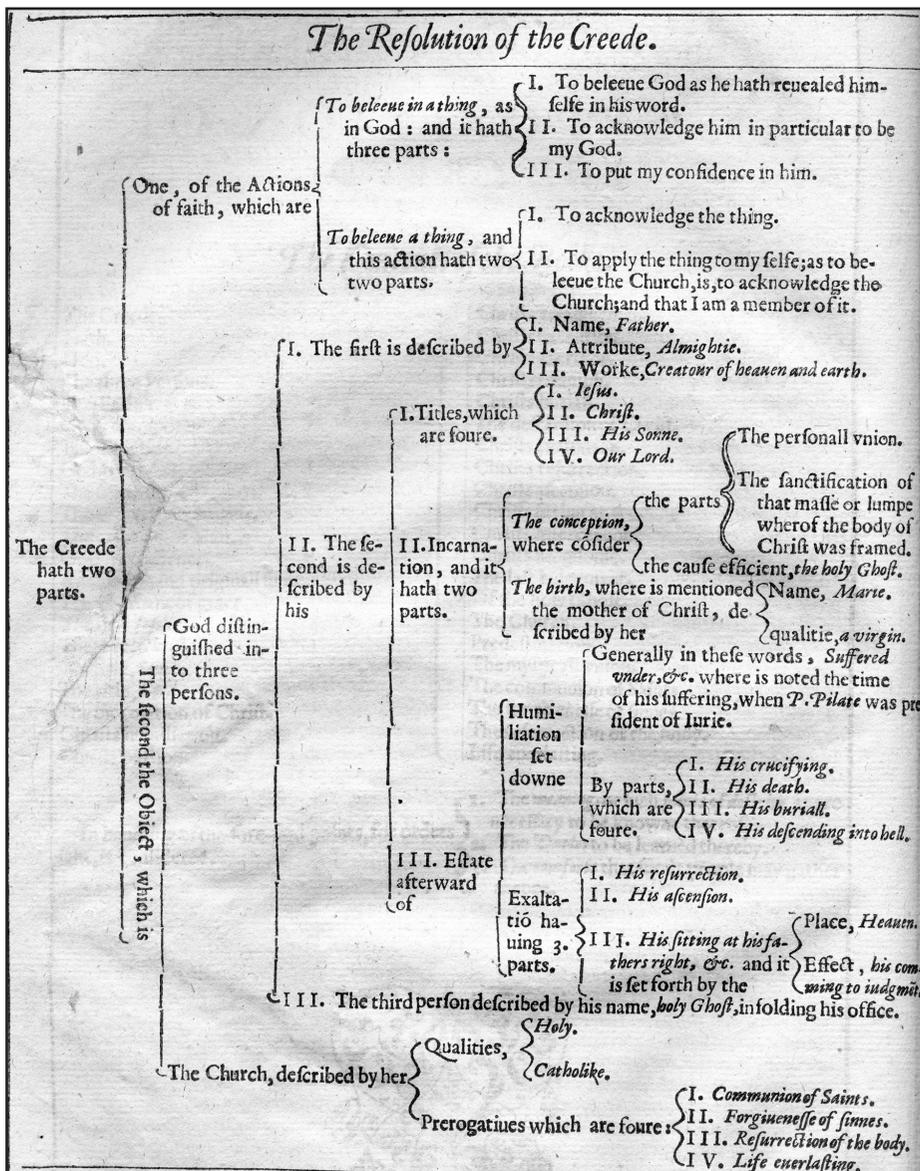
CONCLUSION

Edward VI's reign had brought some stability to England, though for a brief time, with respect to Protestantism. The young king's tenure was not only friendly to but also promoted turning from the remnants of Lutheranism to the theology of the Frenchman laboring in Geneva, John Calvin. However, the catastrophic reign of Mary worked with a vengeance to kill Protestantism through the execution of its adherents and a return of England to the papacy. But Mary's health problems dogged her leading to her death in 1558 at the age of forty two. Thus, Elizabeth, Mary's half sister, began her reign in the spirit of her dear departed father, Henry VIII, in that her political acumen directed her sentiments regarding religion and how she would run *her* Church of England. It was Elizabeth's rule as "supreme governor of the Church of England" that created objectionable church practices and led to dissent from the Puritans as they applied *sola Scriptura* to remove any doctrine or practice from Catholicism. The Elizabethan Puritans cannot be understood rightly without a consideration of not only their doctrine and dissent in their era, but it is also necessary to see them in their political milieu.

The first and second generation reformers such as Luther and Calvin were steeped in Augustine and their thought was passed on to England along with that of Heinrich Bullinger, Martin Bucer, and Peter Martyr Vermigli. In Cambridge and at Christ's College in particular *sola Scriptura* could not be avoided because it was the atmosphere inhaled by the students. With the influence of the expert in the fathers, Laurence Chaderton—the divine with the eagle-like eyesight—upon the Christ's College curriculum, not only Augustine but the universe of patristics were brought to bear via *ad fontes*. His expository preaching as lecturer enlightened the sad souls of many during cloudy and overcast English afternoons. One troubled listener to Chaderton's expositions who was divorced from his marriage to the bottle by the grace of God was William Perkins. He had already been studying with Chaderton when his conversion turned him to theology and the ministry. When Perkins completed his B.A. at Christ's College in 1581, the Elizabethan Puritan movement had resolutely but tenuously established itself as was noted by MacCulloch's observation concerning the clandestine synod meetings at Christ's College in the 1580s. Perkins, like Laurence Chaderton, would not only teach in the college but also preach and influence many students including his heir to the Puritan throne of Augustinian renaissance, William Ames.

William Perkins use of Augustine in the treatises considered in this article show that the North African bishop's *Omnia Opera* were consulted to a greater or lesser degree no matter the subject of study. This was demonstrated by the statistical analysis of the five treatises, the *how often* Augustine was used portion of this article. As might be expected, the fruit of Augustine's thought on a doctrine of central importance to himself, such as predestination, was squeezed by Perkins for the last drop of tantalizing insight. This was confirmed by analysis of not only *how often* but *how* Perkins used Augustine in *The Order of Predestination in the Mind of God*. When

less Augustinian insight was available through Master Perkins's reading of Augustine, then the occurrences of his use were still the greatest number of references cited to an authority in the treatise. The use of the logic and diagrams of Peter Ramus provided Perkins with both a verbal and visual method of communication that was particularly effective for teaching complex concepts in a limitedly literate society. Thus, Father Augustine's massive corpus fed the writings of William Perkins and his work became, particularly after the publication of his collected works in the early seventeenth century, the *locus classicus* for Puritan theology, casuistry, and piety. ■



Ramist diagram, William Perkin, "Exposition of the Symbols or Creed of the Apostles," *Works* (London: Legatt, 1626). Our thanks to Wayne Sparkman for this photograph, courtesy of Covenant Theological Seminary, Tait Rare Book Room.