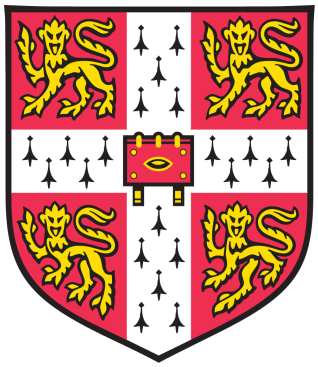
Arminianism and Anti-Remonstrant Polemic in the Later Stuart and Early Hanoverian Church of England



Samuel David Fornecker

St Edmund's College, University of Cambridge
8 July 2019
This dissertation is submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

DECLARATION

This dissertation is the result of my own work and includes nothing that is the outcome of work done in collaboration.

It is not substantially the same as any that I have submitted, or, is being concurrently submitted for a degree or diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University or similar institution. No substantial part of my dissertation has already been submitted, or, is being concurrently submitted for any such degree, diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University of similar institution except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text.

It does not exceed the 80,000 word limit prescribed by the Faculty of Divinity at the University of Cambridge.

Abstract

Arminianism and Anti-Remonstrant Polemic in the Later Stuart and Early Hanoverian Church of England

Samuel David Fornecker

This thesis analyzes modes of engagement with the Dutch Remonstrant tradition by Arminian conformists of the later Stuart and early Hanoverian Church of England. It argues that several of the period's fiercest theological controversies arose from what traditionalist divines took to be the uncritical appropriation of that tradition by their fellow churchmen. It shows that many Arminian conformists credited Remonstrant ideas with facilitating the emergence of an intellectually robust Unitarianism, and that such divines accentuated identifiably Reformed emphases in an unprecedented display of disambiguation from the Remonstrant tradition. In brief, the thesis contends that later Stuart and early Hanoverian conforming Arminianism cannot be seen as a monolithically antipodean reaction to Reformed theology without obscuring the negative consensus that united Reformed and Arminian against the alleged heterodoxy of the Remonstrants and those who propounded their views in England.

In this way, the thesis challenges the notion that a broadly unified Arminian consensus emerged at the Restoration, on the basis that the Arminian reaction to interregnum Calvinism produced divergent and sometimes incompatible positive theological agendas. It argues that soteriology is an insufficient criterion for judging ecclesial theological integrity, correcting an overemphasis on soteriological controversy by showing how debates over grace and predestination intersected with other debates over reason and revelation, faith and obedience. In applying this method of analysis to the appropriation of Remonstrant ideas by Arminian conformists, the study provides a fresh perspective on the Arminian theological tradition in the political, confessional, and educative contexts of late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century England. Among its more surprising conclusions is the discovery that the association of Remonstrant theologians with Socinian heterodoxy came often from leading Arminian churchmen themselves, and that the doctrinal emphases of such churchmen were not as comprehensively opposed to those of their Reformed contemporaries as has previously been thought.

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Μεγάλα καὶ θαυμαστὰ τὰ ἔργα σου, κύριε, ὁ θεός, ὁ παντοκράτωρ. Rev. 15:3.

Samuel Fornecker
Feast of St. Peter and St. Paul, 2019

Abbreviations & Conventions

AEH	*Anglican and Episcopalian History*
AUP	Amsterdam University Press
BL	British Library
Bodl.	Bodleian Library, Oxford
BUP	Baylor University Press
CCED	Clergy of the Church of England database, online at http://theclergydatabase.org.uk/
CHRC	*Church History and Religious Culture* [formerly *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*]
CSSH	*Comparative Study of Society and History*
CTJ	*Calvin Theological Journal*
CUL	Cambridge University Library
CUP	Cambridge University Press
DECH	*Dictionary of English Church History*
EHR	*English Historical Review*
EJT	*European Journal of Theology*
HJ	*Historical Journal*
HLQ	*Huntington Library Quarterly*
HS	*History of Science*
HT	*History and Theory*
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
HUP	Harvard University Press
IHR	*Intellectual History Review*
JBS	*Journal of British Studies*
JEH	*Journal of Ecclesiastical History*
LH	*Literature & History*
LPL	Lambeth Palace Library
MAJT	*Mid-America Journal of Theology*
MUP	Manchester University Press
NAKG	*Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*
NDP	Notre Dame Press
NPNF	Philip Schaff and Henry Wace, eds. *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*. 28 vols. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1994 [1886–1889].
ODNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* online edition
ORER	*Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Religion*
OUP	Oxford University Press
PP	*Past & Present*
PRO	Public Record Office
PTR	Princeton Theological Review
PUP	Princeton University Press
PUPS	Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne
PRRD	Richard A. Muller, *Post-Reformation Reformed Dogmatics: The Rise and Development of Reformed Orthodoxy, ca. 1520–1725*. 4 vols. Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2003.
ST	*Summa Theologica*

TJ	Trinity Journal
TLS	*Times Literary Supplement*
TRHS	*Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*
UBA	Bibliotheek van de Universiteit van Amsterdam
UDP	University of Delaware Press
UVP	University of Virginia Press
VMP	Van Mildert Papers
WTJ	*Westminster Theological Journal*
YUP	Yale University Press

Biblical citations in English are given from the Authorized Version.

All dates are given in Old Style, eleven days behind the Gregorian calendar. The year is understood to begin on 1 January.

Manuscript transcriptions preserve original orthography, including ampersands and paleographical abbreviations, with the exception that 'ae' is uniformly rendered by ash (æ), and 'oe' by the grapheme 'œ.' Punctuation has been modified to suit modern conventions. Save for proper nouns or titles (e.g., Bishop), capitalizations in the body of a text are rendered in lower case.

Quotations signaled in the original text by italicized typeset are reformatted in the style of typical modern quotations, except for when the italicized text signaled an allusion or paraphrase. Unless otherwise noted, the city of publication is London. Capitalization style follows the above description.

In-text and bibliographic citations follow the *MHRA Style Guide* (2013).

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 'THE SISTEMATICALL AND CALVINISTICALL SPIRIT'

In the story of England's long Reformation,[1] the chapter spanning from the Restoration to the evangelical revival is commonly seen as unfolding events from the Church of England's repudiation of 'Calvinist' orthodoxy in 1660–62 to the revivalists' retrieval of that divinity in the mid-1730s. But revisionists have denied that revivalists *needed* to revive 'Calvinism'. Reformed divinity, we are told, remained a respectable intellectual option throughout the later Stuart period, notwithstanding the weakening of 'puritan' elements after the legislation of the 1660s and 1670s.[2] In thus redrawing the bounds of the Reformed camp, recent scholarship has offered a broader and more precise definition of 'Reformed' identity, illustrating that it is no contradiction to speak of Reformed conformity after the 'great ejection'. Yet even while denying that a monolithic 'Anglicanism' emerged at the Restoration, revisionist scholars have left unscathed older scholarship's dialectical supposition that a fissure between Reformed and Arminian styles of divinity enables us to speak straightforwardly of two 'sides'. In this way, historians have largely overlooked a second fissure, one which intersected the divide over Reformed soteriology and thus divided Arminian conformists themselves. As this study will show, what divided Arminian conformists also proved a positive force to unify churchmen otherwise divided by the matters of grace and predestination.

An illustration, showing the source of this fissure and the resulting negatively defined consensus, may be found in a letter of 17 November 1694, by Gilbert Burnet, the Bishop of Salisbury, to a luminary of the Dutch Arminian or 'Remonstrant' school in Amsterdam, Jean Le Clerc. In a previous letter, Le Clerc had sought Burnet's help in repatriating Charles Le Cène, a Huguenot émigré to England who had returned to Holland after his theological views made ministry in London infeasible.[3] Burnet was not hopeful: Le Cène was 'under such

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[1] On the eighteenth-century as the closing chapter of England's 'long Reformation,' see Robert G. Ingram, *Religion, Politics, and the Past in Post-Revolutionary England* (Manchester: MUP, 2018), 344.

[2] The first wave, commencing with the Corporation Act (1661), included the Act of Uniformity (1662), the Quaker Act (1662), the first Conventicles Act (1664), and the Five Mile Act (1664). The second brought further statutory requirements in the second Conventicles Act (1670), and the First and Second Test Acts (1673, 1678). J.P. Kenyon (ed.), *The Stuart Constitution 1603-1688: Documents and Commentary* (Cambridge: CUP, 1986).

[3] Le Cène aired his Arminian views in a work co-authored with Le Clerc: Charles Le Cène and Jean Le Clerc, *Entretiens sur Diverses Matières de Théologie* (Amsterdam, 1685). Jacques Gousset, who had heard Le Cène preach in London, considered him a crypto-Socinian: Jacque Gousset, *Considerations Theologiques et Critiques Sur Le Projet D'Une Nouvelle Version Françoise de la Bible* (Amsterdam, 1689).

suspitions of socinianisme that till he clears himselfe from these it will not be possible to doe anything for him'.[4] Indeed, Le Clerc himself was under suspicion. Concerning the Socinians, whose denials of the Trinity and Christ's atoning death secured their name as foes of divine mysteries, Burnet warned that 'there is a generall opinion here that they are furnished with materials by you'.[5] Other prominent Remonstrants were also suspected: Oxford officials had sought to ban Philip van Limborch's *Theologia Christiana* (1685) for crypto-Socinianism.[6]

Burnet traced these attacks to a recent surge of Reformed divinity in Oxford, where 'minds… are so much sharpned [*sic*] by the socinian books among us that they seem now rather to lean towards Calvinisme so strange and distracted a thing is mankind'.[7] Whereas Burnet initially saw Oxonian anti-Remonstrant bias as a gambit to endear high-churchmen to their Dutch Calvinist monarch,[8] when Le Clerc wrote again to see if conditions prevailed for *quelque petit avancement*, he admitted that there was more to this 'Calvinisme' than political posturing.[9] For, having warned Le Clerc of Oxford, Burnet now identified the 'Calvinisticall' spirit with *both* universities. Even of Cambridge, where Arminian soteriology was pervasive, Burnet warned that 'the sistematicall and Calvinisticall spirit begins to have a great operation among them, and those who are known to have freer thoughts have litle credit there'.[10] He linked this spirit to ongoing conflict over the Trinity, in which 'hot men of both sides have inflamed this dispute so much that it may very probably set us all one [*sic*] fire'.[11] Le Clerc was thought to have armed the Socinians, thus rendering moot any chance of preferment in England. 'I will gladly contribute my endeavours to the procuring you a good setlement in England,' Burnet concluded, 'but… it is not so easy a thing as you may perhaps imagine.'[12]

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[4] Gilbert Burnet to Jean Le Clerc, 17 November 1694, in Jean Le Clerc, *Epistolario: Volume II, 1690–1705*, in *Le Correspondenze Letterarie, Scientifiche ed Erudite dal Rinascimento all'eta Moderna*, Maria Grazia & Mario Sina, eds. (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1991), 136.

[5] Ibid.

[6] T.E.S. Clarke and H.C. Foxcroft (eds.), *A Life of Gilbert Burnet* (Cambridge: CUP, 1907), 326. Burnet himself had been harangued as a 'rank Socinian' for undermining the doctrine of Christ's satisfaction: Charles Leslie, *Tempora Mutantur, or, The Great Change from 73 to 93 in the Travels of a Professor of Theology at Glasgow* (1694), 1, 6; idem, *The Charge of Socinianism against Dr. Tillotson Considered* (1695); cf. Stephen Nye, *Considerations on the Explication of the Doctrine of the Trinity* (1694), 30–32.

[7] Le Clerc, *Epistolario*, 137.

[8] Ibid.: 'There is a high party that fancy they may gain much upon the King by those methods, but he has hitherto given no sort of encouragement to them and yet they still persist.'

[9] Jean Le Clerc to Gilbert Burnet, 'Fine Dicembre 1695,' in Le Clerc, *Epistolario*, ii 196.

[10] Gilbert Burnet to Jean Le Clerc, 24 January 1696, in Le Clerc, *Epistolario*, ii 200. On Cambridge Arminianism: Nicholas Tyacke, *Aspects of English Protestantism c.1520–1700* (Manchester: MUP, 2001), 335; Erica Longfellow, *Women and Religious Writing in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: CUP, 2004), 50.

[11] Le Clerc, *Epistolario*, ii 200.

[12] Ibid.

Recent scholarship has consistently claimed that churchmen broke decisively with Reformed divinity at the Restoration, when Reformed orthodoxy is said to have been displaced by the final (and perhaps permanent) rise of Arminianism. Yet Burnet's exchange with Le Clerc suggests that charges of Socinianism against prominent Remonstrant thinkers arose from anti-Remonstrant sentiment visible in Reformed *and* Arminian quarters. Clearly, Remonstrant ideas polarized late seventeenth-century churchmen. But perhaps they polarized them in different ways than recent scholarship has led us to expect.

1.2 Received Perspectives on the Theology of the Later Stuart Church of England

In 2001, Nicholas Tyacke stated that '[c]urrent understanding of Restoration religious thought remains… at a fairly primitive stage'.[13] Barring notable exceptions,[14] not much has changed. Compared to moral reform,[15] religious 'enlightenment,'[16] and the role of religious rhetoric in the politics of dissent[17] or the religious politics of the Atlantic Isles more generally,[18] the theology of the later Stuart Church has been the focus of few studies in its own right.

As a result, an older approach to later Stuart ecclesiastical history has been isolated from recent research into post-Reformation Protestant theology, to the detriment of social,

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[13] Tyacke, *Aspects*, 320.

[14] Thomas Palmer, *Jansenism and England: Moral Rigorism Across the Confessions* (Oxford: OUP, 2018); Jeongkyu Park, 'The Rational Apocalypse of the Latitudinarians in Restoration England' (Unpublished PhD thesis, Swansea University, 2018). See the literature engaged below.

[15] John Spurr, *The Restoration Church of England, 1646–1689* (New Haven, YUP: 1991); idem, 'The Church, the Societies, and the Moral Revolution of 1688,' in John Walsh, Colin Haydn, and Stephen Taylor (eds.), *The Church of England c.1689–1833: From Toleration to Tractarianism* (Cambridge: CUP, 1993), 127–42; Tony Claydon, *William III and the Godly Revolution* (Cambridge: CUP, 1996); idem, 'The Reformation of the Future: Dating English Protestantism in the Late Stuart Era,' *Etudes Epistémè* 32 (2017) <http://journals.openedition.org/episteme/1831> (accessed 25 January 2019); Grant Tapsell, 'Church of England, 1662–1714,' in Jeremy Gregory (ed.), *The Oxford History of Anglicanism, Volume II: Establishment and Empire, 1662–1829* (Oxford: OUP, 2017), 27; Brent Sirota, *The Christian Monitors: The Church of England and the Age of Benevolence: 1680–1730* (New Haven: YUP, 2014), ch. 5; Mark Smith, 'The Hanoverian Parish: Towards a New Agenda,' *PP* 216.1 (2012), 79–105.

[16] William Bulman, *Anglican Enlightenment: Orientalism, Religion and Politics in England and Its Empire, ca. 1648–1715* (Cambridge: CUP, 2015); William J. Bulman and Robert G. Ingram (eds.), *God in the Enlightenment* (Oxford: OUP, 2016); Ingram, *Reformation Without End*.

[17] Mark Goldie, 'The Theory of Religious Intolerance in Restoration England,' in Ole Peter Grell et al (eds.), *From Persecution to Toleration: The Glorious Revolution and Religion in England* (Oxford: OUP, 1991), 332–69; Scott Sowerby, *Making Toleration: The Repealers and the Glorious Revolution* (Cambridge, MA: HUP, 2013).

[18] Jacqueline Rose, *Godly Kingship in Restoration England: The Politics of the Royal Supremacy, 1660–1688* (Cambridge: CUP, 2001); Grant Tapsell, 'Pastors, Preachers and Politicians: The Clergy of the Later Stuart Church,' in Grant Tapsell (ed.), *The Later Stuart Church, 1660–1714* (Manchester: MUP, 2012, 71–100.

intellectual, and political historians, for whose ecclesiastical exemplars theology comprised a central mode of discourse. This particularist tendency has left many historians, already skeptical that theology as such played a significant role in shaping political and institutional conflict, insulated from questions raised by contemporaneous continental developments.

There is a long tradition in anglophone historiography which holds that the Church of England reemerged at the Restoration with the makings of a new 'Anglican' theological consensus, whereby the Church effectively dissolved all ties to its Reformed inheritance by the end of the century. This assumption has found expression in two distinct historiographical traditions. In the nineteenth-century, evangelical historians argued for a sharp period of Reformed decline. An evangelical 'revival' in the eighteenth century, it was thought, required a dearth of 'evangelical' teaching in the previous century to be remedied.[19] Non-evangelicals only too happily obliged this declinist narrative, provided that the Restoration was seen as unfolding the Church of England's historic anti-Calvinism as enshrined in her formularies,[20] and not, as later evangelicals asserted, a lapse into 'infidelity and skepticism'.[21]

Another more modern tradition has sought to define a distinct 'Anglican' identity in contrast to the 'authoritative'[22] and 'fundamentalist'[23] continental Reformed tradition. On this view, 'Anglicanism' melded previously disparate theological viewpoints into a unified framework, comprehending and synthesizing truths only partly affirmed by the extremes of Protestantism and Roman Catholicism.[24] This *via media* manifested 'the' intrinsically anti-dogmatic English spirit, and found expression in the founding of the Royal Society and in the concomitant fall of the 'uncompromising' and 'obscurantist' Calvinism which coincided with

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[19] Hampton, *Anti-Arminians*, 4.

[20] George Tomline, *A Refutation of Calvinism*, 7th ed. (London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1817 [1811]), 584; Thomas Scott, *Remarks on the Refutation of Calvinism* (London: C. Baldwin, 1811), ii 759.

[21] J.C. Ryle, *The Christian Leaders of England in the Eighteenth Century* (London: T. Nelson & Sons, 1869), 15; J.H. Overton, *Life in the English Church (1660–1714)* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1885), 9–10.

[22] H.R. McAdoo, *The Spirit of Anglicanism: A Survey of Anglican Theological Method in the Seventeenth Century* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1965), 5.

[23] P.E. More, 'The Spirit of Anglicanism,' in P.E. More and F.L. Cross (eds.), *Anglicanism: The Thought and Practice of the Church of England, Illustrated from the Religious Literature of the Seventeenth Century* (London: S.P.C.K., 1935), xxix–xxx.

[24] John E. Booty, 'Hooker and Anglicanism,' in W. Speed Hill (ed.), *Studies in Richard Hooker* (Cleveland: The Press of Case Western Preserve University, 1972), 211; John S. Marshall, *Hooker and the Anglican Tradition: An Historical and Theological Study of Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1963), 174–77; J.F.H. New, *Anglican and Puritan: The Basis of Their Opposition, 1558–1640* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1964), 108–09.

its rise.[25] It is not claimed that the Restoration effected the fall of Reformed divinity instantly; the point is rather that it did so effectively. According to G.R. Cragg, English 'Calvinism' crumbled with the fall of saintly rule: 'the Restoration marked the end of an era in English religious thought,' precisely because it 'drove from power the exponents of Calvinism,' and 'restored to positions of influence men who on the whole were favourable to Arminianism'.[26] The result was apparently a homogeneous response to Reformed divinity. 'In the Anglican ranks, then,' concluded Ronald Stromberg, 'Arminian sentiment was all but universal; on this doctrine Charles Leslie and Samuel Clarke, right wing and left, could agree.'[27]

This idea has found support in Hanoverian scholarship since Norman Sykes, who reasserted the virtues of the eighteenth-century Church against the assessments of earlier historiography, whether evangelical or Anglo-Catholic.[28] Sykes argued that the eighteenth-century Church conducted its pastoral work unencumbered by the divisions of its Victorian successors.[29] Yet in so doing, Sykes 'chose to highlight the more latitudinarian characteristics of the Anglicanism of the age somewhat to the neglect of its High Church features'.[30] Indeed, Sykes sometimes seems to have retrojected his ideas of eighteenth-century developments onto the seventeenth-century, as in these striking remarks on the 'new temper of religion' inaugurated by the institution of the Royal Society in 1660:

> The incorporation of the Royal Society by Charles II marked the beginning of a new influence upon religion no less than upon philosophy, characterised by an especial devotion to mathematics and astronomy, typical of which were the surrender by Isaac Barrow of his chair of Greek for that of mathematics and the publication in 1699 by John Craig, afterwards a prebendary of Salisbury, of his *Theologiae Christianae Principia Mathematica*. Into such *schemata* of theology the patristic erudition and the chief dogmatic tenets of the Caroline school found no entrance, for the new

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[25] McAdoo, *The Spirit of Anglicanism*, 12; G.R. Cragg, *From Puritanism to the Age of Reason* (Cambridge: CUP, 1950), 31; E.G. Rupp, *Religion in England, 1688–1791* (Oxford: OUP, 1986), 33, 76.

[26] Cragg, *From Puritanism to the Age of Reason*, 18.

[27] R.N. Stromberg, *Religious Liberalism in Eighteenth-Century England* (Oxford: OUP, 1954), 112.

[28] Robert G. Ingram, 'The Church of England, 1714–1783,' in Jeremy Gregory (ed.), *The Oxford History of Anglicanism, Volume II: Establishment and Empire, 1662–1829* (Oxford: OUP, 2017), 51.

[29] John Walsh et al (eds.), 'Introduction: The Church and 'Anglicanism' in the Long Eighteenth Century,' in John Walsh, Colin Haydn, & Stephen Taylor (eds.), *The Church of England c.1689–1833: From Toleration to Tractarianism* (Cambridge: CUP, 1993), 36, 41, 53.

[30] Peter Benedict Nockles, *The Oxford Movement in Context: Anglican High Churchmanship, 1760–1857* (Cambridge: CUP, 1994), 7. The same point is made by F.C. Mather, *High Church Prophet: Bishop Samuel Horsley (1733–1806) and the Caroline Tradition in the Later Georgian Church* (Oxford: OUP, 1992), 4; Robert D. Cornwall, *Visible and Apostolic: The Constitution of the Church in High Church Anglican and Non-Juror Thought* (Newark: UDP, 1993), 16.

> temper in religion did not so much bend itself to refute as resolve to ignore many of their characteristic doctrines. In such a *milieu* the Laudian tradition withered and died of inanition; and for the space of a century from the Restoration the men of Latitude enjoyed a popularity and vogue of astonishing proportions.[31]

Put simply, whatever the 'farre greater part of the Clergy' were fussing about, it had nothing to do with the finer points of patristic or dogmatic scholarship. The 'Laudian' old-guard was dying precisely because no one cared about such things anymore.[32] Most churchmen now sheltered under the 'Latitudinarian umbrella,' including, as Ralph Cudworth remarked in a letter to Limborch, 'Calvinists, Remonstrants, and I believe even Socinians'.[33] For Sykes, older divisions, including debates over Reformed soteriology, no longer seemed obvious to churchmen treading more novel paths.

This idea has been set forth with more nuance by John Spurr and Nicholas Tyacke. Spurr has argued that beleaguered episcopalians reemerged from the Commonwealth with the beginnings of a new theological consensus, shaped by its reaction to interregnum 'Calvinism'. For Spurr, this consensus united around the rejection of Reformed soteriology, and was typified in a home-grown school of moralism known as the 'holy living' divinity, which found episcopal support in the moderate divines who rose to prominence on William's bishops' bench. To be sure, Spurr takes care not to identify 'Restoration Anglicanism' as *the* Anglican tradition.[34] Nonetheless, he is clear about what 'Restoration Anglicanism' was. For Spurr, the period between 1646 and 1689 gave rise to a distinctly anti-Calvinist yet wholly Protestant form of Anglicanism, marked by reformist preaching, pious devotion, and stress on the individual's responsibility for her own salvation. This emergent Anglicanism embodied the 'holy living' theology which germinated during the interregnum,[35] and which was soon

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[31] Norman Sykes, *Church and State in England in the XVIIIth Century* (Cambridge: CUP, 1934), 23.

[32] Recent scholarship suggests that Sykes' emphasis on eighteenth-century unity overcorrects the nineteenth-century partisanship he criticized. J.C.D. Clark has called the idea that the eighteenth-century Church was 'consensual, unified, and moderate' the 'dominant assumption' of eighteenth-century ecclesiastical historiography since Sykes. He believes, however, that the concretizing of partisan identities in the mid-nineteenth century should not preclude analysis of party divisions in the 1690s as principled theological conflicts: J.C.D. Clark, 'Church, Parties, and Politics,' in Jeremy Gregory (ed.), *The Oxford History of Anglicanism, Volume II: Establishment and Empire, 1662–1829* (Oxford: OUP, 2017), 292–93.

[33] Norman Sykes, *From Sheldon to Secker: Aspect of English Church History, 1660–1768* (Cambridge: CUP, 1959), 146; Cudworth to Limborch, UBA MS.M 21 c.

[34] This, Spurr says, was the error of Anglo-Catholic historiographers, who fabricated a *grande siécle* into which Caroline and Restoration divines like Lancelot Andrewes, William Laud, George Bull, and William Beveridge were interwoven with little regard for the cataclysm of the interregnum. See, e.g., John Henry Newman, *Lectures on the Prophetical Office of the Church* (1837), 29.

[35] Spurr, *Restoration Church of England,* 396, 400; cf. Sirota, *Christian Monitors*, 122.

typified in the semi-official work, *The Whole Duty of Man* (1658).[36] Taking its title from Ecclesiastes 12:13b ('Fear God, and keep his commandments, for this is the whole duty of man'), *The Whole Duty* showed theological discourse at its most active, commonsensical, and non-controversial—a far cry from 'the speculative and "experiential" religion of the Interregnum'.[37] What *The Whole Duty* set out in practice, 'moderate' or 'rational' divines sought to achieve at the level of theory.[38] These churchmen modeled the 'theological repudiation of calvinism' and the 'renunciation of the old orthodoxy' which, Spurr says, 'was fast becoming the "dominant theological school" of the day'.[39] It is these divines whom Spurr has in mind when he says, in terms of redolent of Sykes,[40] that it is the 'dominant temper of Restoration Anglicanism'—the implicitly unified rejection of the Church of England's old Reformed orthodoxy—'which should claim our attention if we are to understand how England came to terms with her puritan legacy'.[41]

Without minimizing Spurr's work of underscoring the reactionary temper whereby virtues like impartiality, moderation, rationality, and freedom became hallmarks of the Restoration ethos, this argument is not without problems. The idea of a *volte face* after 1660 has already been problematized in recent articles by Stephen Taylor, Kenneth Fincham, and Christopher Haigh, which show that episcopalian clergy explored their ecclesiastical options during the interregnum by diverse routes; not all interregnum 'conformists' saw eye-to-eye with Henry Hammond, Herbert Thorndike, or Jeremy Taylor, the progenitors of Spurr's 'Restoration Anglicanism'.[42] Moreover, in a recent doctoral thesis, Andrew Ollerton has persuasively argued that 'English Arminianism established itself in England *before* the

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[36] The term 'holy living school' predates Spurr: C. Fitzsimons Alison, *The Rise of Moralism: The Proclamation of the Gospel from Hooker to Baxter* (Vancouver: Regent, 1966), 67, 193.

[37] Spurr, *Restoration Church*, 284, 400; idem, '"Rational Religion" in Restoration England,' *JHI* 49.4 (1988), 563–85; idem, '"Latitudinarianism" and the Restoration Church,' *HJ* 31.1 (1988), 82.

[38] Spurr, '"Latitudinarianism,"' 76.

[39] Ibid., 82; citing Cragg, *From Puritanism to the Age of Reason*, 34.

[40] The likeness between Spurr's approach to the seventeenth-century and Sykes' to the eighteenth is noted in Robert D. Cornwall, 'Review of John Spurr, *The Restoration Church of England, c.1646–1689*,' *AEH* 62.1 (Mar. 1993), 110–12.

[41] Spurr, '"Latitudinarianism,"' 82; cf. John Tulloch, *Rational Theology and Christian Philosophy in England in the Seventeenth Century* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1872), ii 7.

[42] Kenneth Fincham and Stephen Taylor, 'Vital Statistics: Episcopal Ordination and Ordinands in England, 1646–1660,' *EHR* 126 (2011), 319–44; idem, 'Episcopalian Identity, 1640–1662,' in Anthony Milton (ed.), *The Oxford History of Anglicanism, Volume I: Reformation and Identity, c.1520–1662* (Oxford: OUP, 2017), 457–81; Christopher Haigh, ''Where Was the Church of England, 1646–1660?' *HJ* 62.1 (March 2019), 127–47.

Restoration and *against* the prevailing hegemony of the 1650s'.[43] Both findings suggest a need to refine the idea that the 'dominant temper of Restoration Anglicanism' was a uniform response to Reformed divinity. It cannot be denied that the Restoration gave rise to an unprecedented rejection of Reformed soteriology. However, it is not clear that this rejection of Reformed soteriology implied consensus on other critical theological issues.

The idea that the Restoration shifted the English Church toward a unified Arminian theological consensus has also found a proponent in Nicholas Tyacke. Despite stressing the heterogeneity of 'the Anglican essence,'[44] Tyacke has given the distinct impression that such variegation exclusively concerned soteriology. In his essay, 'Arminianism and the Theology of the Restoration Church,' Tyacke assessed 'the extent to which… Restoration "Arminians," as Dissenters were quick to call them, came to represent a "new theological consensus" within the late seventeenth-century Church'.[45] He observed that Oxford remained friendlier to Reformed thinkers, while at Cambridge 'a full-blooded Arminianism emerged as the order of the day'.[46] He exposited the then-unexamined archival remains of two towering academic figures of the later Stuart period: Thomas Barlow, the Reformed Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Oxford, and Joseph Beaumont, the Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge who 'by his own admission was a "Remonstrant" or Arminian'.[47] He set Barlow's Reformed lectures on justification against the backdrop of George Bull's *Harmonia Apostolica* (1670), and showed Beaumont's Arminian soteriology from thesis determinations concerning grace, election, and justification. He concluded that, as time wore on and toleration gained support, the 'Arminian trail already blazed by Beaumont and his "high-church" colleagues' found its following; English and Dutch Arminianisms now 'increasingly converged'.[48] An Arminian consensus won out, not because it elided or even minimized ecclesiological differences, but

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[43] Andrew Ollerton, 'The Crisis of Calvinism and Rise of Arminianism in Cromwellian England' (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Leicester, 2016), 245. Ollerton argues that post-Restoration Arminianism resulted from the fecundity of Arminian theological reflection during the 1650s. Ollerton shows that diverse 'streams' of Arminianism emerged, ironically, at the height of puritan rule, and poses questions about the long-term consequences of that diversity, some of which this thesis seeks to answer.

[44] Nicholas Tyacke, 'From Laudians to Latitudinarians: A Shifting Balance of Theological Forces,' in Grant Tapsell (ed.), *The Later Stuart Church, 1660–1714* (Manchester: MUP, 2012), 46.

[45] Tyacke, *Aspects*, 320–40.

[46] Ibid., 324.

[47] Ibid., 323.

[48] Ibid., 336. Tyacke has tweaked this claim: 'From Laudians to Latitudinarians, 56; cf. Scott Sowerby, 'Group Hunting: Religion, Politics, and Ideology in Later Stuart Britain,' *HJ* 58.4 (2015), 1196.

because, by the end of the century, Arminian churchmen had closed ranks—with one another, but also with the Dutch Remonstrants, whose theological works they widely appropriated.

Though proceeding along different lines, then, a wide range of historians surmise that the later Stuart period witnessed an essentially uniform response to Reformed divinity. It is questionable, however, whether a negative backlash can be taken to imply a positive agenda. Burnet's warning would then appear profoundly strange. For if the later Stuart period gave rise to a homogeneous response to Reformed divinity, how could one of her most powerful prelates fail to advance a proponent of that tradition with which the Church was allegedly converging? Indeed, how could an avowed Arminian like Burnet ascribe the 'Calvinisticall spirit,' not to his Reformed adversaries, but to those who shared his Arminian soteriology?

1.3 A Revisionist Proposal for the Study of Post-Restoration English Arminianism

In answering this question, the present study extends an approach to the theology of the later Stuart Church of England which flows from a burgeoning body of revisionist studies on the development of post-Reformation Protestant theology. This revisionist school has challenged older assumptions of a break between Calvin and the later Reformed tradition,[49] emphasizing instead the variegation of the early Reformed[50] and Lutheran[51] movements. Among its more significant conclusions is the finding that the Reformed tradition contained a diversity of views variegated enough to include many post-Restoration conformists, rendering obsolete the clumsy equivalence between *puritan* and *Reformed*.[52]

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[49] Basil Hall, 'From Biblical Humanism to Christian Aristotelianism,' *JEH* 31.3 (1980), 331–43; Ronald N. Frost, 'Aristotle's *Ethics*: The *Real* Reason for Luther's Reformation,' *TJ* NS 18 (1997), 223–41; cf. Richard Muller, 'Reformation, Orthodoxy, "Christian Aristotelianism," and the Eclecticism of Early Modern Philosophy,' in *NAKG*, 81.3 (2001), 306–25.

[50] Richard Muller, 'Diversity in the Reformed Tradition: A Historiographical Introduction,' in Michael A.G. Haykin and Mark Jones (eds.), *Drawn into Controversie: Reformed Theological Diversity and Debates within Seventeenth-Century British Puritanism* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), 11–30; idem, *Calvin and the Reformed Tradition: On the Work of Christ and the Order of Salvation* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2012), ch. 2; W.J. van Asselt and E. Dekker (eds.), *Reformation and Scholasticism: An Ecumenical Enterprise* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2001).

[51] Andreas Stegmann, 'Martin Luther and Lutheran Orthodoxy,' *ORER*. March 2017. <http://oxfordre.com/religion/abstract/10.1093/acrefore/9780199340378.001.0001/acrefore-9780199340378-e-315?rskey=hFCIGl&result=1> (Accessed 15 January 2019).

[52] Daniel Walker Howe, 'The Decline of Calvinism: An Approach to Its Study,' *CSSH* 14.3 (June 1972), 306–27. Note N.H. Keeble, 'Introduction,' in N.H. Keeble (ed.), *'Settling the Peace of the Church': 1662 Revisited* (Oxford: OUP, 2014), 26: The result of the Act of Uniformity (1662) 'was not uniformity but diversity in the religious life of the nation'.

The key revisionist contribution to recent English ecclesiastical historiography is undoubtedly the work of Stephen Hampton, who has argued that a tradition of Reformed divines who conformed at the Restoration retained ecclesiastical and intellectual vigor through the reign of Anne.[53] Its proponents included bishops (Henry Compton, William Beveridge), Oxford dons (Thomas Barlow, Thomas Tully, William Delaune, John Hall, Thomas Marshall), and Cambridge fixtures (John Pearson, John Edwards, William Dillingham), and produced diverse literature, including catechisms,[54] doctrinal systems,[55] biblical exegesis,[56] philosophy,[57] metaphysics,[58] curricula surveys,[59] casuistry,[60] hagiography,[61] poetry,[62] family devotional works,[63] and pastoralia.[64]

As research on the Reformed tradition has led to reconsiderations of older ideas about the role of 'Calvinism' in diverse national and confessional settings, so too it has raised new questions about Arminianism. As Hampton and Tyacke have shown, a systematized Arminian theology made headway in the later Stuart Church as it never had in the Caroline period, steering theological discourse at least as strongly as the Reformed position.[65] The systematic

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[53] Stephen Hampton, *Anti-Arminians: The Anglican Reformed Tradition from Charles II to George I* (Oxford: OUP, 2008). Hampton's thesis has found support in, e.g., D.D. Wallace, Jr., *Shapers of English Calvinism, 1660–1714: Variety, Persistence, and Transformation* (Oxford: OUP, 2011), 3–7, 205–42; Jeongmoo Yoo, *John Edwards (1637–1716) on Human Free Choice and Divine Necessity: The Debate on the Relation Between Divine Necessity and Human Freedom in Late Seventeenth-Century and Early Eighteenth-Century England* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013), 40–66; Simon J.G. Burton, *The Hallowing of Logic: The Trinitarian Method of Richard Baxter's* Methodus Theologiae (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 235–39; David Sytsma, *Richard Baxter and the Mechanical Philosophers* (Oxford: OUP, 2017), 18. It has been applied instructively to the early Hanoverian period by Smith, 'The Hanoverian Parish.'

[54] Josiah Woodward, *A Short Catechism, Explaining the Substance of the Christian Religion Suited to the Understanding of Children, and the Meanest Capacities* (1709); William Beveridge, *The Church-Catechism Explained: For the Use of the Diocese of St. Asaph* (1700); Lancelot Addison, *The Primitive Institution, or, The Seasonal Discourse of Catechizing* (1674); idem, *The Christian's Manual* (1691).

[55] John Edwards, *Theologia Reformata, or, The Body and Substance of the Christian Religion* (1713).

[56] William Burkitt, *Expository Notes, with Practical Observations on the New Testament* (1700).

[57] John Wallis, *Institutio Logicae: ad Communies Usus Accommodata* (Oxford, 1687).

[58] Thomas Barlow, *Exercitationes Aliquot Metaphysicae, de Deo* (Oxford, 1658).

[59] Idem, *Autoschediasmata, de Studio Theologiae, or, Directions for the Choice of Books in the Study of Divinity* (Oxford, 1699).

[60] See the various iterations of Robert Sanderson's *Cases of Conscience*.

[61] William Dillingham, *Vita Laurentii Chadertoni S.T.P. & Collegii Emmanuelis apud Cantabridienses magistri primi. Una cum Vita Jacobi Usserii archiespiscopi Armachani* (Cambridge, 1700).

[62] Samuel Crossman, *The Young Man's Calling* (1678)

[63] Benjamin Jenks, *The Poor Man's Ready Companion* (1713).

[64] Henry Compton, *Seasonal Advice to the Ministers of the Church of Great Britain* (1710).

[65] Hampton, *Anti-Arminians,* 271; cf. Ollerton, 'The Crisis of Calvinism,' 246 fn. 15: 'Further research is needed to examine these claims.'

publication of the Remonstrant theologians Simon Episcopius, Hugo Grotius, Etienne de Courcelles, and Philip van Limborch, encouraged its steady nourishment.[66]

The findings of Hampton and Tyacke raise the provocative question of what implications the revisionist interpretation of the post-Restoration Church of England in general might have for post-Restoration Arminianism, in particular. If, as Hampton argues, '[the] idea of a homogenous Anglican theological tradition emerging after the Restoration must be abandoned,'[67] perhaps it is also time to reexamine the idea of a monolithic post-Restoration Arminianism. While the revisionist findings could be used to force Reformed and Arminian churchmen into binary opposition, muting differences between Arminian divines and minimizing oppositions other than Reformed/Arminian dialectic, they need not.[68] A more fruitful way to extend this line of inquiry is to ask why some Arminian churchmen advanced identifiably Reformed positions to indict other Arminians as Socinian sympathizers. If fissures divided later Stuart churchmen, the questions to ask are what occasioned them, and how advocates and adversaries of diverging views developed affinity with other camps, whether Reformed, neo-nomian nonconformist, Remonstrant, or even Socinian.

These tendencies—to emphasize the doctrinal unity of the later Stuart Church, and to eschew early modern European Protestantism as one crucial milieu within which to situate its theological life—warrant careful consideration. In what follows, previously unexamined manuscript material will be brought together with widely-read theological treatises to challenge the thesis that a monolithic Arminianism marched steadily from the post-Restoration period into the early Hanoverian. Among its more surprising conclusions is that the identification of Arminianism with Socinianism came often from Arminian churchmen themselves, and that the doctrinal emphases of many such churchmen with their Reformed confrères were not as antithetical as previously thought. Clearly, to understand why certain churchmen were subjected to such anti-heretical scrutiny, it is necessary to look beyond the picture of a polarized contest between Reformed and Arminian, and to account for the views which members of both camps associated with Socinianism. For the charge of Socinianism was no mere display of orthodox zeal against anti-Trinitarian exegesis and incipient deism. It was also, in part, a response to an unprecedentedly comprehensive mode of engagement with the Remonstrant tradition, and to policies advocated in keeping with its reception.

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[66] Tyacke, *Aspects of English Protestantism,* 156–59.

[67] Hampton, *Anti-Arminians,* 273.

[68] Jay Collier, *Debating Perseverance: The Augustinian Heritage in Post-Reformation England* (Oxford: OUP, 2018), 202.

1.4 Issues of Identification and Definition

Before surveying the path ahead, a few remarks on definitions need to be made. First, this study will designated as *Reformed* all persons or views pertaining to the Reformed family of European churches,[69] better known to the non-specialist reader as 'Calvinist'. It is important that historians see that the distinction between *Calvinist* and *Reformed* concerns more than semantics. Unlike 'Calvinism,' the branch of the international Reformed community within which Genevan polity came to be equated with the Reformed essence, the Reformed tradition encompassed a remarkable breadth of expression, both in terms of theological formulation[70] and of ecclesiastical polity.[71] For these reasons, *Calvinist* will not often be employed below.

Having seen what will be meant by *Reformed*, we proceed to another delicate term, *Arminian*. In anglophone scholarship, this term implies hostility to Reformed soteriology: Arminianism 'was nothing,' wrote Peter White, 'if not a doctrine of predestination'.[72] White echoed S.L. Ollard, who defined Arminianism as 'the whole High Church and Latitudinarian reaction against the intellectual tyranny of Calvinism'.[73] For Ollard, Arminianism seems chiefly to have consisted in the denial of absolute predestination.[74] The pervasiveness of this narrow soteriological definition is one reason scholars as diverse as Spurr and Tyacke have, despite differing in the details, presented essentially similar pictures of a post-Restoration Arminian majority, rebuffing its Reformed heritage for a reactionary doctrinal program.

Unfortunately, when Arminianism has been reduced to views on grace, predestination, and justification, it has not usually been grasped that these ideas flowed downstream of the Trinitarian, Christological, and anthropological ideas that underpinned the Arminian tradition's synergistic model of the divine and human in the work of salvation.[75] As Richard

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[69] Philip Benedict, *Christ's Churches Purely Reformed: A Social History of Calvinism* (New Haven: Yale, 2002), xxi–xxiii.

[70] Richard Muller, *After Calvin: Studies in the Development of a Theological Tradition* (Oxford: OUP, 2003), 34; idem, 'The "Reception of Calvin" in Later Reformed Theology: Concluding Thoughts,' *CHRC* 91. 1/2 (2001), 273; Peter Sedgwick, *The Origins of Anglican Moral Theology* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 349–50.

[71] Stephen Hampton, 'Confessional Identity,' in Anthony Milton (ed.), *The Oxford History of Anglicanism, Volume 1: Reformation and Identity, c.1520–1660* (Oxford: OUP, 2017), 218–21.

[72] Peter White, *Predestination, Policy and Polemic: Conflict and Consensus in the English Church from the Reformation to the Civil War* (Cambridge: CUP, 1992), 13.

[73] S.L. Ollard, *DECH* (Oxford: A.R. Mowbray & Co., 1912), 28.

[74] Unconditional election was not peculiarly Reformed, being affirmed by Dominicans, Jansenists, and Lutherans: Collier, *Debating Perseverance*, 92–123.

[75] Richard A. Muller, *God, Creation and Providence in the Thought of Jacobus Arminius: Sources and Directions of Scholastic Protestantism in the Era of Early Orthodoxy* (Grand Rapids, 1991), 3–14; idem, 'The Federal Motif in Seventeenth Century Arminian Theology,' in *NAKG* 62.1 (1982), 102–22; idem, 'The Christological Problem in the Thought of Jacobus Arminius,' *NAKG* 68.2 (1988), 145–63, referencing 163.

Muller has shown, Arminianism was indeed more than a predestinarian position; it was a comprehensive doctrinal tradition in its own right, rivaling in scope the Reformed.[76] Muller argues that Arminianism was one of three great 'architectonic' dogmatic systems to arise from the Protestant Reformation—a system which was, moreover, unique compared to its Reformed and Lutheran counterparts for being the only one 'genuinely open to the new rationalism,'[77] whether in its Cartesian, Wolffian, or Lockean forms. In particular, Muller has proposed that Arminius' predestinarian views cannot be grasped without perceiving his broader departure from Reformed orthodoxy on the point of Christology.[78] Muller has argued that Arminius revised the Reformed doctrine of Christ's threefold office, viewing Christ's designation to the office of Mediator as the act exclusively of God the Father, rather than as one of the *opera Dei essentialia ad intra*, wherein Father, Son, and Holy Spirit operate by the same operation. For Arminius, Muller claims, Christ was designated to his mediatorial office by the Father, and not by the voluntary self-designation of the Son, considered as a work of undivided Trinity terminating on the Son. This is significant for the present study because it underlines an early Arminian tendency toward subordinationism, 'particularly in the context of the emphatically antisubordinationist Reformed theology of the day'—thus enabling one to see that charges of anti-Trinitarianism and even Arianism, exaggerated as they were, 'rested on the correct perception that the trinitarian foundations of Arminius' Christology pointed toward a doctrinal structure not at all compatible with Reformed orthodoxy'.[79]

This history of Arminian subordinationism is one reason why it is significant that not all churchmen who rejected Reformed soteriology looked favorably on the Remonstrants. Between the Restoration and the advent of the Walpolean Church-Whig alliance, long-extant

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[76] Muller, *God, Creation, and Providence,* 281. This is not to deny that Arminianism began as a response to expressions of Reformed predestinarian teaching. As Keith Stanglin ('"Arminius *Avant La Lettre*": Peter Baro, Jacob Arminius, and the Bond of Predestinarian Polemic,' *WTJ* 67 (2005), 51–74) argues, the reason that historians speak of 'Arminians' not 'Baronians' (after Peter Baro, provocateur of the Cambridge crisis of 1595) is that Baro, with support from backers like Lancelot Andrewes and John Overall, bequeathed an episcopally endorsed anti-Calvinist position to posterity, whereas Arminius was consistently enveloped in controversy until his views were sanctioned at the Synod of Dort in 1619. Nevertheless, Stanglin observes a profound affinity in the two movements at an early stage: Both were bonded by anti-predestinarian polemic; both favored the Lutheran theologians Nicholas Hemmingsius and Philip Melanchthon; both wrestled with the same theological problems; both grounded their predestinarian ideas in a revised doctrine of God, deploying ideas which found influential expression in Luis de Molina's doctrine of middle knowledge (*scientia media*); and both (though Stanglin does not say so) developed what Richard Muller (*PRRD* i 75) calls 'a highly rationalist structure allied with Cartesian and eventually with Lockean thought'.

[77] Muller, *God, Creation, and Providence*, 285.

[78] Idem, 'Christological Problem,' 145; idem, *God, Creation and Providence*, 3–14; idem, 'Federal Motif.' Cf. Isaak Dorner, *A History of Protestant Theology,* 3 vols. (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1871), i 423–24.

[79] Ibid., 'Christological Problem,' 155, 154.

strains in Anglo-Dutch Arminian relations widened into a fissure over different strategies of engagement with the Remonstrant tradition, as well as with the Reformed, through which the English Church's 'catholic' heritage had hitherto been communicated.[80] It was not simply what was or was not believed, but the ways *in which* Remonstrant theology was appropriated, and the ways *in which* the Reformed tradition was maligned, that sent Arminians hurtling in divergent directions.[81] So strong were the bonds between those who opposed Remonstrant theology that one can speak meaningfully, in David Como's terms, of a 'negatively defined consensus' against perceived Remonstrant novelties.[82] As a convenient shorthand, this thesis will speak of all who contested the reception of Remonstrant theology as *anti-Remonstrants,* without intending the explicitly Reformed *contra-Remonstrant*.

By *Arminian* will be meant all English and Dutch anti-Calvinists who repudiated the Reformed doctrine of predestination (the principle that the ground of distinction between the elect and reprobate resides not in man but in God).[83] For the Dutch Arminians is reserved the term *Remonstrant,* the label historically applied to the followers of the Leiden divine, Jacob Arminius (c.1559/60–1609), after the signing by forty signatories of a Remonstrance to the States of Holland (1610) stating positions on five disputed points of predestinarian doctrine: predestination, the extent of the atoning death of Christ, human depravity and conversion, the efficacy of grace, and perseverance.[84] The terms *Arminian* and *Remonstrant*, while related, will be regarded as distinct. For many English Arminians, *Remonstrant* reeked of political and constitutional struggle.[85] It was not only a decidedly presbyterian Arminianism, but one known for embracing the toleration of multiple contradictory positions within a single church.[86] In distinguishing *Arminian* and *Remonstrant*, the study makes no claim to judging

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[80] Collier, *Debating Perseverance*, 205, notes the need for 'a more nuanced approach—one that recognizes England's pursuit of a Reformed and ancient catholicity'.

[81] Hampton, *Anti-Arminians*, 10: The post-Restoration Reformed shared 'key theological motifs in their soteriology, Christology, and their doctrine of God… with the wider Reformed tradition, and which distinguish them from those of their contemporaries whose thought was no longer marked by these motifs'.

[82] David Como, 'Puritans, Predestination and the Construction of Orthodoxy in Early Seventeenth-Century England,' in Peter Lake and Michael Questier (eds.), *Conformity and Orthodoxy in the English Church, c.1560–1660* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2000), 66. My alteration of Como's wording for style is deliberate.

[83] Ollerton, 'The Crisis of Calvinism,' 238: 'Indeed, [the principle of predilection] was arguably the clearest boundary that distinguished Calvinist and Arminian soteriology in the seventeenth-century.'

[84] Aza Goudriaan and Fred Van Lieburg, 'Introduction,' in Aza Goudriaan and Fred Van Lieburg (eds.), *Revisiting the Synod of Dort (1618–19)* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), x.

[85] Anthony Milton (ed.), *The British Delegation and the Synod of Dort (1618–1619)* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2005), xvii.

[86] Freya Sierhuis, *The Literature of the Arminian Controversy: Religion, Politics, and the Stage in the Dutch Republic* (Oxford: OUP, 2015), 2.

disputed questions in the broader scholarship of Arminianism, nor to comprehending the scope of the theology of Arminius himself or indeed of his Remonstrant heirs.[87]

To emphasize the breadth of both the Reformed and Arminian traditions, this study will avoid the term *Anglican* and its cognates, for the simple reason that that term risks denominating as 'Anglican' what, within the milieu of early modern European Protestantism, must be seen as English contributions to the transnational and transconfessional development of the Reformed and Arminian theological traditions.[88] There are then the related problems of implying a theological unity premised on ecclesiological style and a certain way of narrating episcopalian fortunes during the interregnum. Thus Thomas Palmer applies the term to 'a specific group of episcopalian divines united by a theological agenda centred on the adjustment of Calvinist soteriology'.[89] Clearly, Palmer accepts the broad interpretation of the period which has been questioned above in relation to Spurr and Tyacke, namely, that the negation of Reformed soteriology may be taken to imply agreement on other critical theological divides. But it is far from clear that an austere 'Augustinianism'[90] did not enjoy a strong standing in its own right, challenging if not eclipsing the anti-Augustinian rigorism of the 'holy living' divines. That this alternative was not solely the property of Reformed churchmen, the study now turns to show.

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[87] For introductions, see Keith D. Stanglin and Richard A. Muller, 'Bibliographia Arminiana: A Comprehensive, Annotated Bibliography Of The Works Of Arminius,' in Th. Marius van Leeuwen, Keith D. Stanglin, and Marijke Tolsma (eds.), *Arminius, Arminianism, and Europe: Jacobus Arminius (1559/1560–1609)* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 263–90; Keith D. Stanglin, 'Arminius and Arminianism: An Overview of Current Research,' in Th. Marius van Leeuwen, Keith D. Stanglin, and Marijke Tolsma (eds.), *Arminius, Arminianism, and Europe: Jacobus Arminius (1559/1560–1609)* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 3–24; idem, *Arminius on the Assurance of Salvation: The Context, Roots, and Shape of the Leiden Debate* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 2–9; Keith D. Stanglin and Thomas H. McCall, *Jacob Arminius: Theologian of Grace* (Oxford: OUP, 2008), 4–25. On Remonstrant contact with Socinianism, see Stanglin and McCall, *Arminius*, 9 fn. 11; Sarah Mortimer, *Reason and Religion in the English Revolution: The Challenge of Socinianism* (Cambridge: CUP, 2010), 119; Luisa Simonutti, 'Liberté, volonté, responsabilité: Faust Socin, Gerhard Johannes Vossius et les arminiens de Hollande,' *Astérion* [online], 3 (2005), accessed 8 January 2018; Marius Van Leeuwen, 'Simon Episcopius en het socinianisme,' in *Doopsgezinde Bijdragen: Socinianisme in de Nederlanden,* nieuwe reeks 30 (2004), 202–09.

[88] In avoiding Anglican/puritan dialectic, this study will not absolutize the Reformed/Arminian alternative. As Milton notes, what is needed is sensitivity to the shades of opinion expressed between polemical extremes, while recognizing that the dualistic terms in which ideological divisions were often expressed constituted the means whereby churchmen articulated, and so in some measure determined, their polemical moment: 'Arminians, Laudians, Anglicans, and Revisionists,' 735; idem, *Catholic and Reformed: The Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought, 1600–1640* (Cambridge: CUP, 1995), 7–8. Cf. Collier, *Debating Perseverance*, 204.

[89] Palmer, *Jansenism and England*, 14. Italics mine. Following Spurr, Palmer sees the 'Anglicans' as coextensive with the 'holy living' school.

[90] 'Augustinian' is a vague heuristic. When it appears, it will denote faithfulness to Augustine of Hippo as received in seventeenth-century Protestant sources, and not necessarily to the letter of Augustine's works.

1.5 The Path Ahead

To date, there exists no account of the intra-Arminian polemic which helped to shape the theological terrain of the later Stuart and early Hanoverian Church of England. This thesis does not offer an extensive analysis of the Arminian theology of the day, nor even of anti-Remonstrant Arminianism in particular. It focuses on demonstrating that many Arminian churchmen perceived the specter of Socinianism at work in the Remonstrant tradition, and that these perceptions formed surprising affinities between churchmen who were otherwise opposed over matters of soteriology. In so doing, it will seek to prove that, underlaying soteriological division, there can be discerned a fissure between those who emphasized submission to catholic orthodoxy, and those who, in seeming to extoll reason over revelation, were seen as uncritically appropriating Remonstrant novelties. If Richard Muller is correct to say that of Protestantism's three great systematic traditions—the Reformed, the Lutheran, and the Arminian—only the last was 'genuinely open to the new rationalism,'[91] the fact that many Arminians preferred the 'sistematicall and Calvinisticall spirit' to the mature Remonstrant tradition shows that late seventeenth-century English Arminianism was a more intellectually nuanced movement than has previously been supposed.

Rather than attempt a comprehensive study of late seventeenth-century English Arminianism, a project well beyond the scope of any single volume, this study focuses primarily on a series of controversies spearheaded by eminent members or proxies of the Lower House of Convocation in the aftermath of the Glorious Revolution. While technically discrete, these episodes have rightly been seen as developing organically from the Trinitarian crisis of the early 1690s, itself a product of the ecclesiastical-disciplinary vacuum left in the wake of the Glorious Revolution (and reaching further, arguably, to the anti-Catholic exchanges engendered by the Exclusion Crisis in the 1670s). The episodes selected represent the key doctrinal debates in which anti-Remonstrant polemic was most actively disseminated.

To set the stage for those analyses, Chapter Two must first revisit the documentary foundation of Nicholas Tyacke's argument concerning Anglo-Dutch Arminian convergence in England. As has been seen, Tyacke has argued that Joseph Beaumont, Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge for the last quarter of the seventeenth-century, pioneered an unprecedentedly robust Arminian establishment at Cambridge, blazing the intellectual trail which led to the eventual clerical support of a policy of religious toleration. However, it will

[91] Cf. *supra*, 15 fn. 88.

be seen from Beaumont's lectures on Christian liberty, delivered at the start of his incumbency in 1674, that this was not so. While Remonstrant theology was widely esteemed, Beaumont was not among its admirers. An Arminian as to soteriology, Beaumont nonetheless charged Simon Episcopius with inciting schismatics, undermining the ministry, and goading dissenters into sedition. Far from auxiliaries in a battle against Calvinists, the Remonstrants were for Beaumont a fountainhead of radical dissent. As will be seen, it was possible for English Arminians to hold their soteriology in tension with perceptions of the Remonstrants as saboteurs of civil and ecclesiastical order and defectors from the catholic faith.

Chapter Three will then turn to the most heated theological debate of late seventeenth-century England, to show how suspicions of Socinianism, occasioned by the allegedly uncritical engagement of Remonstrant ideas, precipitated surprising bonds between Reformed and Arminian churchmen. Key in this debate will be the Principal of Jesus College, Oxford, Jonathan Edwards (c.1638–1712). Following Stephen Hampton, who has located the root of the Trinitarian crisis in William Sherlock's propagation of Remonstrant innovations derived from the writings of Etienne de Courcelles and Jean Le Clerc, this chapter will argue that the lapsed disciplinary regime of the post-revolutionary Church created a context within which intra-Arminian fissures were, perhaps, inevitable. It will show that Remonstrant theology was of no less concern to Arminians like Edwards than to his Reformed contemporaries at Oxford, Robert South and John Wallis. As a result, it will be seen that a negatively defined consensus against perceived Remonstrant novelties galvanized the lower clergy's discontent with the functionaries of the Williamite Church, and proved determinative in rousing calls amongst them for a sitting Convocation over the following decade.

Chapter Four will then show that the 1701 debacle in the Lower House over Bishop Burnet's *Exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles* (1699) flowed organically from the events of the early 1690s. In doing so, it will present Edwards, a principle speaker of the Lower House, as he morphed from a peripheral figure in a heresy hunt into the chief prosecutor of the orthodox cause. Edwards' claim that Burnet assimilated Socinian ideas on Christ's divinity in his exposition of the Second Article of Religion will be assessed by comparison to Burnet's unpublished correspondence with Philip van Limborch, wherein Burnet advised Limborch how to defend Christ's divinity to a Jewish dialogue partner. It will be seen that Burnet's proposed method markedly resembled what Edwards identified as the Socinian position on Christ's divinity, and became the substance of what Burnet articulated in his *Four Discourses* and *Exposition*.

Having established Edwards' importance as an anti-Remonstrant polemicist, Chapter Five will then examine his exchange with the precentor of Salisbury, Daniel Whitby, over an Augustinian doctrine of original sin. Whitby has so often been identified with the 'Arianism' he embraced in his latter years that his ecclesiastical standing, built on years of prior scholarly output, tends to be forgotten. In fact he was, like Burnet (to whom he was closely allied, being godfather to the bishop's namesake), a regular appearance in other men's footnotes, and continued to enjoy a comparatively high ecclesiastical station. In an attack on the 'five points' of Reformed soteriology, Whitby claimed to uphold the doctrine of original sin while rejecting Augustine's doctrine of imputation on the basis that it ran against the tide of all Greek and ante-Augustinian antiquity. As shall be seen, Whitby's views of law, consent, imputation, and necessity, all superficially Lockean, more probably derived from the writings of Philip van Limborch, and this derivation was not lost on Edwards. In his attack on Whitby, Edwards will be seen to have affirmed the orthodoxy of Arminius himself as to original sin, distinguished Arminius' teaching from that of Episcopius, and asserted that Augustine's teaching was the true doctrine of the English Church. In short, it will be seen that the Arminian Edwards made no distinction between Episcopius and Pelagius: To embrace one was to embrace the other.

Chapter Six will then turn to the polemical writings of the Master of Magdalene College, Cambridge, Daniel Waterland—another renowned University polemicist, famously hailed by the lower clergy of his day as *alterum Athanasium*. Chapter Six will trace the views of Waterland's most influential opponent, Samuel Clarke, to the Remonstrants Episcopius and Courcelles, and those English thinkers, notably George Bull, Ralph Cudworth, and Isaac Newton, through whom similar positions found expression in England. Though Waterland played no direct role in the Lower House's proceedings against Clarke, his polemical writings were widely seen as settling the question. Against Clarke, Waterland will be seen to have affirmed that God the Son was *autotheos* considered as to essence, but not considered as to person. Since this was an identifiably Reformed doctrine, famously eschewed by Waterland's supposed hero, Bishop Bull, the fact that Waterland affirmed it against Clarke will reveal the extent to which Arminian churchmen were willing to affirm Reformed positions over and against views associated with the Remonstrant tradition.

Finally, Chapter Seven will analyze an unexamined epistolary exchange conducted between a member of the Lower House and a prebendary of Chichester Cathedral, William Nicholls, and the Amsterdam Remonstrant encountered in the opening of the present chapter,

Jean Le Clerc. Among its key findings will be the discovery that Nicholls himself identified a sweeping anti-Remonstrant sentiment among the lower clergy, specifying its provocateur as none other than Jonathan Edwards of Jesus College, Oxford.

The seventeenth-century English Arminian tradition remains an understudied and misrepresented movement. By now, some of the causes for this state of affairs should be clear. Scholars do not agree on what beliefs English Arminianism entailed, which churchmen peopled it, what foreign or domestic intellectual streams nourished it, or whether English Arminians perceived their Remonstrant counterparts as friends or foes. This thesis will consider late seventeenth-century English Arminianism by examining a powerful contingent of Arminian churchmen who nevertheless denounced the Remonstrants as radicals who overemphasized the capacity of reason to adjudicate mysteries long seen to be apprehensible solely by divine revelation. It will argue that the dominant historiographical approaches to the theology of the later Stuart and early Hanoverian Church of England make little sense of the disputes that embroiled the Church's *Arminian* ranks, given that the intra-Arminian disputes of the day resolved precisely into fears that, in the developed Remonstrant system, a *nova theologia* had arisen, vaunted its judgment over divine revelation, and sown the seeds of skepticism at the heart of the Church's leadership.

It is true that historians have noted discrepancies among later Stuart churchmen over attitudes toward reason; Tyacke has even underlined the Remonstrants as the source of those views. However, based on Tyacke's contention for an Anglo-Dutch Arminian convergence, spearheaded through the incumbency of the Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, Joseph Beaumont, one might therefore assume that, in the interest of transnational and transconfessional convergence, most later Stuart churchmen managed to choke down the Remonstrants' unsavory views on reason, authority, and belief. As the next chapter will show, that assumption would be deeply mistaken.

2. Episcopian Divinity in Restoration Cambridge: Joseph Beaumont, Simon Episcopius, and the *Nova Theologia*

2.1 Introduction

In December 1640, the House of Commons tasked a small committee with investigating 'Abuses in Matters of Religion and Secular Government, either done or suffered by the Universities'.[1] Its findings led to the prosecution of several college heads, and the ejections of other heads and fellows, including a young fellow of Peterhouse, called Joseph Beaumont. The inquiry began in Cambridge, where Laud had sent 'divers of his creatures… who within the space of ten yeares introduced the severall popish innovations, ceremonies'.[2] Especially suspect were two vice-chancellors, William Beale and John Cosin: Beale had licensed Robert Shelford's *Five Learned and Pious Discourses* (1635), a work seen by some as teaching popish sacramentology;[3] Cosin allegedly attempted to convert a young Edward Norton of St. Catharine's to Rome, with the promise of a fellowship at Peterhouse.[4] The report also notes two fellows appointed by Cosin in 1636—Richard Crashaw and Joseph Beaumont.[5] Crashaw was vilified at length; Beaumont was condemned for papistry, sedition, and Arminianism. In sermons at Little and Great St. Mary's, Beaumont was said to have told 'Auditors that S^t^ Peter had the keyes of heaven & of hell,'[6] 'made the Scots more wicked then the powder traitors vsing these words *Inter quos nihil reperio discriminis nisi quod in illis plus doli in his plus impudentiae et crassioris sceleris*' ['Between them I find no distinction, except that there is

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[1] BL Harley MSS 7028–7050; BL Harley MS 7019 fols 52–93. See Allan Pritchard, 'Puritan Charges Against Crashawe and Beaumont,' *TLS* 2 July 1964, 578; J.B. Mullinger, *A History of the University of Cambridge, Vol. III* (Cambridge: CUP, 1911), 208–09.

[2] William Prynne, *Canterburies Doome, or, The First Part of a Compleat History of the Commitment, Charge, Tryall, Condemnation, Execution of William Laud, Late Arch-bishop of Canterbury* (1646), 73–74.

[3] Robert Shelford, *Five Pious and Learned Discourses* (Cambridge, 1635); cf. Prynne, *Canterburies Doome*, 190, 196, 199, 201, 207.

[4] The accusation, by Edward's father, John, an émigré to Massachusetts, should be taken with a grain of salt. John Norton: pensioner, 1620; B.A. 1623–1624; M.A. 1627. Edward Norton: Vice-chancellor's Act Book, 22 Mar. 1639–9 Sept. 1640: CUL VCCt. I.59 fols 94, 110. Cf. Cooper, *Annals III*, 306; Maija Jansson, *Proceedings in the Opening Session of the Long Parliament: House of Commons, Volume I: 3 November – 19 December 1640* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2000), 256, 266, 268, 279.

[5] Hugh Pigot, *Hadleigh* (Lowestoft, 1840), 158.

[6] Cosin had outfitted Great St. Mary's with a chancel screen, and Peterhouse chapel with an image of St. Peter, cut in wood, 'w^th^ keyes in his hand'. Cf. P.H. Osmond, *A Life of John Cosin, Bishop of Durham, 1660–1672* (London: A.R. Mowbray, 1913), 88; Trevor Cooper, ed. *The Journal of William Dowsing: Iconoclasm during East Anglia During the English Civil War* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2001), 156–59.

more treachery in the former, and more effrontery and pronounced wickedness in the latter'], and 'bitterly inveighed against Calvin, calling him that *Blasphemous* mouth'.[7]

Unlike Crashaw, who converted to Rome in 1645, Beaumont remained a Protestant, finding a patron in someone who had been one of the most powerful Caroline Laudians, Matthew Wren. Beaumont had begun his university career while still at Wren's Peterhouse, meeting his lifelong mentor perhaps as early as 1631. From 1641, with Wren ejected from his diocese and imprisoned in the Tower, Beaumont acted as his literary secretary.[8] In 1650, he married Wren's stepdaughter, Elizabeth. He became Wren's domestic chaplain that year, and a royal chaplain in 1662. The sequence may suggest that Wren was attempting to introduce his protégé to the bishop's bench.[9] Wren's influence, however, never quite returned to its pre-commonwealth heights. Hence, rather than a bishopric, Beaumont followed Wren's footsteps back to Cambridge, where, according to Burnet's account of 1663, Beaumont 'carried things so high that… latitude and moderation were odious to the greater part even there'.[10] A decade later, when Peter Gunning resigned the Regius Professorship of Divinity for the bishopric of Ely, Beaumont was appointed to the post, and occupied it until his death in 1699.

Throughout his twenty-five year incumbency, Beaumont consistently attacked the Reformed theology and Cartesian philosophy which he saw as symptoms of nonconformity.[11] He also helped to revive the scholastic method typically observed in Cambridge prior to the rise of Cartesian philosophy.[12] However, as Tyacke has recently shown, Beaumont also read

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[7] BL Harley MS 7019 fol. 73.

[8] For correspondence (1642–1666), see BL Harley MS 7049, fols 38–57^{v}.

[9] Mary Morrissey, 'Episcopal Chaplains and Control of the Media, 1586–1642,' in Hugh Adlington et al (eds.), *Chaplains in Early Modern England: Patronage, Literature and Religion* (Manchester: MUP, 2013), 64–82.

[10] Gilbert Burnet, *A Supplement to Burnet's History of My Own Time* (ed. H.C. Foxcroft), (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1902), 464.

[11] William Sancroft complained of the same in a letter to Ezekiel Wright, 17 January 1663, printed in George D'oyly, *A Life of William Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury,* 2 vols. (1821), i 128. Compare Beaumont's nemesis, Henry More, *The Second Lash of Alazonomastix* (Cambridge, 1651), 42: 'And so now you will say I am become so great a Cartesian that I begin to think but meanly of Platonisme… as if divine and natural knowledge were inconsistent.' Cf. Marjorie Hope Nicolson, 'The Early Stages of Cartesianism in England." *Modern Language Notes* 37 (1925): 433–52; Sytsma, *Baxter,* 40; A. Rupert Hall, *Henry More and the Scientific Revolution* (Cambridge: CUP, 1990), ch. 8; Marilyn Ann Lewis, 'The Educational Influence of Cambridge Platonism: Tutorial Relationships and Student Networks at Christ's College, Cambridge, 1641–1688' (Unpublished Phd Thesis, Birkbeck, University of London, 2010), 103–61, 202–20.

[12] Wren chastised the young Gunning 'for rayling in his Clerum against the schoole divinity': PRO, SP 16.193 fol. 157. The reprinting of Robert Barron's Aristotelian manual, *Metaphysica Generalis* (Cambridge, 1685), later than printings at London (1657, 1678) and Oxford (1660), implies ongoing use in Cambridge: Gascoigne, *Cambridge in the Age of Enlightenment,* 32; William T. Costello, S.J., *The Scholastic Curriculum at Early Seventeenth-Century Cambridge* (Cambridge, MA: HUP, 1958); Mullinger, *History,* iii 565, 663–64.

and saw value in Remonstrant sources. Bishop Wren's familiarity with Remonstrant sources is well known. Anthony Milton and Nicholas Tyacke observe that Wren defended a number of their writings.[13] Jean-Louis Quantin shows that Wren agreed with the Remonstrants that Augustine's late doctrine of predestination deviated from all earlier witnesses, his own included.[14] Convergence between the soteriologies of Bishop Wren and the Remonstrants have also been observed.[15]

Beaumont evidently followed Wren's lead.[16] By far the most extensive treatment of Beaumont's Remonstrant connection comes in two essays on the theology of the Restoration Church by Nicholas Tyacke, who argues that an Arminian consensus reigned in Cambridge through the successive Regius incumbencies of Gunning and Beaumont. Gunning inaugurated this tradition, Tyacke says, but Beaumont set it forth most brazenly—openly declaring even that, as to grace, 'God is a Remonstrant'.[17] Partly on this basis, Tyacke claims that as time wore on and toleration gained support, the 'Arminian trail already blazed by Beaumont' and his "high-church" colleagues' found its following. English and Dutch Arminianisms 'increasingly converged'.[18] Crucially, it was Beaumont, Tyacke suggests, who set the course for their convergence.

As noted in the previous chapter, Tyacke's idea of Anglo-Dutch convergence raises questions about the antecedents, motivations, and boundaries of Beaumont's Arminianism. For, first, it needs to be explained in what sense his Arminianism was 'convergent' with the Dutch Remonstrants. On what Remonstrant sources did Beaumont draw, and to what extent? Further, it needs to be asked whether an authoritarian clericalist like Beaumont could have shaped the theological attitude that prevailed in tandem with toleration—the very mark of the ecclesial future he hoped to avoid. Astonishingly, despite a wealth of unexamined archival

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[13] Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, 436; cf. Nicholas Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists: The Rise of English Arminianism, c.1590–1640* (Oxford: OUP, 1990), 48–49.

[14] Quantin, *The Church of England and Christian Antiquity*, 187–88.

[15] Stephen Hampton, '"A Complete Mirror of Innovation, Superstition and Oppression": The Theology of Matthew Wren,' unpublished conference paper. I am grateful to Dr. Hampton for sharing this paper.

[16] Dmitri Levitin, *Ancient Wisdom in the Age of the New Science: Histories of Philosophy in England, c.1640–1700* (Cambridge: CUP, 2015), 139; Nicholas Hardy, *Criticism and Confession: The Bible in the Seventeenth Century Republic of Letters* (Oxford: OUP, 2017), 152–78. Wren had long admired Grotius: Harm-Jam van Dam, ed. *Hugo Grotius: De Imperio Summarum Potestatum Circa Sacra: Critical Edition with Introduction, English Translation, and Commentary,* 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 2001), i 61 fn. 11; cf. the copy of a letter from Grotius to Vossius, Bodl. MS Rawl 84C fol. 178.

[17] Tyacke, *Aspects*, 320–40; idem, 'From Laudians to Latitudinarians,' 46–69. Tyacke, *Aspects*, 332, cit. Peterhouse MS 429.5, fol. 152: '*In illis quidem habetis Deum Remonstrantem; in hiis, Contraremonstrantes homines*.'

[18] Ibid., 336.

evidence, no study has addressed these questions. Tyacke has shown *that* Beaumont propounded Dutch Remonstrant soteriology. But no further research has come to grips with Beaumont's mode of engagement with the Remonstrant tradition more generally.

This chapter takes up Tyacke's invitation to further research of Beaumont's archival remains, a largely Latin manuscript collection housed in the Ward Library at Peterhouse, Cambridge, either written in Beaumont's autograph, or else transcribed by, or under the supervision of, Beaumont's successor as master, Thomas Richardson. This collection includes lectures on Romans,[19] Colossians,[20] and the subject of Christian liberty,[21] alongside determinations to academic theological disputations.[22] It also comprises shorter exegetical and doctrinal materials, including rebuttals of György Enyedi (1555–1597)[23] and Christof Sand (1644–1680),[24] exegetical commentary on *loci selecta,* the Pentateuch, and Ecclesiastes,[25] theological and exegetical commonplace books,[26] sermons and prayers,[27] letters,[28] and administrative documents relating to Beaumont's clerical and academic duties.[29] Given the density of the materials, a comprehensive analysis is unfeasible. This chapter will therefore only discuss material reflecting direct engagement with Remonstrant sources.

The argument proceeds in two parts. First, Beaumont's soteriology shall be analyzed alongside Remonstrant and Reformed discussions, showing where Tyacke's thesis of 'Anglo-Dutch convergence' rests on solid ground. Second, we shall consider Beaumont's misgivings about the Remonstrants, which he vented freely in invective against Simon Episcopius. The main point to be taken from this chapter is that, while English Arminians demonstrably engaged Remonstrant views, they did so in a thoroughly critical and selective fashion.

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[19] *In Epistolam ad Romanos,* Peterhouse MSS 434–38.

[20] *In Epistolam ad Colossenses*, Peterhouse MSS 430–31.

[21] *Prælectiones de Libertate Christiana,* Peterhouse MS 429.1 fols 1–116.

[22] *Quæstiones Disputatæ in Scholis Theologicis et in Publicis Comitiis Can. inde a Maii 7, 1674 ad annum 1699,* Peterhouse MSS 439–44.

[23] *Refutatio Enjedinus,* Peterhouse MS 429.1 fols 1–162.

[24] *Defensio Ignatii contra Sandium,* and a rejoinder to Sand's *Nucleus historiae ecclesiasticae* (Amsterdam, 1699), Peterhouse MS 449.

[25] *Dissertationes in loca Scripturæ difficiliora,* Peterhouse MS 450; *Annotationes Criticæ in Pentateuchum,* Peterhouse MS 453; *Annotationes Criticæ in Ecclesiasten*, Peterhouse MS 455; cf. his philological observations, MS 454.

[26] Peterhouse MSS 429.26, fol. 446; cf. Beaumont's textual annotations in Peterhouse MS 453.

[27] Public and private prayers and meditations, Peterhouse MS 445; *Sermons by Joseph Beaumont D.D. Master of Peterhouse & Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge,* Peterhouse MS 448; '*A Collection of my R. Father's Latin Speeches*,' Peterhouse MS 459.

[28] Beaumont's letters, Peterhouse MS 459.

[29] E.g., '*A Table of Doctors in Theologie created by me at Cambridge,*' Peterhouse MS 451. Wren's prison writings (c.1641–1660) passed through Beaumont's hands: Peterhouse Wren MSS 1–4.

2.2 THE ELEMENTS OF BEAUMONT'S SOTERIOLOGY

Tyacke has rightly claimed that Beaumont held Remonstrant views. A more thorough substantiation of this claim may be constructed by exhibiting four theological positions that illustrate Beaumont's commitment to an Arminian soteriology: (i) conditional election; (ii) middle knowledge; (iii) resistible grace; and (iv) the denial of the perseverance of the saints.

First, as he made clear when commenting upon Romans 9:10–12, Beaumont denied an absolute decree of election. That text raised the question of why certain individuals were elected while others were not. Jacob and Esau were twins, born of the same conception, to the same free woman, Rebekah. When the prophecy came that 'the elder shall serve the younger,' neither had committed any deed. The vexing question was the ground of distinction between the two. Seventeenth-century exegetes took three approaches to this text. Most Reformed saw it as the apostle Paul's teaching that the 'sons of promise' and 'sons of flesh,' first mentioned in Romans 9:8, represented eternal antitypes of all people elected (or reprobated) on the basis of calling, as opposed to works.[30] A second approach, associated with the Remonstrants and the Archbishop of Conza, Ambrosius Catharinus, acknowledged only a temporal election and reprobation: Jacob and Esau denoted generations, not persons.[31] A third approach, associated with Jacob Arminius,[32] came close to the Reformed approach, yet, like the second, posited 'some cause or condition, either in those to be elected or in those to be reprobated,' rather than 'returning and resting in [God's] absolutely free good pleasure'.[33]

In a thesis determination of 2 November 1676, Beaumont argued that Paul taught a conditional and not absolute decree of election.[34] He did so by expositing Romans 9 in the second tradition. Paul was not explaining the divine predilection for 'sons of promise,' but rather was expanding on Rom. 1:16, that there is 'no hope of salvation by the righteousness of the law, but by the righteousness alone of God through faith in Christ'.[35] In other words,

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[30] John Edwards, *The Arminian Doctrines Condemn'd by the Holy Scriptures, by Many of the Ancient Fathers, by the Church of England, and Even by the Suffrage of Right Reason* (1711), 136; John Prideaux, *Viginti-Duæ Lectiones de Totidem Religionis Capitibus* (Oxford, 1648), 2–3.

[31] Simon Episcopius, *Opera Theologica* (1678), 312; Ambrosius Catharinus, *In Omnes Divi Pauli Apostolia, et Alias Septem Canonicas Epistolas* (Paris, 1566), 85–86.

[32] Jacob Arminius, *Disputationes Magnam Partem S. Theologiae Complectentes* (Leiden, 1610), 154.

[33] Prideaux, *Viginti-Duæ Lectiones*, 8: '*utrum scilicet ponendo causam aliquam, aut conditionem in eligendis aut reprobandis, vel recurrendo tantùm & acquiescendo, in liberrimo ipsius beneplacito'*.

[34] This has already been noted by Tyacke, *Aspects*, 331; cf. Peterhouse MS 429.2 fos 154–61.

[35] Peterhouse MS 429.2, fol. 154: '*Id igitur negotii in Hâc Epistolâ, præter cætera, dederat sibi Apostolo, ut firmaret, Evangeliū X^ti^ esse δύναμιν θεοῦ εἰς σωτηρίαν παντὶ τῷ πιστεύοντι, c.1 v.16. Nullam itaq*[*ue*] *affulgere spem salutis ex justitiâ legis, sed ex solâ justitiâ Dei per fidem in Christo*.'

Romans 9 did not invite one to ask why one individual was elected while another was reprobated; it called one to a different kind of righteousness than was available under the old covenant. Nor did Beaumont show any interest in giving the basis of one's salvation in terms of absolute election: God rejected the Jews because they trusted the law instead of Christ.[36] Of course, in the context of determining a thesis which denied that Romans 9 taught the absolute election of individual men either to salvation or to reprobation, this amounted to a strong approval of the Arminian exegesis.

The second mark of Beaumont's commitment to an Arminian soteriology is his appropriation of middle knowledge, a product of debate between Jesuit and Dominican theologians, from the end of the Council of Trent (1563) to the start of the Thirty Years War (1618). That debate had raised the question of how God knows conditional future contingents: Does God know them, as Dominicans like Domingo Báñez believed, because he knows how he would determine all counterfactual situations? Or did genuine contingencies obtain subsequent to creation? Using the notion of middle knowledge, the Jesuit Luis de Molina asserted the latter.

Early modern theologians ascribed to God two types of knowledge. One was pre-volitional: A natural or 'necessary' knowledge, by which God knew future contingents. The other was post-volitional: A 'free' knowledge, of all that God would in fact will to occur. The trouble was that neither natural nor free knowledge explained how God knew *conditional* future contingents—events which did not arise from the nature of things (as with free knowledge), and which might not even come to pass (otherwise it would be visible to God's natural knowledge).[37] To explain conditional future contingents, which seemed to have fallen in the gap between the conventional distinctions of divine knowledge, Molina argued that God knows conditional future contingents because, between his pre-volitional 'necessary' knowledge, and his 'free' knowledge of what he would decree, there operates a 'middle' knowledge of 'what the free choice of any creature would do by its own innate freedom'.[38] Crucially, disagreement over conditional future contingents fed into a broader debate about the doctrine of concurrence—specifically, the 'level' at which God, as first cause, concurs

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[36] Ibid.: '*Urebat hoc Judæos, legem impotenter deperientes, adeóq*[*ue*] *Evangelii ultrò exortes, &s* [*quod vehementer Apostolo dolet in limine huis capitis*] *à Deo rejectos*.'

[37] Diego Alonso-Lasheras, *Luis de Molina's* De Iustitia et Iure*: Justice as Virtue in an Economic Context* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 51.

[38] Matava, *Divine Causality and Human Free Choice: Domingo Báñez, Physical Premotion, and the Controversy* De Auxiliis *Revisited* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 146–47; Molina, *Concordia* IV d.49 §11, cit. ibid., 114.

with the acts of creatures, as second causes. Molina held that first and second causes concur at the level of the effect: God works *with* second causes, so that *concursus* was like two men, hauling a boat.[39] Dominicans like Domingo Báñez located concurrence at the level of the cause: God moves *in* second agents, by physical pre-motion.[40]

It is generally agreed that Arminius and the Remonstrants deployed Molina's theory, adding the proviso that God elected not on the basis of foreknown works of charity, but of foreseen faith (*fide prævisa*).[41] Reformed theologians, meanwhile, found an ally in Báñez.[42] For the Reformed, the Jesuits and Remonstrants were not tinkering in esoterica; they were revising the doctrine of God. *Scientia media* justified divine sovereignty by placing creaturely agency before God,[43] leaving 'effect without cause, [and] creature without Creator'.[44]

Beaumont had no such worries. He transcribed Courcelles's exposition of middle knowledge into a commonplace book collected between 1675–78.[45] The earlier date is critical, for it was the publication year of Philip van Limborch's edition of Courcelles's *Opera Theologica*—a clear indication that Beaumont obtained a copy hot off the press.[46] In the transcribed passage, Courcelles explained the scholastic divisions of divine knowledge.[47]

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[39] Luis de Molina, *Concordia Liberi Arbitrii Cum Gratiæ Donis* (Olyssipone, 1588), ii d.26 §§4–7. Cf. Matava, *Divine Causality and Human Free Choice,* 30; Eef Dekker, *Middle Knowledge* (Leuven: Peeters, 2000), 2.

[40] T.C. O'Brien, 'Physical Premotion,' in *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America, 2003), xi 669; Matava, *Divine Causality and Human Choice,* ch. 2.

[41] Jacobus Arminius, '*De Deo Secundum Naturam Considerato*,' in *Opera Theologica* (Leiden, 1629), 948–49; Conrad Vorstius, *Tractatus Theologicus de Deo, sive de Natura et Attributis Dei* (Steinfurt, 1606), 47; Nicholas Grevinchovius, *De Arminii Sententia* (Amsterdam, 1658), 46–47; idem, *Dissertatio theologica de duabus quaestionibus hoc tempore controversiis* (Rotterdam, 1615); Episcopius, *Opera*, 303; François Turretin, *Institutes of Elenctic Theology,* 3 vols., ed. James T. Dennison, Jr.; trans. George Musgrave Giger (Phillipsburg: P&R Publishing, 1992), i 213. Cf. Eef Dekker, 'Was Arminius a Molinist?' *The Seventeenth Century,* 27.2 (1996), 337–52; Thomas McCall, 'Was Arminius an Unwitting Determinist? Another Look at Arminius's Modal Logic,' in Keith D. Stanglin et al (eds.), *Reconsidering Arminius: Beyond the Reformed and Wesleyan Divide* (Nashville: Kingswood, 2014), 23–37.

[42] Samuel Rutherford, *Christ Dying and Drawing Sinners to Himself* (1647), 301–27; idem, *Disputatio Scholastica de Providentia Divina* (Edinburgh, 1649), c. xxvi; William Twisse, *Dissertatio de Scientia Media Tribus Libris Absoluta* (Arnhem, 1639).

[43] Prideaux, *Viginti-Duæ Lectiones,* 23: '*certitudo siquidem scientiæ præsupponit certitudinem existentiæ, si non realem & actualem, in rebus ipsis, saltem idealem sive causalem*.' Cf. ibid., 24, cit. Aquinas *ST* I. q.14 art.13 *resp*.

[44] Ibid., 24: '*ponitur effectus sine causa, creatura sine creatore, & per consequens talis scientia est penitus explodenda*.'

[45] Peterhouse MS 447, fol. 48.

[46] Kęstutis Daugirdas, 'The Biblical Hermeneutics of Philip van Limborch (1633–1712) and its Intellectual Challenges,' in Henk Nellen et al (eds.), *Scriptural Authority and Biblical Criticism in the Dutch Golden Age: God's Word Questioned* (Oxford: OUP, 2017), 219–239, at 223 fn. 14.

[47] Etienne de Courcelles, *Religionis Christianae Institutio,* in *Opera Theologica* (Amsterdam, 1675), 52.

Beaumont concluded a discussion of divine knowledge with a similar tripartite exposition, affirming divine prescience of future contingents against the Socinians.[48] Like Courcelles and Molina, he argued that God knows such future contingents hypothetically.[49] He then mounted a biblical defense of middle knowledge from 1 Samuel 23.[50] While no theologians (except Socinians) denied that God foreknew 'natural things as natural, necessaries as necessary, and contingents as contingents,' Beaumont claimed more—that God knows if 'our *free will* shall turn itself to the right or the left, forwards or backwards'.[51] For Beaumont, divine knowledge does not determine, but sees and understands what creatures would do of their own accord.[52] By assimilating middle knowledge, Beaumont implied that one can choose between two alternative possibilities at any moment. It was just this 'liberty of indifference' which the Reformed censured as the foundation of the Remonstrants' error.[53]

Beaumont's commitment to an Arminian soteriology is evident, third, in his belief that grace can be resisted. Reformed divines denied that the will could assent to the first impulses of grace; it needed to be made to assent by 'friendly necessity'.[54] Beaumont's contemporary, John Edwards (1637–1716), later criticized the dean of Canterbury, George Stanhope, for allowing 'more than even his brethren of the Romonstrant [*sic*] perswasion will allow of'.[55] Stanhope had said that, if the will were coerced, its 'distinguishing character' of 'choice and

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[48] Peterhouse MS 429.2 fol. 151, 164–71. Cf. Jan Crell, '*De Deo et Ejus Attributis*,' in Johann Völkel, *Iohannis Volkelii Misnici de Vera Religione Libri Quinque* (Racov, 1630), c. xxiv, 201; Valentinus Smalcius, *Refutatio Thesium D. Wolfgangi Frantzii* (Racov, 1614), 436–37.

[49] Ibid.

[50] Ibid. On Jesuit usage of 1 Sam. 23: Freddoso, 'Introduction,' 68–69. On Remonstrant usage: Gilbert Burnet, *An Exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England* (1699), 162.

[51] Ibid., fols 152–53: '*Deus enim omnia novit, qualia sunt, clarè, verè, integrè, intus & in cute: Naturalia, igitur, ut naturalia; necessaria, ut necessaria; contingentia, ut contingentia. Nec suspiceris falli eū posse circa contingentia; quippe talia sunt, tantum in causis secundis; nec respectu Dei, sed nostri, præscit ille quo tandem se vertet liberum nostrū arbitrium, ad dextram an ad sinistram, antrorsū an retrorsū: Certa igitur illi scientia eorum est quæ nobis adhuc incerta sunt*.'

[52] Ibid., fol. 153: '*Nec verò præscientiæ opus est determinare, sed videre & intelligere… Si Deus præsciendo determinat, ilicet οὔχεται voluntatis humana libertas*.' The Reformed also denied that prescience had outward effects: John Davenant, *Determinationes Quaestionum Quarundam Theologicarum* (Cambridge, 1634), 115.

[53] Turretin, *Institutes* 6.5.11.

[54] Prideaux, *Viginti-Duæ Lectiones*, 48; Turretin, *Institutes,* 15.6.13 ii 550. If grace could be resisted, the difference between the elect and the reprobate would resolve into human free choice—a point the Remonstrant minister Nicholaas Grevinchoven accepted: 'The effect of grace ordinarily depends on some act of the will, as a previous condition *sine qua non*.' ('*Effectum gratiæ ordinaria lege pendere ab actu aliquo arbitrii, ut prævia conditione sine qua non*': William Ames, *Guil Amesii Rescriptio Scholastica & Brevis ad Nic. Grevinchovii Responsum* (Leiden, 1634), 151.)

[55] John Edwards, *The Preacher: A Discourse Shewing What Are the Particular Offices and Employments of Those of That Character in the Church* (1705), vii. The misspelling is probably a bad pun.

freedom of consent' would be obviated.[56] Edwards was not the only Reformed churchman who disagreed. Preaching on 1 Sam. 25:32–33, another Reformed contemporary of Beaumont, Robert South, taught that God prevented David from stretching out his hand against Saul. David 'had a full purpose of sinning… sin having depraved his judgment and got possession of his will,' and was 'like a ship launch'd into the wide sea; not only well built and rigg'd, but also carried on with full wind and tide to the port or place it is bound for'. Nothing, South said, can overrule the sinner's resolution, except 'when the preventing goodness of God reaches out its arm, and pulls him out of this fatal path,' and 'does by main force even wrest him from himself, and save him as it were against his will'.[57]

Contrast this with Beaumont, who declared that 'the efficacious grace of God, which obtains eternal salvation, does not act irresistibly'.[58] Beaumont observed that neither Bishops John Overall and Lancelot Andrewes nor Thomas Aquinas and Augustine before them held that grace works irresistibly.[59] He asked why, if men cannot resist grace, most are lost by divine law, when Scriptures (e.g., 1 Timothy 2:4, 2 Timothy 3:8) presuppose that grace can be resisted.[60] He also distinguished God from his modes of operation. As with the 'irresistible decree,' Beaumont claimed that while God is irresistible, his mode of operation is not.[61] Thus he avoided the potential Reformed objection that his opinion frustrated the divine decrees.[62] Seen in this context, it is clear that, for Beaumont, the grace which works upon the human will does not coerce that will, but rather evokes delight in God, working by moral suasion:

> The power of resistance having been removed, that freedom of the will which God gave human nature is taken away: But it belongs to grace, not to maim or strip nature, but to help and perfect it. So also he draws men, but neither by their necks being bent, not as the custom with brute beasts. Hence we have that saying of Hosea 11:4 ('I drew them with tender cords, with thick bands of love.) Namely, he undoubtedly makes

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[56] George Stanhope, *Of Wisdom, Three Books Written Originally in French, by the Sieur de Charron, Made English by George Stanhope, D.D.* (1697), 'Second Advertisement,' 324.

[57] Robert South, *Twelve Sermons Preached Upon Several Occasions* (1727), ii 367, 368–69.

[58] Peterhouse MS 429.4 fols 42–46: '*Efficax Dei gratia, quae obtinet aeternam salutem, non operatur irresistibiliter*.'

[59] Ibid., fols 44–46. Overall and Andrewes: Anon., *Articuli Lambethani* (1651), 21–32, 41–55; John Plaifere, *Appello Evangelium for the True Doctrine of the Divine Predestination* (1651), 24–31; John Ellis, *Articulorum XXXIX Ecclesiae Anglicanae Defensio* (Cambridge, 1694), 55–74; Milton, *The British Delegation and the Synod of Dort*, 64–92. Citations include Aquinas: *ST* 1. 2æ. Qu. 111. art. 2; *ST* 1. 2æ. Qu. 111. art. 2 *sed contra*; *ST* 1. 2æ. Qu. 111 arts. 2–3; *ST* 1. 2æ. q. 6. art. 4. Augustine: *De Grat. et Lib. Arb.* xvii.

[60] Ibid., fol. 42.

[61] Ibid., fol. 43: '*Nôrunt enim illi, aliud esse, irresistible; aliud, cui actu non resistitur.*'

[62] Ibid.: '*Siquis autem locus resistendi gratiæ, locus quoq*[*ue*] *erit frustrandi illud decretum: in homine enim electo situm erit, tum obluctari Deo, tum ab illo tandem desciscere; adeoq*[*ue*] *perire, electoris ingratiis*.'

> willing persons from some of those who turned away by they having been roused, allured, and, at length, divinely instigated by the power of his conquering sweetness.[63]

Here can be heard clearly the echoes of Arminius, who had provided Protestant theology with an account of the operation of grace as moral suasion.[64] For Beaumont, as for Arminius, the will could not be 'conquered by the truth and vanquished by a triumphant delight, than which nothing is sweeter, nothing more efficacious'.[65] Grace could always be resisted.

Beaumont's commitment to an Arminian soteriology is evident, finally, in his belief that the truly faithful can fall, totally and finally, from grace. Unlike the Reformed, who said that grace converts and preserves in the same irresistible mode, Beaumont taught that conversion and perseverance both depended on the freely accepted 'helps of divine grace':

> For although the operation of grace is resistible, yet the decree of election remains irresistible and immutable. God decreed salvation for those who, believing, persevere, and for them alone… If you resist that grace, if you do not endure to persevere in a living faith, you know that that decree has nothing to do with you! By no means, then, are you free from its effect, even though you will have perished. Neither should you exclaim, by God having posited this salvation, we are proposed to be accepted by ourselves and by our works. You ought rather to keep in mind that God, according to his mercy alone, made a decree for those believing to be saved; and, further, that no one believes and perseveres, except by the helps of divine grace. Thus God gives eternal life by the communication to us of his own gifts. The holy father encapsulates it most piously and elegantly in a word: 'Our merits are God's mercies.'[66]

Elsewhere, Beaumont defined perseverance as a gift (*perseverantiæ charisma*), quoting the Jesuit, Robert Bellarmine: 'Perseverance is the gift of God, because it is not given by merits, but by grace.'[67] Beaumont thought Bellarmine consistent with Article 16, with the

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[63] Ibid., fol. 44. '*Sublatâ resistendi potentiâ, liberum illud arbitrium tollitur, quo Deus humanam naturam donavit: Gratiæ verò est, non mutilare naturam, spoliareve; sed adjuvare, perficeréq*[*ue*]*. Homines itaq*[*ue*] *trahit quidem, sed non obtorto collo, non jumentorum more. Hinc illud Hos. 11. 4. (Traho eos funiculis humanis, densis funibus amoris.) Nimirim, suadendo, alliciendo, instigando, enthea ejus vis victrici tandem suavitate, ex aversis volentes facit*.'

[64] Jacob Arminius, *Examen Modestum Libelli Perkinsiani,* in *Iacobi Arminii Veteraquinatis Batavi S.S. Theogiæ Doctoris Eximii, Opera Theologica* (Leiden, 1629), 750.

[65] Turretin, *Institutes*, iii 550.

[66] Peterhouse MS 429.4, fol. 43: '*Nam quanquam operatio gratiæ resistibilis sit, manet tamen decretum electionis irresistibile, et im*[*m*]*utabile. Decrevit Deus salutem credentibus perseverantibus, iisq solis… Si gratiæ illius resistis, si perseverare in fide vivâ non sustines: scias Decretum illud ad te nil attinere; haudquaquam igitur effectu suo carere, tametsi tu perieris. Neq*[*ue*] *clames, salutem hoc pacto, nobis* nostrisq[ue] *operibus acceptam ferri: sed memineris potiùs, Deus, pro solâ misericordiâ suâ, decretum de servandis credentibus fecisse: neminem etiam credere et perseverare, nisi divinæ gratiæ auspiciis; Deus itaq æternam vitam impertiendo sua ipsius in nobis dona munerari. Quod quidem uno verbo pie et concinnè complectitur S. Pater, merita nostra, misericordia Domini*.' The 'holy father' is Bernard of Clairvaux, *Super Psalmum Qui Habitat* Serm. 15: '*Proinde meritum meum miseratio Domini*.'

[67] Peterhouse Beaumont MS 429.1, fol. 43: '*Nam, fatente Bellarmino de Gratiâ et libero arbitrio, perseverantia donum est Dei, quod non datur ex meritis, sed ex gratiâ*.'

caveat that those whom the Article says may 'arise and amend' can never do so 'unless they are also granted this special grace of perseverance'.[68] Beaumont was adamant: No one perseveres in the faith who does not do so voluntarily. It is this insistence that reveals his Arminian interpretation of the commonplace Reformed teaching[69] that divine concurrence with second causes preserves the integrity of the second cause's nature: 'God, by his concurrence with second causes, does not modify their nature, but concurs for that reason with them, so that everyone acts according to their own character… And, indeed, we do such things as we have been made by him to do—necessary causes necessarily; but those causes given in freedom, freely.'[70] Grace is 'efficacious—that is, for the end which it orients towards. But this end is not the emptying of our free choice, but its right application, so that the thing that we will is that which God wills. He determines our will, but congruently to that will'.[71] Whether moving natural or free causes, God moves according to the creature's natural capacity.[72] In sum, for Beaumont, perseverance and resistible grace hung together: 'the grace of perseverance cannot be forced by opposition. But neither can he be said to persevere, who has not finally triumphed, but been led with bent neck.'[73] Admittedly, Beaumont used strong language to express the work of grace: 'Grace brings it about that, by a conquering sweetness, our will does not refuse happiness… neither however is this happiness to be attributed to us, but to the grace of him by whose might the will is determined by this mode.'[74] Nevertheless, he did not extend this metaphor of 'conquering sweetness' as far as the Reformed. For him, salvation could not be foisted upon the unwilling. It must be accepted with open hands, and retained by the same.

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[68] Ibid.: '*Post acceptum, inquit, S. Spiritum possumus à gratiâ datâ recedere, atq*[*ue*] *peccare,* denuoq[ue] *per gratiam Dei resurgere ac resipiscere*'; '*non ideo perseverant, nisi docentur* quoq[ue] *speciali hac gratiâ perseverentiæ*.' Beaumont argued along these lines elsewhere: Peterhouse MS 429.2, fols 194–98.

[69] Richard A. Muller, 'Goading the Determinists: Thomas Goad (1576–1638) on Necessity, Contingency and God's Eternal Decree,' *MAJT* 26 (2015), 59–75, at 65. Goad, coincidentally, was Beaumont's incumbent when the latter was a youth of Hadleigh in Suffolk.

[70] Peterhouse Beaumont MS 429.3, fols 122–23: '*Deus quippe concursu suo cum causis secundis, earum naturam non mutat; sed eapropter concurrit, ut pro suâ quæq*[*ue*] *indole agant… Et sanè tales agimus quales ab eo conditi sumus. Causæ nempe necessariæ, necessariò; libertate autem donati, liberè*.'

[71] Ibid., fol. 123: '*gratia efficax; nempe finis ad quem tendit. At finis iste non est liberi arbitrii nostri ademptìo, sed recta applicatio; ita ut id nos velimus quod velit Deus. Determinat ille voluntatem nostram, sed congruenter ad illam voluntatem*.'

[72] Peterhouse MSS 429.3, fol. 123.

[73] Ibid.: '*Per gratiam liberè acceptatam. Gratia enim perseverantiæ, nulli resistenti obtruditur. Sed nec is dici potest perseverare, qui non ultrò incedit, sed obtorto collo trahitur*.'

[74] Ibid.: '*Victrici suavitate id efficit gratia, ut voluntas nostra non abnuat felicitatem… nec tamen nobis tribuenda est hæc felicitas, sed ipsi gratiæ, cujus ope voluntas hoc modo se determinat*.'

A full analysis of Beaumont's soteriology would require more close textual analysis, including discussions of original sin, justification, and the sacraments. But it has surveyed enough to substantiate Beaumont's theological convergence with Remonstrant soteriology. Clearly, to a degree, Tyacke is correct: A convergence of English and Dutch Arminian traditions can be witnessed in the period. However, as the remainder of this chapter sets out to show, this convergence was far more limited than Tyacke's initial appraisal suggests. Indeed, it would not overstate the case to say that English engagement with Remonstrant sources went smoothly only when the issue at hand was soteriology. Engagement took place, to be sure; but the lion's share of it was engagement of a deeply critical nature.

2.3 Authority and the Ministry: The Critical Reception of Episcopius in Beaumont's *Prælectiones de Libertate Christianâ*

The remainder of this chapter examines Beaumont's three *ad hominem* attacks on Episcopius. These attacks focused on Episcopius' ecclesiology and view of the magistrate, and fell in lectures twelve to fourteen in his series, *De Libertate Christianâ*, delivered shortly after the start of his Regius incumbency, between 7 May and 27 October 1674. These lectures, in which Beaumont clearly targeted English dissenters,[75] set a fitting tone for his incumbency:

> For a man most honoured by good letters, most influential by his native intelligence, most recited among his own people and now (though I know not how) more among ours than among those whom he justly leads, Simon Episcopius, not so long ago professor of sacred theology at Leiden, has not blushed to show himself a most prodigious patron and combatant in matters pertaining to Christian liberty. So that it appears hence that there is no great talent except that which is mingled with madness: And those who are in whatever manner 'learned,' with whom the authority of the catholic church is either of no, or of only little, moment, these certainly have easily and deservedly followed after his most beastly errors.[76]

Those who followed Episcopius, in other words, did so at the expense of true catholicity. By situating Episcopius and his disciples outside the catholic fold, Beaumont gave his hearers a startling taste of what lay in store. He proceeded to charge Episcopius with three such errors.

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[75] Tyacke, *Aspects*, 329.

[76] Peterhouse Beaumont MS 429.1, fol. 83: '*Vir enim excultissimus bonis literis, ingenii acumine pollentissimus, inter suos decantatissimus, et nescio annon inter nostrates quóq*[*ue*] *plus justo regnans, Simon Episcopius, S. Theologiæ apud Leydenses non ita pridem Professor, Summis Ecclesiasticæ Disciplinæ ingratiis, se prodigiosæ in re Xtianâ libertatis patronum pugilemq*[*ue*] *dare non erubuit. Ut vel hinc pareat, nullum esse magnum ingenium sine mixturâ dementiæ: Eosq*[*ue*]*, ut ut eruditos, apud quos Ecclesiæ Catholicæ authoritas aut nullius est, aut levis momenti, fœdissimos errores, facilè, et merito quidem suo errare.*'

First, citing Episcopius' published opinions, Beaumont charged that Episcopius taught that, under certain conditions, laymen, and even laywomen, could preach and administer communion.[77] Episcopius had worried that solely clerical administration would imply that the priest stood *in persona Christi*, with which he disagreed.[78] Episcopius proposed, therefore, a heady corrective:

> 1. It is not absolutely necessary that the administration of the supper be conducted by a certain elder of the church, and hence, because in Christ there is neither male nor female, it can be administered equally by all. 2. Where that order obtains such that a certain elder conducts the administration, and that order is a source of peace and reverence for order, it should be preserved. 3. Where an elder is not present, or cannot be present in a public gathering, it is allowable for any man at all, especially for those most suitable, to conduct that administration. For they are allowed to speak and teach in a gathering; why should the administration of the Lord's Supper be considered forbidden? On the other hand, the Apostle permits all men in the church to speak, because he excepts women (although they are capable)—that is, understand he means *wives*, and those who are subject to husbands, as is clear from both of those other texts, 1 Cor. 14:34–35, and 1 Tim. 2.12. For the Apostle seems to except neither virgins nor widows, to whom the gift of prophecy had especially been given by God: 1 Cor. 11:5. Because the rules do not pertain to them, on account of which the Apostle desires women to be silent in gatherings; they are not to teach, but ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ εἶναι [to stay in silence]. Although it is certain that wherever men, especially the more suitable, are present, it is fitting that they be preferred to the women in teaching and administering. I add, 4, where no man is gathered, but only so many religious, and pious or faithful women, there is no cause why they may not take turns among one another to teach and to celebrate the Lord's Supper, since the precept to celebrate a memorial of Jesus' death, and of witnessing to mutual communion, applies no less to women than to men.[79]

Beaumont considered Episcopius' proposals deeply misguided. He likened Episcopius to ancient *hæretici ridiculi* like the Quintillians and Pepuzians—Montanist sub-sects

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[77] Episcopius, *Responsio ad Quæstiones Theologicas Sexaginta Quatuor*, in *Opera*, 38–40, resp.

[78] Ibid., 39.

[79] Ibid., 9: '*1. Absolutè necesse non esse, ut Cœnæ administratio peragatur ab aliquo Ephoro Ecclesiæ, ac proinde, quia in Christo non est mas nec fœmina, pariter ab omnibus eam peragi posse. 2. ubi ordo ille obtinet, ut Ephorus aliquis administrationem peragat, ordinem istum pacis causta, & ordinis reverentia, conservandum esse. 3. ubi Ephorus non adest, aut adesse non potest in cœtu publico, licere cuilibet viro, imprimis idoneo, administrationem illam peragere. Quibus enim loqui & docere in cœtu licet, iis cur interdicta credatur Cœnæ Dominicæ administratio? At viris omnibus loqui in Ecclesia permittit Apostolus, quia mulieres (licet idoneas) excipit; intellige, conjugatas, & quæ viris subjectæ sunt, uti ex utroque textu I ad. Corinth. XIV. 34, 35. & 1 Timoth. II. 12, manifestum est. Virgines enim aut viduas non videtur excipere Apostolus, imprimis prophetiæ dono à Deo donatas: I ad Cor. XI. 5. quia ad eas non pertinent rationes, propter quas Apostolus mulieres vult in conventibus tacere; non docere, sed ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ εἶναι. Quamquam certum est, ubi viri (imprimis ideonei) adsunt, æquum esse ut ii mulieribus qualibuscunque præferantur in docendo & administrando. Addo 4 ubi viri nulli conveniunt, sed solæ dumtaxat mulieres religiosæ ac piæ sive fideles, caussam non esse, cur eæ docere se invicem & Cœnam Domini inter se celebrare non possint, cum præceptum memoriam mortis Jesu celebrandi & communionem mutuam testandi, non minus ad fœminas quam ad viros pertineat.*'

notorious for ordaining women to the episcopate and presbyterate.[80] Indeed, he claimed that Episcopius did greater violence to the Scriptures: Even the Pepuzians knew that 1 Corinthians 4:1 ('Let a man so account of us, as of the ministers of Christ, and stewards of the mysteries of God') referred to the sacramental stewardship of Christ's body and blood, and that this distinction applied not only to the apostles, but to their successors.[81] Episcopius, however, not only removed all distinctions between ordained offices, but even those between the representative ministry and the laity in general. In doing so, he ignored the testimony of Scripture and general human consensus.[82] Episcopius' concerns about sacerdotalism had led him to overreact, in Beaumont's judgment, by eliminating bishops and presbyters.[83] That Episcopius expressed hesitation about the 'absolute necessity' of mere *elders* (*ephorum),* therefore suggested, Beaumont remarked, that he had doubts about the necessity of having *any* ordered ministry at all.[84] This is hardly an appraisal one would deem consistent with Tyacke's thesis of robust Anglo-Dutch convergence.

Beaumont was also unhappy with Episcopius' approval of ecclesiological structures only when they conduced to peace and order. Antiquity, Beaumont insisted, trumped such considerations.[85] Episcopius' notion that 'any which man' (*quilibet*) could preach and administer the Supper deviated from the unified witness of the ancient church, and degraded the ministry into a collective of unsavory personalities, including 'the stupid, the doltish, and the simple'. Nor did the qualification, 'especially those most suitable,' change this fact.[86]

The upshot of Episcopius' ideas became clear in his final proposal, in Beaumont's words, that 'the Lord's Supper is to be celebrated by all, male or female: Therefore it can be administered by any man or woman'.[87] Beaumont accused Episcopius of leveling all hierarchy—something neither Old nor New Testament believers were permitted to do:

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[80] Peterhouse Beaumont MS 429.1 fols 83–84. Cf. Epiphanius, *The Panarion of Epiphanius of Salamis: Sections 47–80, De Fide* (trans. Frank Williams) (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 21–23; Ross Shepard Kraemer, *Her Share of the Blessings: Women's Religions Among Pagans, Jews, and Christians in the Greco-Roman World* (Oxford: OUP, 1993), 164.

[81] Ibid., fol. 84.

[82] Ibid.

[83] Ibid., fol. 85.

[84] Ibid.: '*De absolutâ Ephori sui necessitate, agnoscenda sit, an abnuenda, nulla in quæstione mentio. Nec certè opus erat; nam ambiguitur de necessitate ex ecclesiæ constitutione ortâ.*'

[85] Ibid.: '*Quàm benignè! At verò, ordo iste passim et semper obtinuit in Catholicâ Ecclesiâ.*'

[86] Ibid.: '*… licebit bardo, fungo, fatuo: Nam quilibet horum vir est. Nec hac se absurditate expedit, addendo imprimis idoneo*'.

[87] Ibid., fol. 87: '*Cœna Domini ab omnibus celebranda, seu viris seu feminis: Ergo à quóvis viro aut feminâ administranda est.*'

> For who among these does not know that it is one thing to celebrate, and another to administer? By order of the law, all, both male and female, celebrated public prayers: There is however one minister, who administers the liturgy by virtue of his office. The whole gathering of mourners celebrates the funeral; but only he whom the church has put in charge of this duty is to conduct that which we call the office of the dead. All who are called celebrate the feast—all the guests, that is, excepting the master of the feast. What more? All the Jews were bound to celebrate the feast of Pentecost, in which, however, his office was reserved to the priest, Leviticus 23:20. In the same way, it is for all Christians to celebrate the Lord's supper; yet nevertheless the functions of the priesthood can and should be kept in good order.[88]

Nor did Beaumont have time for Episcopius' application to the Supper of Galatians 3:28.[89] The idea resisted 'not only reason, and the practice of the catholic church, but the institution of Christ himself'.[90] And, if Beaumont's contempt for Episcopius were in doubt, an attack, focused personally on Episcopius' wife, Maria, dispelled any lingering confusion:

> No doubt but that Simon would have come off most disadvantageously, if by chance Maria had refused to render to him his conjugal rights [τὴν ὀφειλομένην ἔυνοιαν, cit. 1 Cor. 7:3]. From his teaching, however, Maria would have promptly made this apology: 'Do not be angry with me, my husband, for I learned, by your instruction, that all distinction between the sexes has passed away. Neither are you male, nor am I female, for we are both one in Christ. That which pertains to the sexes, therefore, let us leave to the Jews and pagans, whose wretched inconstancy compels them to be "males" and "females."'[91]

This was a shot well below the belt, illustrative of Beaumont's deep ambivalence towards the Remonstrants. Indeed, it underscores the connection Beaumont perceived between Dutch Remonstrants and English dissenters: Episcopius, like the dissenters, insisted on a form of order never acceptable to Christ—'a liberty, not of Christ, but of Simon'.[92]

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[88] Ibid.: '*Quis enim horum nescit, aliud esse celebrare, aliud administrare? Jubente Lege, omnes tum mares tum feminæ, celebrant preces publicas: unus tamen minister, idq*[*ue*] *ex officio, liturgiam administrat. Celebrant exequias totus pullatorum cœtus; officium quod dicimus defunctorum, is solus peragit quem huic muneri ecclesia præfecit. Celebrant convivium omnes vocati, convivas tamen excipit solus Architriclinus. Quid multis? Judæi omnes tenebantur celebrare festum Pentecostes; in quo tamen officium suum sacerdoti reservatum est, Levit: 23;20. Pari modo, sit omnium Xtianorum, celebrare Cœnam Domini, nihilo tamen minùs, sacerdoti partes suæ sartæ tectæ et possunt esse, et debent*.'

[89] Ibid., fols 87–88.

[90] Ibid., fol. 90: '*…non solùm ratione atq*[*ue*] *ecclesiæ catholicæ praxi, sed ipsi Xto institutori oppedere…*'.

[91] Ibid., fol. 88: '*Nil dubium, quia Simon iniquissimè tulisset, si fortè uxor ejus Maria τὴν ὀφειλομένην ἔυνοιαν ei reddere abnuisset. Ex ipsius tamen dogmate, in promptu fuerat Mariæ hæc apologia: Ne succenseas mi vir, nam te informatore didici, periisse Xtianis omnes sexuum ratione. Neq*[*ue*] *tu mas, neq*[*ue*] *ego femina, quis utérq*[*ue*] *in Xto sumus. Quod sexuum igitur est, Judæis relinquamus ethnicisq*[*ue*]*, quos misera infidelitas mares et feminas esse cogit*.'

[92] Ibid., fol. 90: '*Tædet, hæc libertatis portenda pluribus persequi; libertatis, inquam, non Xtianæ, sed Simonianæ… id certè non Xto acceptum ferunt, sed Simoni*.'

The second error Beaumont charged to Episcopius was the teaching that Christian gatherings should meet persistently, even when it required disobeying the magistrate. In his *Responsio ad Quæstiones,* Episcopius had asked what the author of Hebrews enjoined when encouraging Christians not to discontinue meeting together (Hebrews 10:24–5). According to Beaumont, Episcopius 'fancied that the Apostle could be understood as referring to Christian assemblies, as opposed to gatherings of Jews and pagans'.[93] Crucially, Episcopius had also contrasted these gatherings against gatherings enjoined by the magistrate—clearly implying that legitimate forms of Christian assembly obtained regardless of magisterial proscription.[94] Perceiving that this laid him open to the charge of schism, Episcopius added the caveat that Christian assemblies were 'not to be understood as clandestine and concealed conventicles, which under the pretext of a purer religion and a better conscience, are gathered to the agitation or ruin of the present state of the republic'.[95] Beaumont considered this disclaimer vacuous, and sarcastically exhorted his hearers to give Episcopius their 'immortal gratitude' for withholding Christian liberty from heretical conventicles like those of the Anabaptists.[96]

The trouble, for Beaumont, was that Episcopius had ascribed to Christians a liberty of conscience subject to no magistrate's authority, so that separation on grounds of conscience and the desire for freedom from error were deemed legitimate.[97] And, indeed, at least for the mature Episcopius, separating on grounds of conscience was nothing to be feared, so long as it was only 'a modest withdrawal from obedience'.[98] When believers contravened magisterial edicts by gathering, they were neither disobeying, nor resisting authority, but only refusing to render obedience to usurped claims of supreme divine right.[99] Christian gatherings were matters of conscience; and 'as to conscience, the right of the magistrate is nothing; because, by reason of his conscience, the magistrate is no less immediately under God than he who is the most common subordinate'.[100] When a magistrate denied his subjects the ability to

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[93] Ibid., fol. 91: '*…qui fatetur Apostolum intelligi posse, de conventibus Xtianorum, oppositè ad cœtus Judæorum Gentiliumq*[*ue*]'.

[94] Episcopius, *Responsio,* 56.

[95] Ibid.: '*intelligendos esse non cœtus clandestinos & clancularia conventicula, quæ sub prætextu religionis purioris & conscientiæ melioris coguntur ad turbandum vel evertendum Reipub. præsentis statum…*'.

[96] Peterhouse Beaumont MS 429.1, fol. 92.

[97] Episcopius, *Responsio*, 56.

[98] Ibid.: '*Non resistetur proprie magistratui; sed modestè detrectabitur obedientia magistratui in eo, quod ad eum, ut magistratus est, non pertinet, imo quod ei jubere aut prohibere non magis licet, quam subdito cuiquam licet prohibere alteri, ne Deum colat, aut jubere ut idolis suffiat*.'

[99] Ibid.

[100] Ibid.: '*At in conscientiam magistratui jus nullum est: quia ratione conscientiæ suæ magistratus non minus immediatè subest Deo, quam vilissimus quisque subditus*.'

worship, 'he neither uses nor abuses his own right; but usurps an alien right, and surely a divine right, with respect to all the subjects with whom he is equal'.[101]

Disputes over magisterial authority had a lively history in the Dutch Republic.[102] Expanding Arminius' views in the Remonstrant Confession (1621),[103] Episcopius said that magistrates who repressed unpopular views 'under the pretence of heresy, commonly so called… arrogated and assumed to themselves too great a power,' rendering legitimate authority contrary and illegitimate.[104] In the markedly un-Augustinian close to the *Confessio*, he declared that the Christian magistrate is a 'nursing father' to the Church, 'bound to preserve, whole and entire, their liberty of worshipping God publicly; and to take care and endeavor that divine truth and religion is maintained by spiritual weapons alone, and is persuaded unto only by rational arguments'.[105] Following Arminius,[106] Episcopius insisted that even Catholics should be allowed to practice their religion—a conclusion emphasized in his 1627 defense of religious toleration, where the idea of toleration *within* the church gave way to the assertion that freedom of worship was an inviolable element of one's liberty of conscience.[107] In brief, for Episcopius, when the magistrate tries to police private opinion, he not only violates his subjects' consciences; he usurps the divine authority of Jesus Christ.

Unlike Episcopius, Beaumont showed a more Augustinian willingness to deploy coercive measures for the sake of winning souls. As Alexandra Walsham has shown, in Beaumont's England, 'persecution was not merely a type of holy violence but "an arm of pastoral theology."'[108] To allow heretical views to circulate, therefore, was a breach of pastoral duty. This is why Beaumont fulminated that 'our English schismatics' (*Anglicanis*

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[101] Ibid.: '[*Magistratus ergo cætus ejusmodi prohibens,*] *nec utitur jure ullo suo, nec abutitur; sed alienum jus uruspat, & jus quidem divinum, respectu cujus ipse subditis suis omnibus coæquatur.*'

[102] Douglas Nobbs, *Theocracy and Toleration: A Study of the Disputes in Dutch Calvinism from 1600 to 1650* (Cambridge: CUP, 1938), 25–107; Jonathan Israel, 'The Intellectual Debate about Toleration in the Dutch Republic,' in C. Berkvens-Stevelinck et al (eds.), *The Emergence of Tolerance in the Dutch Republic* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 3–36; Sierhuis, *The Literature of the Arminian Controversy*, 227–58.

[103] Carl Bangs, '"All the Best Bishoprics and Deaneries"': The Enigma of Arminian Politics,' *Church History* 42.1 (Mar. 1973), 5–16, at 8–10. On its origination and theological significance, see Mark Ellis, *The Arminian Confession of 1621* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2005), i–x.

[104] [Simon Episcopius], *Confessio sive Declaratio Sententiæ Pastorum, Qui in Fœderatio Belgio Remonstrantes Vocatur, super Præcipuis Articulis Religionis Christianæ* (Harderwijk, 1622 [1621]), 76.

[105] Episcopius, *Confessio*, 78; *Confession of Faith,* 259.

[106] Jacob Arminius, *Disputationes Magnam Partem S. Theologicæ Complectentes, Publicem & Privatæ,* xxii §xiv, in *Opera*, 318–19.

[107] [Simon Episcopius], *Vrye Godes-Dienst, of t'Samen-spreeckinghe tusschen Remonstrant en Contra-Remonstrant, over de Vrye Godts-dienstighe Vergaderinghen der Remonstranten* (s.n. s.l., 1627).

[108] Alexandra Walsham, *Charitable Hatred: Tolerance and Intolerance in England, 1500–1700* (Manchester: MUP, 2006), 2.

nostris schismaticis) drew these ideas from 'Simon's quiver' (*Simonis pharetrâ*).[109] If allowed in England, Episcopius' theory of toleration would produce the same lawlessness:

> What if separation arises from haughtiness, from arrogance, from prejudice, from sectary zeal, from fancy for opposition? What if, under that pretext of conscience, those 'modest separatists' plot seditious counsels? What if they are waiting for the chance to overthrow the republic, in the mad fashion of the Munsterites and Amsterdamites? Simon's theology will not permit the magistrate to prevent these evils.[110]

This not only limited authority over conscience; it uprooted magisterial authority entirely:

> [T]he magistrate, he says, has no right over conscience. When then? Doubtless, by reason of his conscience, he is no less immediately under God than his humblest subject. Does he not dispute presumptuously? Alas, by a like argument: The magistrate, by reason of his person, by reason of life, by reason of every good fortune and good, is no less immediately under God than his humblest subject. Therefore, the magistrate has no right in matters of person, life, fortune, and good, than his humblest subject. What else is this, than utterly and entirely to undermine, and pluck up by the roots, the authority of the magistrate?[111]

Finally, Beaumont turned to a broader analysis of Episcopius' corpus, to show that he had not yet exhausted the 'bilge-water' of Episcopius' opinions.[112] He accused Episcopius of constraining all magisterial authority except his own, to the delight of the 'schismatics'.[113] He took issue chiefly with Episcopius' limitation of the magistrate's authority to matters of public, as opposed to private, interest. Beaumont tackled this third 'beastly error' by rebuffing three controversial passages from Episcopius' works.

First, Beaumont insisted that private religious practice fell under the remit of magisterial authority. Episcopius had denied this in *Videlius Rhapsodus* (1633),[114] a response

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[109] Peterhouse Beaumont MS 429.1, fol. 94. Cf. ibid., fol. 105: '*quo redit hæc nova theologia…*'

[110] Ibid., fol. 95: '*Quid si segregatio oriatur ex fastu, ex petulantiâ, ex invidiâ, ex studio partium, ex adversandi libidine? Quid si sub conscientiæ istius prætextu, modesti segreges seditiosa coquant consilia? Quid si præstolentur ansam evertendæ Reipublicæ, et Monasteriensium atq*[*ue*] *Amstelodamensium more bacchandi? Ex Simonis theologiâ non licebit magistratui his malis prævertere*.'

[111] Ibid., fols 94–95: '*Secundò, Magistratui, inquit, nullum jus in conscientiam. Quid ita? Nimirum, quia ratione conscientiæ suæ non minùs immediatè subest Deo, quàm vilissimus quisq*[*ue*] *subditus. Nonné nervosè disputat? Hem simile argumentum: Magistratus, ratione personæ suæ, ratione vitæ, ratione fortunarum bonorumq*[*ue*] *omnium, non minùs immediatè subest Deo quàm vilissimus subditus: Ergo magstratui nullum jus in personam, vitam, fortunas et bonas vilissimi subditi. Quid aliud hoc est, quàm potestatem magistratûs totam totam subruere, et radicitùs evellere?*'

[112] Peterhouse Beaumont MS 429.1, fols 98–106.

[113] Ibid., fol. 98: *'Quis enim in verâ principis sui fide manens, æquo animo ferat, potestatem magistratûs ita amputari, constringi, arctari, idq*[*ue*] *in schismaticorum gratiam; ut ditionibus suis tantùm non excludatur?*'

[114] Simon Episcopius, *Videlius Rhapsodus: Sive Vindiciæ Doctrinæ Remonstrantium a Criminationibus & Calumniis Nicolai Vedelii, S. Theologiæ D. et Professoris in Illustri Schola Daventriensi, Quas Rhapsodiarum in Morem Congescit & Inscripsit* Arcana Arminianismi (Harderwijk, 1633).

to the Reformed theologian, Nicholas Vedel's *Arcana Arminianismi* (1634).[115] In the *Rhapsodus*, Episcopius admitted that Vedel had accurately related his views: 'The magistrate can only prohibit ministers from teaching in public temples or places, but not in private places.'[116] He added, however, one caveat: 'Yes—except among those who teach what is contrary to the laws of obedience and public honesty.'[117] Beaumont considered this absurd. Whoever taught secretly only did so, Beaumont objected, because he had been judged unfit by the magistrate, and consequently, by the very act of teaching, 'treads down the laws of obedience underfoot'.[118] Interestingly, he compared Episcopius to the erstwhile teacher of the apostle Paul, Rabban Gamaliel I.[119] The superficial compliment was a backhanded insult. In Acts 5:33–41, Gamaliel advises the Sanhedrin to refrain from punishing the apostles, 'lest haply ye be found even to fight against God'. Contemporary works in defense of liberty of conscience identified Gamaliel as proof that moderation had God on its side.[120] Against the backdrop of impending religious violence, Gamaliel embodied moderation—an ideal which, as Ethan Shagan has shown, was not opposed to, but constituted, a means of coercive force.[121] Addressing Episcopius as *Gamaliele* was thus a rather unsubtle attempt to cast Episcopius' theory of toleration as a rival political manoeuvre, to divest the magistrate of his rights 'to see to the public peace in time, and to prevent seditious plots'.[122]

Beaumont also scrutinized Episcopius' *Responsio Remonstrantium ad Libellum cui Titulus est, Specimen Calumniarum* (1631),[123] where Episcopius denied that the coercive power of the magistrate as to sacred things extended farther than public persons, places, and

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[115] Nicholas Vedel, *De Arcanis Arminianismi Libri Duo, seu, Quaestio, Quaenam Sit Religio et Fides Theologorum Remonstrantium Decisa ex Confessione Fidei & Apologia Ipsorum* (Leiden, 1632).

[116] Episcopius, *Videlius Rhapsodus*, 163: '*Magistratum tantum posse prohibere, ne minister doceat in templis seu locis publicis, non autem in locis privatis*.'

[117] Ibid.: '*Ita est, nisi in istis doceantur quæ contra leges obedientiæ & publicam honestatem sunt*.'

[118] Peterhouse Beaumont MS 429.1, fol. 98: '*Nam ubi quis nil moratus Magistratûs interdictum, in cryptis docet; leges obedientiæ conculcat, quia ita docet, etiamsi de legibus et obedientiâ nullum sermonem habeat*.'

[119] Ibid.

[120] [Anon.], *The P. of Orange's Engagement for Maintaining and Securing the Protestant Religion & Liberties of the People of England, according to His Late Gracious Declaration Humbly Reminded To Be Performed by Their Most Sacred Majesties K. William and Q. Mary, in Their Royal Assent in Parliament, to the Perpetual Establishment of Liberty of Conscience* (s.n. s.l., 1689), 4 col. 2.

[121] Ethan Shagan, *The Rule of Moderation: Violence, Religion and the Politics of Restraint in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: CUP, 2011), 291.

[122] Peterhouse Beaumont MS 429.1, fol. 99: '*Nullum ergo jus magistratui, publicæ paci in tempore consulere, et seditiosis inceptis prævertere*.'

[123] Simon Episcopius, *Responsio Remonstrantium ad Libellum cui Titulus est, Specimen Calumniarum* (Harderwijk, 1631).

functions.[124] For Episcopius, the magistrate's authority did not extend 'to persons, places, and actions, which, outside of the public sacred sphere (*templis*), are made only a matter of religion and conscience'.[125] The contra-Remonstrants disagreed,[126] as did Beaumont, though his objection had a more liturgical flavor. True concord was unity of worship, which required the magistrate to restrain schismatic liturgical practices. For Beaumont, Episcopius' ideas flew in the face of the apostle Paul, who claimed in 1 Cor. 1:10 that there ought to be no divisions in the Church—an exhortation which could only be realized, Beaumont averred, if 'the same liturgy, the same rites, the same sacred things, were agreeable to all'.[127]

Beaumont concluded his fourteenth lecture by turning to Episcopius' fullest discussion of magisterial authority, in his *Apology for the Remonstrant Confession* (1629)[128]—a work which had for some time aroused the notice of English onlookers. Thomas Edwards, father of Beaumont's contemporary, John Edwards, had cast the *Apologia* as an amusing case of Remonstrant vacillation, from a generous ascription of authority to the magistrate in earlier texts, to a victim-mentality after the Synod of Dort: 'then they lifted up the heele and then they write books in a farre other stile, and in their Apologie, that power which before they had so liberally measured out for them, they did not a little limit, and contract, and offended as much in the defect… as before they had in the excesse.'[129] Indeed, as Douglas Nobbs has observed, in the *Apologia,* Episcopius had made a concerted effort to show that the magistrate ought to have been master of his own craft, and no one else's.[130] He granted the magistrate the use of coercive force in the public sphere,[131] but admitted the magistrate no authority in matters of conscience:

> outside public places they can place no right, no coercive force, admissible in matters of consciences or private actions, which are made cases of conscience or religion alone: These are of the divine tribunal only, and do not pertain to the human tribunal:

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[124] Ibid., 125.

[125] Ibid.: '*Non autem ad personas, loca & actiones, quæ extra templa publica religionis & conscientiæ solius caussâ fiunt*.'

[126] Ibid.: '*Nihil æque prodesse posse credunt ad salutem rectorum, pacem & concordiam subditorum, totiusque Reip. tranquillitatem atque incolumitatem*.'

[127] Peterhouse MS 429.1, fol. 100: '*eadem liturgia, iidem ritus, eadem sacra, universis grata*'.

[128] Simon Episcopius, *Apologia Pro Confessione Sive Declaratione Sententiæ Eorum, Qui in Fœderatio Belgio Vocantur Remonstrantes, super Præcipuis Articulis Religionis Christianæ* (s.n. s.l., 1629).

[129] Thomas Edwards, *Antapologia, or, A Full Answer to the Apologeticall Narration of Mr. Goodwin, Mr. Nye, Mr. Sympson, Mr. Burroughs, Mr. Bridge, Members of the Assembly of Divines wherein is Handled Many of the Controversies of These Times* (1644), 156–57.

[130] Nobbs, *Theocracy and Toleration*, 105.

[131] Episcopius, *Apologia*, 262^{v}.

> Those who act otherwise usurp divine power on the earth, and render themselves liable to doing injury to the divine majesty.[132]

Episcopius was clear: 'this is what I desire: That the magistrate can use no coercive force by which he may impede the religious exercises of his subjects in their own private places.'[133] What life is without food, he reasoned, religion is without free exercise. Those private practices, then, that cause no offense, must be permitted.[134]

Beaumont would have none of this. If human law obligated conscience *at all*, one could draw no neat scholastic distinction between its public and private requirements. 'For if sacred public things pertain to the human tribunal, as he himself admits, why not also private ones? For I am of the opinion that the matter of religion and conscience is dealt with no less in public churches than in the haunts of conventicles.'[135] Beaumont appealed to Paul, who exhorted all to be subjected to the magistrate 'on account of conscience':

> What, pray, did God subject to the magistrate—the body alone, or the soul as well? If only the body, that warning of Paul, Romans 13:1, is certainly insipid—'Let *every soul* be subject unto the higher powers.' Call the matter to mind; you shall easily perceive that the magistrate cannot govern the behavior of your body alone. If you follow his commands, you do not do it without the soul; for a cadaver, even if addressed, cannot listen! Let it stand as the case, therefore, that both soul and body are under the yoke. But how is the soul to be set under the yoke, if you drop the yoke from the neck of conscience? Free the conscience by hand, and by the same deed you shall release the soul. For the conscience is the guide of the soul; if this one is given liberty, that one will follow the part into liberty. Indeed, that I may express myself more clearly: Conscience is either a faculty or an operation of the soul. I ask, therefore: Who but he who has lost his mind denies of the soul subjected to the magistrate, that its faculties and operations must also be subjected to the same?[136]

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[132] Ibid.: '*At extra loca publica jus nullum, nullam vim coactivam competere iis statuunt in conscientias aut actiones privatorum, quæ religionis aut conscientiæ solis caussa fiunt: Hæ solius divini fori sunt & ad tribunal humanum non pertinent: Qui contra faciunt, ii usurpant divinam potestatem in terris, & reos se faciunt læsæ divinæ majestatis*.'

[133] Ibid., 263r: '*Sed hoc volo, magistratum, vi coactiva nulla uti posse qua impediat subditorum in locis privatis ac propriis religiosa exercitia*.'

[134] Ibid.

[135] Peterhouse MS 429.1, fol., 103: '*Nam si sacra publica (quod ipse fateris) ad humanum forum pertinent; cur non et privata? Opinor enim religionis et conscientiæ res agitur, non minùs in publicis ecclesiis, quàm in latebrosis conventiculis*.'

[136] Ibid., fols 103–04: '*Quidnam Deus subjecti Magistratui? Corpusne solum, an animam quóq*[*ue*]*? Si solum corpus; satis profectò insulsum illud, Pauli monitum, Rom: 13;1.* Πâσα ψυχὴ ἐξουσίαις, omnis anima, ὑπερεχούσαις ὑποτασσέσθω. *Revoca rem ad calculos; facilè senties te solo corpore morem magistratui gerere non posse: Si mandata ejus exequeris, non id sine animâ facis; nequit enim cadaver esse dicto audiens. Stet ergo, tam animam quàm corpus esse sub jugo. Quì autem fiat animam sub jego esse, si conscientiæ cervicibus jugum dejicis? Assere manu conscientiam; atq*[*ue*] *eâdem operâ asserueris animam: Animæ enim dux est conscientia; hæc si libertate donatur, venit illa in libertatis partem. Vel ut clariùs agam; conscientia est animæ seu facultas, seu operatio: Posito ergo, animam subjici magistratui, facultates ejus atq*[*ue*] *operationes, eidem quoq*[*ue*] *subjectas esse, quis neget, nisi mentis inops?*'

If God delegates authority to the magistrate, it will hardly do to limit that authority to forms of obedience more appropriate to corpses than to the living. Nor was it fair to say that religion without free exercise was like life without food, Beaumont observed, since the 'schismatics' who devoured Episcopius' writings opted out of the nourishment that the Church *did* provide. Beaumont's wry remarks make his ambivalence towards Episcopius quite palpable: 'It is surely a grave crime to plan the destruction of religion, and by *hunger*—the *gravest* weapon of all!'[137] He even quipped that, perhaps, the schismatics' spiritual hunger arose, as Lockeans might later put it, not from a defect of the eye, but a defect of the object:

> But what, pray, is that bread, what are those practices by which religion is nourished in separatist gatherings? Not the established liturgy; this worthless provision is not suited for the palate of schismatics. Half-baked appeals, confused hymns, sermons hardly gleaned from study, and finally the Lord's Supper administered by any little man, if the elder is absent—or if only women have flocked together, by any woman you please. Without these victuals, as everyone knows, the life of religion is finished. But why 'finished'? Aren't these only religious exercises? To read and meditate upon sacred scripture; to cultivate justice and continence; to study works of love to neighbour and works of obedience to the magistrate; to do works so that holy hope and faith may gain an increase; and, finally, to consider, revere, and love God in all things. Do not these exercises (which, certainly, are no works of separatist gatherings) provide sufficient food for the soul, so that there is no fear lest religion be dispatched by hunger?[138]

How, Beaumont asked, could the 'schismatics' complain of spiritual starvation when they would not even receive 'the soul's most sumptuous feast,' the Lord's Supper—even though it was necessary, not only to their spiritual nourishment, but to their salvation?[139] In the end, Beaumont painted a clear picture of what Episcopius' *nova theologia* portended: Fields, farmsteads, cities, streets, and markets, teaming with separatists, on the one hand; the sanctuaries and chapels of the established Church, sunken into desuetude, on the other.[140]

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[137] Ibid., fol. 104: '*Grave profectò crimen, religionis moliri internecionem; idq*[*ue*] *fame, telo omnium gravissimo*.'

[138] Ibid., fol. 104: '*Sed quisnam ille cibus, quænam exercitia quibus in segregum cœtibus religio alitur? Non stata liturgia: vilis hæc annona, neq*[*ue*] *ad schismaticorum palatum. Crudæ ergo precatiunculæ, hymni inconditi, homiliæ partium ferè studio compositæ, deníq*[*ue*] *cœna Domini quovis homunculo, si ephorus absit; vel si solæ fœminæ confluxerint, quâvis mulierculâ administrante. Nempe absq*[*ue*] *his opsoniis actum est de vitâ religionis. Quare verò actum? Hæcciné sola religiosa exercitia? S. Scripturas legere et meditari, justitiam et continentiam colere; charitati erga proximos, erga magistratus obedentiæ studere; dare operam ut sancta spes atq*[*ue*] *fides incrementum capiant; deniq*[*ue*] *Deum in omnibus videre, mirari, diligere; Nonné hæc exercitia, ad quæ quidem nil opus cœtu segrege, pabulum animæ sufficiunt, ita ut metus nullus ne religio conficiatur fame?*'

[139] Ibid.

[140] Ibid., fol. 105.

2.4 CONCLUSIONS

A key player in John Cosin's Peterhouse and a beneficiary of Matthew Wren's lifelong personal and professional interest, Joseph Beaumont was a product of the Caroline Laudian fold, who found himself in the position of determining theological orthodoxy at Cambridge for the last quarter of the seventeenth-century. Unlike at Oxford, where Reformed and Arminian divines stood roughly in parity, through Beaumont and his predecessor, Peter Gunning, the theological establishment at Cambridge came—with notable exceptions such as the Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity, John Pearson—to find its own distinctly Arminian voice. The vast Latin manuscript remains documenting Beaumont's long Regius incumbency provide an unparalleled opportunity to glimpse what passed for orthodoxy in the Church of England's Arminian bastion.

On the basis of this collection, Nicholas Tyacke has argued that Beaumont forged a path of convergence between previously disparate English and Dutch Arminian traditions, blazing an Arminian trail which would be walked by advocates for a policy of religious toleration over the next thirty years. The present chapter has sought to show why Tyacke's argument is untenable. It has argued that, while the Remonstrant flavour of Beaumont's soteriology does suggest a deepening engagement of Remonstrant sources by English churchmen, this was clearly engagement of a highly selective, even censorious, nature. It is clear, for example, that Beaumont assimilated Remonstrant soteriological views. He adopted the Remonstrant reading of Romans 9, positing a temporal election and reprobation wherein Jacob and Esau denoted generations, not persons. He copied selections from Etienne de Courcelles on middle knowledge, defending its legitimacy in his determinations. He taught that divine grace can be resisted, since it only elicits the response of the will. And he affirmed that grace must be kept as freely as it is accepted, so that believers can fall from grace.

However, it would be a mistake to infer from this evidence alone that Beaumont perceived the Remonstrants in generally favorable terms. For, as the second half of this chapter has shown, this simply was not the case. Much as Bishop George Morley claimed a Reformed heritage while distancing himself from Calvin ('patriarch of the presbyterians'),[141] so too did Beaumont claim an Arminian heritage, while distancing himself from Simon Episcopius. Put succinctly, for Beaumont, Episcopius was a dodgy Dutch Presbyterian who happened to believe what English anti-Calvinists had been teaching since the 1580s.

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[141] George Morley, *The Bishop of Winchester's Vindication* (1683), 275, cited in Hampton, *Anti-Arminians,* 6.

Instead, what should impress us about Beaumont's engagement with the Remonstrants is just how opprobrious it could be. For Beaumont, Episcopius undermined the ordered ministry, leveling all distinctions between Christians—lay and clerical, male and female—on the authority of Galatians 3:28. He encouraged schismatics to persist in meeting, even against the express command of the Christian magistrate. And he strictly limited the magistrate's authority to matters of public concern, denying any right to the magistrate in matters of conscience. Beaumont could hardly have made his opinion of Episcopius any clearer—calling him 'Simon,' joking about his marriage-bed, and insinuating that Episcopius was only furthering darker political motivations, under the pretence of Christian liberty.

Clearly, while Beaumont deployed the battle-hardened tools of Remonstrant theology in polemical determinations targeting Reformed soteriological positions, he perceived Episcopius principally, not as an ally in a battle against Reformed orthodoxy, but as an apologist for radical English dissent. In so doing, Beaumont turns our expectation of Anglo-Dutch Arminian relations—and, indeed, Tyacke's thesis of Anglo-Dutch Arminian convergence—on its head. In the early seventeenth-century, as Helmer Helmers has recently shown, English and Dutch Arminians rallied around shared royalist policies. Archbishop Laud took advantage of Dutch Remonstrant contacts, for example, when working to bring English churches in the Netherlands back under the control of the Church of England.[142] In that era of Anglo-Dutch Arminian correspondence, both camps saw themselves as united in an anti-puritan front. What is fascinating about Beaumont's anti-Remonstrant invective is that, in the post-1660 situation, a shift in English, and even specifically Laudian (or, perhaps more properly, 'Wrenite') attitudes towards the Remonstrants can be discerned. What the case of Beaumont provides is one notable instance in which a towering Arminian figure of the post-Restoration Church of England had come to see the Dutch Remonstrants less as allies in a battle against Calvinists, and more as the theological seedbed of radical dissent. If Beaumont, like the God with whom he identified in one of his thesis determinations,[143] can be described as a 'Remonstrant' in matters of grace, then in matters of order—the nub, arguably, of his theological agenda—he could, with equal accuracy, be characterized as an anti-Remonstrant.

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[142] Helmer J. Helmers, *The Royalist Republic: Literature, Politics, and Religion in the Anglo-Dutch Public Sphere, 1639–1660* (Cambridge: CUP, 2015), 92–93.

[143] *Supra,* 26 fn. 17.

3. A Merely Specifick Trinity? Reactions to William Sherlock in Context

3.1 Revisiting the South-Sherlock Dispute

In the aftermath of the Glorious Revolution, Beaumont's fear of dissent became a theme of high-churchmen. After the Toleration Act in May 1689 and the Lords' bill for Comprehension the next month, the Commons requested that William delegate the matter to Convocation (the clerical body responsible for establishing canon law).[1] Against the advice of the Dean of St. Paul's, John Tillotson, and the Bishop of Salisbury, Gilbert Burnet, William agreed. Thirty commissioners—Beaumont and his counterpart at Oxford, William Jane, among them—were meant to gather on 10 October 1689 in the Jerusalem Chamber of Westminster Abbey to negotiate a policy of comprehension. The commission was a fiasco; anti-comprehension churchmen stormed out or absented themselves, leaving the commission to a Williamite cadre of London clergy sympathetic with the Williamite bench. Meanwhile, high-churchmen began an election campaign for Convocation seats, and, when October arrived, defeated the comprehensionists decisively. Tillotson lost to Jane for the prolocutorship, while other Oxford divines, including the Vice-Chancellor, Jonathan Edwards, were admitted to the Lower House. Soon, members of the Lower House were attacking allegedly heterodox books, like the Hertfordshire cleric Stephen Nye's *Brief Notes upon the Creed of St. Athanasius* (1690), which was 'explicitly, if not entirely fairly, associated with the London ascendency in general and the ecclesiastical commission in particular'.[2] However, on 24 January, 1690, with no tangible action taken against these books, Convocation was prorogued. It would not sit for another eleven years. Meanwhile, high-churchmen continued assaulting heterodox print.

Unfortunately, one treatise, written by a prominent London cleric associated with the Williamite comprehensionists, was in the eyes of the lower clergy little better than Nye's *Brief Notes*. In 1690, the Master of the Temple and Tillotson's eventual successor as dean of St. Paul's, William Sherlock, published in response to Nye a revisionary work of Trinitarian theology, entitled, *A Vindication of the Doctrine of the Holy and Ever-Blessed Trinity.* In that work, Sherlock drew on a Cartesian theory of personhood—the notion, in simple terms, that a

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[1] Mark Goldie, 'John Locke, Jonas Proast and Religious Toleration 1688–1692,' in John Walsh et al (eds.), *The Church of England c.1689–c.1833: From Toleration to Tractarianism* (Cambridge: CUP, 1993), 157; Tony Claydon, *Europe and the Making of England, 1660–1760* (Cambridge: CUP, 2007) 319.

[2] Sirota, *Christians Monitors*, 85.

person is essentially a thinking thing (*res cogitans*)[3]—that had been mediated through the Cambridge Platonists, Ralph Cudworth and John Turner.[4] Devising a fateful application of that concept, Sherlock proposed a novel way of describing the Trinity, that seemed to thwart the Socinian charge that a Triune God was a contradiction in terms.

> If the Son be conscious in himself of all that the Father is, as conscious to the knowledge, to the will, to the love of the Father, as he is to his own, by an internal sensation, then the whole Father is in the Son; if the Father be thus conscious to all that the Son is, then the whole Son is in the Father; if the Holy Ghost be thus conscious to all that is in the Father and in the Son, then the Father and the Son are in the Holy Ghost, and the Holy Ghost in the Father and the Son, by this mutual consciousness in each other. This is very plain and intelligible, and makes them as much one, as every man is one by himself, by self-consciousness.[5]

Sherlock's argument was simply this: The Trinitarian 'persons' are best conceived as three 'minds,' whose unity is founded in mutual consciousness. Modern readers, who may be less sensitive to the profound sensitivity of Trinitarian language, should not underestimate how radical Sherlock's propositions sounded to early modern ears. In fact, the controversy over Sherlock's work may even puzzle those who are conversant with Trinitarian theology, since certain historic teachings that Sherlock's position undermined, such as the principle of inseparable operations, are no longer necessarily considered obvious by many contemporary theologians.[6] Yet Sherlock's 'plain and intelligible' method prompted perhaps the most violent theological debate of the late seventeenth-century. As well as embroiling the University of Oxford in controversy, it drew from the pens of Sherlock's enemies the most developed accounts of traditional Trinitarian orthodoxy of the later Stuart period.

The first writer to respond to Sherlock's *Vindication* was an erstwhile friend who has already been met in the previous chapter—a prebend of Westminster Abbey and canon of Christ Church, Oxford, Robert South, in his *Animadversions on Dr. Sherlock's Book* (1693). In his reply, *A Defense of Dr. Sherlock's Notion of a Trinity in Unity* (1694), Sherlock argued that humans can know nothing of God, who is spirit, without likening him to something in ourselves, since, 'as Mr. Lock has truly observed, we can form no idea but either from external impressions, or internal sensations'.[7] To this South returned a bilious reply, *Tritheism*

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[3] Sherlock, like the Cartesians, denied that consciousness constitutes personhood: Udo Thiel, *The Early Modern Subject: Self-Consciousness and Personal Identity from Descartes to Hume* (Oxford: OUP, 2014), 9.

[4] Philip Dixon, *Nice and Hot Disputes: The Doctrine of the Trinity in the Seventeenth Century* (London: T&T Clark, 2003), 110–11.

[5] William Sherlock, *A Vindication of the Doctrine of the Holy and Ever-Blessed Trinity* (1690), 58.

[6] The principle of inseparable operation states that, in the Godhead, there is one will, one operation, not three wills and three operations, operating in cooperative labor.

[7] William Sherlock, *A Defense of Dr. Sherlock's Notion of a Trinity in Unity* (1694), 6.

Charged upon Dr. Sherlock's Notion (1695), drawing blood with every blow: 'Had [Sherlock] lived in the former times of our Church,' South remarked, there would have been 'some other place found out for him to perch in than the top of St. Paul's, where at present he is placed, like a church weather-cock, (as he is) notable for nothing so much, as standing high and turning around'.[8] South did not even hesitate to draw Sherlock's allegedly unhappily married wife, Elizabeth, into the fight, implying that it was Elizabeth and not William who wore the breeches in the family.[9] The dispute proved entertaining, but failed to elicit disciplinary measures against Sherlock by either crown or bishop's bench.[10] Many high churchmen, therefore, ill at ease with the slack disciplinary progress of the post-revolutionary establishment,[11] found Sherlock's evasion of punishment hard to swallow.

Hence, while Sherlock and South waged war in print, more formal measures were being undertaken against Sherlock's position at the University of Oxford. On 28 October 1695, the Feast of St. Simon and St. Jude, a promising young tutor, Joseph Bingham, preached a sermon at St. Peter-in-the-East, in which he expounded patristic Trinitarian concepts using something like Sherlock's terminology. Bingham preached that 'there are three infinite distinct minds and substances in the Trinity,' and 'that the three persons in the Trinity are three distinct infinite minds or spirits, and three individual substances'.[12] Bingham's sermon was denounced to the newly appointed vice-chancellor, Fitzherbert Adams, and condemned by the Hebdomadal Board. Following a meeting of the vice-chancellor, the heads of houses, and the bishop of Oxford, John Hough, on 25 November 1695, the University condemned Bingham's views as 'false, impious, and heretical'.[13] The English translation of the decree added that Bingham's views were those of 'Dr. S—k, in his *Discourse* of the *Trinity*'.[14]

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[8] Robert South, *Tritheism Charged upon Dr. Sherlock's New Notion of the Trinity* (1695), 170–71. Sherlock had changed his mind over taking oaths to William and Mary, having publicly refused to do so.

[9] Ibid., 129; cf. Christopher J. Walker, *Reason and Religion in Late Seventeenth-Century England: The Politics and Theology of Radical Dissent* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2013), 220.

[10] Brent S. Sirota, '"The Leviathan Is Not Safely to Be Angered": The Convocation Controversy, Country Ideology, and Anglican High Churchmanship,' in Joshua Stein and Sargon Donabed, eds. *Religion and the State: Europe and North American in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Lanham: Lexington, 2012), 44–45.

[11] Idem, 'The Trinitarian Crisis in Church and State: Religious Controversy and the Making of the Postrevolutionary Church of England, 1687–1702,' *JBS* 52.1 (Jan. 2013), 26–54.

[12] *An Account of the Decree of the University of Oxford against Some Heretical Tenets* (s.n., Oxford, 1695).

[13] *An Account of the Decree*. See Sir Bartholomew Shower, *The Master of the Temple as Bad a Lawyer as the Dean of St Pauls Is a Divine, in a Letter from a Gentleman of the Temple, to His (Q*uondam*) Tutor at Oxford, about the Law Part of Dr Sherlock's Modest Examination of the Oxford Decree* (1696), 5.

[14] Ibid.

Sherlock's response was scathing. He warned the author of the decree not to brag over the quality of his Latin,[15] and attacked South, who 'railed himself out of breath' the Sunday prior to the Hebdomadal Board meeting, calling 'for a *decretum Oxoniense*' to 'furnish him with new topicks of railing'.[16] Sherlock accused South of translating the decree—and of adding the note that associated him with Bingham's views, which had since appeared in a London weekly.[17] He proceeded to pour scorn on the college heads, arguing that those who actually participated in the decision over Bingham were those with the least business doing so, since 'those who were most concerned in a decree of heresy, were absent'.[18] Since the heads were neither divines nor Doctors in Divinity, or so Sherlock alleged, the decree amounted to mere 'private opinions'.[19] And if private options be 'so venerable an authority,' Sherlock quipped, 'I will undertake any day in the year, to procure a meeting of twice as many, as wise and learned men, to censure their decree'.[20]

Following Sherlock's *Examination,* the Savilian Professor of Geometry at Oxford, John Wallis, who had already written several works on the Trinity against the Socinians and Arians without directly confronting Sherlock, finally entered the fray. In his *Answer to Dr. Sherlock's Examination* (1696), Wallis informed Sherlock that South had not translated the decree, but that both English and Latin editions were printed on the same day, by the same authority; and if a London press decided to run a weekly edition with commentary, it was not the fault of anyone in Oxford.[21] Neither had South instigated the affair, for he was away from Oxford the day of the sermon, when the complaint was made.[22] Wallis denied that South drove the proceedings against Bingham, though he had endorsed disciplinary action. All the heads of houses, present or not, were united against Sherlock's views. In fact, Wallis claimed to be unaware of anyone who dissented from the decree, and asked whether Sherlock's 'wise and learned men' would agree so unanimously about his view on the Trinity.[23]

The debate grew so bitter that the Bishop of London, Henry Compton, requested that King William III take the unusual step of intervening.[24] On 3 February 1696, William issued

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[15] William Sherlock, *A Modest Examination of the Oxford Decree* (1696), 5.

[16] Ibid., 3. See Hampton, *Anti-Arminians,* 132.

[17] William Sherlock, *A Modest Examination*, 5; cf. *An Account of the Decree*.

[18] Ibid., 3.

[19] Ibid.

[20] Ibid., 6.

[21] John Wallis, *An Answer to Dr. Sherlock's Examination of the Oxford Decree* (1696), 2.

[22] Ibid., 10.

[23] Ibid., 6–7.

[24] Hampton, *Anti-Arminians,* 129.

injunctions forbidding clergy from 'ways of expressing themselves… concerning the doctrine of the Blessed Trinity, which may be of dangerous consequence if not timely prevented'.[25] No preacher was to deliver any doctrine concerning the Trinity, except what agreed with Scripture, the creeds, and the Thirty-Nine Articles.[26] New terminology was to be avoided in favour of 'such ways of explication, as have been commonly used in the Church'. The injunctions particularly forbade 'publick opposition between preachers,' especially 'bitter invectives, and scurrilous language,' pursuant to the fifty-third canon.[27] Sherlock fell silent thereafter, but a further response to Sherlock's *Modest Examination* soon appeared, by 'a theologian across the sea'.[28] In truth, the author had never left Oxford. Both John Wallis and the Socinian Stephen Nye attributed it to South.[29]

The furore sparked by Sherlock's *Vindication* raises questions about the sources of Sherlock's views. Was he alone in holding them? If not, with whom did his contemporaries associate them? Did he actually teach three gods, or was he only challenging, as he claimed, those who taught that the divine persons were merely modes of appearance?

The most thorough examination of these questions comes from Stephen Hampton, who argues that Sherlock's views, while no mere facsimiles, were nevertheless anticipated by the Remonstrants Etienne de Courcelles and Jean Le Clerc.[30] In support of his position, Hampton notes that Bishop Compton, reflecting on the lessons of the Trinitarian controversy in a clergy conference letter of 1701, warned his clergy of those whose addiction to doctrinal novelty subverted sound Trinitarian teaching. Compton identified 'Episcopius, Curcellaeus, Limborch, and such like writers' as 'the great fomenters of this loose sort of divinity'.[31] In fact, South had been more precise: He suspected that Sherlock had learned from Courcelles to call the divine persons '*tres aeternos spiritus,* asserting a specifick unity between them… and denying a numerical'.[32] Likewise, he alleged that Sherlock derived his definition of the divine

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[25] William III, *Directions to Our Archbishops and Bishops for the Preserving of Unity in the Church, and the Purity of the Christian Faith concerning the Holy Trinity* (1695), 3–4.

[26] Ibid., 5.

[27] Ibid.

[28] *Decreti Oxoniensis Vindicatio, in Tribus ad Modestium Ejusdem Examinatorem Modestioribus Epistolis, a Theologo Transmarino* ('Excusa,' 1696).

[29] Stephen Nye, *The Agreement of the Unitarians with the Catholick Church* (1697), 62; Wallis scribbled the names of the authors on the titles pages of a collection of tracts he collected: James Crossley, 'Dr. South's Latin Tract against Sherlock,' in *Notes and Queries* No. 182 (1853), 402.

[30] Hampton, *Anti-Arminians,* 140–43.

[31] Henry Compton, *The Bishop of London's Tenth Conference with His Clergy* (1701), 17.

[32] South, *Tritheism Charged,* 47; alluding to Etienne de Courcelles, 'Prima Dissertatio Theologica: De Vocibus Trinitatis,' in *Opera Theologica* (Amsterdam, 1675), §§xlvi–xlix.

persons as thinking spirits or minds (*spiritus aut mentes cogitantes*) from Le Clerc, who defined spirit as a thinking substance (*substantia cogitans*).[33]

For Hampton, the most acerbic theological controversy of the late seventeenth century was a battle between those who propounded Remonstrant views in England, and Reformed churchmen—South and Wallis, and by extension John Pearson, William Beveridge, and John Edwards—who defended Trinitarian orthodoxy. Hampton's analysis has thrown light on the persistence of the Reformed tradition in the Church of England, underscoring the role of the Reformed churchmen who led the charge against Sherlock's views. However, one should not infer from this interpretation (as Hampton's study never does) that Sherlock's opponents were Reformed to a man. Indeed, the historical evidence would not bear that picture out. Hampton rightly locates Sherlock's theological predecessors in Courcelles and Le Clerc; more evidence shall be adduced to support that interpretation. But, as the previous chapter's investigation into Beaumont's suspicions of the Remonstrants' un-catholic novelties has already hinted, it would be a mistake to conclude that the defense of traditional Trinitarian orthodoxy against Remonstrant novelties was the project solely of Reformed churchmen. This would neglect the formation of a consensus defined negatively against Remonstrant errors on the Trinity, in which the Reformed strove alongside churchmen who had long since stepped outside the pale of Reformed orthodoxy on grace and predestination.

3.2 Jonathan Edwards' Trinitarian Polemic

One such defense came in a third response to Sherlock's *Modest Examination* by the principal of Jesus College, Oxford, Jonathan Edwards (1638/9–1712). Edwards' significance as spokesman of Oxonian high churchmen should not be underestimated. Neither should Edwards be casually dismissed, as a later biographical entry styled him, as 'a warm and bigoted zealot'.[34] He had served as Vice-Chancellor before the polymath Dean of Christ Church, Henry Aldrich (1648–1710) took up the post on 4 October 1692.[35] Committed Tories both, Edwards and Aldrich opposed comprehension, and thus shared an interest in the patronage of the second duke of Ormond, a former tutee of Aldrich who had since been elected as Archbishop Sheldon's successor as Chancellor. Both were key players in the

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[33] Ibid., 84; cit. Jean Le Clerc, *Liberii de Sancto Amore Epistolae Theologicae* (Saumur, 1679), 6.

[34] Hugh James Rose, ed. *A New and General Biographical Dictionary, containing an Historical, Critical, and Impartial Account of the Lives and Writings of the Most Eminent Persons in Every Nation in the World* (1795), v 35.

[35] Stuart Handley in *ODNB,* s.v. 'Henry Aldrich.'

administration of the university press, which had, until the end of the 1680s, remained virtually independent from the Stationer's Company in London.[36] This independence, though it had originated as an attempt to win preferential treatment for the University under the Restoration settlement, had effectively preserved the integrity of Oxford's high church contingent—which, given the friendliness of William's regime to comprehension (and perhaps even more indulgent forms of what seemed like national self-sabotage) seemed to be under threat.[37] After the death of the principal strategist behind the independence of the press in the 1680s, John Fell, Aldrich became the most influential figure at the press.[38] When Vice-Chancellor Edwards appointed a new Delegacy of the Press on 12 April 1691, formal control over the press was committed to a theologically astute group of Oxonian high churchmen. Alongside Henry Aldrich and Timothy Halton, whom Fell had selected, stood Aldrich's successor as Vice-Chancellor, Fitzherbert Adams, as well as the Regius Professor of Divinity, William Jane, and Edwards himself. When Edwards published the first two installations of his four-volume *Preservative against Socinianism* with the press in 1693–4, both bore Aldrich's *imprimatur,* and reflected the concern of those churchmen: 'the minds of many may in good time be disposed, to exchange the Bible for the Alcoran, as they say, some of the most eminent Unitarians in the last age did.[39]' Written in the brief window between the high church consolidation of control over the University Press in 1691, and the lapse of the Licensing Act in 1695, and ostensibly published with the encouragement of Aldrich and Jane, it is not unreasonable to regard Edwards' *Preservative* as the manifesto of the Oxonian high churchmen. The *Preservative* will be treated in due course; it is sufficient here merely to note that, by 1695, it was not South but Edwards who was regarded as a pillar of Oxford print culture.

In his *Remarks,* Edwards attacked virtually every point in Sherlock's writings with which South had taken issue. He shared South's cardinal criticism—'that if there be three distinct substances, (and the same is to be said of three distinct minds and spirits) in the Trinity, then there must unavoidably be three Gods'.[40] He also took issue with Sherlock's

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[36] Matthew Kilburn, 'The Fell Legacy,' in Ian Gadd, *The History of the Oxford University Press, Volume I: Beginnings to 1780* (Oxford: OUP, 2013), 114; D.W. Hayton, 'Dependence, clientage and affinity: the political following of the Second Duke of Ormonde,' in Toby Barnard and Jane Fenlon (eds.), *The Dukes of Ormonde, 1610–1745* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2000), 211–42.

[37] Kilburn, 'The Fell Legacy,' 109.

[38] Ibid., 113.

[39] Jonathan Edwards, *A Preservative against Socinianism* (Oxford, 1694), ii 130.

[40] Idem, *Remarks upon a Book Lately Published by Dr. Will. Sherlock, Dean of St. Pauls, &c.* (Oxford, 1695), 31. cf. South, *Animadversions,* 120.

proposition that 'mutual consciousness' offered a legitimate way to avoid Sabellianism and thus to succeed where Aquinas and Scotus had allegedly failed.[41] Edwards considered this

> a very scandalous suggestion. Because it must not only affect our own times and nation; but likewise bring all other churches Ancient and Modern, Eastern and Western, Roman and Reformed under the same suspicion. For all these are at perfect agreement both in the belief of the doctrine of the Trinity, and in the manner of expressing their faith; which is by the profession of three persons, and one nature or substance. So that if by retaining the old words there is danger of losing the Catholick faith, it must be lost out of the Catholick Church: and this revolt to Sabellianism, must be both the most lasting, and the most general apostasy, that ever was foretold, or feared should happen to the Christian Church.[42]

For Edwards, the most serious threat to the Church of England was not Sabellianism, but 'the revival of the heresies of Arius, Pelagius, and Socinus, which some evil men with great industry, and with no small art, endeavor to propagate among us'.[43] Edwards thought that, by charging the orthodox with Sabellianism, Sherlock followed in the footsteps of the Bernese tritheist, Valentinus Gentilis, who had accused the Italian reformer, Girolamo Zanchi, of the same. Edwards' appeal to Gentilis is intriguing; he repeatedly quoted the Italian Reformed theologian Benedict Aretius' *Valentini Gentilis iusto capitis supplicio* (1567), which South anonymously 'translated into English for the use of Dr. Sherlock' the following year.[44] In sum, it was Edwards' view that, just as the orthodox were smeared as Sabellians by the Arians and semi-Arians, and more recently by the Polish and Transylvanian Unitarians, now, 'to bring up the rear, we find the Dean in his vindication, declaring his displeasure against them in the like expressions'.[45]

Against the novel approach of Sherlock, Edwards advanced what he considered the 'catholic' view—a view shared by his contemporary, South. According to Edwards, the first and fundamental principle of religion is the existence and unity of the Godhead. If the term 'God' was properly rather than merely figuratively understood, Edwards reasoned, there could not possibly be more than one God, 'either superior or inferior; coordinate or subordinate; numerical or specifical; ancient or modern'.[46] It followed that there could be only one nature or essence in God, for a thing's essence made it what it was. Essence was 'the *ratio formalis* [i.e., the formal basis] of that thing be it what it will, & *primo de re*

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[41] Sherlock, *Modest Examination,* 16.

[42] Ibid., 24.

[43] Ibid.

[44] Ibid., 25; cf. Benedict Aretius, *A Short History of Valentinus Gentilis the Tritheist* (1696).

[45] Ibid., 27.

[46] Ibid., 32.

concipitur, being the first thing that offers itself to our thoughts, when we form an idea of it'.[47] Edwards' point was simple: God is not 'one of a kind,' like a human being or an angel. Many human beings share in human nature, as many angels share in angelic nature. But God is not 'one of a kind,' for he is above kind. Sherlock's redefinition of the divine persons as distinct minds seemed to overthrow this basic principle.

Edwards was thus deeply concerned about Sherlock's novel terminology. Sherlock had defended the use of unscriptural language 'to explain and secure the Catholick faith' on the basis that 'the Church…always had, and always will have, authority to declare and explain the true catholick faith in such words as are most aptly expressive of it, and necessary to countermine the arts and evasions of hereticks'.[48] But Edwards, like South, insisted that it was incumbent upon Sherlock to yield to the Church's historic terms:

> Let it be granted, that the Church may alter old phrases; but hath she actually made use of that her authority in the case before us? Hath she published any declaration, whereby she hath discovered her pleasure in this affair, viz. that the old words, such as those of *persons, hypostasis, subsistence,* should be laid aside to make room for *self-consciousness*? Or that *one nature, one essence, one substance,* must be discarded, and in their place, the phrases of three distinct minds, spirits, and substances should be introduced. That maxime in law, is true here in divinity; *eorum modo res solvitur quo ligatur* [a thing is released in the same manner by which it is bound]. The Church hath tyed us to the use of these words, I pray who hath set us at liberty?[49]

Unlike Sherlock, Edwards held that *essence*, *nature*, *substance*, and *divinity* were synonyms with regard to the Trinity. This is why the Fathers spoke interchangeably of substance (*ousia*), nature (*physis*), and the Godhead (*theotēs*). Sherlock's three distinct substances thus seemed to require three Gods, since if the number of divine natures multiplied, the number of Gods multiplied accordingly. But, as has just been seen, for Edwards the divine nature admitted no multiplication, whether of number or kind. To distinguish three divine substances numerically was to suppose three numerically distinct Gods. Likewise, to distinguish three divine substances specifically, was to suppose three Gods, distinct from one another in kind, rather than number.[50] Edwards rejected both conclusions, since 'the unity of the Godhead is the most perfect and complete sort of unity that can be imagined…so perfect, and so peculiar a simplicity and identity, as to exclude all manner of division, and all sorts of multiplication'.[51]

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[47] Ibid., 32–33.

[48] Sherlock, *A Modest Examination,* 12.

[49] Edwards, *Remarks,* 21.

[50] Ibid., 33–34.

[51] Ibid., 34.

Edwards added that the perfect unity of the divine nature in no way undermined the historic teaching of three persons in one Godhead. He was convinced that a proper grasp of the Trinity, of precisely the kind enjoined by the Council of Nicaea and the third Council of Constantinople, preserved the ontological distinctions between the divine persons without confusing the persons or subjecting the divine nature to multiplication or division:

> There is one peculiar prerogative of the divine nature and substance, founded in its infinite, and therefore transcendent perfection, whereby it is capable of residing in more persons than one; and is accordingly communicated from the Father, to the Son, and Holy Ghost. But this is done without any division, or multiplication; so that the same divine nature is a singular, but not a solitary nature, being whole and entire in the three blessed persons; in each of which it doth completely subsist, tho with a different manner of subsistence; yet so, as to retain its most complete identity, excluding all plurality of essences, whether equal or unequal, like or unlike; the divine nature being but one and the same, as was said before, in the three divine persons, without diversity and without distinction.[52]

Put simply, Edwards was arguing that the divine and human natures are instantiated in persons in different ways. Humans share a specific nature that can be instantiated repeatedly, in individuals like Peter, James, and John. The divine persons, by contrast, share a numerically singular nature. It is not the case, Edwards would say, that the divine persons share a specific nature, for that would imply that the divine nature were capable of endless multiplication. In that case, God would not be intrinsically triune, for he could just as easily subsist in four or five persons, as in three. That is why the divine nature was not a specific, but a singular nature. At the same time, Edwards added that singular does not mean *solitary,* for this would imply only one person in the Godhead, and the orthodox held that the one singular nature is shared, whole and entire, by three persons. Otherwise, Sherlock would justly have charged the orthodox with Sabellianism.

It may be helpful to summarize Edwards' argument. For Edwards, the fundamental principle of all religion is the unity of the Godhead. The divine nature, the most perfect unity imaginable, admits neither distinction nor multiplication. Being transcendent, this numerically singular nature subsists in distinct persons in a manner unique to God alone. It is this subsistence which distinguishes the orthodox from the Sabellians, for whom the divine persons are merely modes of appearance. This took Edwards to the heart of Sherlock's argument, because Sherlock's notion of the persons as distinct centers of consciousness, and his characterization of the divine unity in terms of mutual consciousness, was fundamentally

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[52] Ibid., 34–35.

an attempt to distinguish the divine persons from one another. Edwards proceeded to defend the orthodox conception of divine personhood:

> The persons indeed are distinguished from each other by a true, real, proper distinction. But this is not founded in the diversity or distinction of their natures, but is taken from the different ways of subsistence, which one and the same nature hath in the three persons, whereby they have different properties, characters, and relations, which are absolutely incommunicable to each other, and whereby something may be affirmed of one, which cannot possibly be affirmed of either of the others. Such as are the generation of the Son; the procession and mission of the Holy Ghost.[53]

By arguing that the persons are distinct 'by a true, real, proper distinction,' Edwards ruled out the notion that the divine persons could only be distinguished notionally—that is, as different apprehensions of the same thing. Whereas a real distinction can be drawn between the planets Mars and Venus, or between the square root of 9 and the cube of 16, only a notional distinction can be drawn between the morning star and the evening star, or between the square of 2 and the square root of 16.[54] Sherlock was thus charging the orthodox with distinguishing the persons notionally.

Edwards, on the contrary, regarded the persons as distinct by a real, not notional, distinction. To explain how this might be, Edwards argued that, in the Trinity, the divine nature subsists in different ways. Here Edwards' scholastic methodology becomes evident, particularly in his advocacy of ideas which found their most influential articulator in Thomas Aquinas. His argument ran parallel to the discussions of the so-called 'subsistent relations' found in South's writings against Sherlock.[55] Like South and other orthodox Trinitarians, what Edwards meant by 'ways of subsistence' were those modes or manners of subsistence, in which the divine nature subsists. He was not arguing that the divine persons are *merely* modes, for the divine persons would then indeed be distinguishable only by a notional distinction; and, as has been seen, Edwards insisted on a real distinction between the divine persons. Rather, Edwards held that the divine persons were distinguished by the modes in which the divine nature subsists—hence, 'modes' or 'ways' of subsistence. The distinction is a subtle but important one, and South was equally convinced of it: 'we do not say that a person is only a *modus,* but that it is the divine nature, or Godhead, subsisting under such a

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[53] Ibid., 35.

[54] Anthony Kenny, *From Empedocles to Wittgenstein: Historical Essays in Philosophy* (Oxford: OUP, 2008), 76–77.

[55] South, *Animadversions,* 246–47; *Tritheism Charged,* 156–57. For South's discussions of modes of subsistence: Hampton, *Anti-Arminians,* 148–50.

modus, so that the Godhead is still included in it, joined to it, and distinguished by it.'[56] While Edwards does not unpack the doctrine with anything like South's volubility, the lines of his position are clear.

Neither should it be missed that Edwards distinguished the modes of subsistence by their 'different properties, characters, and relations'. This indicates that, for Edwards, the divine persons are constituted by their relations. It cannot be overemphasized that neither Edwards nor South conceived personal plurality in God to derive from the essential attributes (what is common to the persons), for this would have led to Sabellianism.[57] (An example of this would be to say that the divine persons are equivalent to different divine attributes, like justice, love, and mercy.) Rather, Edwards and South distinguished the persons by their relations, which both considered strictly incommunicable.[58] For both, the Father alone begets; the Son alone is begotten; the Holy Spirit alone proceeds. Again, the Father begets the Son; the Son is begotten of the Father; the Holy Spirit proceeds (in the view of these western Trinitarians) from the Father and the Son. In addition, Edwards took care not to imply that the persons were distinguished by their origins alone, but more particularly by their relations: the Father's paternity, the Son's filiation, the Spirit's procession. For Edwards, these relations, or different manners of subsistence, are the basis not only for the distinction but

> likewise the subordination between the divine persons: the Father being the first, and therefore styled by the fathers, the origine and fountain of the Divinity with respect to the Son and Holy Ghost. Not by the production of a new divine nature, but by a communication of his own, which, as the Fathers always speak, is μία καὶ ταυτὴ, one and the very same, in all three, without separation, difference, or distinction.[59]

When Edwards spoke of subordination, he was not claiming that the Son is ontologically inferior to the Father—quite the contrary. Having established that personhood is bound up with relation, Edwards was underlining that the order of the Trinitarian processions makes it impossible to conflate the persons. So it appeared that Sherlock's allegation of Sabellianism was doubly wrong: first, for supposing that the orthodox taught that the persons were mere modes of appearance; second, for undermining the full divinity of the nature communicated to the Son in his filiation, and to the Spirit in his procession. Edwards seems to have been drawing on the theology of procession propounded by Aquinas, who considered the

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[56] South, *Animadversions*, 291, cited in Hampton, *Anti-Arminians,* 149.

[57] Gilles Emery, *The Trinitarian Theology of Thomas Aquinas* (Oxford: OUP, 2010), 123.

[58] Compare South, *Tritheism Charged,* 169: 'If there are no modes in the divine nature, there are no persons in it neither: For a person is nothing else but the Godhead determined by a peculiar incommunicable mode of subsistence.'

[59] Edwards, *Remarks,* 35–36.

processions the key to prohibiting temporal intervals between the persons' origins, and so to avoiding a hierarchy of dignity amongst the persons.[60]

Finally, Edwards attacked Sherlock's notion of the divine unity. As has been seen, Edwards insisted that the persons are really, not merely notionally, distinct. Edwards then proceeded to defend a real, rather than merely notional, unity. For Edwards, those who attempted to explain the unity of the divine nature

> by a specifical sameness and identity…destroy a true real unity, and in the room of it, introduce only a notional unity, which may be consistent with, nay indeed, as the Dean hath bin told, implys a multiplication of the divine nature. So that when we say the three persons are one God, they are no otherwise one according to this explication, than as ten thousand individual men, are one man, or a myriad of angels, are one angel.[61]

To Edwards, Sherlock seemed to say that three distinct substances could constitute one divine unity. Edwards found this idea ludicrous, since 'three substances so united, retain their true and real distinction from each other, notwithstanding that union, and are still as much three as if they were not united'.[62] In other words, three distinct natures could no more constitute a single nature than the divine and human natures could constitute a single nature in the incarnate Christ. Sherlock would have three natures, with three 'distinct understandings, and wills, and distinct operations, as flowing from [their] powers and faculties'.[63] Sherlock's merely specific unity 'destroys the true and fundamental reason of that unity, viz. the infinite perfection of the divine nature, which renders it absolutely incapable of any multiplication'.[64] Worse yet, Sherlock's 'mutual consciousness' made the divine unity consist in, even depend upon, 'the operation of some intellect, drawing one common notion from the agreement which it observes in several individuals'.[65] For Edwards, this was a 'weak and unstable foundation'. Edwards cited South, who similarly argued that 'three numerically distinct principles can never (as such) formally give numerical unity to anything; and much less to the most transcendently simple and uncompounded of all beings'.[66]

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[60] Emery, *Trinitarian Theology,* 72. For Aquinas, the order established by the persons' relations of origin 'excludes not only temporal intervals in between the existence of the persons, but also any kind of 'priority' of a person or procession in relation to another'. See Aquinas, I *Sent*. d.9 q.2 art.1; d.12 q.1 art.2.

[61] Edwards, *Remarks,* 37.

[62] Ibid.

[63] Ibid., 38.

[64] Ibid., 38–39.

[65] Ibid., 39.

[66] See South, *Tritheism Charged,* 181–83, cit. 181.

It is worth noting that Edwards did not mischaracterize Sherlock's position. He saw that Sherlock also perceived the problem with a specific unity. Nevertheless, he thought that Sherlock had erred by trying to steer a middle course between numerical and specific unities. Edwards insisted that this could not be done, 'for if God be one, he must be so in either of these two senses'.[67] In fact, Edwards perceived behind Sherlock's 'middle course' an underlying commitment to a specific unity. This was evident, he claimed, from an insidious gloss Sherlock added when discussing a 'singular' nature: 'in order to amuse unwary readers, when he speaks of the divine nature, he joins the words *singular and solitary* together, as if they were synonymous terms'.[68] If the orthodox were teaching a singular and *solitary* nature, Edwards said, they would indeed be teaching Sabellianism, since a solitary nature is necessarily confined to one person. But to insist on one *singular* nature, implied no such thing: 'for the same singular numerical nature is to be found in each of the divine persons, being common to them all, but yet without multiplication, as he hath often bin told by his Adversary.'[69] Given that South had already identified the Remonstrants' fingerprints on Sherlock's work, it may come as a surprise that Edwards considered Sherlock's position 'perfectly an original…for which he hath neither copy, nor precedent, from any writer either living or dead'.[70] One must not, however, miss a discussion in his *Preservative against Socinianism* (1693–1703), written two years prior to the *Remarks*, in which Edwards had outlined Etienne de Courcelles's idiosyncratic doctrine in terms strikingly similar to that of Sherlock, adding that Limborch, 'who published and recommends his works to the world, I suppose is of the same opinion'.[71]

What becomes clear in light of this passage is that Edwards' allegation of originality against Sherlock does not sever any link between the Trinitarian theologies of Sherlock and the Remonstrants. In fact, it suggests that Edwards considered Sherlock and the Remonstrants as falling into the same error, and doing so in the same way. Thus, while Edwards did not consider Sherlock's views a facsimile of Remonstrant thinking, he was clearly aware that the same ideas had been forcefully urged by the Remonstrants Courcelles and Le Clerc, and responded by propounding views materially identical to those of South.

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[67] Edwards, *Remarks,* 50.

[68] Ibid., 52.

[69] Ibid. That is, South.

[70] Ibid., 53.

[71] Idem, *A Preservative against Socinianism* (Oxford, 1693), i 11.

3.3 'Three Persons in One Common Nature'

As the previous section has shown, Arminian churchmen were deeply divided over recent developments in continental Remonstrant theology. For this reason, it is significant that the task of defending Trinitarian orthodoxy did not fall exclusively to demonstrably Reformed churchmen. One of the most influential churchmen to provide a more critical assessment of recent developments in Remonstrant theology was the Bishop of Worcester, Edward Stillingfleet (1635–1699). Stillingfleet was too much the irenic to discuss controversial matters like grace and predestination openly, going no further than acknowledging that the Scriptures state such a thing as election and encouraging his listeners 'not to perplex your minds with difficulties above your reach, as in what relates to the eternal decrees'.[72] The best course was to steer clear of such deep waters altogether, since 'without doing our duty we cannot be happy, but we may without understanding how the freedom of our wills is consistent with the divine prescience and decrees'.[73] Elsewhere, he remarked that 'there are many wonderful things in the law of God, things we may admire, but are never able to comprehend'. The decrees, the Trinity, the Incarnation, and the manner of the operation of the Holy Spirit on the souls of men 'are all things of great weight and moment,' and yet 'may be unsearchable to our reason'.[74]

Wherever Stillingfleet's soteriological sympathies lay, it was he who, in 1697, articulated a thorough rebuttal of Remonstrant ideas, penning perhaps the most influential work of orthodox Trinitarian theology to emerge from 1690s, *A Discourse in Vindication of the Doctrine of the Trinity*. He had long been concerned about the threat of Socinianism, but only intervened in the Trinitarian crisis when convinced that the internecine quarrels aroused by Sherlock's work had damaged the Church's defenses against the Unitarians. In his preface, Stillingfleet averred that he had no interest in promoting strife, when 'we are so violently attacked by our common adversaries,' who seized upon internal dissension 'to represent our doctrine as uncertain, as well as unintelligible'.[75] He observed that sincere churchmen had produced various explications of the Trinity to refute anti-Trinitarian objections, but that, too often, these worked into the enemies' hands. Unitarians, for example, derided their 'fivefold

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[72] Edward Stillingfleet, *Ecclesiastical Cases relating to the Duties and Rights of Parochial Clergy* (1698), 166–67.

[73] Ibid.

[74] Edward Stillingfleet, *Origines Sacrae, or, A Rational Account of the Grounds of the Christian Faith* (1662), 612.

[75] Idem, *A Discourse in Vindication of the Doctrine of the Trinity* (1697), iv.

Trinity,' comprised of jarring Ciceronian, Cartesian, Platonic, Aristotelian, and obscurantist explications.[76] The conflict that occasioned Stillingfleet's work was 'a difference first begun between two learned divines of our Church, about the second [i.e., the Cartesian] and the fourth [the Aristotelian]'.[77] For Stillingfleet, the clash between Sherlock's 'Cartesian' and South's 'Aristotelian' Trinities worked to the Unitarians' advantage twice over, for they argued 'that the one is a rational and intelligible explication, but not true nor orthodox,' and that 'the other is true and orthodox, but neither rational, intelligible nor possible'.[78] Indeed, anti-Trinitarians claimed to have more in common with the Church's best divines than the Church's divines had among themselves. Stephen Nye identified South's 'nominal Trinitarianism' as Sabellianism—the view that the orthodox ascribed to the Unitarians—and Sherlock's 'real Trinitarianism' as a plain reversion to pagan polytheism.[79] Stillingfleet's objective was to restore two sincere Trinitarians to vigilance against an increasingly aggressive Socinianism.

Despite his conciliatory aim, Stillingfleet was not unconcerned about Sherlock's views. Stillingfleet considered Sherlock a sincere Trinitarian, not necessarily an accurate one. While Stillingfleet admitted that he 'had rather use the language of the fathers, than of the schools,' he devised a cautious defense of South and Edwards. For example, he refuted Nye's charge of nominal Trinitarianism against South. Nye had conceded that South posited three divine persons, but argued that these were persons in name only, since South distinguished them solely by 'distinct relative properties'.[80] Stillingfleet answered with three observations. First, he noted that modes can neither communicate an essence, nor have an essence communicated to them; yet South, he observed, held that 'the relation between the Father and Son is founded on that eternal act, by which the Father communicated his divine nature to the Son'.[81] Therefore, South's manner of differentiating the persons was sound. Stillingfleet confirmed South's argument by denying several other ways of distinguishing the persons. The divine persons could not be distinguished by essential attributes, for each person shares the attributes of the divine nature. Neither could they be distinguished by accidents, for there are no accidents in God. Nor still could they be distinguished by separate substances, for that

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[76] Ibid., iv–v.

[77] Ibid., v–vi.

[78] Ibid., vi.

[79] Ibid., vii. cit. Stephen Nye, *Discourse concerning the Real and Nominal Trinitarians* (1695), 3.

[80] Ibid., viii, cit. Nye, *Discourse,* 7, 11.

[81] Ibid., x, cit. South, *Animadversions,* 243.

would deny the unity of the divine nature. Rather, Stillingfleet said, 'a person is that which results from the divine nature and subsistence together; and although a person cannot be said to be a relative, consider'd as such, yet being joyned with the manner of subsistence, it doth imply a relation, and so a person may be said to be a relative being.'[82]

This led to Stillingfleet's second defense of South—namely, that South was right to claim that the divine nature belongs to each divine person. He quoted South's argument, which has already been encountered above, that a person 'is not only a *modus,* but… the divine nature, or Godhead subsisting under such a *modus,* so that the Godhead is still included in it, joyned to it, and distinguished by it'.[83] He then answered another of Nye's objections against South, that the Aristotelian position made the persons as well as their personalities merely relative. Stillingfleet admitted that the modes of subsistence are, in themselves, relative properties. But he denied that South could be accused of making the *persons* relative, since his notion of a divine person necessarily supposed the divine nature together with it. Sabellianism asserted relative persons to whom no essence properly belonged.[84] But South's position, Stillingfleet concluded, entailed no such thing.

Stillingfleet proceeded to clear Sherlock from the charge of 'real Trinitarianism' by drawing a clear distinction between his sincerity and his correctness. He began by applauding Sherlock's defenses of the Trinity against Stephen Nye's anonymous *Brief History of the Unitarians* and the anonymous *The Acts of Great Athanasius* (1690), but admitted that

> in the warmth of disputing, and out of a desire to make this matter more intelligible, he suffer'd himself to be carried beyond the ancient methods which the church hath used to express her sense by, still retaining the same fundamental article of three persons in one undivided essence, but explaining it in such a manner, as to make each person to have a peculiar and proper substance of his own.[85]

Stillingfleet praised Sherlock's character, but not his error: 'A man may be very right in the belief of the article itself,' he said, 'and yet may be mistaken in his explication of it'.[86] Sherlock and his opponents agreed on the fundamental article: 'That the unity of the Godhead is the most real, essential, indivisible, inseparable unity; that there is but one divine nature, which is originally in the Father, and is substantially communicated by the Father to the Son, as a distinct subsisting person, by an eternal ineffable generation, and to the Holy Ghost by

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[82] Ibid., xii.

[83] Ibid., xiii, cit. South, *Animadversions,* 291. See *supra*, 61 fn. 52.

[84] Ibid., xviii–xix.

[85] Ibid., xx–xxi.

[86] Ibid., xxi.

an eternal and substantial procession from Father and Son.'[87] He agreed, in other words, that there are three distinct persons yet one Godhead. He agreed that there are no separate and divided substances in the Trinity. He even agreed that the divine essence is communicated from the Father to the Son, and from both to the Holy Spirit. The controversy turned on the point of whether a communicated essence implied a distinct substance.[88]

Crucially, when examining this issue, Stillingfleet turned to Edwards as a representative of the 'Aristotelian' position. He cited Edwards' argument that multiple essences necessarily required multiple gods. He reiterated Edwards' summation of Sherlock's argument that if the essence communicated amongst the persons is not distinct, then there was no basis to distinguish their personalities. He even transcribed Edwards' response to this objection that there is 'a peculiar prerogative of the divine nature and substance, founded in its infinite and therefore transcendent perfection, whereby it is capable of residing in more persons than one, and is accordingly communicated from the Father to the Son and Holy Ghost'.[89] Indeed, like Edwards, Stillingfleet closed by noting that 'the greatest difficulty is at last resolved into the incomprehensible perfection of the divine nature'.[90]

Where South and Edwards pleaded the incomprehensibility of the Trinity, Sherlock confidently asserted that the same individual divine nature is indivisibly present in all three distinct, individual substances. This, however, left Stillingfleet scratching his head: 'Can one whole entire indivisible substance be actually divided into three substances?'[91] Like Edwards, his problem concerned Sherlock's method of characterizing divine unity. If each person has his own unique substance, and there are three persons, it followed that there must be three unique substances, yet one indivisible substance. But this was a contradiction. Sherlock divided the persons as individuals within a kind, 'which must introduce a specifick divine nature, which I think very inconsistent with the divine perfections'.[92] Stillingfleet granted that a common essence could be individuated in three persons, as with human beings. But he thought it impossible that the same individual essence can be in three persons who have peculiar substances of their own. For then the substances belonging to the persons would be nothing other than the same essence individuated in those persons. And if this were the case,

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[87] Ibid., xxiv.

[88] Ibid., xxvi–xxvii.

[89] Ibid., xxvii, cit. Edwards, *Remarks,* 34. Cf. *supra*, 59 fn. 49.

[90] Ibid., xxviii.

[91] Ibid., xxix.

[92] Ibid.

he reasoned, there would be no way around three individual essences and one specific nature, 'so that I fear it will be impossible to clear [Sherlock's] hypothesis as to the reconciling three individual essences with one individual divine essence, which looks too like asserting that there are three Gods and yet one'.[93] Thus, for Stillingfleet, the fatal flaw in Sherlock's argument was that it required a merely specific divine nature, which implied that the divine persons were united only by similarity.

Crucially, Stillingfleet identified the source of this view as the Remonstrant, Etienne de Courcelles. Stillingfleet attacked Courcelles's view that 'the fathers held a specifical divine nature, and the persons to be as so many individuals'.[94] Courcelles had raised this point against the Reformed theologian Samuel Maresius, who had argued that the Council of Nicaea determined that the Son was consubstantial with the Father in a numerical sense.[95] Courcelles drew on patristic sources to argue that the church fathers held a merely specific nature. He appealed to Basil's definition of substance as a common nature, and of hypostasis as an individual within that nature:

> The ancient Greek fathers, from whom these terms passed down to the Latin fathers, show clearly enough what they understood concerning *homoousios* and the unity of God, when they explain the distinction between *ousia* [i.e., substance] and *hypostasis,* and say that *ousia* signifies something general or common to many, just as the term *physis*, nature; but *hypostasis* designates a singular thing, in which, in addition to the common nature, there are certain individual properties by which it is determined.[96]

Courcelles knew that equating *common* with *specific* would displease 'the schoolmen and more recent writers, who believe the Son of God is of the same essence in number with the Father'.[97] No matter, Courcelles claimed; the fathers held a merely specific nature, including Athanasius among the eastern fathers[98] and Hilary of Poitiers among the western.[99]

Courcelles's denial of a numerically singular divine nature was a significant departure from received Protestant opinion. Since the numerical unity of the divine nature was a key

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[93] Ibid., xxxi.

[94] Ibid., 76.

[95] Etienne de Courcelles, *Quaternio Dissertationum Theologicarum Adversus Samuelem Maresium* (Amsterdam, 1659), 139.

[96] Ibid., 141. '*Veteres Græci Patres, à quibus hæ voces ad Latinos dimanarunt, satis ostendunt quid de ὁμοούσιῳ & de unitate Dei senserint, cum explicant discrimen quod est inter οὐσιαν & ὑποστασιν, & dicunt οὐσιαν significare aliquid generale seu multis commune, quemadmodum & vocem φύσις, natura, ὑποστασιν verò rem singularem, in qua præter naturam communem sint aliquae proprietates individuae per quas determinetur.*'

[97] Ibid., 156. '*Scholastici & recentiores scriptores, qui credunt filium Dei esse ejusdem numero cum Patre essentiae…*'

[98] Ibid.

[99] Ibid., 179.

target in Socinian attacks on the Trinity, Courcelles seemed to be slipping down the Socinian slope. This line of argument produced some unsettling consequences, not least of which was an attenuated definition of the Son's consubstantiality with the Father. Courcelles argued that Athanasius 'did not understand "individual unity" meant the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are of same essence numerically, but he only wanted to signify there was a close, indissoluble union that is between them'.[100] Likewise, he said, Basil taught no other essential identity between the persons but 'a specific, or universal identity of nature, just as we saw above that the terms essence, nature, [and] form were used as universals in the business of the Trinity due to the constant use of the fathers'.[101] Similarly, 'Gregory Nyssen understood nothing else by the unity of divinity except the universal unity of the divine nature.'[102] Claiming the mantle of the fathers, Courcelles characterized the unity of the divine persons as coinherence (*circumincessio*), a relationship he likened to water and wine mixed together so as to coinhere while retaining their own elements.[103] For Courcelles's opponents, on the continent as in England, this was proof positive that the most important living Remonstrant theologian had nailed Socinian colors to the mast. Indeed, Stillingfleet noted that the Socinians regularly employed this argument, 'and after all, refer us to Curcellæus for undeniable proofs of it'.[104]

Stillingfleet, for his part, found it 'no hard matter to bring undeniable proofs that [Courcelles] hath mistaken their meaning'.[105] The main problem with Courcelles's argument was that it extended the sense of the word *homoousios,* 'of one substance,' to individuals of the same kind. But Stillingfleet insisted that the fathers did not intend to imply a difference of individuals in a common essence, for this would have played into the hands of their Arian opponents. Rather, they asserted 'a perfect unity and indivisibility of the divine essence,' to prove 'that the Son was of the same substance with the Father'.[106] And if the fathers understood an indivisible unity, the persons' coinherence (*circumincessio*) should certainly

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[100] Ibid., 204. '*Athanasius per... individuam unitatem, non intellexit Patrem, Filium, & Spiritum sanctum esse ejusdem numero essentiae, sed tantum arctam & indissolubilem unionem, quae inter ipsos est, significare voluit*.'

[101] Ibid. '*Basilius…* [*per*] *identitatem naturae specificam, seu universalem designavit, quemadmodum vidimus supra voces essentiae, naturae, formae, ex perpetuo usu patrum, pro universalibus in negotio trinitatis usurpari*.'

[102] Ibid., 215. '*Nam per unitatem divinitatis* [*Gregorium Nyssenum*] *nihil aliud intelligit, nisi unitatem universalem naturae divinae*.'

[103] Ibid., 213–14.

[104] Stillingfleet, *Discourse,* 77.

[105] Ibid.

[106] Ibid.

not be characterized by distinct substances like water and wine.[107] He flatly contradicted Courcelles's reading of Athanasius, who taught more than 'a close and indissoluble union,' since 'he excluded any kind of division, and that of a specifick nature into several individuals is a real division in nature; for no man whoever treated of those matters denied, that a specifick nature was divided, when there were several individuals under it'.[108] Courcelles was deeply mistaken: To call the divine persons *homoousios* as Adam, Seth, and Isaac were *homoousios,* would have undermined Athanasius' stated objective of guarding the indivisibility of the divine nature.[109]

Since Courcelles had grounded his attack on Maresius on the Cappadocian fathers, Stillingfleet aimed particularly to vindicate them. He observed that Basil denied any division in the divine nature, especially a division of individuals under the same species.[110] He paid especial attention to a perennially challenging passage from Gregory of Nyssa's *Catechetical Oration*.[111] Stillingfleet's interpretation can be summarized this way: Gregory, seeking 'to avoid the difficulty of making three gods, as three individuals among men are three men,' taught that the persons 'are not three men, because they have but one common essence, which is exactly one, and indivisible in itself, however it be dispersed among individuals of the same nature'.[112] According to Stillingfleet, then, Gregory granted a division of hypostases among men, notwithstanding the indivisibility of one common essence, for each hypostasis is divided according to its unique individual properties. But he denied that Gregory extended this line of thinking to the Trinity. He affirmed, for example, the indivisibility of the divine nature.[113] He also taught the 'unity of operation' amongst the persons, which confirmed that, in God, 'the difference of hypostases must be from the different relations and manner of subsistence,' and not from real division.[114] Striking obliquely at Sherlock's 'plain and intelligible method,' he recalled that Gregory considered the Trinity a mystery, 'which a specifick identity is far from'.[115] It is difficult to see how Stillingfleet could have clarified his objection to a merely specific nature more than he did. In fact, his rebuttal of Courcelles is all

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[107] Ibid., 80.
[108] Ibid., 80–81.
[109] Ibid., 81.
[110] Ibid., 84.
[111] Gregory of Nyssa, *Catechetical Orations*, c. iii.
[112] Stillingfleet, *Discourse*, 90.
[113] Ibid., 92.
[114] Ibid., 93.
[115] Ibid., 94.

the more informative, for it comprised a key part of his response to the furore over Sherlock's doctrine. In sum, for Stillingfleet, Sherlock's view entailed Courcelles's conclusion.

Stillingfleet's *Vindication* was highly regarded by orthodox Trinitarians. In his *History of Infant Baptism* (1705), the Church of England clergyman, William Wall, called attention to 'the spittle of an outlandish author our English Socinians greedily licked up'.[116] Wall was referring to the Remonstrant, Jean Le Clerc, and cited liberally from Le Clerc's writings to show how he, too, aided the Socinians. Wall condemned Le Clerc's argument that the fathers 'thought the three hypostases [or persons in the Trinity] to be three equal Gods,' so that they, 'properly speaking, affirmed that there were three consubstantial Gods, as has been shewn by Petavius, Curcellæus, Cudworth, and others'.[117] Wall seized particularly upon Le Clerc's remark that the fathers 'were tritheists rather than asserters of the present opinion: for they believed… that the substance of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost was specifically one, but numerically three: as the learned men I before mentioned have clearly shewn'.[118] For Wall, Le Clerc was doing little more than reproducing Courcelles's arguments that 'the fathers held only a specifical unity of the divine nature, and the persons to be as so many individuals'.[119] The Socinians, Wall pointed out, reproduced 'Curcellaeus' undeniable proofs' as gratefully as Le Clerc. This dangerous doctrine would have progressed with far more strength, Wall said, had not Bishop Stillingfleet taken notice, who 'did in his *Vindication of the Doctrine of the Trinity*… answer and refute particularly all the instances brought by Curcellaeus'.[120]

Stillingfleet's *Vindication* cut to the heart of the Trinitarian crisis of the 1690s. It showed that, while Sherlock was no Socinian, his book was symptomatic of a widening fracture between English Arminians over disputed modes of engagement with the Dutch Remonstrant tradition—a division roughly witnessed in churchmen, on the one hand, who engaged continental Remonstrant sources in a deeply critical fashion, and others who appropriated them more comprehensively. For Edwards, South, and Stillingfleet, the threat to Trinitarian orthodoxy was not *only* Socinianism. They were also worried that the influence of Remonstrant theology weakened the Church's defenses against the Socinian threat.

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[116] William Wall, *The History of Infant Baptism* (Oxford, 1844 [1705]), 148.

[117] Ibid. Cf. Jean Le Clerc, *Supplement to Dr. Hammond's Paraphrase and Annotations on the New Testament* (1699), 622.

[118] Ibid.; Le Clerc, *Supplement,* 623.

[119] Ibid. Cf. Stephen Nye, *A Defense of the Brief History of the Unitarians, against Dr. Sherlock's Answer in His Vindication of the Holy Trinity* (1691), 5.

[120] Ibid., 149.

3.4 CONCLUSION

William Sherlock's *Vindication of the Doctrine of the Holy and Ever-Blessed Trinity* ignited the most heated theological dispute of the later Stuart Church. Seeking to defend the doctrine of the Trinity against its Socinian and Unitarian detractors, Sherlock exchanged the metaphysical language of traditional Trinitarian orthodoxy for a 'plain and intelligible' account, according to which the Trinitarian persons were conceived as three minds, whose unity was founded in a mutual center of consciousness. When terminology similar to Sherlock's appeared in a sermon at Oxford by Joseph Bingham, the University issued a decree of condemnation against Bingham's views, which identified them with the views of Sherlock. Sherlock's indignant reply stoked the controversy, which grew so fierce that the King himself issued injunctions forbidding any further disputing of the matter.

In the heat of the controversy, Sherlock's opponents produced some of the clearest expositions of traditional Trinitarian doctrine to be found in the later Stuart period. The Reformed churchmen, Robert South and John Wallis, played particularly important roles. South was unusual in his willingness to define Trinitarian orthodoxy in the language of the scholastic tradition, which found its most influential articulation in the writings of Thomas Aquinas. His contributions have rightly been interpreted as evidence for the persistence of the Reformed tradition in the later Stuart period, but ought not to overshadow the contributions of his Arminian colleague at Oxford, Jonathan Edwards. Edwards refuted Sherlock in much the same terms as South, even, for example, establishing real distinctions between the divine persons using the scholastic notion of a subsisting relation. Edwards' chief objection to Sherlock, however, was that his notion of the Trinity inevitably entailed a merely specific unity, or unity of similarity, among the divine persons.

Seven months after William's injunctions, Edward Stillingfleet completed his *Discourse in Vindication of the Doctrine of the Trinity,* which was meant to clear the air after silence had been imposed between the disputants. There, Stillingfleet defended South and Edwards from Stephen Nye's charge of nominal Trinitarianism, and cited both authors favorably in the process. He also defended Sherlock's sincerity as a believer in the Trinity, but, like Edwards, thought that his doctrine entailed a merely specific unity amongst the divine persons. Like Edwards, Stillingfleet believed that this view played directly into the Socinians' hands by destroying the unity of nature between the divine persons.

Crucially, Stillingfleet identified the fountainhead of this view in the Remonstrant theologian, Etienne de Courcelles. Courcelles had denied that the divine nature is numerically

one. Instead, he taught that the divine nature was a specific unity, and argued that the church fathers shared his view. For Courcelles, this meant that the difference between the substance of the Father and of the Son was the difference between two distinct substances—like water and wine—who unite only as two distinct substances unite, by inhering in one another. Courcelles's patristic argument provided English anti-Trinitarians with a valuable resource for supporting their contention that the Christian tradition had always denied that the Son shared with the Father a numerically singular, and therefore strictly equal, nature.

Recent scholarship has rightly located the root of the Trinitarian crisis in the propagation of radical Remonstrant doctrines. What has not been sufficiently recognized is that, because this struggle played out in the context of the lapsed disciplinary regime of the post-revolutionary establishment, it constituted a formative episode in the deepening division between Arminian churchmen themselves—a division which is critical to understanding the nature of the shifting theological balance underway, in Tyacke's words, from Laudians to latitudinarians. Yet even as this interpretation supports the idea of such a transition, it also creates new problems for it—for in what sense can a Tory high churchman like Edwards, and a latitudinarian church whig like Stillingfleet, be regarded as standing on the same side of this transference of theological influence? The answer rests in how the problem of conflicting modes of engagement with the Dutch Remonstrant tradition became embedded within the constituent debates—and, to that extent, shaped the broader process of theological change.

The following chapter will add further detail to the thesis advanced so far, that behind howling over Socinianism lay deep skepticism, within the camp of Arminian churchmen, over the advisability of engaging the Remonstrant tradition too freely. The full range of responses to Sherlock's views only appears intelligible when it is grasped that the uncritical appropriation of Remonstrant theology was of no less concern to many Arminian churchmen than to the Reformed. The resulting negatively defined consensus against Remonstrant novelties galvanized high church discontent with the post-revolutionary disciplinary establishment, and proved pivotal in rousing calls for a sitting Convocation over the following decade. As shall be seen in the following chapter, when Convocation finally gathered at the turn of the century, members of the Oxford-dominated Lower House had already witnessed the damage that Remonstrant ideas could do in uncritical hands, as well as the use to which they might be put by eminent churchmen accustomed to 'standing high, and turning around'.[121]

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[121] Cf. *supra*, 52 fn. 6.

4. A Hound for the Heresy Hunt

4.1 Gilbert Burnet's *Exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England*

While South and Edwards were decrying the disciplinary inaction of William's Church, Gilbert Burnet was extolling its virtues. Burnet had fled England in 1685 under suspicion of collusion in Monmouth's rebellion, coming eventually to the Netherlands, where he resided at the Hague and befriended William's closest advisor, Hans Willem Bentick.[1] He became William's chaplain in October 1688, and was soon appointed royal chaplain, Clerk of the Closet, and, on the death of Seth Ward in January 1689, bishop of Salisbury. Three months later, Burnet preached the new monarchs' coronation sermon, in which he depicted William as the 'godly prince,' and promised auditors that 'when we see kings become thus truly Christian philosophers, then we may expect to see the City of God, the New Jerusalem, quickly come down from Heaven to settle among us'.[2] He was also an industrious diocesan, who, alongside Richard Kidder and John Sharpe, led a renewal in episcopal oversight which served to legitimate William's divisive regime by associating the new monarchy with the bishops' fervor for moral reform.[3] In short, Burnet stood at the heart of the new ecclesiastical establishment which high-church critics blamed for the recent proliferation of Socinian heterodoxy. Archbishop Tillotson may have been the face of the post-revolutionary Church, but Burnet was widely considered its guiding hand.

In 1694, Burnet published *Four Discourses Delivered to the Clergy of the Diocess of Sarum*, a work assembled the previous year as a precursor to his diocesan visitations. The work was criticized by many high-churchmen for advancing a 'latitudinarian' epistemology which, while not heretical in itself, seemed to open the door to Socinian rationalism.[4] But its

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[1] Martin Greig in *ODNB*, s.v. 'Gilbert Burnet.'

[2] Gilbert Burnet, *A Sermon Preached at the Coronation of William III and Mary II, King and Queen of England, -- France, and Ireland, Defenders of the Faith in the Abby-Church of Westminster, April 11, 1689* (1689), 5, 20. See Tony Claydon, '"Latitudinarianism" and Apocalyptic History in the Worldview of Gilbert Burnet, 1643-1714,' *HJ* 51.3 (2008), 577–97.

[3] Claydon, *William III and the Godly Revolution,* 32–33; G.V. Bennett, 'King William III and the Episcopate,' in G.V. Bennett & J.D. Walsh (eds.), *Essays in Modern English Church History in memory of Norman Sykes* (London: Black, 1966), 118–29; Martin Greig, 'Bishop Gilbert Burnet and Latitudinarian Episcopal Opposition to the Occasional Conformity Bills, 1702-1704,' *CJH* (2006), 252.

[4] Samuel Hill, *A Vindication of the Primitive Fathers against the Imputation of Gilbert Lord Bishop of Sarum* (1695), 'Preface'; Thomas Holdsworth, *Impar conatui: or, Mr. J.B. the Author of An Answer to the Animadversions on the Dean of St. Paul's Vindication of the Trinity, Rebuk'd and Prov'd to be Wholly Unfit for the Great Work he hath Undertaken* (1695), 73; Leslie, *Tempora Mutantur*.

chief importance lay in the more ambitious project to which it led. Archbishop Tillotson and Queen Mary were so impressed that they encouraged Burnet to expand the *Discourses* into a full commentary on the Articles of Religion, which he duly produced as *An Exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England* (1699).

Burnet's *Exposition* quickly came to be seen as a 'latitudinarian manifesto'.[5] The most influential commentary on the Articles remained the Reformed exposition by a chaplain of Archbishop Richard Bancroft, Thomas Rogers, *The English Creede* (1585).[6] While Rogers' work 'stood long without censure, notwithstanding his partiality to one side,' Burnet wrote, 'of late, opinions different from his prevailing,' a work of broader theological compass was needed to commend the Articles to clergy who 'seemed scarce ever to have read them'.[7] Burnet grounded his method in Charles I's 1628 declaration, in the wake of the Remonstrant controversy, that 'no man hereafter… shall… put his own sense or comment to be the meaning of the Article, but shall take it in the literal and grammatical sense'.[8] Burnet added that, 'an Article being conceived in such general words, that it can admit of different literal and grammatical senses, even when the senses given are plainly contrary one to another, both sides may subscribe the article with a good conscience, and without any equivocation.'[9] He took as his example Christ's descent into hell, which could be interpreted—by equally 'literal and grammatical' readings of Article II—as one of three mutually exclusive doctrines: the traditional teaching of Christ's local descent into hell; Christ's burial in the earth, where 'hell' was taken to denote the grave; or the separation of Christ's soul from his body, where 'hell' was understood as the location of spirits disunited from their bodies. For Burnet, the Articles admitted of a range of legitimate interpretations, all within the pale of English orthodoxy:

> Where then the Articles are conceived in large and general words, and have not more special and restrained terms in them, we ought to take that for a sure indication, that the Church does not intend to tie men up too severely to particular opinions, but that she leaves all to such a liberty as is agreeable with the purity of the faith.[10]

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[5] Greig, 'Heresy Hunt,' 592.

[6] The latest edition was Thomas Rogers, *The Faith, Doctrine, and Religion Professed and Protected in the Realm of England* (1691). For Rogers as 'the only authoritative exposition we have of the articles,' see Francis Blackburne, *The Confessional; Or, A Full and Free Inquiry into the Right, Utility, Edification, and Success, of Establishing Systematical Confessions of Faith and Doctrine in Protestant Churches* (1766), 188.

[7] Gilbert Burnet, *Remarks upon the Examination of the Exposition of the Second Article of our Religion* (Dublin, 1703), 2. Burnet apparently overlooked John Ellis' *Articulorum XXXIX Ecclesiae Anglicanae Defensio* (Cambridge, 1694 [1660]), which expounded the Articles in an Arminian sense.

[8] 'The King's Declaration Prefixed to the Articles of Religion,' in Henry Gee and William John Hardy (eds.), *Documents Illustrative of English Church History* (New York: Macmillan, 1896), 418–20.

[9] Gilbert Burnet, *An Exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England* (1699), 8.

[10] Ibid., 8–9.

Despite the encouragement of several of several bishops, including Tillotson and, reportedly, Stillingfleet, Burnet did not 'impose this upon the reader as the work of authority'.[11] But it was difficult for his enemies to avoid that inference, since Burnet aligned his *Exposition* with his earlier *History of the Reformation* (1679-81),[12] which cast the English Reformation as the restoration of the Crown's right in religious matters. For critics like Henry Dodwell and Francis Atterbury, the Church was not a ward of the state but a society analogous to it, with its own governing body in Convocation.[13] The *Exposition* was thus seen as a theological prop to Burnet's fundamental contention that 'the princes of Christendom have an authority over their subjects in matters of religion'.[14] Burnet's blend of Erastianism and latitudinarian epistemology was all his enemies needed to ignite their claims against William's bishops' bench: Not only did it seem that the Crown had aided heterodoxy by passing the Toleration Act and refusing to call Convocation, but now, one of its most supportive bishops seemed to overthrow the design of the Articles of Religion—as intended, not insignificantly, by *Convocation*—to prevent clashing doctrinal opinions.[15]

When the prorogation of the Convocation of Canterbury finally ended in 1701, one of the first acts of the Lower House was to gather a committee to investigate scandalous and heretical books. Instigated by Atterbury,[16] Burnet's *Exposition* was placed alongside the deist Matthew Toland's *Christianity Not Mysterious* (1696) for review. After considering the book, the committee submitted complaints to the Upper House under three headings:

I. That the said book tends to introduce such a latitude and diversity of opinions as the articles were fram'd to avoid.

II. That there are many passages in the *Exposition* which appear to be contrary to the true meaning of them, and to other receiv'd doctrines of our Church.

III. That there are some things in said book which seem to be of dangerous consequence to the Church of England by law establish'd, and to derogate from the honour of its Reformation.[17]

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[11] Ibid., ii.

[12] Gilbert Burnet, *A History of His Own Time* (1838), 658.

[13] Henry Dodwell, *A Cautionary Discourse of Schism* (1691); idem, *A Vindication of the Deprived Bishops, Asserting Their Spiritual Rights against a Lay Deprivation* (1692); Francis Atterbury, *The Rights, Powers, and Priviledges, of an English Convocation* (1700); idem, *Letter to a Convocation Man* (1696), 19.

[14] Burnet, *Exposition,* 386; Greig, 'Heresy Hunt,' 583.

[15] Ibid., 7: 'The title of the Articles bears, that they were agreed upon in Convocation, "for the avoiding of diversities of opinions, and for the stablishing [*sic*] consent touching true religion."'

[16] G.V. Bennet, *The Tory Crisis in Church and State 1688–1730* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1975), 58.

[17] *Complaint of the lower house of convocation against Burnet's exposition of the 39 Articles,* BL Add. MS 4238, fols 54–59; printed in William Binckes, *A Prefatory Discourse to an Examination of a Late Book, entituled, An Exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England* (1702), 6.

According to one member of the Lower House who published a further response to Burnet, William Binckes, Burnet's illustration of the latitude warranted by the article of Christ's descent *ad inferos* had shown the dangerous consequences of his notions:

> Such a liberty as this, which in effect is to make the Article either speak nonsense, or signify just nothing at all, is the measure of latitude my Lord of Sarum proposes to be us'd in subscribing to all the rest of the Articles; and could he perswade others to be of his mind herein, it is hard to suppose an article to be so very express, as not to be capable of being perverted and made to signify somewhat or other, which is very wide of the true sense of the Church.[18]

Burnet was unusual among William's bishops' bench in two respects: he was uncommonly forthright in printing his views, and he had sufficiently thick skin to absorb the scurrility that lower clergy hurled at him.[19] Nonetheless, he was mystified by the response of the lower clergy. He expressed bewilderment at being treated with such 'sharpness of stile' by men 'whom to my knowledge I have never offended'.[20] He defended his appeal to the literal and grammatical sense by citing Archbishop Laud—'so that I have an authority on my side, which is generally sacred with some people'. He was, after all, simply advocating a broader application of the strategies of reading by which Arminians had previously subscribed the Articles. He was deeply perplexed, therefore, to find that his enemies were not only 'men of the Calvinist persuasion,' but 'those of the Arminian side'.[21]

Burnet's perplexity is noteworthy, given that his complaint of being assailed by a fellow Arminian for advancing a traditional Arminian reading strategy came in his one and only printed response to the Convocation controversy. Burnet had heard rumors that *An Examination of my Lord of Sarum's Exposition of the Second Article of Religion* (1702) was 'the work of a presbyter of mine'.[22] The author certainly fit what one contemporary pamphlet considered the 'odd character of high churchmen' to 'trample mitres under their feet'.[23] In fact, he had assaulted Burnet precisely on the grounds of his alleged abuse of episcopal power, casting Burnet as a modern day Nestorius while likening himself to 'Jo. Cassian, who was but a presbyter,' yet dared 'to oppose, and treat thus roughly, so great a prelate as

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[18] Binckes, *Prefatory Discourse*, 16-17.

[19] Greig, 'Episcopal Opposition,' 253 fn. 17; cf. Clyve Jones and Geoffrey Holmes (eds.), *The London Diaries of William Nicholson, Bishop of Carlisle 1702–1718* (Oxford: OUP, 1985), 122, 138.

[20] Gilbert Burnet, *Remarks upon the Examination of the Exposition of the Second Article of our Religion* (1702), 1.

[21] Ibid., 3.

[22] Ibid., 6; cf. Thomas Lathbury, *A History of the Convocation of the Church of England* (1842), 301.

[23] Anon. *A Letter to a Friend concerning the New Distinction between high and Low Church* (1704), 15.

Nestorius'.[24] Word had circulated that the author was Robert Woodward, dean of Salisbury and prolocutor in the Lower House in 1701, who had become famous for opposing his former patron.[25] In fact, however, the author was not Woodward, but that acerbic speaker of the Lower House, Jonathan Edwards.[26] Though published anonymously, the *Examination* nearly reduplicated Christological portions of Edwards' *Preservative against Socinianism*, and it seems highly unlikely that another member of the Lower House would have opened himself up to Burnet's counter-attack by committing open plagiarism. Edwards' treatise was seen to be so powerful that Burnet's friends urged him to respond, lest 'silence upon such an attack… look like conviction or confession'.[27] Indeed, that Burnet responded at all shows that he took Edwards' book uniquely seriously: none of the other pamphlets published in the aftermath of the controversy warranted any response, let alone one published in London and Dublin (and reprinted, in a second edition, in the latter). It is puzzling, therefore, that Edwards' treatise has received no analysis in recent scholarship of the Convocation controversy.[28] Even Martin Greig's excellent article on the Lower House's 'heresy hunt' misses Edwards, who would have illustrated well his contention that the Convocation controversy of 1701 flowed from the Trinitarian crisis of the late 1680s and 1690s.[29]

This chapter analyzes a constituent dispute within the long Convocation controversy, concerning the relation of the divine and human natures in Jesus Christ. It shall be seen that Edwards did not fault Burnet for overtly rejecting orthodox teaching concerning Christ's two natures, but for elaborating that doctrine in ways that fatally compromised it. Further, it shall be seen that Edwards associated Burnet with the Dutch Remonstrants, especially Philip van Limborch, whom Burnet had befriended in Holland during the 1660s. Limborch's willingness to explore unorthodox doctrinal interpretations meant that he often spent significant time engaging with heterodox groups like the Socinians—a habit which did not serve him well, since several of his own distinctive theological views were thought to resemble those of the

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[24] Anon., *An Examination of the Exposition which my Lord of Sarum Hath Given of the Second Article of Religion* (s.n., 1702), 62. The author will be identified in all subsequent citations.

[25] In January 1701, Burnet had Woodward prosecuted for 'pretended contempt and disobedience,' for denying access to his parish in Pewsey during Burnet's previous triennial visitation. See *A Complete History of England: With the Lives of All the Kings and Queens,* vol. III (1706), 847.

[26] Edwards, *Examination*, 63.

[27] Burnet, *Remarks,* 8.

[28] B.W Young, *Religion and Enlightenment in Eighteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 30, notes Edwards' effort to cast Burnet in the mould of an ancient heretical bishop: Edwards, *Examination*, 63.

[29] Martin Greig, 'Heresy Hunt: Gilbert Burnet and the Convocation Controversy of 1701,' *HJ* 37.3 (Sept. 1994), 569–92, at 591. Greig's article provides helpful background reading; hence our titular homage.

Socinians. Limborch's method profoundly affected Burnet's theological methodology.[30] For Edwards, Limborch's resonance with Socinian thinking gave virtual proof that Burnet, whose writing so bore the mark of Limborch's influence, followed suit.

The argument unfolds in four parts. First, Burnet's Christological teaching shall be reproduced on the basis of his two most thorough accounts: the second of his *Four Discourses Delivered to the Clergy of the Diocess of Sarum* (1694), and his *Exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion* (1699). Second, it shall be shown that Burnet's distinctive motif for explaining the union of Christ's two natures had been widely used, though to a different end, by Socinian writers over the previous century. This is significant because while Burnet was no Socinian, he was operating in the same theological milieu as Limborch, whose links to the Socinians were clearer. Third, the chapter shall argue that Jonathan Edwards' substantial response to Burnet indicates the persistence among anti-Calvinist conformists of the older, so-called 'subsistence' model of the hypostatic union—a Christological model which, finally, shall be elucidated and located in the writings of Edwards' contemporaries, both Arminian and Reformed. Throughout, it will be seen that the heart of Edwards' trouble with Burnet—and indirectly, therefore, the qualms of the Lower House, for whom Edwards claimed to speak—concerned Burnet's engagement with the Dutch Remonstrant tradition.

4.2 *Nestorius Redux*? Gilbert Burnet on the Divinity of Christ

Burnet's first lengthy Christological composition was the second of his *Four Discourses*, 'A Discourse concerning the Divinity and Death of Christ'. A notable work in its own right, the text was an early version of the *Exposition*'s shorter discussion of a core article of Christian theology—the doctrine of the Incarnation, or, more technically, of the hypostatic union of the divine and human natures in the one person of Jesus Christ.

In that discourse, Burnet began his apology for Christ's divinity with a case for belief in mysteries, which climaxed in a discussion of the inscrutability of consciousness:

> We plainly perceive that we think, and that we act freely: then either this rises out of meer matter, or we have another principle in us of another nature and order of beings, that thinks and moves, both itself and also our bodies. That meer matter can have no liberty, and that it cannot think, seems to be evident of itself; all our observations of matter shew it to be passive, and to act necessarily, and that it neither has in itself a power of motion, nor liberty, but always goes in a chain: and thought being perceived

[30] Clarke and Foxcroft, *Life of Gilbert Burnet*, 225.

> by us to be one simple act, it must flow from a single principle that is uncompounded.[31]

In other words, while the body's relation to its 'thinking-principle' was inscrutable, no one denied consciousness. Burnet claimed that the same was the case with mysteries: one was bound by experience and others' testimony 'to believe some things, of which we are not able to give ourselves a distinct account, nor to answer the objections that may lie against them'.[32]

It is worth underlining Burnet's idea that motion in a composite being arises from a single, uncompounded principle. For, while merely a preliminary illustration, its Cartesian flavor foreshadowed the unorthodox nature of Burnet's argument proper.

That argument falls in three parts. It begins with a survey of three views on Christ's divinity. The first was the monarchian teaching 'that Christ was a divine person… to be worshipped and acknowledged as God… tho he had no existence before he was formed in the Virgin's womb, and no other nature but that which he derived from his miraculous conception'.[33] The second was the Arian view that 'there was an essence created by God before all worlds, by which he made and governs all things, and that this essence was like God, dwelt in Christ Jesus, and was by the gospel revealed to the world'.[34] This view had once considered Christ 'a being of a nature quite different from, and unlike the divine nature; which was found to be of an unacceptable sound; so others softned [*sic*] it by saying, that he was of an essence *like the Father*… And by *likeness*, such men could only understand a moral likeness of imitation and resemblance; so that he might be *like God*, as we are called to be *like him*, tho' in vastly higher degrees'.[35] Against both opinions, a third stated that

> the Godhead, by the eternal Word, the second of the blessed three, dwelt in, and was so inwardly united to the human nature of Jesus Christ, that by vertue of it, God and man were truly one person, as our soul and body make one man. And that this eternal Word was truly God, and as such is worshipped and adored as the proper object of divine adoration.[36]

Burnet proposed to explain the third doctrine. He began by refusing to say in what respect the divine persons were one or three—a point where he felt some of the fathers had gone 'beyond due bounds'. Some of them had assimilated 'platonical notions of emanations, and a fecundity in the divine essence,' positing 'an eduction of two out of the first' which

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[31] Gilbert Burnet, *Four Discourses Delivered to the Clergy of Diocess of Sarum* (1694), 28–29.

[32] Ibid., 29.

[33] Ibid., 30.

[34] Ibid.

[35] Ibid., 30–31.

[36] Ibid., 31.

'seems to have given rise to those words, *Light of Light*'.[37] In so doing, they proposed 'a subordination of the second and third persons to the first,' ascribing to the persons not only different economies but even the property of doing 'that which another did not do'.[38] This implied that they meant by 'same substance' only the same *general* substance. A second group thought this militated against the scriptures' affirmations of the unity of the deity, and 'therefore made it their foundation that the deity was one numerical being, turning to the illustration of the sun, and its emanations of light and heat,' which they 'likened to the different operations of the soul of man, namely of intellection and of love'.[39] This position held that the primary act of the divine essence was its wisdom, by which it saw all things, and in which (as by an inward word) it designed all things'. In addition to this 'word' or Son, there arose 'from the Fountain-principle together with this inward word… a love that was to issue forth and that was to be the soul of creation, and more particularly to animate the Church'.[40] This position, which clearly echoes elements of books eight to fourteen in Augustine's *De Trinitate*,[41] 'became the universal explanation' which, he complained, had been subsequently 'dressed up with scholastic nicety'. Still others, however, held that the title 'Son of God' referred only to Jesus as the Messiah, implying only a human nature, so that all instances of the Son's subordination to the Father ought to be understand as Christ's subordination as man. If this were true, Burnet added, 'all the speculations concerning an eternal generation, are off in the strict sense of the words.' It was clear where Burnet's sympathies lay. As a result of an ill-fated effort to 'endear the Christian faith to the Greeks,' the fathers had produced 'many improper similes and impertinent reasonings'—products that 'always result when one goes about trying to explain to others what he does not understand himself'. The core of received doctrine, then, Burnet summed up this way:

> There is but one God; so in that undivided essence, there are three that are really different from one another, and are more than only three names, or outward œconomies, and that the second of these was in a most intimate and unconceivable way united to a perfect man; so that from the human and divine nature thus united, there did result the person of the Messiah, who was both God and man.[42]

Of crucial significance is Burnet's claim that the second person was 'united to a perfect man'. As Burnet momentarily observed, subsistence was necessary to render a human

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[37] Ibid.

[38] Ibid.

[39] Ibid., 32.

[40] Ibid.

[41] Gerald Bray, 'The Doctrine of the Trinity in Augustine's *De Trinitate Dei*,' *EJT* 1.2 (1992), 147.

[42] Burnet, *Four Discourses*, 32–33.

nature 'perfect'. But in classical Christian divinity, Christ's human nature had no subsistence of its own; the human nature which the Son assumed did not constitute a person, independent of its assumption by the second person of the Trinity. This was formally stated in a distinction which established that the human nature assumed by the Son was *anhypostatic*, insofar as it did not constitute a person (hypostasis) independent of the Son, but *enhypostatic,* insofar as it was only made a person in the Incarnation, when a particular human nature became the human nature *of Christ*.[43] Burnet's claim that the second person was 'united to a perfect man' thus seemed to imply, against historic teaching, that the Son's human nature *was* subsistent.

Interestingly, Burnet's next remarks did little to block that inference. He complained that the received doctrine was quickly beset with new subtleties, one of which had been invented to 'explain the formal notion of a person, which was supposed to consist in a special subsistence—so that it was thought that Christ's human nature had no special subsistence of its own'.[44] Burnet clearly had in mind the *anhypostatic/enhypostatic* distinction explained a moment ago. But, Burnet added, it was hard to understand how this could be, since, if 'subsistence belonged to the human nature, it might seem that it was not perfect, if it had not a proper subsistence'. From this difficulty, Burnet explained, arose the notion of a hypostatic union—the idea that '[Christ's] human nature was believed to subsist by the subsistence of the Word'. However, he clearly had doubts about that idea, too: 'it was not easy to make this the more intelligible, by offering a notion full as unintelligible as itself, to explain it by.'

This led to the second part of his argument, in which, having criticized key motifs in patristic and scholastic Trinitarian theology as metaphysical subtleties, Burnet proceeded to offer an alternative account of the hypostatic union in an attempt to present the doctrine of the Incarnation in terms amenable to contemporary mechanistic philosophy.[45]

Recall Burnet's definition of the hypostatic union as Christ's human nature subsisting by the subsistence of the Word. Burnet believed that this idea made it 'more possible for us to arrive at distinct ideas,'[46] since it reflected the composition of the human being:

> The union of the soul and body is the result of such a proper harmony of the body, according to the mechanical structure of its necessary parts, as makes it fit to give

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[43] For a technical contemporary example, see Turretin, *Institutes* ii 311.

[44] Ibid., 33, and all following.

[45] Sytsma, *Richard Baxter and the Mechanical Philosophers*, 14, defines 'mechanistic philosophy in the historically warranted sense given by Boyle' as 'broadly inclusive of Gassendi and Descartes, with the ideal of replacing Aristotelian forms and qualities with alternative reductionist explanations'.

[46] Burnet, *Four Discourses*, 33.

> proper sensations to the mind, and to receive and obey the impressions of the mind, the breaking of which harmony brings on death.[47]

To provide a more intelligible illustration of the doctrine, Burnet instanced four 'degrees of the union of thinking being with matter'.[48] The 'lowest' degree was infants, whose spirit was so 'wholly immersed in matter' and 'under its dominion,' that it could not rise above it. A second degree was adults, whose minds, sensory subjection to matter notwithstanding, had 'a power… not to yield to those sensations,' and could 'by the use of reason and liberty be so assisted, as to have the ascendant over the body for the greatest part'. A third degree was a 'philosophical notion of the use of our bodies,' in which 'the soul shall have an entire authority over matter,' and where the body 'shall only serve it as instruments do a mechanick'. Of a fourth degree, however, was 'a mind… so entirely perfect in itself, and in its own acts, that it may have no need of a body upon its own account,' but only to do that which it could not 'but through the conveyance, or by the mechanical motions and impressions of one piece of matter upon another'. Burnet then added, crucially, that 'spirits of the highest form, nay God himself, may at some times, and for some unknown ends, make use of a body, and put it in such a form, and so actuate it, as thereby to communicate some light or influence to minds that are yet much immersed in matter'.[49] While it did not arrive at the 'strict notion of subsistence,' Burnet felt this survey of the degrees of spiritual-material union would enable 'a more distinct apprehension of the union of the eternal Word to a human nature, by which it assumed the man into such an inward and immediate œconomy, that it did always actuate, illuminate and conduct him, as we perceive our souls do our bodies'.[50] This notion also seemed to agree with the scriptural expressions of 'the Word's dwelling in flesh,' and the 'bodily *indwelling of the fulness of the Godhead* in Christ Jesus'.[51]

In the third part, and most strikingly, Burnet defended the received doctrine on a scriptural basis, using an essentially lexical argument. In the Septuagint, he observed, the Tetragrammaton 'YHWH' was rendered by the Greek *kyrios*, 'Lord'. In the New Testament, the apostles applied that term in both articular and anarthrous forms to Jesus. But 'this being so sacred a name to the Jews,' Burnet reasoned, 'it is impossible to imagine that the apostles could intend other in it, but that the Jehovah dwelt so immediately and bodily in Christ Jesus,

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[47] Ibid.

[48] For the remainder of the paragraph, see ibid., 33–34.

[49] Ibid., 34.

[50] Ibid.

[51] Ibid. Italics mine.

that by that indwelling he was truly Jehovah.'[52] The magnitude of this claim should not be missed, for it implied that Christ's right to the divine name flowed from the indwelling of Jesus of Nazareth by YHWH. This suggests that Burnet regarded the Word as equivalent with the Godhead, but not, as classical divinity taught, only with the divine nature as begotten.[53]

In this remark, then, two strands of reasoning which have developed throughout the discourse become apparent. First, given that the divine name did not function for Burnet as representative of the Son exclusively but rather as an equivalent to 'Godhead,' for Burnet, it was not finally the Word but the divine nature which became incarnate. Ironically, having castigated the church fathers for seeking to explain in what sense the persons were one and three, Burnet's agnosticism led him to accentuate the activity of the undivided Godhead in the Incarnation. Second, Burnet implied that the metaphysical mechanism for the hypostatic union was indwelling—a motif historically associated with Nestorianism. This connection is born out by the rest of Burnet's analysis, where he likened the Incarnation to the *shekinah* (Exodus 33; 2 Chronicles 5), which, he believed, had loomed so large in the Jewish mind that one could not have grasped the apostles' meaning without considering that 'constant presence and inhabitation of God'.[54] Accordingly, when the apostles called Christ *kyrios*, they 'could mean no other, but that he was the true Jehovah by a *more perfect* indwelling of the Deity in him, than that had been which was in the cloud'.[55] So the Jews understood the Christian claim—which, Burnet inexplicably claimed, explained why they never accused Christians of creature worship. For if Christians 'believe[d] that Christ was God by vertue of the indwelling of the eternal Word in him,' and if the Jews 'knew that their fathers had worshipped the cloud of glory, because of God's resting upon it,' then 'adoring the Messias upon the supposition of the Godhead's dwelling bodily in him, could bear no debate among the Jews'.[56] Thus Burnet concluded that 'we may well and safely determine, that Christ was truly both God and man; and that the Godhead did as really dwell in his human nature and became united to it, as our souls dwell in our bodies, and are united to them'.[57]

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[52] Burnet, *Four Discourses,* 35.

[53] Traditionally, ways of identifying the Godhead at work in the Incarnation were technical ways to underline the activity of divine persons. This was far from Burnet's point. See the distinction between 'term' and 'principle' in the Word's assumption of Christ's human nature, in Aquinas, *ST* iii q. 3 art. 2 resp.

[54] Ibid., 36.

[55] Ibid., 37.

[56] Ibid., 40.

[57] Ibid.

When Burnet published his *Exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England* (1699) five years later, his exposition ran along similar lines. He argued that the Jews never accused Christians of idolatry,[58] and inferred from this 'that the Jews must have understood this part of our religion in such a manner as agreed with their former ideas,' especially the idea 'that God dwelt in the cloud of glory, and that by virtue of that inhabitation, divine worship was paid to God as dwelling in the cloud'.[59] The apostles accommodated this idea, emphasizing 'that the eternal Word which dwelt afterwards in the man Christ Jesus, dwelt then in that cloud of glory'. This was their motivation for explaining Christ's divinity to the Jews as 'an inhabitation of God in a creature, by which that creature was not only called God, but that adoration was due to it upon that account'.[60] The *shekinah* analogy, which owed as much to his Cartesianism as to his exegesis, opened Burnet up to charges of Nestorianism. For one could conclude from it that Christ's human nature included its own independent *suppositum*. This risked implying a merely local union between Christ's natures, thus making a created object worthy of worship, as distinct from the Word.[61]

Recalling his definition of the hypostatic union in the *Discourses*, Burnet explained what it meant to 'subsist by another': 'when a being is acting according to its natural properties, but yet in a constant dependance [*sic*] upon another being; so our bodies subsist by the subsistence of our souls.'[62] Put simply, where South and Edwards identified one being in Christ, Burnet identified two. Burnet's argument is subtle: he granted the unique agency of the Word in its inhabitation.[63] But he was more concerned to underline the activity of the undivided divine nature, as when likening the hypostatic union to a soul-body composition: 'as the body is still a body, and operates as a body, though it subsists by the indwelling and actuation of the soul; so in the person of Jesus Christ the human nature was entire, and still acted according to its own character.' This much seemed orthodox; a person, configured of body and soul, had but one subsistence. But it was more problematic to suggest that the Church's aim in employing the word *person*, 'was chiefly to distinguish the nature of the

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[58] Burnet, *Exposition*, 49.

[59] Ibid.

[60] Ibid., 49–50.

[61] James R. Gordon, *The Holy One in Our Midst: An Essay on the Flesh of Christ* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2016), 75–76; Oliver Crisp, *Divinity and Humanity* (Cambridge: CUP, 2012), 87.

[62] Burnet, *Exposition*, 51.

[63] Ibid., where he states that the communication to Christ's human nature of the 'divine names and characters' arose from 'such an union and inhabitation of the eternal Word in it'.

indwelling of the Godhead in him, from all prophetical inspirations'.[64] In other words, though YHWH dwelt in Christ and Moses alike, he only dwelt in Christ so as to procure a union between the natures. This clearly required two *supposita*, and so subverted the very definition Burnet claimed to uphold. Astonishingly, Burnet did not require his opponents to unravel his argument to produce excuses for harassment. He provided that entirely of his own accord:

> If Nestorius… meant only, as some think it appears by many citations out of him, that the Blessed Virgin was not to be called simply the Mother of God, but the Mother of him that was God; and if that of making two persons in Christ, was only fasten'd on him as a consequence, we are not at all concerned in the matter of fact, whether Nestorius was misunderstood and hardly used, or not; but the doctrine here asserted is plain in the Scriptures, that though the human nature in Christ acted still according to its proper character, and had a peculiar will; yet there was such a constant presence, indwelling, and actuation on it from the eternal Word, as did constitute both human and divine nature one person.[65]

In sum, Burnet's account of the hypostatic union entailed two undesirable outcomes. First, it left open the inference that there were two distinct *supposita* in Christ. Second, and more fundamentally, it implied that it was not the person of the Word but the divine nature itself which indwelled Christ's human nature. As shall be seen, Edwards drew these inferences, lambasting Burnet's account as Nestorian. Indeed, he was not the first: the eagle-eyed Unitarian, Stephen Nye, noted that Burnet's use of the soul-body analogy evacuated it of its force in the context of the Athanasian Creed: 'tho the Bishop is a cautious man… yet here he sufficiently discovers to any considering reader, that he believes the human nature of Christ had a proper subsistence; and if it had a proper subsistence, then [say I] by itself it constituted Christ a person, and then God and man did not make one person, as the soul and body make a man.'[66] It did not help that Burnet's analogy had been deployed previously by Socinian writers. Nor would it have helped, had Edwards discovered it, that Burnet had formed his views in conversation with the Dutch Remonstrant, Philip van Limborch.

4.3 The Socinian and Arminian Background

As noted above, Jonathan Edwards' *Examination*, alone among the polemical print produced by members of the lower clergy, drew Burnet into publishing a response. Edwards began the *Examination* by admitting that '[a]mong those argument whereby the Bishop proves our

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[64] Ibid., 52.

[65] Ibid.

[66] Stephen Nye, *The Grounds and Occasions of the Controversy Concerning the Unity of God, &c.* (1698), 35.

Saviour to be God, there is none that carries greater force with it, then that which is taken from the divine worship which is paied [*sic*] to him'.[67] But he quickly added that, when Burnet came to apply his argument to the ideas and practice of the Jews, he 'advanced a dangerous position, which will clearly overturn all that before he had rightly asserted'.[68] At the heart of Edwards' charge was Burnet's *shekinah* analogy, which he linked to Burnet's earlier *Four Discourses*. According to Burnet, Edwards claimed, the Jews

> did not only worship God as dwelling in the cloud, which to be sure they might and in duty ought to due; but likewise the cloud itself. For so he would have it believed, by the words which come after and which we shall mention by and by; and more expressly in his *Discourse about the Divinity of Christ* (which he made to his clergy and since published, of which this Exposition, we are now upon, is but a transcript, tho somewhat contracted. [*sic*][69]

Edwards' central point against Burnet was that the motif of divine indwelling was of blatantly Socinian provenance. The Socinians denied that Christ existed prior to his earthly conception. Valentinus Smalcius (1572–1622) called Christ's divinity 'a monstrous fable,'[70] 'the vane figment of some trifling persons'.[71] Socinus considered it the product of absurd exegesis,[72] while Johann Ludwig von Wolzogen (1599–1661) insisted that the devil had lured the church into the belief of it.[73] The Socinians believed that Christ should be worshipped, but distinguished between the supreme worship due to God, and the subordinate worship due to Christ on account of his divinely delegated authority.[74] To illustrate the distinction, they pointed to Old Testament theophanies—creatures which, being inhabited or attended by divine presence, were paid mediate worship. The Unitarian bishop, Georgy Enjedinus (1555–1597), claimed that Christ's divine nature could not be proved from divine worship, since the cloud of glory was worshipped, and yet was not God.[75] Wolzogen proposed an *a fortiori* argument to the same effect, observing that the divine name was ascribed to the ark and temple by virtue of the inhabitation of the Godhead in them, and inferred from this that Christ

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[67] Edwards, *Examination*, 1.

[68] Ibid.

[69] Ibid., 2.

[70] Valentinus Smalcius, *Refutatio Libelli Martini Smiglecii Iesuitae* (Racov, 1613), 159.

[71] Idem, *Refutatio Thesium Alberti Graweri Quibus Incarnationem Aeterni Dei Filii* (Racov, 1615), c. 13.

[72] Faustus Socinus, on *1 Epis. Johan.* 5:20.

[73] Johann Ludwig von Wolzogen, *Commentaria in Evangelium Johannis,* in *Opera Omnia, Exegetica, Didactica, et Polemica* (Irenopoli [Amsterdam], 1656), 703.

[74] Francis Fullwood, *A Parallel: Wherein it Appears that the Socinian Agrees with the Papist, If Not Exceeds Him, in Idolatry, Antiscripturism, and Fanaticism* (1693), c.1 §3; Henry Felton, in *The Christian Faith Asserted against Deists, Arians, and Socinians* (Oxford, 1732), 447.

[75] Georgy Enjedinus, *Explicationes Locorum Veteris et Novi Testamenti* (Klausenberg, 1598), 39.

deserved worship more so, since he was inhabited in the same way.[76] Like Enjedinus, he denied that divine inhabitation warranted the claim that Christ was God. Similarly, Johann Völkel (c.1565–1618) reasoned that if the angels received worship, Christ deserved it all the more—despite being a mere creature.[77] These authors aligned with the Racovian Catechism, which claimed that many Old Testament texts could be accommodated to Christ 'because of that close and intimate presence and conjunction of the Godhead with him'.[78] Indeed, for one of its authors, Martin Ruarus (1589–1657), the eternal Spirit of God was, from Christ's conception, incorporated with Christ by an indissoluble union.[79] When Edwards attacked Burnet, these were some of the texts to which he appealed to show that the central motif of the bishop's account originated as an attempt to undermine, not defend, Christ's divinity.

Given the prominence of the indwelling motif in Socinian theology, it is unsurprising that Edwards labeled Burnet a Socinian. More surprising is that he linked these errors to the

> Remonstr[ants], (by whom I mean only Episcopius and his followers) and those who attempt to revive the heresies of Arius and Nestorius, who by the fathers were justly charged with idolatry: the first for worshipping a creature; for such the Arians accounted our Saviour, tho a divine one: the latter for adoring a man who was honoured with the presence of the Godhead which dwelt in him.[80]

But to whom precisely was Edwards referring? He clearly thought Burnet erred in his view of Christ's death.[81] Noting Burnet's refusal to style Christ's death 'a proper punishment, which yet was necessary to be done to guard it from the treacherous explications of the Remonst. as well as the plainer denyal of the Socinians,'[82] Edwards stated that Burnet believed 'no more than what hath been affirmed by Limbroch [*sic*] (an author well known to, and in no small esteem with his Lordship) who allows that Christs death was a sacrifice'.[83] However, the majority of the *Examination,* which focuses on the hypostatic union, omits specific citations

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[76] Johann Ludwig von Wolzogen, *Commentaria in Evangelium Matthaei,* in *Opera Omnia, Exegetica, Didactica, et Polemica* (Irenopoli [Amsterdam], 1656), 190.

[77] Völkel, *De Vera Religione*, 444.

[78] *The Racovian Catechism: With Notes and Illustrations, Translated from the Latin by Thomas Rees* (1818), 159–60.

[79] Martin Ruarus, *Epistola ad Georgiam Calixtam,* in *Martini Ruari, nec non Aliorum Illustrium, Spectabilium Doctorumque Vivorum… ad Ipsum vel Ejus Causâ Scriptarum Epistolarum Selectarum Centuria* (Amsterdam, 1681), i 296.

[80] Edwards, *Examination,* 6. Edwards was ostensibly distancing Episcopius from Arminius.

[81] Cf. Nye, *Grounds and Occasions*, 38: 'it is plain, that on the article of Christ's death, and satisfaction for the sins of mankind, there is no real difference between the Bishop and the Racovian Catechism… the Unitarians are sorry that they have been misunderstood by the Church of England, but they rejoice to find that your Lordship teaches the same doctrine which they have done.'

[82] Edwards, *Examination*, 82.

[83] Ibid.

of Remonstrant texts. Perhaps Edwards found little evidence that Burnet had colluded with them; Limborch had deliberately skirted the subject when arguing that saving faith properly respects Christ's office rather than his person.[84] Certainly, it worked to Edwards' advantage to link Burnet to the Socinians. However, some Remonstrants did share with Burnet's approach a novel way of articulating the union of the divine and human natures in Jesus Christ.

In Simon Episcopius, there could be found hints that the Son united himself with a *suppositum* rather than a nature. To say that, of course, would have been to deny that Christ's human nature was *anhypostatic*, or destitute of personality—and Episcopius was not, superficially at least, willing to concede that. Prior to discussing the union of Christ's two natures, Episcopius criticized the medieval tradition of Christological reflection, dismissing its 'curious reflections' on the mode of the generation of the Son of God. He appealed to Cyril of Jerusalem's maxim to 'believe that God has a Son, but do not be curious about the manner, for though you search, you will not discover'.[85] He anticipated two objections from his adversaries. Episcopius saw that, by elevating the importance of Christ's office over that of his nature, he might seem to expend with the necessity of Christ's divinity by Occam's razor: would not Christ's divine sonship be unnecessary, if belief in his mediatorial office sufficed for salvation? But he denied that stressing belief in Christ's office necessarily undermined his divinity. Indeed, he affirmed that the 'divine person truly abided in the human nature, and all the offerings the Son of Man received, and all the works he did, the Scriptures attribute to the Father and the Holy Spirit'.[86]

Episcopius then anticipated a further objection that he was positing 'two sons of God, and two persons; one of which subsisted before the other was born'.[87] Naturally, Episcopius denied this. He admitted that this 'would certainly follow, if the Son of Man subsisted at any time through himself, outside of union with the divine person of the Son of God. But truly, because he never subsisted through himself outside of [that union], thus there is only this single Son of God necessarily established'.[88] In other words, there would have been two persons in Christ, had not the Son of Man been united to the Son of God. But the Son of Man

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[84] Limborch, *Theologia Christiana*, iv 414.

[85] Simon Episcopius, *Opera Theologica* (1678), 337.

[86] Ibid., 338: '*Prorsus in natura humana quievit divina persona, omniaque quae Filius hominis accepit dona, quae fecit opera, ea Patri & Spiritui sancto tribuit Scriptura*.'

[87] Ibid.: '*duo Filii Dei & duae personae; una quae subsistit antequam nasceretur altera*'.

[88] Ibid.: '*Id sequeretur quidem, si Filius hominis substitisset unquam per se, extra unionem cum divina persona Filii Dei. Sed vero, quia ea extra illam nunquam per se substitit, hic unus dumtaxat Filius Dei statuatur necesse est*.'

never subsisted apart from the Son of God. Therefore, there were never two 'sons'. Still, his interlocutor objected that, even if the Son of Man 'did not subsist apart from [that union], he was [*fuit*] in actuality, however, a person, that is, a human *suppositum*, endued with life, intellect, and will'.[89] For Episcopius' adversary, it was immaterial if two subjects actually subsisted; there were still two subjects capable of subsisting.

In response, Episcopius denied that the Son of God and the Son of Man constituted two persons, since only one subsisted. However, such a union was theoretically possible:

> You would have spoken rightly by saying, 'Would have been' [*fuisset*]; but not rightly, 'was' [*fuit*]. For because the Son of Man was always personally united with the Son of God, he did not permit a creation of another person; just as, if an angel had been united to me from the first birth, I could never rightly be called a human person, but an angelic one, or an angelic man [*homo angelicus*]. You say, 'But it's absurd that a person should be united to a person!' But why, pray? An embryo is united to his mother, and is one person with his mother; yet that union is not a personal union. Demons are united to possessed men, yet not personally. What, then, prevents one person from being united to another person (who if he were to subsist through himself would in fact be a person) such that they were not anything except one, because the former person also subsists in the latter person, or does not have its own hypostasis?[90]

Episcopius' point should be underlined. He accepted that two persons could not be united in fact. But he saw no reason why two persons could not be united, *if only one of those persons were subsisting*. The point is subtle, and centers on Episcopius' use of the word *person*. For Episcopius, a person did not necessarily subsist. Indeed, it would seem that Episcopius did not always reckon *person* and *hypostasis* as equivalents, which would indicate a departure from the traditional import of both words. If this reading is right, Episcopius was saying that the person of the Son united himself to another who *would* have been a person, had he subsisted through himself. That 'another' did not subsist through himself, but through the Word. But who did the subsisting? For Episcopius, it was the Son of Man, not a particular human nature, which subsisted through the Son of God. Though he had earlier asserted the contrary, Episcopius here insinuated that the Son was personally united *with a person*.[91] Like Burnet, he was willing to speak, at least hypothetically, of a union of persons.

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[89] Ibid.: '*Etsi extra eam non substitit, revera tamen persona fuit, id est, suppositum humanum, vita, intellectu & voluntate praeditum*.'

[90] Ibid.: '*Recte diceretur, Fuisset; sed non recte, Fuit. Quia enim personaliter unitus semper fuit Filius hominis cum Filio Dei, personae conditionem non sustinuit; sicut si angelus mihi a prima nativitate unitus fuisset, ego nunquam persona humana jure vocari possem, sed angelica, vel homo angelicus. Dices: at personam personae uniri absurdum est. Cur vero, inquam ego? Embryo unitur matri suae, & una est cum matre persona; quamquam unio illa, personalis unio non est. Diaboli uniuntur homini obsesso, quamquam non personaliter. Quid ergo vetat, quominus persona una alteri, quae si per se subsisteret persona esset, ita uniatur, ut ea non nisi una, cum & in illo subsistat, sive hypostasin propriam non habeat?*'

[91] Cf. John Claggett, *The Divinity of the Son of God Defended* (1719), 68.

Such texts need to be seen in the context of Remonstrant teachings on the necessity of belief in certain doctrines for salvation. Episcopius refused to conjecture about the mode of the Son's filiation or the Spirit's spiration; even affirming that they occurred was sometimes unnecessary.[92] For Limborch, such speculations paled beside the importance of Christ's messianic office.[93] No one needed 'special knowledg [*sic*] of the two natures in Christ, and the manner of their being united,' for salvation. One just needed to 'believe that Jesus is the Christ,' a 'right apprehension of the office,' and not 'a full and clear knowledge of the person of Jesus, as he is God-Man'.[94] When Edwards attacked Burnet for associating with Limborch, it was passages like this which he had in mind. But it is important to note that Burnet was not entirely pleased with Limborch's sentiments, either. In fact, Edwards' identification of the Remonstrant flavor of Burnet's Christology is all the more surprising in light of an epistolary correspondence in which Burnet expressed concern over the extent to which Limborch had marginalized belief in Christ's divinity.

Of Limborch's several English correspondents, Burnet was one of only two on whom he ever set eyes. (The other was John Locke.) Burnet knew Limborch from his days among the Remonstrants in Amsterdam from 1664, an experience 'which had first shaken Burnet's hold on his ancestral Calvinism'.[95] In 1687, Limborch sent Burnet a copy of his forthcoming *De Vera Religione Christianae*. Burnet appreciated the gift, but expressed his dismay that Limborch had given the impression that Christ's divinity was scripturally unfounded, and so unnecessary to believe for salvation. In that letter, written six years before he published his *Discourses,* Burnet urged Limborch to correct this omission, and suggested how he might do so. First, Burnet said, he would emphasize the Gospel's simplicity. '[T]he fathers were led aside from the simplicity of the Gospel, to distinctions hardly worthy of philosophers, and still less of theologians,' he lamented, 'and it were to be wished that this age could be recalled to a primitive simplicity, which is most certainly done, when men avoid the exaggerations and errors common to all parties who engage in such disputes'.[96] In the spirit of Christian simplicity, he proposed an alternative strategy. Rather than ground Christ's divinity upon explicit scriptural teaching, he would deduce it from the divine worship given him. Burnet

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[92] Episcopius, *Institutiones Theologicae,* 422–23.

[93] Philip van Limborch, *A Compleat Body of Divinity,* trans. William Jones (1702), i 498–99.

[94] Ibid., 499.

[95] Foxcroft, *Life of Gilbert Burnet*, 225. This letter is reproduced by Foxcroft. The originals are in the Remonstrant's Library, Amsterdam [M.19.J.—R.K.; M.19.a.—R.K. No.1;—R.K. No.2], and copies are stored in the Bodleian Library, Oxford [MSS. Eng. th. c.23].

[96] Ibid., 227.

thought this method would further the evangelization of the Jews—a pressing concern for Limborch, whose *De Vera Religione Christianae* was occasioned by dialogues with Issac Orobio de Castro, a Jewish doctor in Amsterdam and erstwhile victim of the Inquisition in Spain. Just as Jews were 'bound to ascribe to the Shekinah the name and worship due to God,' Burnet said, so too were Christians bound to ascribe these things to Christ. For this reason, Burnet would not 'deny the Shekinah to have been a creature'—but why would he? The communication of the divine name to the cloud was sufficient to convince Limborch's Jewish conversation partner that an analogous event occurred in the case of Christ:

> [I]f therefore this mass of inanimate matter bear the name, and receive the worship, due to the supreme Jehovah, this is enough to convince the Jew, that if the divine man we worship was the living oracle of the deity, far surpassing their Shekinah, it was right he should be distinguished by the name and worship due to God. For, though he was a man, yet (in some fashion which transcends our comprehension) to him the deity was united.[97]

For Burnet, worship was owed to any creature indwelled by the godhead, be it cloud or Nazarene. Indeed, when rebuffing Edwards, he did not deny it: 'I confess that as the term "inhabitation" seems the more philosophical, so I liked it the better, because it was also scriptural'.[98] More striking than what the letter reveals about Burnet's views (which were, of course, soon enshrined in print) was the impact it made on its recipient: Limborch responded by preparing a statement for publication which 'seemed to Burnet eminently satisfactory'.[99] It may well have been Limborch, therefore, of whom Burnet wrote in 1703, 'I see it not quite new for Nestorianism to be taken up as a calumny that hath a sound like to produce a great effect. The Jesuits have reproached the Jansenists with it: some angry divines in Holland have also thrown it about them; so I must be contented to bear my share.'[100] It is beyond the scope of this study to inquire whether Limborch was seen as propounding Nestorianism by Dutch Reformed divines. That would only confirm what has already been shown, that Burnet was a key participant in the doctrinal development of the transnational Arminian movement.

4.4 Edwards on the Hypostatic Union

As John McGuckin has noted of the fifth century Christological controversy, 'Nestorius came up against the main problem of fifth century christology, the necessity of articulating with

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[97] Ibid.

[98] Burnet, *Remarks,* 6.

[99] Foxcroft, *A Life of Gilbert Burnet,* 228.

[100] Burnet, *Remarks,* 6.

more clarity than had hitherto been applicable in the church the "how" of the incarnation'.[101] For Edwards, Burnet reintroduced obscurity to that critical point. Burnet's *Exposition* proved that the bishop's 'interpretive latitude' jeopardized core articles of faith, in this instance by restoring a question mark over the 'how' of the Incarnation.

This is clear in the opening of the *Examination*, where Edwards listed Burnet's three central ideas: that the *shekinah* was called God by virtue of divine inhabitation; that by virtue of that inhabitation the Jews worshipped a creature; and that the Incarnation was first understood and asserted in this sense. If these were true, he said, not only would a creature have received the name and worship of God; it would also mean that a local presence and indwelling, not 'a proper and essential' (i.e., hypostatic) union, entitled Jesus to the name and worship of God.[102] Such a union would be unnecessary if Christ's divinity could be grounded in a merely local union. But Edwards denied that any creature, even the cloud of glory, had ever been called God. On that point, '[h]is Lordship hath the Socinians for his partners.'[103]

Edwards also challenged Burnet's claims that the late Bishop Stillingfleet had 'read over it very carefully, marked everything in it that he thought needed a review, and [that] his censure was in all points submitted to'.[104] Stillingfleet, Edwards noted, sharply distinguished 'the object of worship, and the local circumstance of expressing their worship towards that object'.[105] Therefore, if he had failed to censure Burnet's *Exposition*, Edwards argued, he would have approved 'a clear, full, effectual confutation of his whole book'.[106]

Edwards plied the same point against the Socinians, 'who will acknowledge such a close and intimate conjunction between God and our Saviour, as that the like never was in any creature; so that he might upon that account justly be styled the brightness of his Father's

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[101] John Anthony McGuckin, *Saint Cyril of Alexandria and the Christological Controversy* (Crestwood: SVS, 2004), 136.

[102] Edwards, *Examination,* 2–3.

[103] Ibid., 4.

[104] Ibid., 12; Burnet, *Exposition,* ii.

[105] Edwards, *Examination,* 6, cited Stillingfleet's famous anti-papal exchange with the former president of St. John's College, Cambridge, Thomas Tylden (alias Godden). The key publications were Edward Stillingfleet, *Discourse concerning the Idolatry Practised in the Church of Rome* (1671); Thomas Tylden, *Catholics No Idolaters, or a Full Refutation of Doctor Stillingfleet's Unjust Charge of Idolatry against the Church of Rome* (1672); Edward Stillingfleet, *A Defence of the Discourse concerning the Idolatry Practised in the Church of Rome* (1676); Stillingfleet, *Defence,* 702, 715. Edwards also cited (10) Stillingfleet's argument against Gabriel Vasquez (Stillingfleet, *Defence*, 593), that worship should not be given to creatures even if attended by a 'peculiar presence,' like the shroud at Besançon in Jean-Jacques Chiflet (1558–1660), *De Linteis Sepulchralibus Christi Servatoris Crisis Historica* (Antwerp, 1624), 110. For Vasquez: *Commentaria, ac Disputationes in Tertia Partem S. Thomae,* vol. i (Hertsroy, 1610), 1028–29.

[106] Edwards, *Examination*, 13.

glory, and the express character of his person'.[107] He assembled a variety of Socinian texts to show that Burnet's view found its heartiest proponents in the Socinians.[108] Like Burnet, the Socinians affirmed 'a close, intimate conjunction by way of presence, actuation, indwelling of the Godhead in Christ,' while maintaining that God and Jesus Christ persisted two distinct persons or *supposita*. This showed that even the highest degree of divine inhabitation fell short of personal union, since the Socinians allowed the former, but denied the latter.

Edwards then singled out the divine inhabitation passages of the *Four Discourses* and *Exposition*.[109] He identified five constituent claims made therein:

> 1st, that our Saviour was called God in the same sense as the cloud of glory was styled God and Jehovah! 2dly, that the union of the divine and humane nature in Christ, was the very same as was that of the eternal word with the cloud; which was not a true substanial [*sic*], but only a local union, consisting in a divine presence and inhabitation. 3dly, that the adorations which were payd to our Saviour were due to him only upon the account of this presence and indwelling of the Godhead. 4thly, that when our Saviour was at first declared to be God, and the object of divine worship, the Jews to whom the Gospel was first preached, understood him to be so in this sense, and therefore it could bear no debate among them… Lastly, that the Jews were under no mistakes about this matter.[110]

Two consequences flowed from these claims. First, Christ would be God 'only nominally and figuratively,' not properly but by metonymy.[111] Second, there could be no 'personal union between the divine and humane nature in our Savior, so that the godhead and manhood were… joined together in one person'.[112] Despite their 'local conjunction,' God and man remained two distinct *supposita*. 'To be sure,' he averred, 'his Lordship never did imagine, that there was a *personal* union between the eternal Word and the cloud.'[113] The heretical thrust of Burnet's argument was even worse for not having been offered 'with that latitude which he uses and recommends in the explication of several other articles'.[114]

Edwards then launched into an exposition of the Nestorian controversy so lengthy that Burnet later derided it as 'a great shew of reading'.[115] He challenged Burnet's remark that the Church's chief aim in using the word 'person' was to distinguish the nature of the indwelling

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[107] Ibid., 18.

[108] Ibid., 19–21. Cf. *supra*, 82–83.

[109] Ibid., 22; Burnet, *Four Discourses,* 40; *Exposition,* 50.

[110] Ibid., 23.

[111] Ibid., 24.

[112] Ibid., 27.

[113] Ibid., 28.

[114] Ibid.

[115] Burnet, *Remarks,* 5.

of Christ from that of the prophets.[116] Polemically, this was low-hanging fruit; it allowed Edwards to claim that ancient heretics like Nestorius and Paul of Samosata would have agreed with Burnet 'that it was only by way of presence and inhabitation; that our Saviour was *homo deiferus*, the temple of God in which he resided in a more eminent manner then in Moyses and the prophets'.[117] By contrast, he insisted, the Church used 'person' to express 'such a vital, substantial union, as that from thence did result a true, proper communication of names, characters and properties from the two natures to the person, if I may so say, made up of them'.[118] The Incarnation did not produce a new person, however. Before the Incarnation, the person of the Son 'subsisted only in the divine nature'; after, the same person subsisted 'in the humane as well as the divine'.[119] Like Turretin, Edwards affirmed that Christ's human nature 'had no true proper subsistence of its own, but subsisted in, or if you will, was supported by the divine word, who assumed it into the unity of his own person'.[120] 'Presence,' 'actuation,' and 'inhabitation' simply did not express this. Indeed, they implied that Christ's human nature had its own proper subsistence. For the ark or the cloud of glory both 'continued two distinct suppositums and had a proper, separate subsistence or their own,' just as the prophets retained their own distinct personality. Burnet could have mitigated charges of heterodoxy had he offered a faithful explication of a personal or hypostatical union, rather than covering 'an orthodox sense under general and ambiguous terms, such as formerly were made use of by heretics to overthrow the catholick faith'.[121] It must be stressed that Edwards accused Burnet of nothing less than deviating from catholic orthodoxy: if he were right, 'the Godhead… was no otherwise united to the humane nature, than it was formerly to the ark, and cherubims, and clouds.'[122] Both inhabitations were alike in one key respect: The manner of union 'must be local in both instances, not personal in either'.[123]

For Edwards, Burnet advanced a misguided notion of personhood. A person, Edwards believed, was something that differed from a mere *suppositum* in one important respect: the endowment of reason. A *suppositum* was 'the ultimate, compleat principle of all actions and operations, which are said to flow from it,' that which 'when it is endued with reason is stiled

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[116] Edwards, *Examination,* 29; cf. *supra*, 81 fn. 40.

[117] Ibid., 30.

[118] Ibid., 31.

[119] Ibid.

[120] Ibid. Note that Edwards qualifies the language of the human nature subsisting in or by the Word.

[121] Ibid., 32.

[122] Ibid., 33.

[123] Ibid., 34.

a person'.[124] Peter, for example, is compounded of two parts, 'a material and immaterial principle,' body and soul. Yet Peter is 'the person made up of both, who is said to eat, and drink, and walk, and understand, and choose'. Peter is the 'ultimate, compleat principle' of operation. This is because of the 'true, vital, substantial union… between the soul and body, from whence results the person of Peter, who is compounded of both'. For wherever two natures unite in one person, 'there must necessarily… result a communication of properties, not indeed from one nature to the other, but to the person who is made up of both.'[125] Color, symmetry, and proportion cannot be predicated of Peter's soul; neither can wisdom, virtue, or righteousness be predicated of Peter's body. All these things, however, can be affirmed of Peter. In the same way, properties of both divine and human natures must be predicated of the incarnate Christ, who is the ultimate principle of all operation. The analogy broke down, Edwards admitted; Christ did not owe his personhood to that union, but existed eternally as the divine Word.[126] But it demonstrated why Nestorius' characterization of the Incarnation as divine indwelling introduced 'two sons, two Christs, who were two distinct persons, as well as consisting of two distinct natures'.[127]

Accordingly, Edwards said, Burnet, like Nestorius, rejected the doctrine of the communication of properties. For an essential union was necessary to produce the communication of both natures' properties to the concrete individual in whom they were united.[128] As Edwards argued elsewhere, God could be considered in two ways— 'absolutely in his glorious and essential attributes,' or 'relatively in the great and adorable mystery of the ever blessed Trinity'.[129] The relative attributes—the relations of origin of paternity, filiation, and procession—were incommunicable; not so, the absolute attributes of divine unity,[130] immensity or omnipresence,[131] omniscience,[132] immutability,[133] and justice both distributive and vindicatory.[134] For Edwards, the Socinians and Remonstrants overthrew these attributes.

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[124] Ibid., 35.

[125] Ibid., 36.

[126] Ibid., 37.

[127] Ibid., 49.

[128] I am not suggesting that Edwards thought of body and soul as distinct 'natures,' as, e.g., W.G.T. Shedd's 'three part' Christology, in *Dogmatic Theology* (New York, 1891), ii 268.

[129] Edwards, *Preservative against Socinianism,* i 8.

[130] Ibid.

[131] Ibid., 9–12.

[132] Ibid., 13–17.

[133] Ibid., 25–26.

[134] Ibid., 28.

Like the Socinian, Jan Crell, Limborch posited 'commotions of God's will, which some have thought could not be properly ascribed to him, without overthrowing the simplicity as well as immutability of his divine nature'.[135] Conrad Vorstius had famously denied divine immensity and infinity, so that 'magnitude and extension, and a true local presence may and must be ascribed to him'.[136] In short, said Edwards, whatever catholic orthodoxy understood God to be, the new theology asserted the contrary.[137]

These attributes, then, numbered among the properties Edwards predicated of Christ by virtue of the hypostatic union. By the communication of properties, attributes of both natures could be predicated of the *theanthropos*, Jesus Christ. Just as Christ was unlearned and composite as to his humanity, so was he omniscient and simple as to his divinity. Burnet had divided Christ into two, and, by 'cutting off all communication of properties between them,' 'clearly subverted the doctrine concerning the redemption of the world by his death'.[138] If the crucified one were merely human, his punishment could nowise 'be a sufficient compensation to the justice of God for the sins of the whole world'.[139] Indeed, as Edwards argued in his *Preservative*, were Nestorius alive, he too would argue, 'as some now do,' that the efficacy of Christ's sufferings 'doth not rise from the worthyness of the person, or the dignity of the sufferings,' but 'depends only on the divine pleasure and acceptation'.[140] That Nestorian diminishment of Christ's sufferings was the very same notion 'confessed by his Lordship and by Limb. and other Remonst.'.[141]

4.5 The Subsistence Model of the Hypostatic Union in Later Stuart Theology

It remains to be seen whether Edwards had reasonable grounds for accusing Burnet as he did. Did not Burnet claim to affirm the hypostatic union? Did he not affirm that belief in Christ's divinity was necessary for salvation, and even confront Limborch to that effect? At first blush, these might seem to blunt Edwards' accusations. But it is worth recalling that Edwards

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[135] Ibid., 52, cit. Limborch, *Theologia Christiana,* l. ii c. 10; Episcopius, *Institutiones Theologicae,* l. iv c. 22; Crell, *De Deo et Ejus Attributis*, c. xxvi.

[136] Ibid., 66–7, cit. Conrad Vorstius, *Tractatus Theologicus de Deo* (Steinfurt, 1606), 234–35. Among Edwards' quotes from Vorstius are the following: 'God is infinite neither in essence nor in operation'; 'infinite power does not belong to God'; 'he is incapable of infinity or immensity.'

[137] Ibid., 68.

[138] Edwards, *Preservative*, iii 117.

[139] Idem, *Examination,* 87; idem, *Remarks*, ii 94.

[140] Idem, *Preservative,* iii 117–18.

[141] Idem, *Examination*, 84–85, where Edwards notes 'the confession of Limb. and his Lordship'.

stood in a stream of theological reflection which had coursed through European universities since the Reformation, drawing together an eclectic range of sources, including seminal texts of late medieval theology. It is this heritage that can be seen at work in the *Examination*.

A convenient figurehead for this tradition may be found in Thomas Aquinas. Though no seventeenth-century Protestant should be regarded as reiterating, unmodified, earlier forms of thought—Protestants, no less than Roman Catholics, had modes of appropriating earlier scholastic sources—many were beholden to the tradition of late medieval learning in which aspects of Aquinas' Christological thought had become normative. In an important passage in the *Summa Theologica,* Aquinas reflected on the three models of the hypostatic union laid out in Peter Lombard's *Sentences*: (i) the *homo assumptus* model, (ii) the subsistence model, and (iii) the *habitus* model.[142] According to the *homo assumptus* ('man assumed') model, the human being, Jesus Christ, began to be God when assumed into union with the divine person of the Word. On this model, Christ was assumed, 'not by the nature of God, but by the person of the Word'.[143] The *homo assumptus* model, then, established a special 'identity' of essence between the person of the Word and the man being assumed (*homo assumptus*)—not, however, an identity founded in union with the divine nature. Aquinas thus regarded the model as downplaying the ontological unity of Christ. As Thomas Joseph White observes, in this model, while 'there is only one person (*persona*) in Christ… we might speak of two hypostases or even two *supposita* in this one person just as there is a true humanity (*aliquid*) and a true divinity'.[144] As a result, the theory was widely regarded as flowing from the Nestorian theologian, Theodore of Mopsuestia.[145]

On the other hand, according to the third, *habitus*, model, the Word was 'clothed' with a human soul and flesh, as with a garment.[146] The key feature of this model is the contingent or accidental quality of Christ's human nature. This was why Aquinas stipulated that the garment analogy, while helpful in some respects, 'does not fit at all points'.[147] Like the *homo*

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[142] Richard Cross, *The Metaphysics of the Incarnation: Thomas Aquinas to Duns Scotus* (Oxford: OUP, 2002), 32, nodding to Aquinas, notes that Lombard's formulation was so influential that these models 'received more attention in the thirteenth century than they… really deserve'.

[143] Peter Lombard, *The Sentences, Book 3: On the Incarnation of the Word,* trans. Giulio Silano (Toronto: UTP, 2008), 24.

[144] Thomas Joseph White, *The Incarnate Lord: A Thomistic Study in Christology* (Washington, D.C.: CUL Press, 2015), 86.

[145] Aaron Riches, *Ecce Homo: On the Divine Unity of Christ* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2016), 157.

[146] Lombard, *Sentences*, 28.

[147] Thomas Aquinas, *ST* iii q. 3 art. 7. There is a sense in which the Word was contingently man: Cross, *Metaphysics,* 32; Brian Leftow, 'A Timeless God Incarnate,' in Stephen T. Davis et al (eds.), *The Incarnation: An Interdisciplinary Symposium on the Incarnation of the Son of God* (Oxford: OUP, 2002), 292–93.

assumptus model, Aquinas regarded the *habitus* model as Nestorian, and as having been condemned as such by Alexander III.[148]

Before summarizing the subsistence model, it needs to be seen that Aquinas considered heretical Christologies to be deficient in one of two ways. Put simply, for Aquinas, heretical Christologies erred in one of two ways: either they posited a union of nature, or they posited an accidental union. The former always produced a variation of the monophysite heresy (that there is only one nature in Christ); the latter, a variation of the Nestorian heresy (that there are two persons in Christ). Aquinas is widely understood to have regarded both the *homo assumptus* and the *habitus* models as falling afoul of the latter:

> Both of these opinions fall into the heresy of Nestorius; the first, indeed, because to maintain two hypostases or *supposita* in Christ is the same as to maintain two persons, as was shown above [iii q. 2 art. 3]. And if stress is laid on the word 'person,' we must have in mind that even Nestorius spoke of unity of person on account of dignity and honor. Hence the fifth Council (Constantinople II, coll. viii, can. 5) directs an anathema against such a one as holds 'one person in dignity, honor and adoration, as Theodore and Nestorius foolishly wrote'. But the other opinion falls into the error of Nestorius by maintaining an accidental union. For there is no difference in saying that the Word of God is united to the man Christ by indwelling, as in his temple (as Nestorius said), or by putting on man, as a garment, which is the third opinion; rather it says something worse than Nestorius—to wit, that the soul and body are not united.[149]

It would be difficult to find a more pivotal text in medieval thinking on the hypostatic union, or one that more precisely anticipated Edwards' concern. Aquinas' preferred model, the model most widely received throughout the theological faculties of post-Reformation Europe, was the subsistence model.[150] This is not entirely surprising. Aquinas asserted that the subsistence model was not one opinion among many, 'but an article of Catholic faith'.[151] On this model, the union of God and man did not take place in the essence or nature, nor in something accidental, but 'midway, in a subsistence or hypostasis,'[152] formed by a union of the Word of God with a human nature. In the Incarnation, then, there was one hypostasis, subsisting in two natures, not accidentally or essentially, but 'hypostatically, as if pertaining to the hypostasis or person of the Word'.[153]

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[148] In fact, Alexander condemned 'Christological nihilism,' the view that Christ as man was 'no thing' (in Lombard's words, *Sentences* 3.10.1, *non est aliquid*).

[149] Aquinas, *ST,* iii q. 2 art. 6. For *ST* iii q. 2 art. 3, see *supra*, 82 fn. 49.

[150] Michael Gorman, *Aquinas on the Metaphysics of the Hypostatic Union* (Cambridge: CUP, 2017), ch. 2.

[151] Aquinas, *ST,* iii q. 2 art. 6.

[152] Ibid.

[153] Idem, *De Unione Verbi Incarnati*, art. i *resp*. 13.

Aquinas adduced two illustrations. On the one hand, he likened it to the subsistence of human persons, every one of whom subsists in a human nature common to all, but in a unique mode. Thus, the mode in which Peter subsists is different from the mode in which Paul subsists. Similarly, Christ subsists in a unique mode, with the significant difference that Christ, unlike Peter or Paul, subsists also in the divine nature. Aquinas likened the incarnate Word, secondly, to the soul-body composite. Just as a man's body is the instrument of his soul, so in Christ the human nature is the instrument of the Word. This analogy also fell short, since the union of an instrument with an agent (as, for example, in the case of a draftsman and his compass) was accidental and not substantial.[154] But Christ was not a human person, subsisting alongside other human persons. Neither was his human nature an instrument conjoined to the Word. Christ simply *was* the person of the Son or Word, subsisting in a human nature, which consisted in a human body and soul, destitute of personality or personhood apart from the Word.

While Aquinas' formulation was widely influential, the subsistence model was not unique to him, nor unfamiliar to post-Reformation theologians. John Pearson and William Beveridge both propounded the subsistence model—Pearson viewing it the guarantor against Nestorianism,[155] while Beveridge affirmed it by means of the anyhypostatic/enhypostatic distinction.[156] As a clearer example, however, consider again the meticulous mind of Robert South. As seen in the previous chapter, South deployed a modified scholastic Trinitarianism with unusual precision. The same applied to his Christology. South argued that Christ's human nature exists in the person of the *logos* 'as an adjunct in the subject'.[157] It was not a part of which the *logos* was the whole; in that case, 'the second person in the Trinity, must, till his Incarnation, have wanted one part of his person.'[158] This technical point can be unpacked in two observations. The first concerns the difference between an adjunct and an accident. An accident cannot be a substance. But Christ's human nature was a substance by definition, a substance being a nature. Thus, the hypostatic union could not be an accidental one. In this way, South avoided the Nestorian pitfall. The second observation has to do with precisely what 'part' of Christ was the subject, and what was adjoined to him. For South, it

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[154] It also fell short because Christ must have assumed a human body-soul composite, on pain of Apollinarianism.

[155] John Pearson, *An Exposition of the Creed* (1683 [1659]), 163, 213.

[156] William Beveridge, *An Exposition of the XXXIX Articles* (Oxford, 1840 [1710]), 105, 130. This posthumously published work stands consonant to Beveridge's earlier theological works.

[157] South, *Animadversions on Dr. Sherlock's Book,* 34.

[158] Ibid.

was Christ's human nature which was adjoined to the Word. The Word was a subsistence of the divine essence—'subsistence' meaning 'a mode of being, by which a thing exists by itself, without existing in another, either as a part of the whole, or an adjunct in the subject'.[159] The last phrase indicates that, for South, an adjunct, such as Christ's human nature, cannot be its own subsistence. Accordingly, when he employed the definition of the hypostatic union of which Turretin expressed some apprehension—that Christ's human nature 'subsists by the subsistence of the *logos*[160]—South clarified that Christ's human nature did not subsist by the *existence* of the *logos*. For that would imply that Christ's human nature was assumed, not by a person, but by a nature. (This is simply because, to return to the Trinity illustration, subsistence individuates, whereas existence describes the unity of essence.) South was clear: Christ is one person, subsisting in two natures. A subsistence makes a nature a *suppositum*, or a complete singular substance subsisting through itself (*substantia singularis completa per se subsistens*), which, when conjoined with an intellectual rationality (*ratio intellectiva*), results in a person. This, one may recall, was the same definition of 'person' offered by Edwards, and came here at the end of a complex affirmation of the anhypostatic character of Christ's human nature. South conveyed the point expressed here with less ado in *Tritheism Charged*: 'the humane nature which was united to his divine person, had no personality of its own… for Christ assumed it without any subsistence or personality belonging to it'.[161]

Though utilized by Reformed churchmen like Pearson, Beveridge, and South, the subsistence model was not restricted to the Reformed. As late as 1718, the Arminian chaplain to the earl of Oxford, Richard Fiddes (1671–1725), advanced the subsistence model. Fiddes was a forthright opponent of Reformed soteriology, declaring that 'the seventeenth article ought not to be explain'd in the more rigid, or calvinistical, sense'.[162] Fiddes' advocacy of the subsistence model is noteworthy, therefore, as an instance of doctrinal affinity across the Reformed-Arminian soteriological divide. It is even more striking since Fiddes' *Theologia Speculativa* was meant to provide, as Andrew Starkie has put it, 'an authoritative reading of the doctrine of the Church of England… against the challenge of Hoadliean thought'.[163] Here,

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[159] Ibid. Italics mine.

[160] Ibid., 35.

[161] Idem, *Tritheism Charged*, 121.

[162] Richard Fiddes, *Theologia Speculativa: Or, The First Part of a Body of Divinity* (1718), 348.

[163] Andrew Starkie, *The Church of England and the Bangorian Controversy, 1716–1721* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2007), 140.

then, was an influential assertion of the Church of England's doctrinal orthodoxy, as opposed to the doctrinal minimalism of the latitudinarian camp which, in Fiddes' day, Benjamin Hoadley was taken to represent.

Fiddes illustrated the hypostatic union by comparison to 'the union of the soul and body of man; which, tho' consisting of two distinct, and altogether different substances, yet constitute but one man'.[164] In this analogy, the human nature 'preserves all the qualities and affections proper to a body,' yet is subordinated to the divine, so that 'both constitute but one individual person'. This was because of the anhypostatic character of Christ's human nature: 'tho' it has all the affections belonging to human nature,' it has 'no distinct personal subsistence in itself, but is so united to the divine nature, that there arises from the union of them but one proper individual person'.[165] The Nestorians, by contrast, considered 'the man Christ… as having a personal distinct subsistence from the Word'.[166] This was why they referred to Mary, not as 'mother of God,' but as 'mother of Christ'. Interestingly, to whom did Fiddes turn but to Aquinas: 'the great schoolman has, after a very clear and solid manner, answer'd this objection.'[167]

In assembling these texts, it has not been argued that Arminians like Fiddes and Edwards, any more than their Reformed contemporaries, transcribed a medieval thinker. That would seriously misconstrue the nature of theological reception. To appropriate an idea is always to modify that idea, usually for a purpose. Still, each text shows a commitment to a model of Christological reflection which clearly defines the divine person or subsistence of the Word, as opposed to the whole divine nature, as the agent of the Incarnation. Further, each text denies Christ's human nature its own subsistence apart from the Word, who subsists in it.

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter has analyzed Gilbert Burnet's model of divine indwelling for the hypostatic union. It has noted the use of that motif in Socinian Christology, and observed Burnet's role in the development of the transnational Arminian tradition in seventeenth-century Europe. It has argued, finally, that a modified version of the medieval subsistence model of the hypostatic union found expression in key conformist theologians, Reformed and Arminian.

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[164] Fiddes, *Theologia Speculativa*, 461.

[165] Ibid.

[166] Ibid., 462.

[167] Ibid., cit. Aquinas, *ST* iii q. 35 art. 4.

For a principal speaker of the Lower House of Convocation, Jonathan Edwards, the Church of England was at risk of infection by the heterodoxy of one of her most prominent luminaries. Edwards focused his criticism on Burnet's idea that Christ's divinity was best explained in terms of inhabitation by the divine nature. He traced this idea to the Socinians, who often accommodated Hebraic tropes to Christ. Georgy Enjedinus, Johann Ludwig von Wolzgen, Johann Völkel, and Martin Ruarus all argued that Christ was indwelled, like the ark of the covenant, the temple, and the *shekinah*. Edwards produced this pedigree to great effect in his analysis of Burnet's exposition of Article II of the Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion, where Burnet explicated the concept of a hypostatic union in precisely those terms.

Edwards spent less time substantiating his claims that Burnet drew his notions from the Remonstrants than in emphasizing how the Remonstrants minimized the importance of fundamental articles of faith. It is clear from Burnet's letter to Limborch that he, too, was unhappy with Limborch on that count. It is equally clear, however, that Burnet's views on the hypostatic union, while readily acceptable to Limborch, struck Edwards as manifestly Nestorian. This chapter has interpreted Edwards' dispute with Burnet as a clash between two opposing approaches to modeling the hypostatic union, of which one seems to have remained the majority report amongst English churchmen, regardless of their soteriological views. It is to the persistence of another common model among anti-Remonstrant conformists, a neo-Augustinian doctrine of original sin, that Chapter Five turns.

5. Augustinians and Arminians? The Augustinian Doctrine of Original Sin in Augustan Arminianism

5.1 Introduction

Amidst unrest over Burnet's *Exposition*, another notable work was published by an eminent Salisbury clergyman. Daniel Whitby (1638–1726) dedicated *A Paraphrase and Commentary upon All the Epistles of the New Testament* (1700) to Burnet, with gratitude for 'a large share of your favour'.[1] A distinguished patrologist[2] and cathedral cleric,[3] Whitby's career preexisted Burnet's patronage. He had formerly written alongside Burnet, first urging settlement with dissenters[4] and later supporting the Glorious Revolution.[5] Indeed, as a likeminded low-church whig with indisputable anti-papal credentials and a fierce contempt for Reformed theology, Whitby was less a protégé than an ally.[6]

Still, Whitby enjoyed the advantages of Burnet's favor. In 1696, Burnet promoted him to Teynton Regis, the richest prebend of the diocese.[7] More significantly, he invited Whitby to instruct young ordinands in theology: Burnet founded 'a small nursery of students in divinity

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[1] Daniel Whitby, *A Paraphrase and Commentary upon All the Epistles of the New Testament* (1700), sig. A2^{r}.

[2] Idem, *Tractatus de Vera Christi Deitate* (Oxford, 1691). Despite the condemnation of Whitby's *Protestant Reconciler* (1683) in an Oxford Decree of 21 July 1683, and Quantin's remarks about Whitby's antipathy to high-church use of Cyprian ('Church of England and Christian Antiquity,' 298), Whitby was no 'Cambridge divine,' *pace* B.W. Young, 'Theology in the Church of England,' in Jeremy Gregory (ed.), *The Oxford History of Anglicanism, Volume II: Establishment and Empire, 1662–1829* (Oxford: OUP, 2017), 403.

[3] Before Burnet's acquisition of the bishopric of Salisbury, Whitby had already been appointed successively to the Wyghtring prebend at Chichester Cathedral (1 Oct. 1662), and at Salisburgy to the incumbency of St Edmund (28 Nov. 1668–Sept. 1680), the prebends of Hurstbourne and Burbage (29 Nov. 1668–21 May 1698), Yatesbury (21 Dec. 1668–21 Dec. 1668), Hurstbourne Tarrant (29 Sept. 1670–30 Aug. 1686), and finally the precentorship of Salisbury Cathedral (4 Sept. 1672–18 Apr. 1726).

[4] [Daniel Whitby], *The Protestant Reconciler* (s.n., 1683). On its reception, see Anthony à Wood, *Athenæ Oxoniensis* (1820), iv 626); Daniel Whitby, *ΥΣΤΕΡΑΙ ΦΡΟΝΤΙΔΕΣ, or, The Last Thoughts of Doctor Whitby* (1727), v. On links to Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, see Tony Claydon, 'The Church of England and the Churches of Europe,' in *OHA* ii 318.

[5] Daniel Whitby, *A Letter from a City-Minister to a Member of the High and Honourable Court of Parliament, Concerning the Present Affairs* (1689); Gilbert Burnet, *An Enquiry into the Measures of Submission to the Supream Authority*, in *Six Papers, by Gilbert Burnet, D.D.* (1689).

[6] Idem, *A Discourse concerning the Idolatry of the Church of Rome* (1674); idem, *The Fallibility and Falsehood of the Church of Rome* (1676); idem, *The Absurdity and Idolatry of Host-Worship* (1679).

[7] Jean-Louis Quantin in *ODNB*, s.v. 'Daniel Whitby'; CCED Record ID: 49148. In total, Burnet appointed him further to the incumbency of Hurstbourne Tarrant in early 1691, the prebend of Teinton Regis (14 Apr. 1696–5 May 1726), and the curacy of St. Thomas Salisbury (27 Oct. 1698–14 Oct. 1719).

at Salisbury,' where, '[d]uring the Bishop's absence, the learned Dr. Whitby supplied his place, overlooking and directing their studies.'[8] As precentor, Whitby ranked near the top of Burnet's diocesan hierarchy. With Burnet, Robert Woodward, and Pierre Allix (Bishop, Dean, and Treasurer of Salisbury Cathedral), Whitby stood among the senior clerics who laid hands on ordinands to the presbyterate.[9] Whitby also had personal ties to Burnet, being godfather to Gilbert Burnet Jr—the only of Burnet's three sons to pursue divinity.[10] If Burnet were as towering a figure in the post-revolutionary Church as has been argued, Whitby occupied an enviable position of influence. This is partly why, in the decades after the Revolution, his increasingly heterodox views were considered genuine threats to Church orthodoxy.[11]

In 1710, Whitby published *A Discourse on the Five Points*. Ostensibly an attack on Reformed soteriology, the *Discourse* in fact aimed at 'the foundation of these ['decretalist'] doctrines': Augustine of Hippo's doctrine of the 'imputation of Adam's sin to all his posterity'.[12] Though seventeenth-century Arminianism was part of a broader European effort to mitigate Augustine's authority, Arminians appealed to the Bishop of Hippo, too—if only to undermine claims that the church fathers more generally shared the views of grace and predestination espoused by the mature Augustine of *Contra Julianum*.[13] Many Remonstrants, in fact, claimed to uphold Augustine's authority; the 'crucial question,' as Alan Ford notes, 'was *which* Augustine: the early, moderate opponent of Pelagius, or the more extreme, later adversary of Julian of Eclanum, goaded into an unyielding defence of grace and predestination at the expense of free will'.[14] For Whitby, however, even the 'early, moderate' Augustine innovated upon earlier consensus. Whitby's rejection of Augustine *tout court* was thus liable to be seen, even by fellow Arminians, as seeking to assimilate Pelagius to

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[8] Burnet, *History of His Own Time*, ii 709

[9] Entry for 20 September 1691, in Doreen Slatter (ed.), *The Diary of Thomas Naish* (Hereford: Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, 1965), 26.

[10] Quantin, 'Whitby.' In keeping with the sympathies of his godfather (and possibly tutor: Burnet, *History of His Own Time*, ii 722), the younger Burnet became an ardent defender of Benjamin Hoadley: [Gilbert Burnet Jr], *A Vindication of the Honour and Prerogative of Christ's Church* (s.n., 1717).

[11] Note the progression from Whitby's *Tractatus de Vera Christi Deitate* to his *Reply to Dr. Waterland's Objections against Dr. Whitby's Disquisitiones Modestæ* (1720).

[12] Daniel Whitby, *A Discourse concerning the True Import of the Words Election and Reprobation* (1710), iii.

[13] Arnoud S.K. Visser, *Reading Augustine in the Reformation: The Flexibility of Intellectual Authority in Europe, 1500–1620* (Oxford: OUP, 2011), 134.

[14] Alan Ford, *James Ussher: Theology, History, and Politics in Early Modern Ireland and England* (Oxford: OUP, 2007), 160. Italics mine.

orthodox antiquity—or, worse yet, as an attempt of the self-styled 'Protestant reconciler' to mend bridges with Pelagius' alleged modern-day successors, the Socinians.

The same year, Whitby published another attack on Reformed divinity. In this second work, aimed at the Reformed polemicist, John Edwards, Whitby explicitly identified with the Remonstrants.[15] Edwards had attacked both Burnet and Whitby, casting Burnet's *Exposition* as 'skeptical and hovering,'[16] while accusing Whitby of reiterating Remonstrant views.[17] Whitby, for his part, accepted the charge, praising those 'two very able men,' Episcopius and Courcelles,[18] and mocking Edwards as 'a warm, but a weak writer'.[19] Edwards' association of Burnet and Whitby is no accident; indeed, elsewhere Edwards seems to suggest that Whitby operated as Burnet's polemical proxy. In his reply, *The Arminian Doctrines Condemn'd* (1711), Edwards not only accused Whitby of repeating 'the old Arminian cant over and over again'.[20] He also cast him as the bulldog of divines too 'nice and squeamish' to wield the pen themselves—almost certainly a sidelong glance at the 'skeptical and hovering' Bishop Burnet—yet who 'applaud the most fierce and rough pen-men when they write on their side'.[21]

Meanwhile, another author was developing a different line of response to Whitby. As Whitby wrote in a fuming reflection, 'I have had of late two keen adversaries, differing but little in their names, and less the civility of their deportment towards me; both full of bitter Calvinistick zeal, which in the one makes the far greatest part, in the other, too great a part of a little pamphlet.'[22] The 'little pamphlet' to which Whitby referred was *The Doctrine of Original Sin* (1711); its author, whom he derisively labelled 'Mr. Orthodoxus,'[23] was the man whom John Edwards' described as 'my learned name-sake of Oxford,'[24] a man all too well known to Burnet—the principal of Jesus College, Oxford, Jonathan Edwards.[25]

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[15] Daniel Whitby, *Four Discourses* (1710); cf. Yoo, *Edwards*, 61.

[16] John Edwards, *A Free Discourse concerning Truth and Error, Especially in Matters of Religion* (1701), 424. Edwards complained that Burnet made 'the Articles of our Church a nose of wax, and accordingly he bends them and wrests them which way he pleases'.

[17] Idem, *Veritas Redux: Evangelical Truths Restored* (1707), ch. 3, i 108, 336.

[18] Whitby, *Four Discourses*, 2; cf. Episcopius, *Paraphrasis et Observationes in Caput VIII, IX, X, & XI, Epistolæ S. Pauli ad Romanos*, *Opera*, i 394–410; Courcelles, *Institutiones* in *Opera*, 376–85.

[19] Ibid., 112.

[20] John Edwards, *The Arminian Doctrines Condemn'd* (1711), xv.

[21] Ibid., 245.

[22] Daniel Whitby, *A Full Answer to the Arguments of the Reverend Dr. Jonathan Edwards* (1712), iii.

[23] Ibid., 5.

[24] John Edwards, *Some New Discoveries of the Uncertainty, Deficiency, and Corruptions of Human Knowledge and Learning* (1714), 126.

[25] G.V. Bennett thus clearly overstated his case that, by 1711, Edwards was 'too senile to know rightly what he was doing at all' (*Tory Crisis in Church and State*, 149).

Jonathan Edwards was clearly perturbed by more than Whitby's soteriology. Had Whitby 'confin'd himself to those [five] points,' he wrote, 'he might have written on as long as he thought fit, without any trouble or opposition from me.[26] Edwards, too, disclaimed the 'men of the Calvinistical perswasions,' and assured Whitby that it was the doctrine of original sin 'onely… that I am concern'd to discourse… to rescue it from this imputation of novelty'.[27] By attacking original sin, Edwards contended, Whitby had cast 'rude reflections on the memory of several great men, not onely St. Austin, but all those fathers of the Church who liv'd before him, and jointly own'd this doctrine'.[28] Edwards marveled that, 'to gain the greater reputation to his opinion,' Whitby 'did not produce the venerable names of Pelagius and Socinus, men of great reputation and authority among their followers and disciples, of which number, as to this particular, he may justly be reputed to be one'.[29] As has been shown, Jonathan Edwards was no Reformed theologian, yet—no less than John Edwards of Cambridge—he too traced Whitby's 'heretical opinions' to 'the followers of Socinus, and Episcopius, who hath transcrib'd a great part of the Racovian divinity into his writings'.[30]

The present chapter concludes a unit of analyses on Jonathan Edwards. Its core claim is that, as well as accusing the mature Remonstrant theologians of Trinitarian heterodoxy, Edwards also criticized them for denying what he considered the consensual patristic doctrine of original sin—a doctrine identical to that of the mature Augustine. No less than in his criticisms of Sherlock and Burnet, the force of Edwards' attack came from his strategy of damning by association. He linked Whitby's views to Episcopius, Limborch, and Le Clerc—clear signs that Edwards meant his attack on Whitby as a response to Remonstrant theology more generally. Equally, Edwards' defense of an Augustinian doctrine of original sin offers an illuminating example of how the anti-Remonstrant polemicist *par excellence*[31] positively deployed older Arminian texts against the 'Episcopian' Remonstrants.

The chapter falls in three parts. Section one will examine the issue at the heart of Whitby and the Remonstrants' anti-Augustinian hamartiology, or theology of sin—the imputation of Adam's sin to his posterity. This section will reveal a close overlap between Whitby and Limborch that would have warranted an association between those two figures.

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[26] Jonathan Edwards, *The Doctrine of Original Sin* (Oxford, 1711), 1. Henceforth *DOS*.

[27] Edwards, *DOS*, 3. Compare idem, *Preservative*, i 23; ii 54.

[28] Ibid.

[29] Ibid., 6.

[30] Ibid., 115.

[31] Chapter Seven will show that this is not an exaggerated description.

Section two will then discuss two historiographical approaches to Augustine by Remonstrant divines, represented by Gerhard Vossius' *Historiæ de Controversiis* (1618) and Jean Le Clerc, notably in his *Entretiens sur Diverses Matières de Theologie* (1685) and *Appendix Augustiniana* (1703). This section will show why Edwards linked Whitby and Le Clerc, and explain why his approval of Vossius—and indirectly of Jacob Arminius, whose disciple he reckoned Vossius to have been—does not jar with his broader anti-Remonstrant viewpoint. The final section will unfold the content of Edwards' own doctrine of original sin, drawing connections between his harmatiology, sacramentology, and soteriology from which insights into the motivations of his anti-Remonstrant polemic may be gleaned.

5.2 Daniel Whitby and Philip van Limborch on the Divine Imputation of Adam's Sin

In his *Discourse on the Five Points*, Daniel Whitby advanced a doctrine of sin that sought to account for moral corruption and physical death while upholding what he considered the basic principles of all law. Whitby felt that Augustine had violated those principles, departing from previous (especially Greek[32]) antiquity by inventing 'the doctrine of the imputation of Adam's sin to all his posterity for guilt'—a notion 'never owned as an article of faith… before St. Austin's time'.[33] Whitby did not oppose Augustine on every point; he claimed to affirm Augustine's teaching of 'the depravation of humane nature, by reason of the sin of Adam,'[34] provided that this was not understood as a result of divine imputation of Adam's sin. He praised Augustine's efforts against the Manichaeans, who argued that 'sin arose not from the free will of man, but from the substance of matter,' so that 'some souls were wicked not by choice, but by nature'.[35] Whitby thought that Augustine had responded rightly to the Manicheans by arguing that no one could be justly condemned for doing that which he was not able to resist doing.[36]

Whitby had no time, however, for Augustine's doctrine of the imputation of Adam's sin to his posterity. His disdain for that doctrine shines through in the two rules he considered foundational for properly defining the concept of sin:

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[32] On the favoring of the Greek fathers by those called 'latitudinarians,' see Alexander Taylor (ed.), *The Works of Simon Patrick D.D. Sometimes Bishop of Ely* (Oxford, 1858), i xli.

[33] Whitby, *A Full Answer,* xxii.

[34] Ibid., xi.

[35] Ibid., 315–16.

[36] Whitby, *Discourse,* 315.

> 1st, that it is not our nature, but our will, and choice of that from which we might abstain which was the root and fountain of all our wickedness; 'for otherwise,' say they, τοῦ ποιησαντος ἦν ἐκγλημα [this were an accusation of the Maker], 'that God who is the author of our nature, must be the author of our sin'.
>
> 2dly, that we do not become sinners by our birth, and that they who say we are by nature children of wrath in the most dreadful sense, make God the author of our sin, it being God who hath established the order, in the generation of mankind, which neither he that begets, nor he that is begotten can correct, and by whose benediction mankind encrease and multiply.[37]

Whitby's point was simply this: if some people were sinful by nature, and if God is the author of nature, then it follows that God must be the author of sin. This was the position, Whitby claimed, of the mature Augustine, whose apparent retention of his earlier Manichaean sympathies had reappeared in his senility. Against what for heuristic purposes we shall call the 'imputation doctrine,' Whitby insisted that one cannot be culpable for committing a sin to which one never consented. Whitby substantiated this claim in three ways.

First, Whitby argued that imputation undermined the nature and requisites of law. He claimed that no one was obligated to obey a law one had never heard.[38] Since the threat of Genesis 2:17—'you shall surely die'—was only promulgated to Adam, humanity could not be guilty for breaking it. Hence, if God did punish mankind, he did so at the cost of his own justice.[39] Whitby also claimed that only natural or positive laws could be broken.[40] A natural law was 'a dictate of right reason, passing judgment of the honesty or turpitude of an action, from principles known to us by the light of nature'.[41] But since no one was alive to consent to breaking the principles of nature, humanity could not be culpable for breaking natural law. A positive law was an express command. But humanity could not be guilty of this, Whitby claimed, since the forbidden act would then be only nominally and not antecedently evil. In sum, for Whitby, Adam's sin could not be imputed because his posterity was neither obligated to obey, nor culpable for breaking, any law.

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[37] Ibid., vi–vii. Whitby was alluding to a text in the tenth-century Suda Lexicon: *Suidæ Lexicon Græce et Latine* (Cambridge, 1705), iii 646, as had Jean Le Clerc, *Novum Testamentum Domini Nostri Jesu Christi, Ex Versione Vulgata, cum Paraphrasi et Adnotationibus Henrici Hammondi* (Frankfurt, 1714 [1698]), 173.

[38] Whitby, *A Full Answer,* 43: 'because no law can be a rule, or a direction bow to act [*sic*], till we can know it; and know it we cannot, till it be promulgated, that is, made known'. Cf. idem, *Tractatus de Imputatione Divina Peccati Adami* (1711), 51, 155; idem, *Additional Annotations to the New Testament* (1711) on 1 Corinthians 1:30. Similarly, John Tillotson, *Works*, i 338, for whom the claim, 'sin is not imputed where there is no law,' proves that man is only subject to punishment if he transgresses the innate moral dictates of natural law; William Sherlock, *A Discourse Concerning the Happiness of Good Men, and the Punishment of the Wicked, in the Next World* (1704), 328–29; Thomas Burnet, *De Fide et Officiis Christianorum* (1722), 127.

[39] Whitby, *A Full Answer,* 43.

[40] Ibid., 44.

[41] Ibid., 45.

Whitby was not operating in a vacuum of sources and ideas, as his praise of Episcopius and Courcelles attests. Hence it is only natural to expect that Whitby would have looked favorably on Philip van Limborch, a man with close ties to Archbishop Tillotson, John Locke, and Bishop Burnet, who devised the first Remonstrant system, which set forth a doctrine of sin wholly distinct from the imputation doctrine. Crucially, this Remonstrant doctrine turned on the principle that one cannot be punished for a sin one did not commit. Like Whitby, Limborch argued from the nature and requisites of law. Like Whitby, Limborch argued that culpability requires the transgression of a known law. Discussing Romans 5:14, he argued that 'the dissimilitude of their sin, who lived from Adam to Moses, does not consist in this, that Adam sinned personally, but [that] they did not: for there is no sin but what is personal'.[42] Rather, what Paul meant by the 'dissimilitude of their sin' was that those who lived between Adam and Moses 'had not sinned against the express law of God enacted under the penalty of death,' as Adam had.[43] Thus, like Whitby, Limborch held that those who transgressed the law of nature were unlike Adam, because he transgressed against the express command of God, whereas those who sinned under the Law and the Gospel sinned after the similitude of Adam's transgression, having sinned against an express command.

Limborch added two points about punishment which correspond to Whitby's points concerning natural and positive law. He argued that, when God created humans susceptible to pain, he made an implicit covenant to act toward them according to his rectitude. Thus, even those outside a covenant with God owe him their obedience, since all laws cohere with the dictates of reason. For Limborch, God can punish those with whom he has no explicit covenant relationship because no law can conflict with right reason.[44] But Limborch distinguished these laws under the categories of natural and positive laws. Natural laws 'command or forbid what is in its own nature either good or evil,' whereas positive laws neither command nor prohibit 'what is either good or evil in its nature, [but] depend purely on the good-will and pleasure of the Legislator'.[45] The resonances with Whitby's first line of argumentation from law should not be missed. For Limborch, any law requiring that humanity suffer for Adam's sin could be neither natural nor positive. Infants could not be

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[42] Limborch, *Theologia Christiana*, l. iii c. iii 17, 186: '*Dissimilitudo peccati eorum qui ab Adamo ad Mosen usque vixerunt, non consistit in eo, quod Adamus peccavit personaliter, illi non: nullum enim datur peccatum nisi personale*.'

[43] Ibid.: '*sed quod non peccarunt contra expressam Dei legem pœna mortis sancitam*'.

[44] Ibid., 89: 'if God is pleased to prescribe a law to men, he cannot prescribe any but what is suitable to the reason he has given them.'

[45] Ibid.

punished by natural law, since they cannot discern what is either good or evil. But neither could they break a positive law, for then the will of the Legislator would be the sole cause of their punishment. Like Whitby, Limborch did not think that appeals to natural or positive laws justified the punishment of Adam's posterity for his sin.

In addition to his argument from law, Whitby argued from the nature and requisites of sin. Once a law is known, Whitby said, one only transgresses it by consenting to do so. Since Adam's posterity did not exist, they could not consent to share in his act, and so cannot be included in it.[46] For Whitby, again, consent is the *sine qua non* of culpability: 'it is a fixed rule in divinity, that no man can, by God's providence, be put under a necessity of sinning by his own actions, and much less by the actions of another.'[47] Otherwise, any act of Adam's—including his repentance—could as easily be imputed to humanity.[48]

Limborch had argued similarly from the nature and requisites of sin, insisting that the *sine qua non* of culpability is consent: 'The original of this twofold misery [sin and death] is every man's own fault, or his free-will, whereby he casts himself wilfully into this misery.'[49] For Limborch, there were two faculties in the human soul—the understanding and the will. Both faculties are acts of the soul. Understanding is the act by which one apprehends and judges an object; volition is the act by which the soul affirms the object which the understanding proposes to it. For Limborch, sin only resulted when a voluntary act ratified an intellectual act. That affirmation was essential to moral action: 'The property of the will is liberty, whereby the will has an authority over its own action, either of doing or not doing it, which is so far essential to it, that without it there would be no will: indeed, it is the very foundation of all virtue and vice, and of all the religion which God requires of men.'[50] For Limborch, acts of pure intellect were not subject to acts of volition, like consent. If one were culpable for acts of pure intellect—acts arising in man before he perceives them—sin would seem to result from divine necessity, apart from volitional acts like consent. But Limborch insisted that necessity and religion were mutually exclusive. No one is guilty by necessity.

Finally, for Whitby, the idea that an involuntary act could be imputed as guilt implied an inconsistency between God's dealings and his own nature and attributes. If God imposed upon any man the necessity of sinning, God would be the author of that sin, for '[in] proper

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[46] Whitby, *A Full Answer,* 45–49.

[47] Ibid., 46.

[48] Whitby, *A Discourse,* 30. Cf. Samuel Clarke, *XVII Sermons on Several Occasions* (1724), 314–17.

[49] Ibid., 84. Cf. Episcopius, *Institutiones Theologiae,* l. iv 4.8; Courcelles, *De Peccato Originalis*.

[50] Ibid., 137.

and univocal causes, that which causes a man to sin is the cause of that sin' (*et causa causae est causa causati in causis univocis*).[51] An important assumption in Whitby's argument was that any punishment proceeding from a good and just judge must likewise be good and just.[52] It is not hard to see how Whitby could leverage this point by underlining that no crime would necessarily remain if the sentence of imputation were lifted. For Whitby, the Augustinian charged God with orchestrating sin, insofar as she rendered the imputation of Adam's sin to be the instrument of his posterity's depravity. Noteworthy in this respect is Whitby's contention that his opponents impugned God's character by teaching that he damned infants for Adam's fall. Citing Jeremy Taylor's *Unum Necessarium* (1653), he sarcastically questioned how far this rationale could be pressed: 'If it be unjust to damn them without cause, is it not also unjust to make a cause for them, whether they will or no?'[53] Whereas Whitby argued that the nature of law would prove that God acted duplicitously, and the nature of sin that he acted arbitrarily, what Whitby considered the incontrovertible facts of the divine nature showed that imputation made God responsible for sin. In each of these three arguments, Whitby aimed to prove that any form of necessity is incompatible with religion.[54]

If moral action was *ipso facto* voluntary, Augustine's teaching on concupiscence also needed to be rejected. Earlier Arminians had argued that Adam was deprived of the original righteousness which he enjoyed at creation.[55] Original righteousness was that habit of the soul that originally perfected Adam, or in Protestant scholastic parlance, 'the principle part of the image of God consisting of holiness and wisdom'.[56] However, because Whitby believed that moral action was necessarily free, he denied that the lack of original righteousness alone constituted sin. For Whitby, 'the lustings and desires of the sensual appetite put us onely under the state of temptation, but not of sin'.[57] Temptations do not become sins until granted consent, since 'they are not a transgression of the law, for there is no law given to the sensual appetite alone, but to the whole man, who cannot hinder sensual appetites from arising in him

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[51] Ibid., 50.

[52] Idem, *Tractatus*, 150.

[53] Ibid., 54. The repudiation of the imputation doctrine by Taylor, Limborch, Locke, and Whitby, is noted by John Marshall, 'Locke, Socinianism, "Socinianism," and Unitarianism,' in M.A. Stewart, *English Philosophy in the Age of Locke* (Oxford: Clarendon, 2000), 156.

[54] Whitby, *Discourse,* 316–18, 400.

[55] John Cosin, 'Sermon on Genesis iii. 13,' in *The Works of the Right Revered Father in God, John Cosin* (Oxford, 1842), 215–16; Richard Allestree, *Forty sermons whereof twenty one are now first publish'd, the greatest part preach'd before the King and on solemn occasions* (1684), 304. Note that these older Arminians regarded concupiscence as sinful.

[56] This wording occurs both in Jonathan Edwards, *Preservative*, ii 4, and Turretin, *Institutes*, i 612.

[57] Whitby, *Paraphrase,* ii 138.

before he perceives them'.[58] Hence Job 14:4: Children become liable to sin when they become capable of violating the dictates of reason. The nature which mankind receives from Adam 'renders us prone to evil as soon as we are capable of sinning,'[59] so that what one receives from one's parents are the inclinations to sin, not sin itself.[60] Likewise, Psalm 51:7 asserted that the concupiscential desires 'which arise in infants long after their birth… are never counted sinful, till they come under the government of reason'.[61] For Whitby, in other words, the inclinations to sin only become sinful when one consents to them.

This led Whitby to deny any covenantal analogy linking Adam's sin to Christ's merits: 'The Holy Scripture is perfectly silent in every part and tittle of this school-divinity; it hath not one word of this free decree, or this dismal compact of God with Adam.'[62] Since no one consented to participate in this covenant, he said, Adam's covenantal stipulations could not result in humanity's guilt. Indeed, Whitby thought that the notion of covenant headship obscured the fact that sin is *personal*. Hence, in his discussion of Romans 5:12–19, Whitby stressed Paul's claim that death resulted not for the sin of 'all' but for that of the 'one man'. Many were made sinners, but 'by the disobedience of many, not the disobedience of one'.[63]

Finally, Whitby admitted that Adam's sin resulted in his posterity's mortality, but denied that death was to be seen as punishment.[64] Against the Leiden Remonstrant Gerhardus Vossius, Whitby contended that the Church did not always believe humanity was subject to divine wrath because Adam's sin was imputed to them.[65] Mortality was the punishment of sin for Adam, Whitby said, but it is only a condition of his posterity's nature, and so does not have the character of punishment. The Scriptures said nothing, Whitby claimed, as to whether Adam's posterity suffer death punitively.[66] Accordingly, the divine threat of Genesis 2:17 could only refer to natural death, to which Adam was rendered susceptible after the loss of the tree of life. Adam's posterity share his mortal nature, and the passions and miseries that flow from it, but not his personal punishment.[67]

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[58] Ibid. Isaac Barrow makes this point when arguing that infant baptism implies original sin: *The Doctrine of the Sacraments,* 3rd ed. (1781), 7.

[59] Whitby, *A Full Answer,* 11–12.

[60] Ibid., 65. See Richard Baxter, *Two Disputation of Original Sin* (1675), 8, 17, 20–21.

[61] Ibid., 76.

[62] Idem., *Discourse,* 79.

[63] Idem., *Full Answer*, 76, 97. Equally, Burnet, *De Fide*, 128.

[64] Whitby, *Tractatus*, 2.

[65] Ibid., 155.

[66] Ibid., 4.

[67] Ibid., 20–21, 24.

Here again, Whitby's views found striking precedents in Limborch. As has been seen, Limborch identified two faculties, intellect and will, each with reference to God an 'internal act of the divine life'.[68] An object of the divine will could not be anything 'intrinsecally and in its own nature evil,' or 'contrary to the rule prescrib'd us by God, whether by the dictates of right reason, or by some positive and written law'.[69] For then one would have to conclude that God, 'by withholding his sufficient restraining grace,' deigned 'to lay his creatures under a fatal necessity of sinning, and then to punish them for what they could not avoid'.[70] Crucially, this principle produced the same corollaries noted by Whitby: Adam's sin introduced mortality and its attendant miseries, not as punishment but as a 'natural necessity of dying,' derived from Adam, for whom death was punishment.[71] This death, moreover, had a single sense, 'a separation of the soul from the body, which is necessary death (*mortem necessariam*)'.[72] Adam's sin plunged humanity into mortality, but not into punishment.

Limborch aimed to elaborate the effects of Adam's fall so as to answer Reformed objections, but his views closely paralleled Socinian thinking, especially on concupiscence. Like Whitby, he argued that the first inclinations to sin could not be sinful, since they were natural, and therefore fell outside the power of the will and of reason.[73] In addition, he argued that the first inclinations to sin were found in Adam in his state of innocence and were only aggravated after the fall.[74] These inclinations were natural, he insisted, for without them Adam would have been unable to sin, which would have compromised his dignity as a rational creature.[75] Limborch concluded that concupiscence could not have resulted from the fall, for then God would be implicated as the author of sin.[76]

Finally, anticipating Whitby, Limborch rejected the idea that Adam was the covenant head of the human race.[77] For Limborch, the idea that humanity suffered punishment because

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[68] Ibid., 68.

[69] Ibid.

[70] Ibid.

[71] Ibid.

[72] Limborch, *Compleat System,* 171. Cf. Jean Le Clerc, *Genesis sive Mosis Prophetae Liber Primus* (Amsterdam, 1710), 28; Courcelles, *Institutiones*, 130; idem, *Quaternio Dissertationum Theologicarum*, 341–42. Burnet (*Exposition*, 116) saw this as consistent with Article IX's notion of 'God's wrath and damnation'.

[73] Limborch, *Compleat System,* 182–183.

[74] Ibid., 190.

[75] Ibid., §iv.3.xi.

[76] Ibid., 42.

[77] Ibid., 197:'Adam cannot be said to be the representative of mankind any otherwise, than the head of any family may be stiled the representative of all those who shall be born of him.'

of a pact that Adam had entered into with God was absurd, for Adam's repentance could then have been imputed just as easily as his transgression: 'what reason is there that the giving of the law should be universal, but the pardon of sin should be particular?'[78] Returning to his principle that culpability requires consent, Limborch concluded that 'sin, as 'tis a voluntary and personal action, does not reach any farther than the person who commits it'.[79]

In his arguments against imputation, Whitby echoed Limborch: imputation imposed necessity on human free choice, and so was incompatible with Christian religion. While Whitby's debt to Remonstrant ideas was part of a broader economy of sources, his doctrinal exposition aligned at key points with Limborch's formulation. In ascribing the first motions of sin to Adam in his innocence, and in articulating a doctrine of non-penal physical death, Whitby followed Limborch in recasting theological anthropology in terms conducive to the Socinians, and quite far, arguably, from the teaching of Arminius. It may seem to dilute this argument that Whitby rebutted Vossius, whose *Historia Pelagiana*, published in the heat of the Remonstrant controversy, used patrology as a means to convince contra-Remonstrants of the need of theological consensus won through toleration.[80] But no tradition is static, and later Remonstrants saw Augustine differently. A lowlier view was espoused by Jean Le Clerc, with whom Edwards identified Whitby. It is therefore to Vossius and Le Clerc, and the uses to which Edwards and Whitby put their works, that the next section turns.

5.3 Gerhard Vossius and Jean Le Clerc on the Theological Legacy of Augustine

Much ink has been spilt over Gerhard Vossius (1577-–1649),[81] most of which has recently concerned his Scaligerian critical historiographical methodology.[82] Arnoud Visser, however, has rightly drawn attention to the politico-theological aspects of his work. When Vossius

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[78] Ibid., 198.

[79] Ibid.

[80] Visser, *Reading Augustine*, 134.

[81] The standard biography is still C.S.M. Rademaker, *Life and Work of Gerardus Joannis Vossius (1577–1649)* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1981).

[82] Anthony Grafton, 'Joseph Scaliger and Historical Chronology: The Rise and Fall of a Discipline,' *HT* 14.2 (May 1975), 156–85; Josef Lössl, *Julian von Aeclanum: Studien zu seinem Leben, seinem Werk, seiner Lehre und ihrer Überlieferung* (Leiden: Brill, 2001); Mark Somos, *Secularisation and the Leiden Circle* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 11–12, 44–45, 103, 150, 416. Similarly, and despite the fact that Vossius is never mentioned explicitly, his intellectual milieu at Leiden figures prominently in Ethan Shagan, *The Birth of Modern Belief: Faith and Judgment from the Middle Ages to the Enlightenment* (Princeton: PUP, 2019), ch. 5.

published his *Historia Pelagiana* in 1618,[83] after all, he was directing the theological college in Leiden, newly founded by the States of Holland—hardly a situation conducive to purely descriptive historiography! Vossius, being 'too good a scholar, and too shrewd a politician, to come down on either side'[84] of the Remonstrant debate, tried to steer a moderate course. But his view that Augustine's views on grace and predestination departed from prior patristic opinion, and his willingness to distinguish Remonstrants from semi-Pelagians (Augustine's Gallic opponents), prompted concerns that he warmed to Remonstrant ideas. Vossius' regency at the States College was consequently terminated in 1619.[85]

Whatever else the *Historia* was, then, it was no 'neutral attempt to restore harmony, but rather an act of support for the Arminian agenda'.[86] In theological discourse of the day, Reformed Protestants and anti-Molinist Roman Catholics alike extolled Augustine as the touchstone of orthodoxy. Vossius, however, aimed 'to limit Augustine's authority,' chiefly by noting disparities between Augustine and the fathers more generally,[87] even while positioning himself, albeit halfheartedly, as a follower of Augustine.[88]

However, one respect in which the *Historia* seems comparatively tame is in its view of original sin. Despite his effort to underline the novelty of Augustine's views of grace and predestination, Vossius maintained an Augustinian doctrine of original sin. Indeed, he began the second book of the *Historia* by enquiring into two matters—'whether the sin of the first parents is imputed to all posterity, and how far it is imputed'—and concluded that

> the catholic church has always thus judged: That that first sin is imputed to all, that is, by the just judgment of God, as to its effects, it is transmitted to all the sons of Adam: and the Church believed the effects of it to be that it is on that account that we are born destitute of original righteousness, subject to the necessity of death, and liable to eternal separation from God.[89]

He proceeded to amass biblical texts to defend the biblical typology between Adam, through the merit of whose disobedience death passed by carnal generation to his posterity, and

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[83] More accurately, Gerhard Johann Vossius, *Historiæ de Controversiis, Quas Pelagius Eiusque Reliquiæ Moverunt, Libri Septem* (Leiden, 1618).

[84] Ford, *James Ussher*, 158.

[85] Jan Bloemendal (ed. and trans.), *Gerardus Joannes Vossius: Poeticarum institutionum libri tres / Institutes of Poetics in Three Books* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 2.

[86] Visser, *Reading Augustine*, 132.

[87] Quantin, *The Church of England and Christian Antiquity*, 174.

[88] Gerhard Johann Vossius, *De Historicis Latinis Libri Tres* (Leiden, 1627), 213: '*Nempe celeberrimi quique occidentalis ecclesiæ doctores sequebantur Augustinum & Prosperum: cujus de gratia & libero arbitrio, prædestinationeque divina, doctrinam ipse etiam sequor, & probo*.'

[89] Vossius, *Historiæ de Controversiis*, l. ii p. 1 th. 1, 134.

Christ, through the merit of whose obedience grace and justice were communicated by spiritual regeneration unto glorious and eternal life.[90] The key text was Romans 5:12, where, as Vossius notes, the Adamic typology hinges not on imitation but on the point that what pertains to Adam or to Christ is imputed by generation—Christ's obedience imputed by spiritual generation; Adam's disobedience, by bodily generation.[91]

More revealingly, Vossius also assembled citations of Greek and Latin fathers to show that Augustine had not done precisely what Vossius accused him of doing in the cases of grace and predestination—innovate on preexisting consensus. Vossius concluded his array of patristic texts with a citation from Vincent of Lérins:

> Whoever… before that profane Pelagius, presumed to ascribe such power to free choice, as to reckon that the grace of God were not continually necessary to aid the same in every good work? Who before his freakish disciple Cœlestius ever denied that the whole human race were involved in the guilt of Adam's transgression?[92]

While Vossius thought Augustine had innovated by sharpening teaching on predestination to an unprecedented degree and expressing his views on grace heedlessly, he nevertheless insisted that, as to original sin, the Bishop of Hippo—even in his intellectual maturity—stood firmly within the bounds of mainstream patristic belief.

Vossius' position would not go unchallenged by later Remonstrants. Jean Le Clerc, a contemporary of Burnet and Whitby, pressed Vossius' aim of curbing Augustine's authority farther than Vossius had probably intended, by extending Vossius' critique of Augustine's views on grace and predestination to the doctrine of original sin. Against Vossius, Le Clerc denied that the ancient Church believed that all people were generally and equally corrupted through Adam's sin, and even accused Augustine of imbibing that 'novel' doctrine from the Manichaeans.[93] In fact, even as to grace, Le Clerc went further than Vossius: he denied that ante-Augustinian antiquity taught the 'certain immediate operation of the Spirit of God on the soul of man' for which Vossius had contended.[94] Elsewhere, in his history of Pelagianism, Le

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[90] Ibid., l. ii p. i th. 2, 141.

[91] Ibid., 147: '*Diligenter autem attenderunt Patres, quòd Adam ibidem dicitur typus futuri Adam; item particulam* SICUT: *unde colligebant, sicut obedientia Christi non imitatione solùm, sed imputatione etiam omnium illorum est, qui spiritualiter ab eo generantur: ita obedientiam Adæ, non imitatione solùm, sed imputatione etiam traduci in omnes, qui ab eo generantur corporaliter*.'

[92] Ibid., l. ii p. i th. 6, 181: '[Idem testatus Vicentius Lirinensis common, adversus hæreses cap. xxxiv.] *Quis unquam,* [inquit,] *ante profanum illum Pelagium tantam virtutem liberi præsumsit arbitrii, ut ad hoc in bonis rebus per actus singulos adjuvandum necessariam Dei gratiam non putaret? Quis ante prodigiosum discipulum ejus Cælestium, reatu prævaricationis Adæ omne genus humanum negavit adstrictum?*'

[93] Le Clerc and Le Cène, *Entretiens sur Diverses Matieres de Theologie*, 115–16, 124–25, 127. This was the book which brought Le Cène under suspicion: cf. *supra*, 1 fn. 3.

[94] Ibid., 345; cf. 346, 358, 365. Contrast Vossius, *Historia de Controversiis*, l. iii p. iii-iv, 278–304.

Clerc wrote as dismissively of Augustine as he did of Pelagius, likening the two figures to 'a Frenchman and an Arabian, who knowing only their mother-tongue, should speak by turns as loud as they could, and sometimes both at one time, without understanding one another, and should afterwards boast each of them of having overcome his adversary'.[95]

The contrast between Vossius and Le Clerc was not lost on Edwards, who regarded Le Clerc and Whitby as collaborators on precisely the points at which Le Clerc had departed from Vossius. For example, Edwards declares that when the church fathers were accused of lapsing into Manicheeism on account of their doctrine of original sin, they

> so far rejected this [Manichaean] opinion, that they do not mention it without abhorrence and detestation: and when charg'd with it by the Pelagian hereticks, as they are now by Le Clerk and Doctor Whitby, their modern disciples; they rejected the charge with the utmost scorn and indignation, as being not onely a false and groundless suggestion, but an execrable calumny.[96]

Likewise, Edwards insisted that 'St. Austin… did not invent a new doctrine, but embrac'd an old one,' writing at length to that effect 'in order to vindicate the truth and himself from this imputation of novelty, laid to his charge by the Pelagians of old, as it is now by Le Clerc and Dr. Whitby, their modern disciples'.[97] Crucially, both points at which Edwards identified Whitby with Le Clerc were also points at which Le Clerc had departed from Vossius—and, by extension, from the earlier Remonstrants whose cause Vossius was seeking to advance.

Indeed, when Edwards wrote that, unlike Episcopius and his heirs, 'Arminius and his disciples very clearly and fully own'd this doctrine,'[98] he clearly had Vossius in mind. He referred Whitby, 'if he please, to Gerhard Vossius his History of Pelagianism, Lib. 2, par. I. Thes. 6, where he will find the testimonys of the ancient fathers, not onely of the Latin, but likewise of the Greek church, to whom the Doctor so often appeals, produc'd to prove this point, all down from Justin Martyr to St. Jerome, to the number of three and twenty'.[99] Edwards counted Vossius 'a name, at the mentioning of which the learned part of the world rises up out of respect to his memory; so highly esteem'd for his vast learning, exact judgment great integrity [*sic*], join'd with incomparable modesty, that it must excite the

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[95] Jean Le Clerc, *The Lives of Clemens Alexandrinus, Eusebius Bishop of Cæsarea, Gregory Nazianzen, and Prudentius the Christian Poet* (1696), 354. Note Le Clerc's concluding sentence (*Lives*, 389): 'What can one conclude from thence, according to St. Augustine's principles, but that God was not pleased to bestow his grace upon anathema's, confiscations, deposals and banishments, which the godly emperors and holy councils made use of against the unfortunate Pelagians?'

[96] Edwards, *DOS*, 86.

[97] Ibid., 123.

[98] Ibid., 12.

[99] Ibid., 124.

resentment of anyone… to find him represented to the world as a trifling, impertinent scribbler; a man of neither sound judgment, nor of that uprightness and integrity, which he was always thought to be possess'd of'.[100] Nor was Edwards' use of Vossius merely aimed at Whitby; Edwards had previously deployed Vossius in his defense of original sin in the *Preservative against Socinianism*—crucially, when attacking the mature Remonstrant school represented by Episcopius and Limborch.[101] Whitby, meanwhile, joined Le Clerc in casting Augustine's doctrine of original sin as a Manichaean departure from the patristic norm, and even spent two chapters of his *Tractatus de imputatione divinâ peccati Adami posteris ejus universis in reatum* (1711) contradicting Vossius.[102] If Edwards' exchange with Whitby can be seen as symptomatic of a broader doctrinal divergence among English Arminians, it is also necessary to appreciate the diverse modes of engagement by which Arminians like Edwards and Whitby appropriated different and sometimes jarring Remonstrant authorities.

5.4 Jonathan Edwards' Defense of the 'Catholic' Doctrine of Original Sin

When Edwards published his *Doctrine of Original Sin*, he was adding to an already robust field of recent Augustinian apologetic.[103] Much of that literature had been directed at Le Clerc, against whom, for example, Robert Jenkin, fellow of St. John's, Cambridge, had lately published a defense of Augustine.[104] While the seventeenth-century witnessed a challenge to the use of Augustine as the benchmark of patristic orthodoxy, all indications suggest that, by

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[100] Ibid., 124–25.

[101] Idem, *Preservative against Socinianism*, ii 63, 65, 68.

[102] Whitby, *Tractatus*, 155: 'But this we contend against Vossius, that the Catholic Church did not always judge that first sin so to be imputed to all, that on that account all were born sinners properly so called, sons of wrath, and liable to eternal separation from God.' ('[*Hoc autem*] *contra Vossium contendimus, Ecclesiam Catholicam non semper judicasse primum illud peccatum ita omnibus imputari, ut propterea nascantur peccati proprie sic dicta rei, iræ filii, & æterna à Deo separationi obnoxii*.')

[103] Quantin, *Church of England and Christian Antiquity*, 176.

[104] Robert Jenkin, *Defensio S. Augustini Adversus Joannis Phereponi* (Cambridge, 1707), against Joannes Phereponus [Jean Le Clerc], *Appendix Augustiniana* (Antwerp, 1703). Arnoud S.Q. Visser ('*Appendix Augustiniana*,' in Paul Beghen S.J. et al (eds.), *Jesuit Books in the Low Countries, 1540–1773: A Selection from the Maurits Sabbe Library* (Leuven: Peeters, 2009), 233–36), provides a startling photographic illustration of a copy of Le Clerc's *Appendix* from the Louvain library, bound 'to prevent readers from accessing the greater part of this book'. Le Clerc's complete works were included on the papal index of Forbidden Books on nine occasions between 1702 and 1733. Cf. William Cave, *Epistola Apologetica adversus Iniquas J. Clerici Criminationes* (1700); idem, *Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Historia Literaria* (1694), 308; Henry Wharton, *One and Twenty Sermons Preach'd in Lambeth Chapel Before the Most Reverend Father in God Dr. William Sancroft, Late Lord Arch-bishop of Canterbury* (1698), 126; William Reeves, *The Apologies of Justin Martyr, Tertullian, and Minucius Felix in Defence of the Christian Religion* (1716).

the end of the century, when Arminian churchmen were no longer constrained to privilege the Greek fathers for historical precedent,[105] Arminian readings of the Greek fathers increasingly worked hand-in-glove with a recovery of Augustine.

Reformed theologians naturally followed the Augustinian course. Edwards' colleague Robert South argued that the first inclinations to sin were properly sinful, and as such could not have obtained for Adam prior to the fall.[106] South spoke for the Reformed when he said that Adam's posterity became 'a new kind or species,' sin having 'altered his nature, and eaten into his very essentials'.[107] So grievous were its ravages that the 'whole business of our redemption is, in short, only to rub over the defaced copy of the creation, to reprint God's image upon the soul, and… to set forth nature in a second, and fairer edition'.[108] South also held that judgment could be executed on an innocent person if that person were joined to a guilty party by an intimate conjunction, as between king and people.[109]

The year after Edwards' exchange with Whitby, William Delaune (1659–1728), another of Edwards' Reformed colleagues at Oxford and soon-to-be Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity, preached a sermon at St. Paul's Cathedral in London, where he observed how the Socinians threatened the doctrine of original sin by arguing that, if Adam's original righteousness was as lofty as commonly thought, he would have been unable to sin.[110] Delaune explained that, for the Socinians, Adam's sin was personal and so non-transferrable. As a result, whatever corruption he passed down could not be imputable as sin. For the Socinians, if God foreknew that Adam would involve his posterity in his guilt, it would have been inconsistent with divine goodness to have created him at all.[111] Of course, the ideas which Delaune here identified as 'Socinian' were, as has been seen, no less notable in the anti-Augustinian view propounded by Limborch, Le Clerc, and Whitby.

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[105] Milton, *Catholic and Reformed,* 275 fn. 28; Kenneth Fincham and Nicholas Tyacke, *Altars Restored: The Changing Face of English Religious Worship, 1547–c.1700* (Oxford: OUP, 2007), 83.

[106] Robert South, *Twelve Sermons Preached upon Several Occasions* (1715), 56.

[107] Ibid., 71–72. See Thomas Tully, *A Letter to Mr. Richard Baxter: Occasioned by Several Injurious Reflexions of His upon a Treatise entituled* Justificatio Paulina (Oxford, 1675); Beveridge, *An Exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles*, 290.

[108] South, *Twelve Sermons,* 75. Note South's homage to Athanasius (*Oratio de Incarnatione Verbi,* in J.P. Migne (ed.), *Patrologiae Graeca* (Paris, 1857), xxv 106–07).

[109] Idem, *Twelve sermons upon several subjects and occasions* (1698), 453. The same point of covenant headship is defended in a work published posthumously the year after Edwards' treatise was published: Ezekiel Hopkins, *The Doctrine of the Two Covenants* (1712), 86–89, 105. For an earlier treatment, Prideaux, *Fasciculus Controversiarum Theologicarum*, 114.

[110] William Delaune, *Of Original Sin: A Sermon Preach'd Before the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, at the Cathedral-Church of St. Paul, London, Feb. 22. 17$^{12/13}$* (1713), 5.

[111] Ibid., 20.

Edwards also linked attacks on Augustine to the Remonstrants and Socinians. In his *Preservative*, he had said that '[t]he present matter in debate between us and our adversaries, turns upon this point, whether in any case, a person may lawfully, and justly be punished for a crime which he did not personally commit'.[112] The same question persisted in 1711, as he put it to Whitby, thanks to 'Episcopius, who hath transcrib'd a great part of the Racovian divinity into his writings'.[113] Against Whitby and the Remonstrants, Edwards asserted a doctrine of original sin as staunchly Augustinian as that of his Reformed contemporaries. The remainder of this chapter will unfold that doctrine.

The basic premise of Edwards' hamartiology was that, since the fall, all humanity has been affected by an inborn principle of moral depravity. Edwards identified this principle as 'the root and spring from whence all evil actions flow, viz. that proneness and inclination to sin which we bring along with us into the world, and cleaves to us from the very birth'.[114] This, he believed, was the clear teaching of Scripture. He noted that 'youth' in Genesis 8:21 ('for the imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth') denoted infancy, indicating that the root of evil acts is an inclination to sin found in every person at birth.[115] He cited Job 14:4 ('who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean; not one') as teaching that human nature was 'form'd out of a principle that is itself polluted'.[116] He characterized Ps. 51:7 ('behold I was shapen or born in iniquity, and in sin did my mother conceive me') as 'irrefragable proof of our original corruption'.[117] He demurred sharply from Whitby's contention that one is born with 'a body impure and ill-temper'd, subject to evil passions,' which for Edwards overlooked the fact that David repented in these hyperbolic terms not to excuse but to extenuate his guilt beyond his external actions.

This depravity, moreover, was innate, as shown by the necessity of baptism. For Edwards, John 3:5 ('Verily, verily I say unto thee, that except a man be born again of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God') was 'universally understood by the ancients to denote baptismal regeneration, which consists in the remission of sin; that

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[112] Edwards, *Preservative*, ii 51.

[113] Idem, *DOS,* 116.

[114] Ibid., 16. The exception was Christ, who was no 'meer man': idem, 20.

[115] Edwards, *DOS,* 15–16, cit. Johannes Hoornbeeck, *Summa Contraversarium Religionis, cum Infidelibus, Hæreticis, Schismaticis* (Utrecht, 1653), l. iv c. 2. He added that, though the Septuagint and Vulgate rendered 'imagination' as 'the sense, cogitations, desires of the heart,' the people in question sinned voluntarily as soon as they had acquired the use of reason, by virtue of the 'concupiscence of their natures,' which was only 'confirm'd by mens own voluntary sins and transgressions'.

[116] Ibid., 18.

[117] Ibid., 22, 24. Whitby, by contrast, 'makes David transfer the blame upon his innocent parents' by charging them with his murder of Uriah and adultery with Bathsheba.

being the first and immediate effect of that sacrament'.[118] Jesus thus taught 'two different births or nativitys,' the second presupposing that the first left all 'antecedently in a state of guilt and pollution'.[119] But, if infants required remission of sins in baptism, it followed that they too were subject to depravity by virtue of participation in Adam's corrupted nature.

This innate depravity was also universal in scope, as demonstrated by the analogy of the universal redemptive intent of Christ's redemptive death. Edwards' Arminian credentials are on full display as he reasons from the universal scope of Christ's redemptive death to the universal scope of Adam's offense. Arminians, of course, were not the only ones who believed that Christ's death was universally sufficient; the Reformed agreed, differing only as to the intent of Christ's death.[120] But Edwards arrived at universal depravity from that universal *intent*—a point on which he agreed with Whitby against 'those who would limit the intention, and so consequently the vertue of the death to some certain persons, whom they call by the name of the elect'.[121] Accordingly, when in 2 Corinthians 5:18 God is said 'to be in Christ, reconciling the world to himself,' Edwards said that the term

> must be understood in it's [*sic*] utmost latitude; so as to comprehend *genus humanum*, all mankind, the sons of Adam of all ages, sexes, states and conditions; all wanted this reconciliation, which was procur'd and accomplish'd by the death of Christ. The consequence of this is, that all men in their natural state are enemies to God, because none but such stand in need of a reconciliation.[122]

If 'Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners,' and Christ died for infants, it followed that infants must also be, 'in their natural, original state… *children of wrath*'.[123]

For Edwards, further, this depravity consisted in a threefold affliction, involving, first, the universal judicial sentence of mortality. Whereas Whitby and Limborch thought the result of Adam's sin was the physical mortality and its miseries which passed to Adam's posterity as conditions of his nature, Edwards insisted that man's mortality was properly punishment:

> The upshot of the matter is this. All who shall be sav'd by Christ were first redeem'd by him: all those who were redeem'd by him were first under the sentence of the law, and obnoxious to the punishment, which is the curse of it [cf. Genesis 2:17]: and all those who were thus condemn'd were guilty before God, all having sinn'd, as we

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[118] Ibid., 27–28.

[119] Ibid., 28, 32.

[120] Muller, *God, Creation, and Providence in the Thought of Jacob Arminius*, 234; Stanglin and McCall, *Jacob Arminius*, 209; Lambertus Jacobus van Holk, 'From Arminius to Arminianism in Dutch Theology,' in Gerald O McCulloh, ed. *Man's Faith and Freedom: The Theological Influence of Jacobus Arminius* (Eugene: Wipf & Stock, 2006), 27–45.

[121] Edwards, *DOS*, 59.

[122] Ibid., 60.

[123] Ibid., 60, 64, 66.

> said before… But Christ is the Saviour of his body, of which infants by baptism become members, and consequently partake of that salvation which he hath purchas'd; and if so, they must be first redeem'd by him, and that supposes them to be sinners: none else being redeem'd and reconcil'd to God.[124]

Death was 'not purely the natural consequence of Adam's mortality, who by being mortal, must necessarily beget children which are such,' but rather 'a judicial act of God, passing a formal sentence upon Adam, and *in him* on all his posterity, ἐφ ᾧ, *in whom all sinn'd, and in whom all dy'd* [cf. Romans 5:12]'.[125]

In addition to mortality, Edwards said, Adam was also liable to a 'twofold misery'. On the one hand, 'he forfeited the favor of God… the principal and noblest part' of his happiness in his state of innocence, 'bringing upon his own head… the plain indications of Gods [*sic*] high displeasure against him'.[126] On the other, he lost, in the main, the original righteousness with which he was endowed at creation. Edwards' idea of original righteousness is important, for it enabled him to reconcile the evidently conflicting views of Augustine and the renowned Archbishop of Constantinople, John Chrysostom, whom Whitby cited against Augustine. A moment's pause over the concept will therefore be worthwhile.

In the *Preservative*, before treating man's fallen state, Edwards first discusses Adam's pre-fallen state. He notes the 'dignity and excellency of man at his first creation,' consisting in 'the admirable pattern after which he was formed' by virtue of 'God engraving the image and character of his own glorious perfections upon him'.[127] That image consisted 'chiefly and principally in that original righteousness… which was indeed a ray of Gods soveraign [*sic*] authority, but was founded in great measure in that [original] righteousness'.[128] For Edwards, original righteousness was composed of the perfections of the faculties of human nature: wisdom and knowledge in the understanding; holiness and obedience in the will; submission, order, and regularity in the affections; 'in short, in that happy and entire harmony which was in the soul, rising from that uniformity and subordination which there was between all the powers and faculties of it'.[129] Without the thorough and proper subordination of the faculties in which original righteousness consisted, Adam could not properly have ruled over inferior creatures, for he could not even have ruled his own thoughts and deeds:

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[124] Ibid., 64.

[125] Ibid., 73–74.

[126] Idem, *Preservative*, ii 32.

[127] Ibid., ii 4.

[128] Ibid.

[129] Ibid., ii 5.

> Any such struggle or resistance [between thoughts and desires] is inconsistent with that absolute power over our actions, which we call free will, and which we suppose Adam to be invested with in the state of innocence. Every propension to evil, every reluctance of our passions against our reason, is a real weakening of our dominion, which is not complete, when it is not able to keep all quiet in the soul.[130]

In sum, any tendency to sin ruled out that absolute freedom by which reason, without the assistance of grace, could keep the passions in order. Just this was Adam's original innocence —not impeccability, but the ability, 'if he had pleased, [to] have rejected the temptation, before it did in the least prevail over him'.[131]

Edwards thought the Remonstrants denied this doctrine, teaching 'that concupiscence, or the first motions and inclinations to sin are natural, and were found in our first parents, in their first and original state,' and that 'a proneness and tendency to evil there was in [Adam] from the first instant of his creation'.[132] Limborch held that 'a great proneness and inclination to sin is indeed but two [*sic*] visible in all men: but this doth not arise from the first sin of Adam, but is owing to their next and immediate parents, who transmit the seeds of corruption and this proness [*sic*] to sin to their children'.[133] But in Adam, Limborch seemed to say, 'this proneness and inclination to sin' was natural, and therefore innocent.[134] Edwards denied this:

> This depravation of our nature is a moral evil or sin. The Socin. and Remonst. (which are but two names in a manner for one and the same adversary in this controversy,) tell us that these propensions to evil where they are found, are things meerly natural, and consequently innocent, as being out of the reach of mans power; which render him therefore neither worthy of blame, nor liable to punishment; that concupiscence is indeed an infirmity, or weakness, a languor and defect of our nature, but no sin.[135]

In short, since 'an unlawful object, doth absolutely and unavoidably render an action which conversant about it unlawful,'[136] Limborch's idea 'that concupiscence… as it is conversant about an unlawful or sinful object, is no sin,' was nonsense. Desires pertaining to an unlawful object are *ipso facto* unlawful, antecedent to consent, for whatever veers from divine law was 'upon that very score unlawful, the Law being the measure of right and wrong, ἀνομία [lawlessness] and ἁμαρτία [sin], being two words that signify one and the same thing'.[137] Clearly, Edwards thought Whitby needed this correction as urgently as Limborch.

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[130] Ibid., ii 11.

[131] Ibid.

[132] Ibid., ii 22–24.

[133] Idem, *DOS*, 40; cf. Limborch, *Theologia Christiana*, l. iii c. 3 §3; l. iii c. 4. §1.

[134] Ibid., 42; cf. Episcopius, *Examen Censuræ*, 84; Limborch, *Theologia Christiana*, l. v. c. 15 §15.

[135] Idem, *Preservative* ii 55–56, referenced in idem, *DOS*, 43.

[136] Ibid., ii 56.

[137] Ibid., ii 57.

For Edwards, Whitby missed this point, opposing Chrysostom to Augustine when the fathers actually agreed. The problem was Chrysostom's use of the word 'sinner'. Remarking on Romans 5:19, he had asked how it could be 'that by one mans [*sic*] disobedience another should be made a sinner; for such a one will be found to deserve no punishment, as not being οἰκοθεν, personally, a sinner'.[138] The trouble was only that Chrysostom seemed 'to take the words ἁμαρτία and ἁμαρτζλοὶ, to signify actual sin and sinners,' in which sense 'to be sure Adam onely was… οἰκοθεν ἁμαρτωλὸς, the personal sinner; and his disobedience in eating of the forbidden fruit, the actual sin'.[139] Whitby was also wrong to oppose the Greek emphasis on mortality and its attendant miseries to the principle of depravity: the Greeks included depravity 'in that mortality, which they affirm to be the punishment of Adam's sin,'[140] understanding that men, being mortal, are now subject to 'disorderly, unruly passions,' and so 'inclin'd to fall to sin'.[141] The point is that, for Edwards, the Greeks taught sin to consist just in what the Latin tradition meant by the loss of original righteousness—namely, the 'rebellion and disorder of the inferior appetite against the superiour facultys of the soul, that is, of the passions against the dictates of reason and the law of God'.[142] This disorder of the passions was exactly what original sin was thought 'to consist by St Austin and his followers both ancient and modern, which latter are by Dr. Whitby invidiously, but falsly styl'd *Calvinists*'.[143] As Edwards concluded, 'St. Chrysostom's mortality, which being attended with unruly passions, that incline us to sin [was] the same with St. Austin's original sin: so that either both must be acquitted, or both involv'd in the same charge of making God the author of sin.'[144] Thus, in teaching that the inclinations to sin were present in Adam's pre-fallen state, the Remonstrants opposed the genuine catholic doctrine of original sin.

Edwards insisted that this catholic doctrine was wholly distinct from the Manichaean view with which the orthodox were charged by the Pelagians, Le Clerc, and Whitby. Whereas the Manichaeans regarded human nature as sinful 'in its own substance and essence, as proceeding from an evil principle,' the orthodox distinguished human nature from the superadded sin adhering to it: human nature, 'as to it's substance essence remains good, tho'

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[138] Idem, *DOS*, 72.
[139] Ibid.
[140] Ibid., 77.
[141] Ibid., 78.
[142] Ibid., 79.
[143] Ibid.
[144] Ibid., 87.

as to the qualitys that adhere to it, it is evil and wicked'.[145] Indeed, the orthodox believed that even the nature of demons is good, insofar as they 'retain the same nature, as to it's essential propertys and facultys, which it had from the beginning; which coming from God is not wickedness and sin'.[146] All wickedness is posterior to the nature with which creatures were originally endowed by the good Creator, and as such 'adheres to it as an adjunct, but is not part of the substance or subject in which it adheres'.[147]

Closely related to this was a second argument, in which Edwards distinguished the primary and secondary causes operative in all natural occurrences. For Edwards, God causes certain effects by immediate operation but causes others by the intervention of second causes, the instruments of the principal cause. Unlike the effects of God's immediate operation: 'The first are always regular, beautiful, and perfect in their kind: the other may partake of some imperfections and irregularitys, thro' the deficiency and weakness of those agents.'[148] Thus, having been created by God in a state of innocence, Adam abused his freedom, forfeiting his original righteousness, contracting mortality and a depraved nature which he subsequently transmitted to his posterity. The charge that the orthodox doctrine made God the author of sin could not be argued, then, from the propagation of Adam's depraved nature, for that imperfection was only ascribable to the subordinate, not to the superior and principal, cause.

Finally, Edwards cited a 'doctrine generally receiv'd by all churches, both Roman and Reform'd,' namely 'the covenant that God made with Adam in paradise; and in him with all his posterity, as the head and representative of all mankind'.[149] For Edwards, the idea of Adam's headship, a Pauline coinage styled in the language of Jewish custom,[150] was essential to maintain the scriptural analogy between Adam and Christ as 'the heads and representatives of all mankind'. Without this analogy, he said, Adam 'could not have been a true figure and type of Christ, which yet the Scripture expressly affirms him to be, Rom. c.12 v.14'.[151] This typology had a venerable history in patristic Trinitarian reflection.[152] But what is striking is how Edwards developed this typology using the iconically Reformed doctrines of a covenant

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[145] Ibid., 86.

[146] Ibid., 87.

[147] Ibid.

[148] Ibid., 89.

[149] Ibid., 92.

[150] Edwards, *DOS,* 94.

[151] Edwards, *DOS,* 95; cf. idem, *Preservative*, ii 35.

[152] Ashish J. Naidu, 'The First Adam-Second Adam Typology in John Chrysostom and Cyril of Alexandria,' *Perichoresis* 12. 2 (2014), 153–62.

of works and of federal headship to make an Arminian point. For Edwards, God, as 'fœderal head,' 'made a covenant with [Adam], as the representative of all mankind, so that according to his obedience or disobedience respectively, his posterity was either to enjoy or be deprived of that happiness, and those advantages he was possessed of'.[153] It was on this basis that the effect of Adam's disobedience must have reached the same extent as the justification secured by Christ's obedience.[154] Edwards dismissed Whitby's objection that God might have imputed Adam's repentance as a 'ridiculous as well as impious suggestion,' since the New Testament uniformly excluded 'any man's righteousness, but onely that of Christ alone for our justification'.[155] For Edwards, there was no reason that participation in the depravity of Adam should consist in the imitation of his disobedience, when participation in the righteousness of Christ consisted precisely in the imputation of his obedience:

> Not as if the righteousness of Christ were made our personal righteousness, (as the antinomians vainly imagine,) any more than the disobedience of Adam is our personal disobedience: but as this of Adam's is reckon'd and laid to our charge, so far as to render us liable to death and other calamitys which are the effect of his sin; so the obedience of Christ shall be reckon'd and plac'd so far to our account, that if we perform the conditions of the new covenant, viz. faith and repentance, we shall for his sake, and by the merit of his sufferings, be absolv'd and acquitted from our sins as effectually and as certainly, as if we had in our own persons suffer'd and fully satisfy'd the law and the demands of justice.[156]

This led to Edwards' conclusion, where he complained of the recent rise of those who made Christianity consist in piety, exclusive of faith—an idea he credited to Episcopius and the Socinians.[157] The Socinians 'excluded *faith* out of their new schemes of divinity,' performing external obedience while avoiding 'the difficult task of believing certain sublime and incomprehensible doctrines'.[158] Whitby's attack on the doctrine of imputation was only symptomatic of a broader move among adherents of the *nova theologia* to confuse obedience with the acknowledgment of revelation which was its antecedent and principle. For all who had thus absolved themselves of the yoke of belief, Edwards prayed for 'better minds, that is, more humble and teachable tempers, which may dispose them to submit their understandings to all divine revelations, and to captivate their proud reasons to the obedience of faith'.[159]

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[153] Edwards, *Preservative,* ii 34–35.

[154] Idem, *DOS*, 97–102.

[155] Ibid., 103, 106.

[156] Ibid., 106.

[157] Ibid., 115, 116, 118.

[158] Idem, *Preservative*, iv 1.

[159] Ibid., ii 68.

5.5 CONCLUSION

Daniel Whitby's attack on Augustine's doctrine of original sin in his *Discourse on the Five Points* provoked a widespread pro-Augustinian response, in which Arminian churchmen propounded Augustinian hamartiological views with no less fervor than their Reformed contemporaries. Whitby claimed that Augustine invented the doctrine of imputation that perverted the earlier patristic doctrine of original sin, laying open the Christian faith, in Whitby's day, to the 'strange consequences' of 'decretalist' theology.

Against what he considered Augustine's novel doctrine, Whitby argued that humanity was guilty, not on account of Adam's personal sin, but because all share his mortal nature and its attendant miseries, which inclines humanity toward sin. He insisted that no one was culpable for Adam's sin by virtue of its divine imputation, since culpability requires consent. His key claim was that necessity and culpability are inconsistent: one can only break a law of which one is aware. The absence of consenting progeny at Adam's fall thus cleared humanity of his guilt. Whitby also rejected the idea of Adam's covenant headship, arguing that all one receives from one's parents is a state of temptation. The first inclinations to sin are innocent, he said, and were even found in Adam in his pre-fallen state.

Whitby's *Discourse* advanced what was widely seen as a dangerous new way of thinking about sin. While John Edwards identified the *Discourse* as an attack on Reformed soteriology, and William Delaune characterized as Socinian a doctrine close to Whitby's, the pugnacious response of the Principal of Jesus College, Oxford, Jonathan Edwards, shows the vigor with which Arminians were capable of defending elements of Augustinian theology. For Edwards, Whitby's attempt to preserve the voluntary essence of moral action was a deeply misguided effort to excuse humanity from inwardly violating divine law.

Against Whitby, Edwards defended what he took to be the 'catholic' doctrine of the early church fathers. For Edwards, all humanity contains an inborn principle of depravity. The scope of this principle is universal, extending even to infants, as demonstrated by the necessity of baptism and the analogy to the universal intent of Christ's redemptive death. This principle of depravity consists in a triform affliction: the judicial sentence of mortality, the forfeiture of divine favor, and the loss of the greater part of original righteousness, in which the image of Christ in which Adam was created principally consisted. Shorn of original righteousness, man's passions fell into disarray, the inferior or sensitive appetites rebelling against the superior, rational faculties. This doctrine, Edwards insisted, was common to Greek and Latins, despite different manners of expressions. However, it differed starkly from

the Manichaean doctrine to which Whitby likened it—teaching, for example, that it is not humanity's nature and essence which are evil but the sin which adheres closely to it, whence the deficiencies of man's fallen state arise. Finally, Edwards expressed the Adam-Christ typology, in the instance of Romans 5, as a doctrine of covenant headship, by which the Christian was led to seek the imputed obedience of Christ as the means of redemption from the imputed guilt of Adam's disobedience.

Throughout, Edwards identified Whitby's positions with those propounded over the previous two decades by the Remonstrant Philip van Limborch. He also associated Whitby's attacks on Augustine, and his apparent desire to reconcile the Pelagians to orthodox antiquity, with the controversial contemporaneous scholarship of Jean Le Clerc. He appealed instead to the earlier Arminian, Gerhard Vossius, whose *Historia Pelagiana* claimed that Augustine's doctrine of original sin represented the mind of ancient catholic consensus.

To young students in divinity, reared on Limborch's *Theologia Christiana*—'one of the corruptest systems of divinity, that hath bin published of late years'—Edwards gave 'the same caution that Socinus doth in another case… That great care, and great judgment ought to be used in reading his works, least [*sic*] they swallow poison, at the same time that they think they feed on wholesome diet'.[160] For Edwards, the orthodoxy of Jacob Arminius and early followers like Gerhard Vossius was beyond dispute; his quarrel was with the heirs of Episcopius. Edwards shows that English Arminianism did not move inexorably toward Remonstrant positions. Clearly, what Edwards propounded was no slippery slope argument, but a warning to, and perhaps a display of distance from, those who propounded Remonstrant views in England. Edwards shows that the controversy over Whitby's *Discourse*, indeed over the Remonstrant system appropriated therein, must be seen in the context of a broader reaction against those who, by propounding Remonstrant doctrine in England, came to be seen by their fellow Arminians as the latest 'sophisticating hereticks… whose falsehood and prevarication hath been so remarkable in all ages down from Simon Magus to Socinus'.[161]

Edwards died in 1712, the year Whitby published the final word in their exchange. But the Hanoverian succession was not distant, and the Trinitarian debates that attended the previous Protestant succession were once more coming into focus. It is therefore to that principal doctrinal crisis of the early Georgian Church, and another 1712 publication from which it arose, that the following chapter turns.

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[160] Edwards, *Preservative* ii 66–67.

[161] Ibid., 51.

6. The Defense of Athanasian Orthodoxy: The Trinitarian Theology of Daniel Waterland in Context

6.1 *The Scripture-Doctrine of the Trinity*

By the time he published *The Scripture-Doctrine of the Trinity* (1712), the Cambridge-educated Samuel Clarke (1675–1729), was a recognized philosophical heavyweight. He had earned a fellowship at his alma mater of Gonville and Caius,[1] defending, in his B.D. disputation of 1695, a thesis drawn from Newton's *Principia*—a text so rarefied that he had to teach himself, as no one at the faculty yet grasped it.[2] Clarke had achieved celebrity in his Boyle lectures of 1704/5, deducing the existence of God from the idea of a necessary being, in his famous argument *a priori*.[3] In 1698 he had become chaplain to Bishop John Moore of Norwich, through whom he received livings at Drayton and St Bennet's, Paul's Wharf. In 1709, he had been created D.D. following his appointment as chaplain-in-ordinary to Queen Anne, though his disputation left the Regius Professor of Divinity Henry James skeptical of his orthodoxy.[4] Yet with Moore's endorsement, Anne appointed him to the valuable living of St. James Westminster.[5] Intellectually and clerically, Clarke had a promising future.

This ascent lurched to a halt with the publication of his *Scripture-Doctrine*.[6] There, he posited 'one supreme cause and original of things; one simple, uncompounded, undivided, intelligent being, or person; who is the author of being, and the fountain of all power'.[7] Perceptive readers caught his subtle pairing of the terms, 'being' and 'person'[8]—a conflation

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[1] Christopher Brook, *A History of Gonville and Caius College* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1985), 159; D.W. Hayton in D.W. Hayton et al (eds.), *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1690–1715* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2002) s.v. 'Edward Clarke II.'

[2] J.B. Schneewind, *Moral Philosophy from Montaigne to Kant* (Cambridge: CUP, 2003), 293; John Gascoigne in *ODNB* s.v. 'Samuel Clarke.' The specific thesis appears to be unknown, as neither Hoadley nor Whiston, nor apparently any modern sources, specify it. For context surrounding his performance, see William Whiston, *Historical Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Dr. Samuel Clarke* (1730), 1–4.

[3] Samuel Clarke, *A Demonstration of the Being and Attributes of God* (1705). The *a priori* portion falls in Propositions I–VII. He then reasoned *a posteriori* for other attributes—omniscience, omnipotence, and benevolence—in VIII–XII. On Clarke's Newtonianism, see Ingram, *Reformation Without End*, ch. 4.

[4] Benjamin Hoadly (ed.), *Sermons on Several Subjects by Samuel Clarke, D.D.* (1738), vii.

[5] Jamie Kassler, *Seeking Truth: Roger North's Notes on Newton and Correspondence with Samuel Clarke c.1704–1713* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 201.

[6] It debuted on 31 July, eleven days after Edwards died: *The Spectator* (31 July 1712) no. 445, 2.

[7] Samuel Clarke, *The Scripture-Doctrine of the Trinity* (1712) (hereafter *SDT*), 241–42.

[8] Edward Welchman, *Dr. Clarke's Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity Examined* (Oxford, 1714), 1–2; Thomas Bennet, *A Discourse of the Everblessed Trinity in Unity* (1718), 231.

arising from an ambiguity in Boethius' definition of a person as an 'individual substance of a rational nature'.[9] Since distinguishing these terms enabled one to articulate how the divine persons are not each other yet are one God, Clarke was tampering with volatile material.

Clarke held that the Son is called God 'not so much on account of his metaphysical substance… as of his relative attributes and divine authority over us'.[10] When therefore he called the Son equal to the Father as one 'who derives his essence or being from another, can be equal with him from whom he derives it,' he left nothing to block the inference that he was drawing an essential distinction between Father and Son.[11] This conjured associations with the Socinian Jan Crell,[12] which were exacerbated by Clarke's aberrant use of Nicene terminology. Clarke thought it contradictory to say 'that the primary attribute of [the Father's] essence, [the τὸ ἀγέννητον] *his self-existent nature* should be communicated' to the Son. But to orthodox ears, this was deeply misguided. It confused the Father's personal character as unbegotten (ἀγέννητον[13]) with the distinct idea of being unoriginate, which was an essential attribute of the divine nature communicated from the Father to the Son.[14] Thus Clarke seemed to deny the uniqueness and communicability of the divine essence. Had he not glossed τὸ ἀγέννητον with 'self-existent nature,' he would merely have denied that the Son was the Father, which was uncontroversial. But Clarke was apparently denying that the Son was of the same *nature* as the Father, bearing only his 'divine power, dominion, dignity, authority, and other attributes, (of which alone the Scripture speaks)'. This fell far short of what traditional orthodoxy meant by 'divinity'. Clarke was therefore seen as propounding Arianism—the idea that the Son possessed a kind of divinity inferior to that of the Father.[15]

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[9] Boethius, *Liber de Persona et Duabus Naturis*, c. 3; cf. Muller, *PRRD* iv 26–27, 34, 38–39.

[10] Clarke, *SDT*, 296; cf. 243, 246.

[11] Ibid., 442. Clarke's opponents knew that this claim could be read in an orthodox light, but ruled out such a reading: e.g., Edward Potter, *A Vindication of Our Blessed Saviour's Divinity* (Cambridge, 1714), 43.

[12] Crell, *Liber de Deo*, 31. See John Edwards, *Some Brief Critical Remarks on Dr. Clarke's Last Papers* (1714), 36; Fiddes, *Theologiae Speculativae,* 373, 385. Stephen Snobelen, 'Isaac Newton, Socinianism, and the "One True God,"' in Martin Mulsow et al (eds.), *Socinianism and Arminianism: Antitrinitarians, Calvinists, and Cultural Exchange in Seventeenth-Century Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 276.

[13] By glossing ἀγέννητον with 'self-existent,' Clarke seemed to muddy the pre-Nicene distinction (cf. Ignatius, *Ad Ephes*. 7.2) between ἀγέννητος (unbegotten) and ἀγένητος (unoriginate). Athanasius famously deployed this distinction: 'Discourses,' in *NPNF* 4:1.31–35, 316; '*De Synodis*,' 4:1.46, 474–75; cf. Bernard Lonergan, *Philosophical and Theological Papers, 1958–1964* (Toronto: UTP, 1996), 90–91; G.L. Prestige, *God in Patristic Thought* (London: S.P.C.K., 1952), 38–52, 151–54.

[14] Khaled Anatolios, *Retrieving Nicaea: The Development and Meaning of Trinitarian Doctrine* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2011), 59.

[15] Thomas Pfizenmaier has argued that Clarke would not have been recognized as an Arian by the Church Fathers: Thomas C. Pfizenmaier, *The Trinitarian Theology of Dr. Samuel Clarke (1675–1729): Context, Sources, and Controversy* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 91, 217.

A spate of responses followed.[16] On 23 June 1714, at the Bishops' behest, the Lower House of Convocation submitted extracts from the *Scripture-Doctrine* to support their plea for episcopal censure. Where Clarke had claimed to avoid 'metaphysical speculations,' the lower clergy argued that he used 'the words *essence, being,* and *substance,*' but 'as equiualent terms'—retaining them only to confound their meanings.[17] He also undercut the liturgy,[18] describing the proper preface for Trinity Sunday as Sabellian. Clarke, said the lower clergy, contradicted both Prayer Book and Articles. He subscribed them 'in that sense only, wherein he himself hath explained them'.[19]

Implored by Bishops Wake, Smalridge, Trelawney, and Fleetwood, Clarke issued a cagey apology, agreeing to abstain from publishing further on the Trinity.[20] But the Lower House remained unsatisfied.[21] The Bishops resorted to new royal injunctions which, significantly, reiterated the first three of William's 1695 injunctions.[22] Controversy over doctrine was swelling, as Norman Sykes observed, into 'a discussion of the ethics of subscription and the proper latitude which might be claimed and exercised in subscribing to the Articles of Religion and the Prayer Book'.[23]

Building on chapter 3's investigation into the Trinitarian crisis of the 1690s, the present chapter shows how Trinitarian theology continued to divide theologians who otherwise shared a commitment to Arminian soteriology through the 1720s. The argument unfolds in four parts. First, Clarke's views shall be set in the context of subordinationistic developments in seventeenth-century theology. Second, these developments will be viewed

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[16] The *Scripture-Doctrine* provoked saw numerous publications between 1712–1714. For chronology and analysis, see Pfizenmaier, *Trinitarian Theology*, 179–96.

[17] 'The Extract of Particulars laid before the Bishops, by the Lower-House,' in the Church of England, Province of Canterbury, Convocation, *A Full Account of the Late Proceedings in Convocation relating to Dr. Clarke's Writings about the Trinity* (1714), 17, citing Clarke, *Scripture-Doctrine,* 243, 270, 272, 289, 349, 350, 372, 373. Related claims include that Clarke believed i) that since *homoousios,* in the scholastic sense, referred to one person or subsistence, it amounted to Sabellianism; ii) that because individual essence is the same as personal essence, three persons in one individual essence is a contradiction in terms; iii) that one numerical essence corresponded to *tautousios*, not *homoousios*.

[18] Ibid., 18.

[19] Ibid., 21.

[20] Norman Sykes, *William Wake: Archbishop of Canterbury, 1657–1737* (Cambridge: CUP, 1957), ii 159.

[21] John Gascoigne in ODNB, s.v. 'Samuel Clarke'; Convocation, *A Full Account*, 32–38.

[22] Edward Cardwell, *Documentary Annals of the Reformed Church of England* (Oxford, 1839), ii 366.

[23] Sykes, *Wake,* ii 160. See John Potter, *The Bishop of Oxford's Charge to the Clergy of His Diocese, at His Triennial Visitation in July, 1719* (Oxford, 1720), 4, 10–12. John Robinson, *A Letter from the Lord Bishop of London, to the Incumbents of all Churches and Chappels in His Diocess* (Dublin, 1722 [1718]); Thomas Mangey, *The Lord Bishop of London's Letter to his Clergy Defended* (1719); cf. Starkie, 97.

alongside debates in contemporaneous patristic scholarship, in which gaps between biblical data, ante-Nicene apologetic, post-Nicene creedal formulae, and medieval scholastic developments had become unnervingly apparent. Then follows, third, an exposition of the modified scholastic Trinitarianism by which orthodox Protestants across Europe understood Trinitarian doctrine. The chapter concludes by analyzing the Trinitarian theology of Daniel Waterland (1683–1740), whose writings comprise an influential expression of a doctrinal heritage whose relationship to the broader Reformed tradition has been seriously understated.

6.2 The Problem of Subordinationism

The long seventeenth century gave rise to widespread anti-Trinitarianism, linked to debate over whether God the Son was essentially inferior to the Father. These debates began in earnest with John Calvin's dispute against the Italian anti-Trinitarian, Valentino Gentile, over whether the Son could be called God of himself (*autotheos*).[24] Gentile insisted that, since the divine essence is one by virtue of its origin in the *principium* of the Father, *autousia* or aseity belongs only to the Father, who alone is from himself (*a se ipso*).[25]

Calvin, by contrast, defended the Son's coequality with the Father by appealing to the doctrine of divine simplicity (briefly, that God is incomposite both really and notionally), the idea being that simplicity grounded the unity of the Godhead without introducing eternal ontological subordination of the Son to the Father, as Gentile did.[26] While the Son's person was generated by the Father, he argued, the divine essence was not. The Son, then, was *autotheos* considered as to essence, but not as to person. The extent to which Calvin's view was entirely traditional remains under debate,[27] but most agree that he aimed at faithfulness to a tradition of Trinitarianism reflection set forth in patristic formulations, reiterated by the medieval conciliar tradition, and received by the reformers more generally.

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[24] John Calvin, *Opera* vol. ix (Braunschweig, 1870), 368. For discussions of Calvin's controversy with Gentile, see Gijsbert van den Brink, 'Calvin and the Early Christian Doctrine of the Trinity,' in Henk Van Den Belt (ed.), *Restoration through Redemption: John Calvin Revisited* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 15–30.

[25] Valentino Gentile, *Impietas Valentinis Gentilis,* protheses iv, viii, quoted in Calvin, *Opera* ix 374.

[26] John Calvin, *Pro. G. Farello et collegis eius adversus Petri Caroli calumnias,* in *Joannis Calvini Opera Omnia*. The idea was widely received, both by continental divines (e.g., Guilelmus Bucanus, *Intitutiones Theologiae* (Bern, 1605), 12), and long assumed in English Reformed orthodoxy, from Robert Abbot, *The Third Part of the Defense of the Reformed Catholike* (1609) to Lancelot Addison, *Christos Autotheos, or, An Historical Account of Heresie of Denying the Godhead of Christ* (1696). On *autotheanism* in the English Reformed context, see Hampton, *Anti-Arminians,* 166–71; Chad van Dixhoorn, 'Post-Reformation Trinitarian Perspectives,' in Fred Sanders and Scott Swain (eds.), *Retrieving Eternal Generation* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2018), 184–94.

[27] Brannon Ellis, *Calvin, Classical Trinitarianism, and the Aseity of the Son* (Oxford: OUP, 2012); van Dixhoorn, 'Post-Reformation Trinitarian Perspectives,' 185–87.

Before the Reformation, two streams of Trinitarian reflection flowed through the western Church.[28] They diverged over what it meant to say, with the Council of Nicaea (325 A.D.), that the Son was begotten from the substance of the Father. Byzantine theology, averse to Augustine's teaching of the double procession of the Spirit from the Father and the Son (*ex Patre Filioque*),[29] emphasized the earlier idea that the Father alone was the principle of the deity (*principium Deitatis*).[30] This was taken up in the west by the chiliast abbot, Joachim of Fiore (d.1202), who called the Father the 'one principle' (*unum principium*) and the 'fount' of the Trinity (*fons Trinitatis*).[31] Joachim worried that Peter Lombard's slogan that 'the divine essence is a one and supreme certain thing'[32] implied a quaternity: if *una quædam summa res* neither generates, nor is generated, nor proceeds, would it not be a fourth *res,* existing independently of the three persons? For Joachim, the persons' unity consisted *within*, not beyond, the persons. Hence his stress on the mutual indwelling (*perichoresis*) of three individual substances, united in a generic unity.[33]

In 1215, the Fourth Lateran Council anathematized Joachim, officially endorsing Lombard's position.[34] The *principium* of the Godhead was not, as for Joachim or the Greeks, the Father, but the divine essence itself. This bears directly on the question at issue between Calvin and Gentile, over whether aseity can be ascribed to the Son. Being the same *res*, the Son, considered as to essence, possesses every divine attribute, including aseity.[35] Calvin, like most of the Reformed, sought to set this tradition on firmer exegetical grounds.

Controversy erupted at Leiden in 1606 when Lucas Trelcatius Jr, a Reformed theologian who shared Calvin's contention that the eternal generation of the Son was a generation of sonship not essence, entered into debate with another theology professor,

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[28] A helpful introduction may be found in Muller, *PRRD* iv 17–58.

[29] Augustine, *De Trinitate* 5.16; cf. Edward A. Siecienski, *The Filioque: History of a Doctrinal Controversy* (Oxford: OUP, 2010), 60–64, 120–21.

[30] Karl Christian Felmy, 'The Development of the Trinity Doctrine in Byzantium: Ninth to Fifteenth Centuries,' in Gilles Emery and Matthew Levering (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Trinity* (Oxford: OUP, 2011), 212–13.

[31] Peter Gemeinhardt, 'Joachim the Theologian: Trinitarian Speculation and Doctrinal Debate,' in Matthias Reidl (ed.), *A Companion to Joachim of Fiore* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 64–65, 74.

[32] Peter Lombard, *Sententia* 1.v.1.6.

[33] Heinrich Denzinger, *Enchiridion Symbolorum: Definitionum et Declarationum de Rebus Fidei et Morum,* 11 ed. (Freiburg im Breisgau: B. Herder, 1911), 190.

[34] Ibid., 191.

[35] Ibid., 192.

Jacobus Arminius.[36] As noted in the introductory chapter, Richard Muller has argued that Arminius inaugurated a 'full alternative to the Reformed system'.[37] Arminius' point of departure from Reformed orthodoxy, Muller claimed, lay in his adoption of 'basic christological structures [that] pointed toward a synergistic relationship between God and man in the work of salvation'.[38] Arminius hammered out those structures in debate with Trelcatius. He denied that the Son was *autotheos,* and asserted that the Son is subordinate to the Father, both in order and dignity. At the same time, he claimed that the Son was 'by nature a participant in the entire divinity'.[39]

Arminius seems never to have resolved this tension. However, his position on the medieval conciliar tradition is clear: he refused to distinguish between the Son considered personally and the Son considered essentially.[40] From this refusal flowed the developed subordinationism of his Remonstrant successors. Both Episcopius and Courcelles 'rejected the Reformed contention that the Son could be described as *autotheos* with regard to his essence, though not with regard to his person'.[41] For the Remonstrants, as for Joachim, the Son was begotten *simpliciter*. As the century progressed, the range of acceptable positions on the generation of the Son narrowed, first given Conrad Vorstius' perceived overtures to the Socinians, and later in response to Episcopius and Courcelles. Consequently, Muller claims, 'not only was the denial of aseity a characteristic of Arminius' theology, it became… a subordinationistic problem associated with the antitrinitarianism of the age.'[42]

6.3 Patrology in a Subordinationistic Milieu

Parallel debates took place among patristic scholars. Indeed, a seventeenth-century subordinationistic milieu flourished partly on the strength of the Jesuit Denis Pétau's

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[36] Andreas Beck, 'God, Creation, and Providence,' in Ulrich Lehner et al (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern Theology, 1600–1800* (Oxford: OUP, 2017), 204–05; cf. Stanglin, *Arminius and the Assurance of Salvation*, 30 fn. 38.

[37] Muller, 'The Christological Problem,' 146; cf. van Leeuwen et al, 'Arminius and Arminianism: An Overview,' 8.

[38] Muller, 'The Christological Problem,' 163; cf. idem, 'Arminius and the Reformed Tradition,' *WTJ* 70.1 (2008), 19–48.

[39] Jacob Arminius, *Disp. Pub.* v, in *Disputationes Magnam Partem sive Theologiae Complectentes, Publicae et Privatae* (Lyon, 1614); cf. Stanglin and Mcall, *Jacob Arminius*, 86–91, which attempts to align Arminius with the Reformed 'minority report' on the eternal generation of the Son, on which see Richard Muller, *PRRD* iv 325–26.

[40] Jacob Arminius, *Epistola ad Hippolytum,* in *Opera Theologica* (Leiden, 1629), 938–40; Muller, *PRRD* iv 328–29.

[41] Hampton, *Anti-Arminians,* 190.

[42] Muller, *PRRD* iv 429.

contention that Nicene Trinitarianism resulted from a long and fractious history of dispute, and hence that the triumph of Nicene Trinitarianism was not a foregone conclusion.[43] The identification of these debates will help to identify other ways in which Clarke stood in continuity with the Remonstrants—continuities of philosophical framework and of shared problems.[44]

Pétau, more commonly known by the latinate 'Petavius,' claimed that the ante-Nicene fathers inclined toward Arianism more than Nicene orthodoxy.[45] He regarded Platonism as the source of this error, a flaw of which he found Origen especially guilty.[46] As a result, he made the then controversial claim that the Nicene formula could not be found worked out in pre-Nicene theologians.[47] Pétau's aim was to show the need for a normative ecclesiastical authority to declare doctrine.[48] Lacking ante-Nicene precedent posed no problem for him; indeed, it bolstered his case.

Protestants were obliged to disagree, though the orthodoxy of respondents varied. Jean Daillé, an orthodox Calvinist, conceded the contradictoriness of ante-Nicene sources while urging reverence for them.[49] The Socinian Daniel Zwicker assembled a formidable cast of ante-Nicene witnesses, previously collated by Pétau, in an attempt to show that theologians of the first two centuries of the Church's history were dominated by monarchians, unfamiliar with the Platonic and Gnostic interpolations allegedly behind Trinitarianism.[50] Following

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[43] See the second volume of his *Opus de Theologicis Dogmatibus* (1644). Cf. Martin Mulsow, 'A German Spinozistic Reader of Cudworth, Bull, and Spencer: Johann Georg Wachter and his *Theolgia Martyrum* (1712),' in Christopher Ligota & Jean-Louis Quantin (eds.), *History of Scholarship: A Selection of the Papers from the Seminar on the History of Scholarship Held Annually at the Warburg Institute* (Oxford: OUP, 2006), 358–59; idem, *Enlightenment Underground: Radical Germany, 1680–1720,* trans. H.C. Erik Midelfort (Charlottesville: UVP, 2015), 184.

[44] These are suggested as legitimate forms of continuity in Carl Trueman, 'The Reception of Calvin: Historical Considerations,' *CHRC* 91.1–2 (2011), 21–23.

[45] Benjamin King, *Newman and the Alexandrian Fathers: Shaping Doctrine in Nineteenth-Century England* (Oxford: OUP, 2009), 99.

[46] Denis Pétau, *De Trinitate* lib. i c.3–4, in *Dogmata Theologica* (Paris, 1865), 291–309.

[47] Thomas Pfizenmeier, 'Was Isaac Newton an Arian?' *JHI* 58:1 (1997), 65–66. That said, Pétau seems not to have envisaged a radical disjunction between ante- and post-Nicene fathers, believing rather that the 'seeds of the "Nicene" flower' were 'embedded in Scripture'. Doctrinal development was *organic* growth, not a diversion from biblical simplicity. See Lim, *Mystery Unveiled*, 254.

[48] Muller, *PRRD* iv 107.

[49] Jean Daillé, *A Treatise Concerning the Right Use of the Fathers* (1651), 80–82; Lim, *Mystery Unveiled,* 55. Daillé's *Traité de l'emploi des saints Pères* (1632) was translated into English in 1651 and reprinted in 1675.

[50] Daniel Zwicker, *Irenicum Irenicorum* (Amsterdam, 1658), 48–62. Cf. Lim, *Mystery Unveiled,* 54; Peter G. Bietenholz, *Daneil Zwicker, 1612–1678: Peace, Tolerance and God the One and Only* (Florence: L.S. Olschki, 1997), 67–68, 93.

Zwicker and Pétau though friendlier to Platonism, the radical Arminian Christoph Sand argued that the ante-Nicene fathers explicitly taught the Arian Trinity rather than the '*homoousian*' one.[51] By giving it patristic warrant, Pétau inadvertently endowed radicalism with *gravitas*. Courcelles confessed that Zwicker's *Irenicum* seemed 'unanswerable, as to the preheminence at least of the Father above the Son,'[52] and asserted that words like Trinity, essence, person, and *homoousios* ought to be exchanged for simple biblical language.[53] Each figure, with his varying mode of scriptural normativity, occupied the opposite pole of a methodological spectrum from Pétau. Few conformists deemed either route safe. Episcopius and Courcelles, averred Bishop Nelson, 'attributed too little, and Petavius, and others of his Church too much, to the power and authority of ecclesiastical synods, for the declaring of articles of faith'.[54]

One of Courcelles's English readers tackled Pétau differently, but arrived at similar conclusions. The Cambridge Platonist Ralph Cudworth (1617–1688)[55] used resonances between Christianity and Platonism to underline continuity between ante- and pro-Nicene fathers. For Cudworth, Platonists and Christians agreed on three fundamental points: three real hypostases, eternally and necessarily existent, together comprising one God.[56] But Platonism's graded chain of being revealed itself as Cudworth elaborated these parallels.[57]

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[51] Christoph Sand, *Nucleus Ecclesiasticae Historicae* ('Cosmopoli,' 1669), 233; Diego Lucci, 'Ante-Nicene Authority and the Trinity in Seventeenth-Century England,' *IHR* 28.1 (Jan. 2018), 106–17; Lech Szczucki, 'Socinian Historiography in the Seventeenth Century,' in F. Forrester Church and Timothy George (eds.), *Continuity and Discontinuity in Church History: Essays Presented to George Hunston Williams* (Leiden: Brill, 1979), 292.

[52] Etienne de Courcelles, *Quaternio Dissertatione Theologicarum* (Amsterdam, 1659), 118; Robert Nelson, *The Life of Dr. George Bull* (1713), 295–96. Courcelles's claims are detailed *supra*, ch. 3 §2.

[53] Etienne de Courcelles, 'Praefatio,' in Simon Episcopius, *Opera Theologica* (Amsterdam, 1650), xxx2v; idem, *Opera,* 816; Turretin, *Institutes*, 3.1.23. Cf. Sarah Mortimer, *Reason and Religion in the English Revolution: The Challenge of Socinianism* (Cambridge: CUP, 2010), 153; Arthur Middleton, *Fathers and Anglicans: The Limits of Orthodoxy* (Leominster: Gracewing, 2001), 245–46. Even Episcopius, who avowed subordinationism on ante-Nicene authority, at least retained the term *person*, because it was biblically defensible. Episcopius, *Opera,* 333; 334, the paragraph labelled, '*Quod Magnæ Utilitatis Observare Est*'. Cf. Levitin, *Ancient Wisdom,* 464–65; Hampton, *Anti-Arminians,* 171–74.

[54] Ibid., 293. Turretin shared this judgment: *Institutes,* 3.1.24.

[55] On the purge of Platonism in the seventeenth-century search for 'primitive Christianity,' see Paul C.H. Lim, 'The Platonic Captivity of Primitive Christianity and the Enlightening of Augustine,' in William J. Bulman and Robert G. Ingram, *God in the Enlightenment* (Oxford: OUP, 2016), 136–56; Mulsow, *Enlightenment Underground,* 185–87. Wouter Hanegraaf, *Esotericism and the Academy: Rejected Knowledge in Western Culture* (Cambridge: CUP, 2012), 89, marks the beginning of seventeenth-century anti-Platonism with the reaction to Francesco Patrizi's *Nova de Universis Philosophia* (1591).

[56] Ralph Cudworth, *The True Intellectual System of the Universe* (Cambridge, 1678), 591–92.

[57] Arthur Oncken Lovejoy, *The Great Chain of Being* (Cambridge, MA: HUP, 1936).

First, the Platonists asserted a 'gradual subordination' of the *hypostases*,[58] flowing 'from that fundamental principle of their theology; that there is but one original of all things, and μία πηγὴ τῆς θεότητος, only one fountain of the godhead; from whence all other things whatsoever… were altogether derived'.[59] Second, the Platonists supposed 'their three *hypostases*… to be really one θεῖον, one divinity, or numen'.[60] The two parallels were related: divine unity required gradual subordination, since three coordinate persons entailed tritheism.[61] Primitive Christians, it was argued, held a hierarchy of essence *ad intra*, while '*ad extrà,* outwardly and to us, are they all one and the same God, concurring in all the same actions'.[62] Finally, Cudworth argued that the fathers regarded a *hypostasis* as singular and individual, but *ousia* (essence) as common and universal.[63] Quoting Pétau,[64] he reckoned that the fathers considered every *hypostasis* its own 'singular and existent essence'.[65] The fathers had refused *tautousion* ('of identical substance') and *monoousion* ('of the very same substance') to avoid countenancing Sabellianism.[66] By *homoousios*, the midpoint between Sabellianism (*tautousion*/*monousion*) and Arianism (*heterousion*), they signified 'the agreement of things, numerically differing from one another, in some common nature, or universal essence'.[67] Crucially, Cudworth resonated with the Remonstrants[68] on those views which Stillingfleet later identified as originating with Courcelles,[69] but rejected 'that other Trinity of persons numerically the same, or having all one and the same singular existent

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[58] Ibid., 580; cit. Plotinus, *Enneads,* 5.1.6; 5.3.5. Cudworth approved Plotinus' analogy of the three hypostases to gradually diminishing lights: the effulgent sun, the radiant effulgence, the distant splendor.

[59] Ibid., 586–87. Cudworth did distinguish the Christian Trinity as proceeding from an internal, relational ἀρχή, unlike polytheistic Platonic emanationism: Mulsow, *Enlightenment Underground,* 183.

[60] Ibid., 589; cit. Plotinus, *Enneads,* 4.4.16. Cudworth again draws an analogy from Plotinus to illustrate how three subordinating *hypostases* comprise one divinity, 'as the centre, immovable distance, and movable circumference, concurrently make up one sphere'.

[61] Ibid., 590.

[62] Ibid., 595–98.

[63] Ibid., 601; cf. *supra,* ch. 3 §2.

[64] Ibid., 602, cit. Petavius, *De Trinitate* 4.7.

[65] Ibid., cit. Gregory of Nyssa, *Against Eunomius,* 12. Cf. Lewis Ayres, 'On Not Three People: The Fundamental Themes of Gregory of Nyssa's Trinitarian Theology as Seen in *To Ablabius: On Not Three Gods,*' *Modern Theology* 18:4 (Oct. 2002), 450.

[66] Ibid., 611, cit. Epiphanius, *Adversus Hæreses* 76.7; Athanasius, *Exposition of Faith,* 2.

[67] Ibid., 612, mis-paginated as 596.

[68] Nor is this surprising; the two groups shared aims and correspondence: Rosalie Colie, *Light and Enlightenment: A Study of the Cambridge Platonists and Dutch Arminians* (Cambridge: CUP, 1957); Norman Sykes, *From Sheldon to Secker,* 141–43.

[69] Cf. *supra*, 71.

essence; a doctrine which seemeth not to have been owned by any publick authority in the Christian Church, save that of the Lateran Council only'.[70]

A softer form of subordinationism, in line with Cudworth's and dependent on Episcopius, emerged in the Bishop of St. David's, George Bull.[71] Bull argued that all the fathers subordinated the Son to the Father.[72] Like Cudworth and Courcelles, he supposed an internal order descending from the principle of the Father, who alone is 'the beginning (or principle [ἀρχή]), cause, and author of the Son'.[73] He denied that the Son was *autotheos,* since 'person' cannot be conceived apart from essence, 'unless you lay down person in the godhead to be nothing more than a mere mode of existence (τρόπον ὑπάρξεως), which is simple Sabellianism'.[74] Martin Mulsow sums up Bull's response to the 'Petavian' crisis as an attempt to 'upgrade the line that Origen and Clement had developed'—that is, the older, subordinationistic teaching which was transcended in 325 and anathematized in 1215—'into an origin of Nicene theology'.[75]

One other figure bears mentioning. Clarke was not simply modifying Socinianism.[76] Rather, as Thomas Pfizenmaier argues, Clarke followed Origen's and Eusebius of Caesarea's *homoiousian* position.[77] Despite lacking hard evidence, Pfizenmaier suggests that Clarke may have arrived at these ideas via his intellectual hero, Isaac Newton.[78] It has since been shown

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[70] Ibid., 604. Cudworth was accused by another Cambridge Platonist, John Turner, of positing a merely specific unity of the persons: John Turner, *Discourse concerning the Messias* (Cambridge, 1685), xxi; cf. Douglas Hedley, 'Persons of Substance and the Cambridge Connection: Some Roots and Ramifications of the Trinitarian Controversy in Seventeenth-Century England,' in Martin Mulsow et al (eds.), *Socinianism and Arminianism: Antitrinitarians, Calvinists, and Cultural Exchange in Seventeenth-Century Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 225–40.

[71] Though dated, note B.B. Warfield, 'Calvin's Doctrine of the Trinity,' *PTR* vii (1909), 553–652, at 634: 'It can scarcely be doubted that Bull's subordinationism owed much to the Arminian movement, from the extremes of which, at this point at least, he moved back.'

[72] George Bull, *Defensio Fidei Nicaenae* (Oxford, 1852 [1685]), ii 556–57: 'the divine nature and perfections belong to the Father and the Son, *not collaterally or co-ordinately, but subordinately*; that is to say, that the Son has indeed the same divine nature in common with the Father, but communicated by the Father; in such sense, that is, that the Father alone hath the divine nature from himself (*a se*), in other words, from no other, but the Son from the Father; consequently the Father is the fountain, origin, and principle, of the divinity which is in the Son' (italics mine) Bull mirrors Episcopius, *Opera,* 333 ('*personis his tribus divinitatem divinasque perfectiones tribui,* non collateraliter aut coordinatè, sed subordinatè'). Cf. Hampton, *Anti-Arminians,* 177.

[73] Ibid., 568, 564.

[74] Ibid., 565; Cudworth, *True Intellectual System,* 574.

[75] Mulsow, *Enlightenment Underground,* 184.

[76] Hampton, *Anti-Arminians*, 163, quoting H.J. MacLachlan, *Socinianism in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: OUP, 1951), 335.

[77] Pfizenmaier, *The Trinitarian Theology of Dr. Samuel Clarke,* 220.

[78] Idem, 'Was Isaac Newton an Arian?', 57–80.

that Newton aligned himself with Clarke's views in his *General Scholium*.[79] Elsewhere, he insisted that '[i]t is not necessary to salvation to direct oᵉ prayers to any other than yᵉ Father in yᵉ name of the Son,'[80] and that Hosius (Bishop of Corduba) had 'impose[d] upon the western churches by translating [*homoousios*] by the words <u>*unius substantiae*</u> instead of <u>*consubstantialis*</u>,' giving occasion thereby 'to the eastern churches to cry out (possibly after the Council of Serdica) that the western churches were become Sabellian' [*sic*].[81] Newton credited Courcelles and Cudworth with showing that the Council of Nicaea, 'in decreing ye Son homousios to ye ffather [*sic*] understood that he & ye father were two substances of one nature or essence'.[82] Taken with Stillingfleet's critique of Courcelles and Cudworth, this joint citation provides powerful evidence that Courcelles and Cudworth, however distinct their views may have been in fact, were perceived as in common cause. This attests to multiple observable continuities—content, philosophical framework, and common problem—reaching from Courcelles, Bull, and Cudworth, and finding expression in Samuel Clarke.

6.4 The Reformed Appropriation of the Medieval Trinitarian Tradition

According to Lombard, the divine essence, not the Father, is the *principium Deitatis*. Though this medieval tradition of Trinitarian reflection was never obligatory for Protestants, it set the course of Trinitarian orthodoxy for western Christians, Protestant and Catholic, throughout the early modern period. Reformed conformists appropriated it with striking unanimity.[83]

In his *Exposition of the Creed* (1659), John Pearson claimed that the Father's paternity consists in the relation of origin he bears to the Son by eternal generation.[84] He defined that generation as the communication to the Son of the Father's essence, in the generation of the Son's mode of subsistence.[85] The Son's essence, which is identical to the Father's, is not generated.[86] The Son exists as 'originally' as the Father; what distinguishes

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[79] Stephen Snobelen, '"God of Gods, and Lord of Lords": The Theology of Isaac Newton's General Scholium to the *Principia*,' *Osiris* 16 (2001), 169–208; Larry Stewart, 'Seeing through the Scholium: Religion and Reading Newton in the Eighteenth Century,' *HS* 34.2 (1996), 123–65; Grantley MacDonald, *Biblical Criticism in Early Modern Europe: Erasmus, The Johannine Comma and Trinitarian Debate* (Cambridge: CUP, 2016), 204.

[80] Isaac Newton, 'Twelve Theological Articles,' Keynes MS.8.

[81] Idem, 'Quaeries Regarding the Word *Homoousios*,' Keynes MS.11.

[82] Cit. Rob Iliffe, *Priest of Nature: The Religious Worlds of Isaac Newton* (Oxford: OUP, 2017), 148.

[83] Hampton, *Anti-Arminians,* ch. 4, 5, 7.

[84] Pearson, *Exposition of the Creed*, 26.

[85] Ibid., 33, cit. Aquinas, *ST* i q.33 art.2 ad.4.

[86] Ibid., 134.

them is a priority of order, founded in the Father's paternity.[87] Though sometimes sounding a subordinationistic accent, Pearson affirmed the core of the autothean position.[88] For example, he distinguished various senses in which the Son could be called *autotheos*.[89] In the 'catholic sense,' the Son is *autotheos*, considered essentially. In the 'negative sense,' where the Son is considered personally, only the Father is *autotheos*. Pearson thought that both undermined the persons' relations. Nonetheless, to admit a 'catholic' sense was to admit the thing, and Pearson clearly regarded the Son's generation as the generation of his subsistence,[90] which constitutes the Son as *Son*.[91] His reticence to describe any divine person as *autotheos* needs, then, to be balanced by his stress on the simplicity of the divine essence, conveyed 'by a total and plenary communication'[92] in the generation of the Son's subsistence.

Likewise Robert South (1634–1716) assembled an array of authorities in defense of the modified scholastic tradition.[93] Like Pearson, South stressed that the Son's generation was personal, not essential.[94] He used the medieval distinction between relative and essential predication to argue that the Father begets neither a mere mode (as in Sabellianism) nor a distinct essence (as in Arianism), but the person or mode of subsistence of the Son.[95] South admits that the term 'mode' can be misleading, if taken to refer univocally to God. In its proper, analogical sense, 'mode' simply denotes the scholastic understanding of the divine persons as subsistent relations (roughly, that the persons are relations, including in themselves the unity of the divine essence).[96] South refused to admit essential generation.

William Beveridge urged care when speaking of the Son's generation. To 'say one divine nature begot another… would imply two divine natures, one of which is begotten, the other not'.[97] For Beveridge, the Son's *modus generandi* is ineffable.[98] One can only say that

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[87] Ibid., 35, 40.

[88] Hampton, *Anti-Arminians,* 186–87.

[89] Pearson, *Exposition,* 39 fn.

[90] Ibid., 135.

[91] Ibid., 39.

[92] Ibid., 137.

[93] South, *Animadversions,* 270–71.

[94] Ibid., 292.

[95] Ibid., 292–93.

[96] Ibid., 241–42. Compare Aquinas, *ST* 1 q.29 art.4. See Gilles Emery, *The Trinity: An Introduction to Catholic Doctrine on the Triune God*, trans. Matthew Levering (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2011), 104–09.

[97] Beveridge, *Exposition*, i 99.

[98] Ibid.

the relations of origin are the sole grounds for distinguishing the divine persons.[99] He denied any essential subordination, admitting only personal distinction.[100] While the Father alone is *a se ipso* considered as to his person, both Father and Son are *a se* as to essence, since both have the same essence.[101] Beveridge was also adamant in his commitment to divine simplicity. Simplicity entailed the analogical use of theological language. 'What we have is *really* distinguished from what we are,' he writes; but of God it is more accurately said that 'he is, rather than hath such a perfection'.[102] Being simple, God has no accidental properties.[103] His attributes appear numerous, but 'as they are in him, they are all one and the same simple and pure essence'.[104] A limited analogy may be drawn as to how the subsistences are essentially one, but 'distinct in the manner of their subsisting in [the divine essence]'. They also 'have not only the same divine nature in *specie,* but in *numero;* and so have not only one and the same nature, but are also one and the same God'.[105] In unimpeachably orthodox fashion, Beveridge confessed *unam quamdam summam rem*.

6.5 Daniel Waterland's Trinitarian Orthodoxy

By 1712, Pearson and Beveridge were dead. South soon followed. And so, despite the widely hailed and effective polemic of John Edwards of Cambridge and the sympathetic episcopal backing of Bishop Francis Gastrell, 'it was not the Reformed who finally saw off Samuel Clarke's version of Arianism.'[106] The decisive rebuttal of Clarke came from elsewhere. In 1714, a Yorkshire cleric, John Jackson, published letters supporting Clarke.[107] Mutual friends requested that the master of Magdalene College, Cambridge, Daniel Waterland, talk Jackson down. Waterland agreed, but his effort fell short when Jackson published Waterland's queries alongside his own responses.[108] So began Waterland's new life as a Trinitarian apologist.[109]

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[99] Ibid., 101.

[100] Ibid., 102–03.

[101] Ibid., 108. This, Beveridge believed, was the meaning of John 5:26, that 'as the Father hath life in himself, so hath the Son life in himself'.

[102] Ibid., 3. Italics mine.

[103] Ibid., 18.

[104] Ibid., 20, 34.

[105] Ibid., 81–82.

[106] Hampton, *Anti-Arminians*, 191, 271.

[107] John Jackson, *Three Letters to Dr. Clarke, from a Clergyman of the Church of England* (1714).

[108] Idem, *A Collection of Queries* (1716).

[109] Pfizenmaier, *Trinitarian Theology*, 179–216; Ingram, *Reformation without End,* 49–70.

A widely esteemed and irenic theologian, Waterland was 'generally pointed out as the ablest person in the university' to fill the Regius chair of Divinity upon the death of Henry James,[110] and John Robinson, bishop of London, made him inaugural preacher of the Lady Moyer lectures.[111] He was also a conscientious priest. Since the mastership of Magdalene required residency, Waterland diverted the revenue of his rectory at Ellingham to his curate in 1713, refusing dual benefices again in 1730. Like his friend and patron, Edmund Gibson, he believed that the future of the church rested with the whigs, but not with the latitudinarian theology which had marked the whig clerics of the previous two decades.[112] Waterland enjoyed sunny relations both with whig politicians[113] and the enduringly Tory Lower House of Convocation, who attempted to secure him as Prolocutor[114] after a rousing Latin sermon, hailing him as '*alterum Athanasium*'.[115] He 'was long talked of for a bishopric,' and many well-wishers were disappointed that he never filled one.[116]

Waterland's biographer, Bishop van Mildert, characterized Waterland's labors 'as a continuation of those of Bishop Bull,'[117] perhaps because he plied Bull against Clarke, who claimed his authority. But would not Waterland, then, have been advancing subordinationism of a distinctly Remonstrant variety? Contrary, perhaps, to our expectations, Waterland

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[110] William Oldys (ed.), *Biographica Britannia, or, The Lives of the Most Eminent Persons Who Have Flourished in Great Britain and Ireland,* 6 vols. (London, 1766), vii 4162. The article's 'facts and dates' were supplied by Waterland's brother, Theodore (PGL Add. MS 605 fol. 4; William van Mildert, *The Works of the Rev. Daniel Waterland, D.D.,* 10 vols. (Oxford, 1823), i 2). Waterland's towering intellect is attested by the peculiarly persistent misbelief that he filled the Regius chair at Cambridge (e.g., Dixon, *Nice and Hot Disputes*, 197; James E. Force, 'The Newtonians and Deism,' in J.E. Force and R.H. Popkin (eds.), *Essays on the Context, Nature, and Influence of Isaac Newton's Theology* (Dordrecht: Kluwer, 1990), 43). Van Mildert (*Works,* i 18; cf. *Bio. Brit.* vii 4162) notes that Waterland refused to pursue it from regard for Bentley.

[111] Van Mildert, *Works,* i 50–51; published as Daniel Waterland, *Eight Sermons Preach'd at the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, in Defense of the Divinity of Our Lord Jesus Christ* (Cambridge, 1720).

[112] Van Mildert, *Works,* i 254; Hugh Trevor-Roper, *History and the Enlightenment* (New Haven: YUP, 2010), 87; Gibson, *The Church of England 1688–1832*, 92.

[113] George I bequeathed Bishop Moore's library to Waterland and Richard Bentley.

[114] Waterland declined the post as unsuitable to 'my sedentary temper, or my uncertain state of health': Daniel Waterland to John Loveday, Esq. 23 Jan. 1734–35, in van Mildert, *Works*, i 412. See his apology in Daniel Waterland to Zachary Grey, 2 Feb. 1734–35, in van Mildert, *Works,* i 450–53. For the office's history, see William Wake, *The State of the Church and Clergy of England in the Councils, Convocations, Synods, Conventions, and Other Public Assemblies* (1703), ch. 1; for its dissolution, W.R. Ward, *Christianity under the Ancien Regime, 1648–1789* (Cambridge: CUP, 1999), 161.

[115] Edward Cobden, *Poems on Several Occasions* (1748), 347. The Earl of Nottingham, Daniel Finch, considered Waterland the best contemporary writer on the Trinity: *The Answer of the Earl of Nottingham to Mr. Whiston's Letter to Him* (1721), 19.

[116] BL Add. MS 5831, fol. 171, cited by B.W. Young in *ODNB* s.v. 'Daniel Waterland.'

[117] Van Mildert, 'Review,' in *Works,* i 44.

departed sharply from Bull, arguing that, considered essentially, the Son was *autotheos*—a point van Mildert likely had in mind when he wrote that Waterland 'is not to be considered as precisely occupying the same ground' as Bull.[118]

Waterland insisted that deity entails relative *and* absolute qualities.[119] Since the Son shares both,[120] the term θεός could not be distinguished into supreme and subordinate significations. The question was whether the term belonged *properly* to the Son—in which case it belonged to the Father not exclusively but *primarily,* by personal order.[121] Waterland argued, further, that the early Church Fathers intended no essential distinction when styling the Son and the Spirit '*manus Patris,*' but reserving 'the αὐθεντία, the designing part…to the Father'.[122] For, in other places, the Son was termed *theos* with no regard to his peculiar character as Son, but rather 'under such a character as is common to the Godhead'.[123] Waterland, then, granted a subordination of order, but denied what Clarke inferred from it.[124] Priority of order did not imply priority of dignity.[125] This placed Waterland squarely in the same modified scholastic tradition of Trinitarian reflection to which his Reformed contemporaries also belonged. Six components of Waterland's Trinitarian theology flowed out of this commitment.[126]

First, Waterland considered the divine nature incomposite, indivisible, and ineffable—'simple'. Waterland thought simplicity a mystery, but an intelligible one, worthy of belief.[127] Since he preferred language in the formularies, like the *Quicunque Vult*'s refusal to 'divide the substance,' one might rather speak of Waterland's commitment to divine *unicity*. This commitment was visible when he equated the divine attributes with the divine essence.[128] The

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[118] Ibid.

[119] Waterland follows Fiddes, *Theologia Speculativa*, 373–81.

[120] Waterland, *Vindication,* 47–54.

[121] Ibid., 8, 10, 12.

[122] Ibid., 157.

[123] Ibid., 42, 187.

[124] Ibid., 326.

[125] Ibid., 71 fn.

[126] The following analysis is indebted to the examination of patristic Trinitarianism outlined in Stephen Holmes, *The Holy Trinity: Understanding God's Life* (Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2012).

[127] Waterland, *Vindication,* 316; idem, *Second Vindication,* 427. Nicholas Wolterstorff ('Divine Simplicity,' *Philosophical Perspectives,* 5, *Philosophy of Religion* (1991), 531) notes that, among the medievals, simplicity logically preceded the communication of the divine attributes—e.g., Lombard's distinction between person and essence depended on it, and the Latin view deriving from it, 'that the divine essence is a numerically singular property shared by all three persons'.

[128] Cf. Peter Lombard, *Sententia* d.8.8.2 ('There is nothing in God which is not God'); Richard Cross, 'Two Models of the Trinity?', in Michael Rea (ed.), *Oxford Readings in Philosophical Theology Volume I: Trinity, Incarnation, and Atonement* (Oxford: OUP, 2009), 107–26.

Son's 'attributes are strictly divine, and his perfections infinite… from whence it follows that the Godhead belongs to him, too'.[129] He argued that Justin Martyr, writing before terminology was refined at Nicaea, regarded the Son as ἀγέννητος, and by that did not mean that the Son shared the personal character of the Father as unbegotten (the usual meaning of the term), but rather that the Son was ἀγένητος, 'as it belongs to the τὸ θεῖον, and denotes eternal, uncreated, immutable existence'.[130] The Son has 'the individual attributes of God the Father, as much as he has the individual essence'.[131] This is significant because, as Ellis has pointed out in respect of Calvin, what grounds the unity of the Godhead is not that the Father is *principium* or *fons*, but rather that 'the three persons' are 'one, simple, uncompounded substance'. The Father has a priority of order, Waterland says.[132] But 'where the substance is neither separate nor separable, (as in the divine persons) there unity of kind and number are consistent, and meet in one'.[133]

Second, Waterland insisted that there are, in the one divine essence, three *hypostases* or persons, equal 'in substance, power, and perfection'.[134] The person of the Son was 'generated' in three senses: as 'the eternal λόγος distinct from the Father,' partaking of the divine essence from all eternity; in 'going out from the Father to create the world'; and in 'condescending to become man'. Christ was 'Son' in each respect, but 'primarily and chiefly in respect of the first'.[135] This first generation established the 'eternal existence of the λόγος, as a real subsisting person, in, and of the Father'.[136] These hypostases cannot exist independently, being bound by 'ties or bands of union, which we call essential attributes and perfections'.[137] They are, he insists, 'all but one being, *una summa res,* and *una res numero*… much to the same with Tertullian's *una* (indivisa) *substantia in tribus cohærentibus*'.[138] These three are one God by an 'essential union of the persons,' 'equal in all respects; none of them singly part of God; but every one perfect God'.[139]

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[129] Waterland, *Vindication,* 93.

[130] Ibid., 152–53.The difference is the Greek double ν.

[131] Ibid., 174.

[132] Idem, *Second Vindication*, 43, 177, 532.

[133] Idem, *Farther Vindication*, 80.

[134] Idem, *Vindication*, 33.

[135] Ibid., 160–61.

[136] Ibid.

[137] Ibid., 168.

[138] Ibid., 167.

[139] Ibid., 169.

Third, Waterland believed, these hypostases subsist as *really* distinct instantiations of the divine essence. In concluding his analysis of the process by which the Greek and Latin Fathers worked their way toward a shared theological vocabulary, Waterland was prepared to refer to the divine persons as 'substance,' provided that this imply neither division nor difference in kind, noting that this was also held by the schoolmen.[140] *Substantia*, he explains, is equivocal, denoting both *essentia* and *suppositum*.[141] Thus, the persons are each substance, but not *substances*. Waterland thus followed the scholastic tradition in defining the persons' incommunicable attributes in terms of the divine essence itself, subsisting.[142]

Fourthly, Waterland insists that the divine hypostases, being essentially one in nature though really distinct, are distinguishable only by their relations of origin. For Waterland, every divine perfection, every substantial attribute, belongs commonly to the three persons. Nothing pertains to an individual person uniquely except his divine relation: 'To the Father, paternity and whatever it implies or carries with it; to the Son, filiation; to the Holy-Ghost, procession'.[143] This enabled Waterland, echoing Pearson, to assert that *autotheos* bears two senses. As the distinguishing characteristic of the first person, it belongs to the Father, which 'amounts to no more than the acknowledgement of the Father's prerogative, *as Father*'.[144] In a second sense, 'it might also signify any person who is truly and essentially God,' and thus 'be applied to the Son too'. Relative order need not entail essential subordination: 'The Father, *as Father*, is supreme; and the Son, *as Son*, subordinate'.[145] Clearly, like the Reformed, Waterland considered the Son *autotheos* as to his essence.

Fifth, Waterland held that each hypostasis exists necessarily. He distinguished necessary existence and self-existence, accusing Clarke of conflating the two. The latter expressed the 'personal character' of the Father as unbegotten, whereas the former was an 'essential character,' predicable of all three divine persons.[146] Importantly, Waterland claimed that self-existence properly belonged to the divine nature, for which reason 'self-existent, underived, independent, are not considered as personal, but essential, characteristics'.[147]

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[140] Idem, *Second Vindication,* 454.

[141] Ibid.; cf. Fransisco Suárez, *Metaphysicae Disputationes,* 2 vols. (Mainz, 1614), ii 34 §1.6; 224.

[142] Ángel Cordovilla Pérez, 'The Trinitarian Concept of Person,' in Giulio Maspero and Robert Woźniak (eds.), *Rethinking Trinitarian Theology: Disputed Questions and Contemporary Issues in Trinitarian Theology* (London: T&T Clark, 2012), 119–21.

[143] Waterland, *Critical History,* 250.

[144] Idem, *Vindication,* 69.

[145] Ibid., 290–91, italics mine. Cf. 171, 208, 264, 293.

[146] Ibid., 370.

[147] Ibid., 377.

Therefore, for Waterland, the Son, considered essentially, was self-existent, in the essential sense of *autotheos*. Considered personally, he was, like the Father and Spirit, *necessarily* existent, generated by a necessity of nature entirely compatible with the approbation of the Father's will.[148]

Finally, for Waterland, Trinitarian reflection stretches human language beyond its capacity to refer. Trinitarian theology supplies only a negative vocabulary, and does not 'add anything to our stock of ideas'.[149] Because theological language, being negative, stands liable to misconstruction—because 'we are no more secure against heresy, than we are against any other sins'—elaboration must be approached 'as any other temptation': with 'prayer and watchfulness, care and endeavour, and the use of proper means'.[150] One such 'proper mean' is to take anything referring to the Triune God, save what refers to the relations of origin, as referring to the divine essence. So, these three really distinct persons, each *habens Deitatem,* each 'subsisting in one undivided substance,' is 'but one undivided intelligent agent'.[151]

'Every generation has its overrated men,' wrote Coleridge. 'D^r. S. Clarke [was he] in George the First's.'[152] One might rather say, more conservatively, that Clarke's legacy has not fared as well theologically as it has philosophically. Waterland was generally seen to have settled the debate. His biographer, Bishop van Mildert, confessed to a friend in a letter of January 1825, 'I have no doubt [Clarke] was a very sincere Xtian, conscientious, pious; & moreover, that he meant to be, & believed himself to be, a *Trinitarian*… & I can look upon his errors, (for such Waterland, I believe, has demonstrated them to be) with far more charity, than upon the use which has been made of them, to serve the cause of a species of Unitarianism which he w^o have regarded with abhorrence.'[153]

6.6 Conclusion

Samuel Clarke's *Scripture-Doctrine of the Trinity* belongs to a long stream of seventeenth-century subordinationism, linked by multiple continuities with the ideas of the Remonstrants, Simon Episcopius and Etienne de Courcelles. One is a continuity of content—both ignored the medieval traditions of Trinitarian theology in favor of a novel, biblicistic approach.

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[148] Ibid., 128.

[149] Ibid., 322.

[150] Idem, *The Importance of the Doctrine of the Holy Trinity Asserted* (1734), 364.

[151] Idem, *Vindication,* 350.

[152] Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *Marginalia, Volume VI: Valckenaer to Zwick,* ed. H.J. Jackson (Princeton: PUP, 2001), 74.

[153] William van Mildert, Palace Green Library, VMP 1453.

Another is a continuity of philosophical framework—both eschewed metaphysical language, warming perceptibly to the earlier arguments of the Socinian, Jan Crell. Still another is a continuity of a shared problem—both adopted identical positions on the problem of normative theological authority posed by Denis Pétau, constructing their Trinitarian theologies on the basis of simple appeals to biblical, particularly New Testament, language.

Against Clarke, Daniel Waterland, like his Reformed contemporaries, insisted on the essential coequality of the divine persons. The graded subordinationism of Ralph Cudworth and George Bull were conspicuously absent from his thought. Six elements of Waterland's Trinitarian theology align him, instead, with Reformed churchmen like John Pearson, Robert South, and William Beveridge: (1) that the divine essence is simple, ineffable, and incomposite; (2) that in this essence are three divine *hypostases,* (3) really distinguishable (4) only by their relations of origin; (5) that each *hypostasis* exists necessarily; (6) and that language referring to the Trinity refers always to one intelligent agent, except where distinguished by relation of origin. The consequence drawn from these commitments which clearly aligns Waterland with his Reformed confrères is his willingness to describe God the Son as *autotheos* considered as to essence, but not as to person.

For Bishop van Mildert, Waterland was the high watermark of Athanasian orthodoxy in the Church, and a resource to be retrieved in a nineteenth-century struggle against a virile Unitarianism. Through Waterland, then, a modified conciliar tradition enjoyed a readership long after Episcopius and Courcelles had fallen from the hands of the Church's ordinands.

7. The Trojan Horse Unbowelled: William Nicholls, Jean Le Clerc, and the Meaning of *Arminianism* in Later Stuart England

7.1 *Defensio Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*

In 1707, a prebendary of Chichester, William Nicholls (1664–1712), published an attack on dissenters disguised as a plea for the unity of all Protestant churches. The *Defensio Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ* urged the leading lights of Protestant Europe to petition their princes for permission to convene a general council, to establish universal articles of faith, and a liturgy and canons for common discipline.[1] Nicholls thought this effort would entice dissenters to return to the conforming fold, for it stood to reason that continental Protestants would exhort dissenters to conform in keeping with the goal of pan-Protestant unity. Securing such counsel, however, was no mean task; rumours abounded that papists, Arminians, and even Socinians lurked among the conforming ranks.[2] As an earlier Calvinist polemicist, William Jenkyn, had put it: the Church of England, now (allegedly) severed from her Reformed roots, now drew her divinity not 'out of the uncorrupt fountains of Holy Scripture, and the books of orthodox writers; but from the puddles and filthy kennels of Socinus and Arminius'.[3]

Nicholls answered rumours of popery and Socinianism briskly.[4] At the charge of Arminianism, however, he began a slow and careful discussion of the Church's sentiments by comparison to the Calvinists and the Remonstrants. In doing so, he hoped to convince foreign readers that, in rejecting Reformed understandings of grace, predestination, and justification, churchmen did not thereby follow Arminius: 'All the great points of divinity, concerning which Arminians have disputed with subtilty [*sic*] enough, have not only been thoroughly and

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[1] William Nicholls, *Defensio Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ* (London and Amsterdam, 1707), 1: '*Ad theologos Germaniæ, Sueciæ, Daniæ & Fœderati Belgii, &c. & ad cæteros viros eruditos ubivis gentium reformatam protestanium fidem amplexantes*'. The 1715 English edition, *A Defence of the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England* (1715), is Nicholls' own posthumously published translation.

[2] Ibid., *Defence,* 84, 136, 327 mentions David Calderwood (cf. *Altare Damascenum, Ceu Politia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Obstrua Ecclesia Scotianæ* ([Amsterdam], 1621)), Henry Parker (cf. *Observations Upon Some of His Majesties Late Answers and Expresses* (1642)); William Jenkyn, *Celeusma* (*Se Clamor ad Theologos Hierarchiae Anglicanae* (1679)); and Pierre du Moulin (*A Short and True Account of the Several Advances the Church of England Hath Made Towards Rome* (1680)).

[3] Cited in idem, *Defensio,* 141, 162.

[4] Nicholls (ibid., 139–40) emphasized that the Church rejected the idiosyncratic leanings of Richard Montagu, Peter Heylin, Herbert Thorndike, or Samuel Parker, to Roman liturgical or (alleged) political interests.

soundly discuss'd by our own divines, but likewise strictly defined and settled by our Convocations many years before Arminius ever saw the light.'[5] Nicholls and his associates rejected the doctrines of irresistible grace, certainty of salvation, particular redemption and unconditional predestination, perseverance of the saints, and the antinomian doctrine of unconditional justification, 'not in the least regarding whether Socinus or Arminius go in the same track,'[6] but because it was the way of Scripture, antiquity, and the Tudor Reformations.[7]

Not only could the Church of England think for herself; she denounced Arminius' Remonstrant successors as innovators, who 'corrupt the orthodox faith with I know not what monstrous opinions… peremptorily rejecting and denying those revelations which they cannot clearly comprehend, and fully understand'.[8] The Remonstrants taught errors as serious as 'sacrilege, or the worst of heresies which ever infested the Christian Church'.[9] They rejected 'the foundation of all our religion,' the doctrine of original sin; denied that belief in the Trinity and the eternal generation of God the Son was necessary for salvation; reduced the sacraments to 'obsolete, useless rites'; 'abuse their flocks, and pass any frantick notion upon them for the Word of God'; vitiated divine knowledge; and denied both the intermediate state and the resurrection of the same numerical body.[10] In short, while Nicholls rejected Jenkyn's Reformed soteriology, he agreed with him on one point: if one wanted to know where 'Arminians' made their beds, one simply needed to search the Socinians' 'filthy kennel'.

Once the *Defensio* was printed, Nicholls began corresponding with foreign divines. At his death in 1712, his widow, Catherine, presented the resulting letters to Archbishop Tenison, which now comprise part of the Tenison collection at Lambeth Palace Library.[11] These letters show that Nicholls sent copies of the *Defensio* to the King of Prussia, Frederick William I; the Lutherans Daniel Ernst Jablonki and Johan Bilberg; the Reformed divines Jean Alphonse Turretin, Jean-Frédéric Ostervald, and Benedict Pictet; the Antistes of Zurich, Anton Klinger; and the Remonstrants, Henricus Wetstein (printer for, among other notorious authors, Philip van Limborch) and Jean Le Clerc. They also show that Nicholls irked both Reformed and Remonstrant readers. A prolific member of the Genevan theology faculty, Benedict Pictet, consulted his 'reverend colleagues' at the faculty over the queries mentioned

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[5] Nicholls, *Defence*, 166.

[6] Ibid., 166, 170, 176, 183, 188, at 175. These were Nicholls' preferred terms for these doctrines.

[7] Ibid., 5–6. Note his praise for *The Institution of a Christian Man*, the 'Bishop's Book' of 1537.

[8] Ibid., 193.

[9] Ibid., 194.

[10] Ibid., 193, 199, 202, 205, 208–11.

[11] Robert D. Cornwall in *ODNB,* s.v. 'William Nicholls'; LPL MS 676, ii vols.

in the *Defensio*.[12] Pictet mainly focussed on correcting Nicholls' view of Calvin.[13] But he also declared his grief over the Church of England's divisions, even offering to have his own blood shed for its breaches to be healed.[14] Pictet 'never forebore to own, how great an esteem and admiration I have of many of your Reverend Bishops,' adding that he would 'even think it a great honour to be in subjection' to such bishops.[15] Citing the conduct of Theodore Beza during Elizabeth's reign, Pictet made bold to 'begg it of y^e^ most famous and learned brethren, y^e^ Presbyterian ministers, by all that is sacred and by y^e^ infinite mercy of God, that they would not refuse submission to y^e^ Episcopal Government'.[16] Emphasizing governance, Pictet made no attempt to convince Nicholls that he had misread the theological views of the Reformed.[17] Others were less content to let Nicholls' judgments go unanswered, as the Amsterdam Remonstrant, Jean Le Clerc (1657–1736), made thoroughly clear.

7.2 Jean Le Clerc's Remonstrant Apologia

On 7 August 1707, Nicholls sent the *Defensio* to Amsterdam, with an accompanying letter. He contrasted Le Clerc with most recent theologians—'mere literate slaves, who hardly have the courage to breathe without their teachers'.[18] While anxious to avoid an 'inconstant liberty of conjecturing' (*vagam opinandi licentiam*), Nicholls claimed that he was, like Le Clerc, a man prepared to test inherited views.[19]

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[12] LPL MS 676 i fol. 100^r^ (Nicholls' translation of Pictet's letter). Pictet's colleagues, Louis de Tronchin and the Jean-Alphonse Turretin, were friendlier than he, or their fathers' generation, to the theology of Saumur: Martin Klauber, 'Reason, Revelation, and Cartesianism: Louis Tronchin and Enlightened Orthodoxy in Late Seventeenth-Century Geneva,' *CH* 59.3 (Sept. 1990), 326–39; Olivier Fatio, *Louis Tronchin: Une Transition Calvienne* (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2015).

[13] Pictet denied that Calvin was 'y^e^ author of y^e^ separation among you' (ibid), citing his conduct at the Diet of Frankfurt (1539), and his *Institutiones Religionis Christianæ* l. iv c. 10 (fol. 100^v^); idem, 'On the Necessity of Reforming the Church' (1539) (fol. 101^r^). Cf. Wulfert Greef, *The Writings of John Calvin: An Introductory Guide*, trans. Lyle Bierma (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2008), 17.

[14] Ibid., fol. 100^r^.

[15] Ibid., fol. 102^v^.

[16] Ibid., fols 102^v^–103^r^.

[17] Pictet twice refuses to discuss such matters: Ibid., fols 102^v^, 103^r^.

[18] William Nicholls to Jean Le Clerc, 1 Aug. 1707, in Jean Le Clerc, *Epistolario: Volume III, 1706–1718* (eds. Maria Grazia & Mario Sina), in *Le Correspondenze Letterarie, Scientifiche ed Erudite dal Rinascimento all'eta Moderna* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1994) (henceforth *Epis. Cler.*), iii 82 (Amsterdam MS R.K., J 61 a; LPL MS 676 i fols 27^r–v^): '[*Dolendum sane est plerosque Theologos*] *esse Literata tantum mancipia, qui sine suis magistris vix audent respirare*.'

[19] Ibid.: '*Nam cæcæ scholasticarum ætates rem theologicam tot ineptijs, tot portentosis et impijs opinionibus fædaverunt, ut ad hoc Augiæ stabulum exhauriendum vix mille Hercules pares fuerint*.' One of Hercules' twelve labours was to clean the stables of King Augeas, home to 3,000 oxen, in a single day.

In reply, Le Clerc wasted little time expressing his vexation that Nicholls had falsely described the doctrines of the Remonstrants:

> But I could not help but be astounded as I was reading part I, chapter VIII of your *Defensio,* and the four following chapters, in which many Remonstrant dogmas are set forth such that no one who has actually read the Remonstrants' writings even a little attentively will recognize their opinions there. For these chapters ascribe teachings to them contrary with those they claim to uphold, in those very places which you have marked in the bottom margin of the page. I marveled how it could be, that affirmations were converted to negations, and vice versa. And I could not persuade myself that you did this—as I suppose you to be erudite, one characterized by equity and truth, and studious.[20]

Le Clerc accused Nicholls of failing to grasp the Remonstrant writings—perhaps even distorting them deliberately, in a foolish attempt to impress the dissenters. Whatever source he had relied upon as a basis for these accusations, it had not served him well.[21]

Le Clerc then launched into a lengthy rebuttal of Nicholls' charges. First, he denied Nicholls' allegation that the Remonstrants overemphasized the role of reason in theology. Rather, he said, they held that all fundamental articles of faith are derived from revelation:

> For this is their primary dogma: it belongs to revelation alone… neither are any human conjectures to be thrust upon Christians, as though they were central tenets of the faith, as is usually done by those who make much of scholastic theology. The Remonstrants by no means inquire impertinently about God what revelation has concealed, even though you say that 'we try to comprehend, in this dark life, those things which God has deliberately covered with a thick cloud'. I knew of no such doctrine which the Remonstrants endeavored to achieve, especially not that they defined certainly anything whatsoever about this sort of thing. On the contrary, I know of no doctrine which the Scholastics would not have approached to explain, and into which, Scripture having hardly spoken, they would not betake themselves shamelessly.[22]

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[20] Ibid., 86: '*Sed non potui non obstupescere, cum legerem Defensionis tuæ, P. I, Caput VIII et quatuor sequentia, in quibus Remonstrantium nonnulla dogmata ita propununtur, ut nemo, qui quidem Remonstrantium Scriptra paullo studiosius legerit, sententiam eorum illic sit agniturus. Iis enim tribuuntur contraria doctrinis, quas tueri se profitentur, illis ipsis in locis, quæ in infima paginæ ora notasti. Mirabar quî fieri potuisset, ut adfirmationes in negationes essent conversæ et vicissim; nec mihi persuadere poteram a te viro erudito et alioquin æquitatis ac veritatis, ut opinor, studioso id factum*.'

[21] Ibid.: '*Dolebat* [i.e., your source] *sane mihi, non tam Remonstrantium, quorum Scripta sat nota sunt,* quam tui causâ, in tuo libello tam aliena a vero legi.'

[22] Ibid., 86–87: '*hoc enim primarium est eorum dogma, soli Revelationi esse … neque ullas conjecturas humanas, quasi fidei capita, esse Christianis obtruendas: quemadmodum vulgo fieri solet ab iis, qui Scholasticam Theologiam magni faciunt. Nihil rimantur Remonstrantes de Deo, quod Revelatio occultarit, quamvis dicas* quæ in hac vita tenebricosa, nube quadam spissiore, de industria texit Deus, nos ratione adequi conari. *Nullam talem doctrinam, quam adsequi conati sint Remonstrantes novi, præsertim ut quidquam certo de ejusmodi re definirent; sed scio nullum esse dogma; quod Scholastici interpretari adgressi non fuerint, et in quo, Scripturâ minime præeunte, se turpiter non dederint*.' Cf. Nicholls, *Defensio*, 181.

Le Clerc was especially flustered with Nicholls' allegation that the Remonstrants cast off all articles of faith that did not readily yield to human enquiry: 'Who of the Remonstrants ever said that he could fully comprehend the eternity of God, for example? Yet no one denied that dogma, which is clearly necessary for the Christian faith.'[23] Of course, Arminius' successor at Leiden, Conrad Vorstius, *had* denied divine eternity—among other incommunicable attributes, like immutability, incorporeality, and simplicity.[24] Vorstius was an uncomfortable case where the Remonstrants did seem to consider reason, *in se*, a sufficient basis for, as opposed to an interpretive faculty in the service of, theological reflection.

Le Clerc also denied that the Remonstrants held a Pelagian doctrine of sin—the idea, briefly, that Adam's sin affected none but himself. The Pelagian doctrine, he said, was contradicted by the Remonstrant Confession,[25] and more recently by Limborch.[26] He denied that the Remonstrants taught 'that it highly derogates from the divine justice that the offences of the first parents should be visited upon our posterity'.[27] For Le Clerc, Arminius[28] and Episcopius[29] taught the opposite. However, both texts merely affirmed that man is punishable for his *actual*, not original sin. As shall be seen, Nicholls would not find this response satisfactory—despite Le Clerc's observation that just this idea had been taught in England by the esteemed Henry Hammond.[30]

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[23] Ibid., 87: '*Quis Remonstrantium umquam dixit se penitius intelligere Dei æternitatem, exempli gratiâ? Nemo tamen negavit id dogma, quod est fidei Christianæ plane necessarium*.'

[24] Nicholls had earlier identified Vorstius with the Socinians: *An Answer to an Heretical Book Called the Naked Gospel* (1691), 102–03. On Episcopius, Vorstius, and the Socinians' rejection of metaphysical categories in favour of an *historisch-ethische religionismodell* of religious discourse, see Kęstutis Daugirdas, *Die Anfänge des Sozinianismus: Genese und Eindringen des Historisch-Ethischen Religionsmodell in den Universitären Diskurs der Evangelischen in Europa* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2016), 341–536. Daugirdas applies the term 'semi-sozinianischer' to both Vorstius and Episcopius.

[25] Ibid., cit. *Confessio sive Declaration Sententiæ Pastorum*, 24–25: 'because Adam was the stock and root of all mankind, he thus involved not only himself, but also all his posterity, in the same death and misery.' ('*Quia verò Adamus stirps ac radix erat totius generis humani, ideo non se ipsum tantum, sed omnes etiam posteros suos… eidem morti ac miseriæ involvit*.')

[26] Ibid.; cf. Limborch, *Theologia Christiana*, ii 182.

[27] Ibid.; quoting Nicholls, *Defensio*, 185.

[28] Ibid.: '*Arminii quidem loca, nihil ejusmodi invenire possum, nec ipse invenies, si insicere velis*.' Jacob Arminius, *Quæstiones Numero Novem, Nobiliss. DD. Curatoribus Academiæ Leydensis Exhibitæ a Deputatis Synodi, in hunc finem, ut ad eas a Professoribus S. Theologiæ responderetur: cum D. I. Arminii ad eas Responsionibus atque Anterotematis ex Adverso Totidem Aliis: Mense Novembri Anni 1605*, in Arminius, *Opera*, 184–86; see Den Boer, *God's Twofold Love,* 18–19.

[29] Ibid.; cit. Episcopius, *Disputationes Theologicæ Tripartitæ, Disp.* 3 *Parte, Disp. IX, Th.* 2: '*Deus neminem, ob solum peccatum originale, rejecit, aut æternis pœnis destinavit*.'

[30] Ibid.; Henry Hammond, *Ἀξία Θεοῦ Κρίσις, Judgment Worthy of God: Or, an Assertion of the Existence and Duration of Hell Torments, in Two Occasional Letters* (Oxford, 1665), 125–37.

Nicholls charged the Remonstrants with the Pelagian notion that the propensity to sin arises from ill custom.[31] Le Clerc strained to find this taught in the Remonstrant Confession.[32] Nor did the Remonstrants teach 'that the inordinate motions of the mind… and lustful desires, are not condemned by God, but rather please him, as the seeds of greater virtue, if they do not break forth into vicious actions'.[33] Again, Nicholls had misread Episcopius[34] and Limborch.[35] Nor did the Remonstrants deny Adam's original righteousness.[36] They only denied 'a certain infused quality besides nature, received from God, by which it would be brought about that Adam could not sin, except by the removal of what God had given to him, by which subtraction God would have become the author of sin, if sin would necessarily have followed from it'.[37] For Nicholls to affirm the supernatural endowment of original righteousness—the idea that Adam was created not in a state of moral equilibrium but of moral righteousness—would be sheer Calvinism. For God would then be liable for removing the righteousness that prevented Adam from sinning.

Le Clerc also made the riskier claim that Nicholls imposed overly strict standards of Trinitarian belief. If Scripture was the norm of faith, one should not enforce belief in a Trinity of one numerical essence, the eternal generation of the Son, or the procession of the Holy Spirit 'as it is wont to be expounded today,' or else suppose that 'a man of this sort ought on that account to be damned for eternity, whatsoever his morals be, and whatsoever his religion be toward God besides'.[38] The ancients posited three numerical essences in generic unity—would they not satisfy Nicholls?[39] He thus could not understand 'why it is so ruinously dangerous to deny a Trinity of persons, other than of a numerical unity of essence'.[40]

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[31] Nicholls, *Defensio*, 185.

[32] *Epis. Cler.*, 87; Nicholls, *Defensio,* 185; *Confessio sive Declaratio Sententiæ Pastorum*, c. vii §3, 5. For Le Clerc, the first simply asserted man's eternal death after Adam's sin; the second claimed that man's actual sins multiply his guilt, and further deprave the will by force of custom.

[33] Ibid., 88; Nicholls, *Defensio*, 185–86.

[34] Ibid.; Nicholls, *Defensio*, 185, cit. Episcopius, *Disputationes*, in *Opera* ii 452, 454.

[35] Ibid.; Nicholls, *Defensio*, 185, cit. Limborch, *Theologia Christiana*, ii 182–83.

[36] Ibid.: '*Iis quæ dicis de Justitiæ originalis amissione et consectariis peccati Adami, operis tui pag. 186 et 187, facile adsentientur Remonstrantes, ut vel ex ipsorum Confessione intelligere licet. Verum non adsentientur tibi, in eo quod ais, ab illis sannis iurisve trivialibus excipi justitiam Adami*.'

[37] Ibid., 88–89: '*Justitiam illam diserte agnoscit Episcopius illic Th. 7, nec rejicit, nisi infusum quemdam, præter naturam, a Deo habitum, quo factum esset, ut peccare Adamus non posset, nisi Deo quod ei dederat subtrahente, quâ subtractione Deus fieret auctor peccati, si ex ea necessario sequeretur peccatum*.'

[38] Ibid., 89: '*prout explicari hodie solent, an, inquam, ejusmodi homo debeat propterea damnari in æternum, quicumque sint ejus mores, et quæcumque alioquin erga Deum Religio*.'

[39] Ibid.

[40] Ibid.: '*Non intelligo, fateor, cur exitialis sit delictum negare Trinitatem Personarum, quam Essentiæ numericam Unitatem*.'

Le Clerc also denied that the Remonstrants thought baptism 'an antiquated ceremony, derived from a corrupt imitation of the Apostles,' or held 'that in the Eucharist there is a bare remembrance of our Lord, and that by communicating therein we reap no more benefit, than when we remember our absent friends by drinking their health'.[41] They did not think the sacraments 'obsolete, useless rites, which can neither improve the grace of God in us, nor stir up the gifts of the Spirit in us'.[42] Nor did they think them corrupt imitations of the apostles; Episcopius 'argued precisely the opposite,'[43] as did Limborch[44] and the Remonstrant Confession.[45] Moreover, the Remonstrants were no memorialists; Nicholls' rightly denounced this 'profane teaching'. The Remonstrants believed that those who received the Eucharist *ex animo* received abundant graces from God and confirmation in the faith.[46] This was affirmed by Episcopius, the Confession, its Apology, the Belgic Liturgy, and Limborch's system, 'in which you shall see him utterly shrink from the view you expound'.[47] Indeed, Limborch proved that the Remonstrants did not consider the sacraments useless rites, but 'plainly believe the contrary… [o]nly they reject the operation of the sacraments which, the papists say work in the soul *ex opere operato*, whatsoever be the soul's disposition'.[48]

Equally, Le Clerc denied that the Remonstrants 'depress the venerable orders of the ministry down to meanest (*profanam*) of people'—if, indeed, any Christian could be called profane.[49] By so slighting synodal governance, Nicholls disparaged all foreign Protestants.[50]

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[41] Nicholls, *Defence,* 202.

[42] Ibid.

[43] *Epis. Cler.,* 90: '*Episcopius contrarius prorsus affirmat,*' cit. Episcopius, *Disputationes, Pars* III *Disput.* XXIX, *cor.* i, in *Opera,* ii 458; idem, *Responsiones ad Quæstiones Theologicas LXIV, ad Quæst.* xxxvii, in *Opera,* i 35–38.

[44] Ibid.; Limborch, *Theologia Christiana,* l. v c. lxvii, 7, 8; l. lxviii, 3, 4, 5, 6.

[45] Ibid.; *Confession sive Declaratio Sententiæ Pastorum*, c. xxiii, 3.

[46] Ibid.: '*Semper crediderunt Remonstrantes, si quis eo animo, quo debet, Eucharisticam Cœnam celebrat, accipere eum majores a Deo gratias et in fide Christiana confirmari.*'

[47] Ibid.: '*Lege hac de re* Limburgii *Theologiam Christianam… in quo videbis eum summopere abhorrere a sententiam quam exponis.*' Cf. Limborch, *Theologia Christiana*, l. v. c. lxxii.

[48] Ibid.: '*Contrarium plane credunt; ut ex locis antea a me indicatis liquet. Vide et Limburgium … et seqq. Rejiciunt tantum operationem Sacramentorum, quâ a Pontificiis dicuntur ex opere operato agere in animum, quæcumque sit animi affectio.*' Cf. Limborch, *Theologia Christiana*, l. v, c. lxvi, 29 '*et seqq.*'

[49] Ibid., 91: 'Profanam, *hoc est, impiam plebem (nam plebs religiosa, apud Christianos* profana *dici nequit) nulla in Ecclesia ministeria obire volunt.*' Cf. Nicholls, *Defence*, 204–05.

[50] Ibid.: 'You are very much mistaken, when you say they retain no ordination of clergymen; for they so ordain, as all other Protestants on this side of the sea, who do not own episcopal oversight. Candidates are examined and sent by pastors; and not any minister is assigned to the ministry of any church without the approval of the whole synod with prayers and vows.' ('*Vehementer falleris, cum ais nullam eos Clericorum ordinationem retinere; tam enim ordinant, quam ceteri omnes cis mare Protestantes, quibus non est Episcopale regimen. Examinantur Candidati, mittunturque a Pastoribus, nec sin adprobatione totius Synodi, precibus ac votis Ecclesiæ ullius Ministerio addicuntur.*')

He had also accused Episcopius, the Remonstrant Confession, and Limborch of teaching that it was legitimate for a man 'who hath a good faculty at speaking, and is well read in the Holy Scriptures,' to be appointed by an assembly as its minister.[51] But he 'did not notice, 'as Limborch recalled, that it was this way since the beginning of the Reformation; for otherwise it followed the customary order of calling among Protestants on this side of the sea'.[52] No church of the Remonstrants simply chose their pastor; one received a call from the gathering of pastors, with the Synod's approval.[53] In speaking out against the Remonstrants, Le Clerc said, Nicholls insulted most of his continental readers.

Nicholls had also claimed that Episcopius 'depress[ed] the divine knowledge even as low as human ignorance; affirming that God himself doth not foresee future contingencies; at least, that it is not very requisite for Christians to believe there is any such knowledge in God'.[54] Episcopius did, Le Clerc admitted, consider the absolute and conditional prescience of future contingencies a less necessary question.[55] 'But who,' Le Clerc retorted, 'would wish to impose upon all Christians, or even theologians, a meticulous knowledge of everything,' particularly things discussed by 'erudite men of such acumen'?[56] It was enough to be believed that God knows everything that can be known, 'enough to attribute such power to God, that he is able to accomplish every possibility'.[57] Besides, Le Clerc said, Episcopius proved the doctrine anyway, leaving Nicholls' charge unfounded.[58]

Finally, Le Clerc countered Nicholls' briefer allegations that the Remonstrants denied the doctrine of the saints' final rest in paradise, and the resurrection of the same numerical body.[59] Nicholls had mistaken Episcopius' reasons for refusing to speculate on paradise; it was not that he did not believe it, but that he could not possibly conjecture about the use of

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[51] Nicholls, *Defensio*, 197. Cit. Episcopius, *Disputationes Pars* III *Disput*. XXVI Th. 4–5, in *Opera*, ii 456; *Confessio sive Declaratio Sententiæ Pastorum*, 76 (*Usus et Signis Synodorum*); Limborch, *Theologia Christiana*, l.vii c.iv, 13, 15.

[52] *Epis. Cler.*, 91: '*prout monet Limburgius, qualis erat cis mare initio Reformationis; nam ceteroquin ordinem vocationis inter Protestantes, cis mare, usitatum sequuntur*.'

[53] Ibid.: *'Nulla Ecclesia, apud Remonstrantes, sibi e membris suis eligit Pastorem, pro arbitrio; sed vocat dumtaxat quempiem ex iis, qui a cœtu Pastorum missionem acceperunt, nec id sine Synodi consensu*.'

[54] Nicholls, *Defence*, 208.

[55] *Epis. Cler.*, 91; cf. Episcopius, *Pars* III *Disput*. IV, Th. 10, in *Opera*, ii 446.

[56] Ibid.: '*Quis vero velit imponere omnibus Christianis, aut etiam Theologis, accuratam cognitionem omnium, quæ hanc in rem ab hominibus eruditis tanto acumine dicuntur?*'

[57] Ibid.: '*Satis est credi, Deo omnia esse nota, quæ nosci possunt; ut satis est Deo tribui potentiam tantam, ut omnia possibilia exsequi queat*.'

[58] Cit. Episcopius, *Inst. Theol*. l.iv §2 c.17, in *Opera*, i 299–302.

[59] Nicholls, *Defensio*, 202–03; 203–05.

the senses, if indeed such senses were conjoined to the post-resurrection body.[60] As for denying the resurrection of the same numerical body, Le Clerc thought that Nicholls ought to glance back at the debate, on his own side of the channel, between Stillingfleet and Locke.

7.3 High Churchmen Going Dutch?

In his reply, Nicholls apologized for offending Le Clerc. He said that he had not done so to please the nonconformists—'not many, perhaps, will believe me to be so mad, that I had cherished a certain hope of obtaining their gratitude, or even a light complaisance, after the book so freely written against them.'[61] Many dissenters actually affirmed Remonstrant soteriology.[62] He simply sought to show that heresies found no favor in the English Church:

> Only, most courteous Sir, the dignity and judgment of our Church urged, as I was bringing forth certain things for the calumnies to be refuted that the adversaries have hurled against us about the matter of Arminianism, no one does not know by what great invidiousness the name of 'Arminian' is agitated among us; which all the common people think stinks, not only of heresy, but even the poison of atheism. If anyone professes what Arminius maintained, all the dogmas which the successors of Arminius ever held, immediately encompasses him. They convey these things into foreign lands, to be heard by foreigners themselves. Here, the violent ardor and din of certain professors, roused both in the schools but especially in published books raised against us, by doleful laments set forth, of the unspeakable spread of Socinianism through England. Did it not behoove me, while I was defending the Church of England to the best of my ability, to meet these calumnies?[63]

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[60] *Epis. Cler.*, 92.

[61] Nicholls to Le Clerc, 6 Nov. 1707, *Epis. Cler.*, 97: '*Quod ego animo malevolo adversus Remonstrantes sim, quibuscum nullus mihi usus aut consuetudo unquam intercesserunt, nemo (uti spero) opinabitur; quod hæc auribus Nonconformistarum dedissem (ut Tu existimias) haud multi fortasse credent, me adeo delirum esse, qui spem aliquam foverem, post librum in eos tam libere scriptum, eorum gratiam, tam levi saltem obsequio, initurum*.'

[62] Ibid.: '*Præterea eorum plurimi haud adeo sunt Remonstrantibus adversi, neque seorsum a Vobis et Nostris hominibus sentiunt, in Quæstionibus quæ de V Articulis agitantur.*'

[63] *Cler. Epist.*, 97: '*Sola, Vir Cl. nostræ ecclesiæ dignitas et existimatio compulit, ut, ad diluendas calumnias, quas contra nos, de re Arminianismi, intorserunt adversarii, quædam proferrem, nemo non novit, quantâ invidiâ apud nos æstuet Arminianum nomen quam vulgus putet omne, non solum hæreseos, sed etiam atheismi venenum sub hâc sectâ contegi; si quis ullam, quam Arminius tenuit, opinionem profiteatur, omnia dogmata, quæ vel Arminii successores unquam tuebantur, hunc statim amplexum esse: istas res audiri ab advenis quas secum in exteras terras deportant: hinc professorum quorundam fervorem concitatum, clamoresque cum in scholis tum in libris editis, contra nos sublatos, lugubresque planctus emissos, de Socinianismo miris modis per Angliam grassante. Non oportuit me, dum Ecclesiam Anglicanam pro viribus defenderem, illi calumniæ occurrisse? Certo nemo expectare potuit, nos contumeliam adeo deperituros, ut opiniones a nostrâ ecclesiâ damnatas, a propriis nostrarum mentium judiciis rejectas, et ab adversariis, licet nullo jure, notis exprobratas, nos professos esse diceremus; nullâ aliâ causâ inducti, quam ut Remonstrantibus rem gratam faceremus: quibus tametsi, propter plurima humanitatis et Christianæ charitatis officia, nos admodum obstrictos esse ulto fatemur. Veruntamen nobis ignoscendum est, si eorum amicitiæ nostram existimationem non posthabeamus*.'

In other words, Nicholls had not written harshly to win polemical points, but because a venerable line of English writers, including King James I, had opposed the Remonstrants ever since the time of Conrad Vorstius.[64] When Episcopius and others offered 'their ideas… too hotly or incautiously,' it emboldened those who had been warmed to Vorstius' errors. Nicholls was glad to hear that Episcopius could be 'accommodated to the orthodox sense'.[65]

Crucially, Nicholls insisted that he had not invented these charges. Rather, he had come by them honestly—in part, through a recent attempt to measure the orthodoxy of Limborch's system by comparison to the Church of England's formularies; in part, by familiarizing himself with earlier continental literature:

> I was very hasty in giving bare citations, partly which I myself read some years ago, when I was appointed in the [Lower] House of Convocation for the purpose of examining whether Limborch's *Institutes*, recently translated into the English tongue, agreed with the Articles of our Church; and partly ones which were from other most distinguished authors who wrote when your controversies had been burning. Men at that time failed to examine the multitudes of all the assertions which my authors were laying down; and indeed, I find out too late that I have in some matters been deceived by them. Nevertheless, no less does surprise steal upon me, that although I had been led into certain light errors, you would consider me (as you seem to) to have created what I said concerning the Remonstrants—'full of inventions and fabrications'. Certainly, those things which I consider Remonstrant teachings are ascribed to them, many years before I was brought forth into the light. I have not so devised these teachings, as that they, by all the academies of Europe together one hundred years ago, were agitated and disputed—nay, set in order in commonplaces and laid out in official documents. Volumes of letters swelled forth from the teachings either defending or opposing these teachings; the bookcases of libraries suffered; the talents of men drooped. And so by what reason do you attribute these things to me—a latecomer—as if I had invented those things on account of which our fathers struggled—in nearly a thousand volumes—through such a fierce fight?[66]

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[64] Ibid., 98. Cf. Frederick Shriver, 'Orthodoxy and Diplomacy: King James I and the Vorstius Affair,' *EHR* 85.336 (Jul. 1970), 449–74. One wonders what Nicholls thought of Perkins' works against Arminius.

[65] Ibid., 97–98.

[66] Ibid.: '*Raptim tantum dabam nudas Citationes, partim quas ipse collegeram aliquot retro annis, cum in domo Convocationis Designatus fui, ad examinandum, utrum cum Articulis nostræ Ecclesiæ congruerent Limborchij Institutiones, nuperrime tum conversæ in Linguam Anglicanam; partim ex celeberrimis aliis Authoribus, qui, cum vestræ Controversiæ maxime flagrarent, scripserunt. Vires tum mihi defuerunt examinare dictionum omnium pondera, quas mei suggerebant Authores, adeoque in aliquibus nimis sero me ab ijs deceptum fuisse invenio. Sed interim non minima me subit Admiratio, quod etsi in leves aliquos errores inductus fuissem, putares me (ut videris) omnia, quæ de Remonstrantibus dixi, fabulis et commentis plena, prodidisse. Quippe ista, quæ ego tribuo Remonstrantibus dogmata, ijs ascribuntur, multis ante annis, quam ego in lucem fui editus. Ista dogmata adeo ipse non comminiscor, ut ea, per omnes fere Europæ Academias, centum retro annis, ventilata et disputata sint, imo in Locos Communes digesta, et Tabulis suspensa. His dogmatibus, vel defensis vel oppugnatis, turgent Literatorum Volumina, laborant Bibliothecarum Plutei, fatiscunt hominum ingenia; itaque qua ratione eas res mihi sero Nepoti, quasi Commenta, attribuis, propter quas Proavi nostri, mille fere voluminibus, tam acriter digladiabantur?*'

Nicholls was anxious to show that he had not invented these accusations, nor had he relied on merely private authors.[67] Rather, he had relied on two corporately endorsed books. The first was the *Specimen Calumniarum atque Heterodoxam Opinionum,* 'by certain most celebrated professors of theology at the Academy of Leiden'[68]—in fact, those notably Reformed authors of the *Synopsis Purioris Theologicæ* (1625), Johannes Polyander, Andreas Rivetus, Antonius Walæus, and Antonius Thysius. The second was the *Harmonia Remonstrantium et Socinianorum* of Johannes Pelt, to which the Leiden divines attached a glowing testimonial.[69]

> From these books, I supplied those citations which are investigated in my annotations. For if you inspect these books, whatever page you like, you will absolve me easily from all bad faith, neither will you any longer think that I ascribe to the Remonstrants monstrous and unheard of teachings, since many grave errors are noted there which I did not even touch on in my little book.[70]

Nicholls proceeded to show that he had drawn every charge from the Leiden divines. Each instance comprised a subtle rebuttal of Le Clerc's initial responses.

First, Nicholls remained unconvinced that the Remonstrants were orthodox as to original sin. The Remonstrants thought Adam's sin affected only himself, as shown by the Leiden divines.[71] As Le Clerc seemed to admit, Arminius[72] and Episcopius[73] taught that man is punished for his *actual*, not original, sin—hence the latter's remark that 'God rejects, or destines to eternal punishment, no one on account of original sin alone'.[74] Nicholls thought this 'overly lax; for I think God had rejected all for as long a time until he received them through baptism'.[75] If by 'rejected,' Episcopius only meant eternal damnation, not threatened

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[67] Ibid., 99.

[68] Ibid.: '*Primus erat… ex Remonstrantium Apologia excerptarum, per quosdam celeberrimos Theologiæ Professores in Acad. Leydensi*.'

[69] Ibid.; Johannes Pelt, *Harmonia Remonstrantium et Socinianorum* (Leiden, 1633), for the Synoptists *imprimatur*. On Dutch polemic as intermediary source for Remonstrant texts: Richard Snoddy, '*A Display of Learning? Citations and Shortcuts in John Owen's 'A Display of Arminianisme' (1643)*, *WTJ*, forthcoming.

[70] Ibid.: '*Ex istis Libris supplebam ea, quæ in meis Annotatiunculis desiderabantur. Jam si inspicias istorum Librorum quamlibet paginam, me facile ab omni malâ fide absolves, nec deinceps putabis me adscribere Remonstrantibus dogmata portentosa et ante inaudita: cum notantur ibi plurimi gravissimique errores, quos ego, in opusculo meo, ne attigi quidem*.'

[71] Ibid., cit. *Censura in Confessionem sive Declarationem Sententiæ Eorum Qui in Fœderato Belgio Remonstrantes Vocantur, super Præcipuis Articulis Christianæ Religionis, a S.S. Theol. Professoribus Academiæ Leidensis Instituta* (Leiden, 1626), 107; *Specimen Calumniarum atque Heterodoxarum Opinionum ex Remonstrantium Apologia Excerptarum, Instar Prodromi ad Præmændos Omnes Veros Christianos in Lucem Emissum, Per S. Theologiæ Leydensi* (Leiden, 1630), 28, §vii; Pelt, *Harmonia*, 87.

[72] Arminius, *Responsiones ad Novem Quæstionum, quæst.* iii, in *Opera*, 184–85.

[73] Episcopius, *Disputationes,* in *Opera,* ii 449.

[74] Ibid.: '*Deus neminem ob solum peccatum originale rejecit, aut æternis pœnis destinavit*.'

[75] *Epis. Clerc.*, 100: '*Culpo hanc vocem ut nimis laxam. Nam puto Deum omnes tam diu rejecisse, quoad inter suos per Baptismum recepit*.'

but actually inflicted, Nicholls could rest at ease.[76] But he seemed to be saying, rather more racily, that it would derogate from divine justice if God *had* punished Adam's posterity on account of Adam's sin, regardless of whether or not they had committed any actual sins. Nicholls showed that this inference was warranted by the Leiden divines[77] and by the admission of Episcopius.[78]

Nicholls also remained convinced that the Remonstrants thought the propensity to sin arose from habituation. He cited Pelt,[79] defending his citation of the Remonstrant Confession by observing that 'it ascribes this matter to two causes, chiefly the second; therefore, I do not say [that human depravity arises by] "no other cause," but *hardly ever* by any other cause'.[80] Other Remonstrants went further. Isaacus Welsingius (b. 1583) claimed that 'the propensity for sins about to be committed that appears in man did not flow from that first sin, nor from the act of the first man who was about to sin, but men after that sin *contracted to themselves a habit of going to sin, by continued acts of what was about to be sinning,* and corrupted themselves, and so transmitted the seed of corruption to their descendants through propagation'.[81] Thus, even if Episcopius or Limborch were orthodox, their ambiguity lent credence to others, like Welsingius, who regurgitated the sentiments of Faustus Socinus[82] and Valentinus Smalcius.[83] Nicholls also insisted that lustful desires were sinful, even if they did not issue in vicious acts. Pairing the Leiden divines[84] with Episcopius[85] and Limborch,[86] Nicholls concluded: 'I thought our Articles spoke better in these matters. This depravity of nature remains even in the regenerate, etc. and although there is no condemnation for those

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[76] Ibid.: '*Sed si per* rejecit *intelligat æternam damnationem, non solum comminatam sed actualiter inflictam, nullum habeo cum Episcopio Dissidium*.'

[77] Ibid., cit. *Censura Leidensis*, 67; Pelt, *Harmonia*, 40, 68; *Specimen Calumniarum*, 29.

[78] Ibid.: '*contra Justitiam et æquitatem est, ut quis reus agatur propter peccatum non suum*."' Cf. Episcopius, *Apologia Pro Confessione,* 151, col. 2.

[79] Pelt, *Harmonia*, 77.

[80] *Epis. Cler.*, 100: '*Propter hoc allego Confessio Remonstrantium, quæ eam rem duabus causis ascribit, sed præcipue secundæ. Igitur non dico* nulli alii causæ*, sed* non alii fere causæ.'

[81] Ibid.: '*Pronitas ad peccandum quæ in homine conspicitur, non fluxit a primo isto Peccato, aut actu peccandi primi hominis, sed homines post illud peccatum,* continuatis peccandi actibus, pecandi habitum sibi contraxerunt, *seque corruperunt, semenque corruptionis sic ad posteros, per propagationem transmiserunt*.' Cit. Isaacus Welsingius, *Liber de Officio Hominis Christiani*, cit. in Pelt, *Harmonia*, 76. The future gerundives make for clunky translation, but are important not to hide.

[82] Faustus Socinus, *Quod Regni Poloniæ Deberent Se Cœtui Abiungere* (Amsterdam, 1611), 703. Welsingius in fact transcribed much of this text verbatim.

[83] Valentinus Smalcius, *Refutatio Thesium Wolfgangi Frantzii* (Racov, 1614), 60.

[84] *Censura Leidensis*, 111; Pelt, *Harmonia*, 87. Cf. Nicholls, *Defensio*, 185–86.

[85] Episcopius, *Disputationes*, in *Opera*, ii 452.

[86] Limborch, *Theologia Christiana*, ii 190; ibid., iii 406–15; 455.

who believe and are baptized, yet the Apostle confesses that concupiscence has in itself the nature of sin.'[87]

Nicholls also remained convinced that the Remonstrants undermined Adam's original righteousness.[88] If the *Censura*[89] were too partisan, Le Clerc could see Episcopius, for whom 'the Remonstrants [judged] this question (that is, of the original righteousness of Adam and Eve) to be entirely foolish and unprofitable. This question is *vain* and *unprofitable*: For what difference does it make whether someone should say that Adam was gifted with such righteousness, or whether someone should deny it?'[90] Nicholls felt justified in this particular charge: 'If these are not trivial jests, certainly they are too lighthearted, and not worthy enough of a theological man in such a question.'[91] For Nicholls, the preceding views necessarily led the Remonstrants to affirm that Adam was a 'great and stupid infant'.[92] Nicholls responded to Le Clerc's citation of Arminius by noting that, for Arminius, 'Adam had not received nor possessed in his primitive state a proximate power—any whatever for understanding, believing, or doing—what could be necessary (him having understood, believed, and done) for which he could in any sort of state persevere, either by his own doings, or by God's gift.'[93] Similarly, he responded to Le Clerc's citation of Episcopius by noting that Episcopius thought Adam's natural power enabled him to keep the law, so that no supernatural habit, 'whether infused, increated, or concreated,' was required to do what was within his natural powers to perform.[94] Limborch made Adam an imbecile, by statements 'which our ears can by no means easily bear,'[95] being 'defenders of the supernatural gifts, having held those opinions from the cradle.'[96] Le Clerc had not grasped Nicholls' problem:

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[87] *Epis. Cler.*, 101: '*Putavi de hisce rebus melius loqui Articulos nostros. Manet etiam in renatis hæc naturæ Depravatio etc., et quanquam ijs qui credunt et baptizantur, nulla est condemnatio, tamen in se* rationem peccati habere concuiscentiam *fatetur Apostolus*.' This translation of *rationem* conveys the quote of Article IX.

[88] Cf. Nicholls, *Defensio*, 186.

[89] *Censura Leidensis*, 57.

[90] *Epis. Cler.*, 101; Episcopius, *Apologia pro Confessione*, 139: '"*Remonstrantes quæstionem hanc (sc. de Originali Justitia Adami et Evæ) totam ineptam et inutilem esse censent. Est hæc quastio vana et inutilis: quid enim refert sive quis dicat Adamum justitiâ tali præditum fuisse, sive quis id neget?*"'

[91] Ibid.: '*Si hi non sint joci triviales, certe sunt dicta nimis levia, et viro Theologo in tali Quæstione non satis digna*.'

[92] Cf. Nicholls, *Defensio*, 186.

[93] *Epis. Cler.*, 101; Arminius, *Articuli Nonnulli Perpendendi*, in *Opera*, 952, col. 2.

[94] Ibid.; Episcopius, *Disputationes*, in *Opera*, ii 446.

[95] Ibid.; Limborch, *Theologia Christiana*, iii 179 (§xiii).

[96] Ibid., 101–02: '*Quippe cum nos supernaturalium dotium simus patroni, ijque opinioni a teneris usque unguiculis assueti, id extorsit mihi paulo durius dictum,* Non aliud esse quam magnum, *etc. Non quod Remonstrantes eadem ijsdem expressa vocabulis affirmare dicam, sed quod id, consequentiæ modo, trahat post se eorum opinio*.'

he had admitted original righteousness, provided it was not understood as a quality superadded to human nature, in its native equilibrium. For Nicholls, it was precisely this supernatural endowment of original righteousness which was at stake.[97]

Nicholls also defended his critique of the Remonstrants' devaluation of Trinitarian belief—citing, once again, the Leiden divines.[98] Episcopius, he said, denied that one needed to believe the eternal generation of God the Son to be saved.[99] Limborch, who professed to believe the eternal generation of the Son, also refused to regard it as necessary for salvation.[100] It is worth underlining that, whereas Le Clerc focussed on the issue of divine unity (either specific or numerical), Nicholls emphasized the issue of eternal generation—a doctrine ensconced in the Nicene Creed, and so less easily dismissed as a scholastic invention. The denial of Nicene orthodoxy, rather than medieval scholasticism, gave Nicholls' charge more polemical teeth.

Nicholls did admit that, impressed by the Leiden divines,[101] he had fallen for Pelt's dubious citation of Episcopius, which portrayed Episcopius as denying that baptism was instituted by dominical institution, when he was, in fact, affirming its dominical institution.[102] Nevertheless, Nicholls remained convinced that the Remonstrants regarded the Eucharist as a bare remembrance.[103] He observed that Episcopius taught that baptism did not confer but merely illustrated grace.[104] Equally, the Remonstrant Confession was open to the Zwinglian inference that the sacraments were mere signs, entailing no effectual or communicative benefits.[105] Episcopius even claimed that if one wished to fault the Confession on this count, one should also censure Scripture, since it too designated only the end of commemoration.[106]

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[97] Cf. William Nicholls, *A Commentary on the First Fifteen, and Part of the Sixteenth Articles of the Church of England* (1712), 74 (c).

[98] Ibid., 102, cit. *Specimen Calumniarum*, 24; Pelt, *Harmonia*, 15.

[99] Episcopius, *Institutiones Theologicæ*, in *Opera*, i 334–40, incorrectly cited as §§xxiii–xxiv.

[100] Limborch, *Theologia Christiana*, iii 434 (§ix).

[101] *Epis. Cler.*, 102, cit. *Censura Leidensis*, 305; Pelt, *Harmonia*, 243.

[102] Ibid.: Episcopius, *Disputationes*, Disput. XXX cor. 1, in *Opera*, ii 458. Pelt linked Episcopius with another Remonstrant, Henricus Slatius, who declared that 'we are not bound by the force of any command of God to baptize' ('*Non tenemur, ex vi alicujus mandati Dei, baptisare*'). Cf. Heinrich Slatius, *Copie Vant Klaer Vertoogh: Ghescreven, Ende onderteyckent by de eyghene handt van Henricus Slatius, in sijn gevangenisse in's Graven-Haghe* (The Hague, 1623), 53.

[103] *Epis. Cler.*, 102, cit. *Censura Leidensis,* 306; Pelt, *Harmonia*, 243.

[104] Episcopius, *Disputationes*, *Pars* III, Disput. XXIX Th. 8; *Pars* III Disput. XXX, Th.1.

[105] *Confessio sive Declaratio Remonstrantium*, c.21 §4, 65; c.23 §3, 70.

[106] Episcopius, *Apologia pro Confessione*, in *Opera*, ii 235: '*Eadem censuram merebitur Scriptura Sacra, quæ alium finem aut fines alios non adsignat; Imo quæ nec obsignationis, nec collationis gratiæ, nec confirmationis fidei nostræ vel verbo meminit*.'

For Episcopius, Nicholls believed, the Supper communicated the benefits of Christ's death only to the extent that it represented it to the believer's memory.[107] He had censured the Remonstrants severely, but only 'for the purpose of showing the absurdity of this opinion'.[108]

Equally, Nicholls founds Remonstrant ecclesiology problematic.[109] Episcopius denied apostolic succession, which Nicholls clearly found disagreeable.[110] Further, the Remonstrant Confession claimed that the tripartite orders of bishop, priest, and deacon, were to be established 'in all gatherings' (*cœtibus omnibus*)—effectively, a congregational model of the episcopate.[111] 'You will easily excuse us men of an episcopal church,' Nicholls replied, 'if we should say that no such ordination was ever in any doubt, just because pious and learned men among the Remonstrants should be appointed to the ministry by some other conscientious way'.[112] Nor had he called any Christians profane, in the moral sense, as Le Clerc had insinuated: 'I say people, not impious but *secular*, who are not consecrated by a peculiar setting apart for the service of God, and do maintain, on that account, the certain more sacred mysteries of our religion.'[113] Nor again had he changed his mind about Remonstrant views on divine foreknowledge,[114] the intermediate state,[115] or the resurrection.[116] Heterodox positions on all these doctrines were recorded by the Leiden divines.[117]

In conclusion, Nicholls pointed out that his false impressions were never corrected by the Remonstrant writings themselves, wherein 'I observe matters buried by ambiguous words, as though by deliberate aim, and which have offered their adversaries convenient

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[107] Idem, *Disputationes*, Disput. XXX Th.10, in *Opera*, ii 459: '*Finis seu effectum hujus celebrationis, non est gratiæ alicujus efficax collatio, quæ ex opere operato, aut ex vi Symbolorum, licet legitime usurpatorum, in animam influat atque redundet; sed sola tantum repræsentio ac significatio mortis & benefii illius ingentis, quod per mortem Iesu Christi nobis partum atque comparatum est*.'

[108] *Epis. Cler.*, 103: '*ad ostendendum hujus opinionis absurditatem*'.

[109] Ibid., cit. *Censura Leidensis*, c.21; Pelt, *Harmonia*, 237.

[110] Episcopius, *Disputationes,* Disput. XXVI Th. IV, in *Opera*, ii 456.

[111] *Confessio sive Declaratio Remonstrantium*, c.21 §4.

[112] *Epis. Cler.*, 103: '*Facile nobis Episcopalis Ecclesiæ hominibus concedes, si nos talem Ordinationem nullam esse dicamus nunquam enim dubitari, quia apud Remonstrantes, modo aliquo religioso Homines pij et docti in Ministerium cooptati sint*.'

[113] Ibid.: '*Dico plebem non impiam sed profanam, qui non separatione peculiari ad servitium Dei consecratur, ideoque a sacrioribus aliquibus Religionis nostræ mysteriis arcetur.*'

[114] Ibid., 104, cit. *Censura Leidensis*, 28–48; *Specimen Calumniarum*, 26; Episcopius, *Disputationes*, *Pars* III *Disput*. IV *Th*. 10, in *Opera*, ii 446.

[115] Ibid., cit. *Censura Leidensis*, 254–58; Pelt, *Harmonia*, 258; Episcopius, *Disputationes, Pars* III *Disput*. 23 *Th*. 7, in *Opera*, ii 455 .

[116] Ibid., cit. *Censura Leidensis*, 256; *Specimen Calumniarum*, 33; Pelt, *Harmonia*, 259, cit. Johan Geister, *Confessio de Resurrectione*; Slatius, *Copie Vant Klaer Vertoogh*.

[117] *Epis. Cler.*, 104.

occasion of excessive misrepresentation'.[118] While failing to 'fish out that snake of Socinianism' which he had so often heard suffused the Remonstrant writings, he did not doubt 'that many speak more tenderly in pleas for the Socinians, for grace to be obliged to them whom they receive in their communion'.[119] Such pleas marred not only the likes of Slatius, Welsingius, and Geisteranus, but even 'the works of Episcopius, a most learned and acute theologian'.[120] And, while the Church of England would not pitilessly forget all that had befallen men who were 'ejected from their own homes, spouses, and priesthoods, with even anathemas, decrees, and prisons incited against them,'[121] neither would it condone the errors commonly grouped under the mantle of 'Arminianism':

> With us, these opinions carry the name of Arminianism. And our people do not lack teachers who may teach them that Arminianism is like a Trojan horse, having these and many other heresies besides shut up in its belly. I defended our Church from the reproach of those (so called) teachings of the Arminians. Neither did it come into doubt but that certain men from the Remonstrant ranks would have defended themselves by a suitably light labor, if only there should be more agreeable explanations than what is commonly believed among us.[122]

Perhaps, Nicholls prodded, Le Clerc himself might offer a more orthodox exposition wherein 'so that thereafter those ambiguous phrases may be eliminated, which have been a stumbling block to the whole Reformed world'.[123] Only thus could the Remonstrants cease to be 'so esteemed of ancestral hostilities,' and so prevent 'all those quarrels of petulant questions which were being agitated by their ancestors' from being 'visited upon their descendants forever'.[124] What was needed was a Remonstrant theology which, unlike Courcelles, Polenburg, or Limborch, would refuse to '[introduce] private quarrels, brandished in the last

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[118] Ibid.: '*in Remonstrantium libris, observo res quasdam verbis ambiguis, quasi de industriâ, contectas, et quæ Adversariis suis ansam, eos calumniandi nimis opportunam, præbuerunt*.'

[119] Ibid.: '*Non quod anguem illum Socinianismi, adeo decantatum, omnibus Theologiæ locis latentem, ego expiscari possim; sed nullus dubito quin multa, in eorum scriptis, mollius in Socinianorum placito dicantur, ad eorum gratiam demerendam, quos in Communionem suam receperant*.'

[120] Ibid.: '*Hæc sane Episcopij, doctissimi acutissimique Theologi, opera fœdavere*'.

[121] Ibid., 105: '*Nec profecto adeo duri sumus, qui veniam non damus dictis eorum quibusdam fervidioribus, quæ illis intemperantius exciderunt, cum a suis Laribus, Conjugibus, Sacerdotijs expulsi fuerint, et contra eos Anathematis, Edictis, Carceribusque sævitum sit*.'

[122] Ibid.: '*Istæ opiniones, apud Nos, Arminianismi nomen gerunt, neque Magistris eget plebs nostra, qui eam doceant, Arminianismum, tanquam Equum Trojanum, has atque alias plures Hæreses, in utero conclusas, habere. Ab istorum dogmatum (uti vocantur) Arminianorum opprobrio nostram defendi Ecclesiam; nec venit in dubium, quin aliquis e Remonstrantium gente suos homines æque facili negotio vindicârit, si modo conjunctiores sint, quam vulgo creditur, nobiscum*.'

[123] Ibid.: '*atque ut exinde exterminarentur phrases illæ ambiguæ, quæ toti Reformata Orbi tanto fuerint Offendiculo*'.

[124] Ibid.: '[*Nihil jam interest,*] *Remonstrantium ita inimicitiarum paternarum fieri Proavis agitabantur, eorum posteros in æternum usque exercerent*.'

century, into today's systems, as principal parts of Christian truth'.[125] Given promising signs among the Calvinists, why should the Remonstrants fail to reform themselves?

> The Calvinists themselves lose something daily from their own rigor and resolved severities. The opinion of the supralapsarians, which once waxed unparalleled throughout the Reformed world, has almost come to an end on the earth. They now publish, in more pleasant dispositions, other topics of theology, which have been too sternly treated by others. Why should the Remonstrants alone, whose own predecessors raved, stand inflexibly in defense? Let us ascribe to Episcopius acumen in disputing; light in describing; splendor in expression; a certain indescribable faculty of being freed, in the interpreting of the sacred scriptures, from age-old errors of opinion. Still, that assiduous student of antiquity was too much a friend of Socinus. He always committed himself more to his own inclination than to the best traditions of the Church, being very sparsely instructed in the learning of Hebrew, plainly a stranger to Greek literary criticism, then lastly in studies of philosophy, which not infrequently do marvelously prepare and enrich theological truth, he seemed barely to have understood, which he taught throughout his lifetime.[126]

In his briefer reply, Le Clerc further distanced Remonstrant theology from Vorstius, and questioned the credibility of Nicholls' Dutch Reformed sources. He saw no need to defend Vorstius or anyone else who shared his views,[127] and scolded Nicholls for attributing Vorstius' opinions to all Remonstrants.[128] Official Remonstrant theology needed to be gathered from official documents like the Remonstrant Confession or Episcopius' *Apologia*, or from authors whose writings were privileged throughout the Remonstrant ranks.[129] Chief among these, said Le Clerc, was Limborch, whose *Theologia Christiana* set out what all Remonstrants believed. Just as the Church of England would not wish to be judged by any writing claiming its mantle, but by one—Le Clerc suggested Henry Hammond—whose writings were approved by all, so the Remonstrants ought similarly to be judged by their best

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[125] Ibid.: '*Quid enim rationem habet res, quamobrem Privatæ litigationesm proximo sæculo ventilatæ, hodiernis systematibus, quasi rei Christianæ præcipuæ partes, immiserentur?*'

[126] Ibid., 104–05: '*Ipsi Calviniani de suo rigore, et atrocioribus placitis, quotidie aliquid remittunt. Supralapsariorum opinio, quæ olim per Reformatum orbem non parum invaluit, pæne in terris esse disijt. Cæteros Theologiæ locos, qui nimis duriter ab ijs tractati sunt, jam in molliores sensus exponunt. Cur soli Remonstrantes, quæ sui delirarunt Proavi, præfracte defenderent? Demus Episcopio in disputando acumen, in narrando lumen, in dicendo splendorem, in Sacris Scripturis interpretandis easque ab inveteratarum opinionum erroribus eximendis, inenarrabilem quandam facultatem: veruntamen ille antiquitatis parum studiosus Cultor, et Socini nimium amicus; plus ingenio suo, quam vel optimis Ecclesiæ institutis, semper dedit; Hebraicâ eruditione parce admodum imbutus, in Critice Græcâ plane hospes, tum denique in Philosophiæ Studijs, quæ non raro rem Theologicam mirifice ornant et locupletant, vix videtur ea calluisse, quæ vel sua ætas docuit.*'

[127] Le Clerc to Nicholls, 31 Jan. 1708, *Epis. Cler.,* iii 125: '*Ego quidem loquutiones minus cautas Conr. Vorstii, aut aliorum, si quæ sunt, minime probo, nec peccata in saniorem Philosophiam defendo.*'

[128] Ibid.: '*sed non sunt ejusmodi loquutiones aut opiniones toti Remonstrantium Societati tribuendæ*'.

[129] Ibid.: '*Judicandum de ea erit, præsertim ex Confessione Fidei, ejusque Apologia, quæ omnibus probantur; aut certe ex Scriptore quopiam cujus Scripta sint in pretio, apud plerosque Remonstrantium.*'

and brightest.[130] However, what flummoxed Le Clerc about Nicholls' attack—and, in fact, what makes the correspondence a deeply fixating historical artifact—is that, in positioning himself alongside the Leiden divines, Nicholls allied himself with the very camp that contemporary and even modern onlookers would have expected him to vilify.

Le Clerc spent the rest of the letter discrediting these sources. He observed that weaving florilegia from texts spliced from context was insinuation, not interpretation.[131] He expressed his bewilderment that, in trusting the Leiden divines, Nicholls should ally himself to the Calvinists, hiding under the authority of the Scots and English schismatics who dissented from the Church which Nicholls claimed to defend.[132] The vexing thing was that the disputes of the Calvinists and Arminians touched upon 'predestination, perseverance, grace, and justification'—and yet there was nothing in Nicholls' treatments of these doctrines that Le Clerc could not applaud.[133] For Le Clerc, whatever 'Arminianism' meant in England, it was not the theology of the Remonstrants. Nicholls had foolishly accepted as fact his enemies' calumnies, when he should have observed that what they called 'Arminianism' was not, in fact, what the Remonstrants held. If he had read more critically, 'there would have been nothing we would have contested, and we should have done nothing else but say that such manner of 'Arminianism' is a sheer invention, no more to be attributed to us than to the Church of England.'[134] Le Clerc ended by requesting that Nicholls emend his 'harsher statements' in a later edition of the *Defensio*, attending both to what the Remonstrants actually said, and evaluating equally critically their opponents charges.[135] And, above all, if Nicholls wanted to know what the Remonstrants thought on a given subject, he should read Limborch: 'If you would, at your leisure, read our Limborch's *Theologia Christiana* attentively, you will see that he everywhere uses moderation, which can justly be claimed by a theologian, and by the same method and clarity has considered the individual heads of theology, so the Remonstrants should need no other systematic theology.'[136]

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[130] Ibid., 125–26. It is of course far from obvious that all churchmen would in fact wish to own Hammond as a trustworthy representative of the sentiments of the Church of England.

[131] Ibid., 126, ¶2.

[132] Ibid.

[133] Ibid., 127: '*Utinam vero nihil in tuo Opusculo fuisset, quod non laudare non potuissem!*'

[134] Ibid., 129: '*Nihil tum fuisset quod quereremur, nec aliud fecessimus, nisi quod ejusmodi Arminianismum merum figmentum esse dixissemus, nec magis nobis tribuendum, quam Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*.'

[135] Ibid.

[136] Ibid., 130: '*Si per otium adtentius leges Theologiam Christianam Limburgii nostri, videbis eum ubique moderationem adhibuisse, quæ a Theologo jure postulari potest, eaque methodo ac perspicuitate de singulis Theologiæ capitibus egisse, ut Remonstrantes nullo alio Systemate Theologico indigeant*.'

Nicholls closed the correspondence in a letter of 31 March 1708. He accepted that he had offended against Remonstrants. He had been under the impression that he was ascribing to them 'only the opinions which were judged by almost all to be either what they uphold, or at least have held before'.[137] He repudiated Pelt. Crucially, however, he felt that Pelt's views had shaped the perceptions of innumerable English readers:

> But I am glad to hear that the Remonstrants do not hold these pleasures commonly ascribed to them. For you, more than anyone a just judge of these matters, can understand what these theologians really believe, what their writings declare, and what notions are proposed by their words. Assuredly, many of us were at one time deceived by other foreigners, partly due to certain ambiguous phrases in Episcopius, partly by the calumnies of adversaries, perhaps twisting straight teachings to an alien sense. And I am truly sorry that I have long turned myself to the same purpose. But in this, you have a confessed criminal. What you relate of Pelt, who is used by many of us as a sworn witness, was unknown to me before; I declare, I have never heard of a viler man. And so now I cannot but laugh that Jonathan Edwards, in his *Preservative against Socinianism*, so often hailed Pelt as a genuine reporter. And not only this most learned man, but many others also, I can count as partners in my error.[138]

Nicholls had not acted on his own authority, but had spoken for a numerous contingent of churchmen spurred on by that provocateur of the Lower House, Jonathan Edwards.

Nicholls saw himself as a man of moderation, out of place in the polarized days of Augustan England. Nonconformists, he complained, 'keep so busy with grudges inherited from predecessors that, because I resisted their insane and slanderous talk, they reckon me never to be offered any pardon or safety'.[139] But Nicholls had also offended the bishops:

> Of the two factions between our bishops, of which one is the 'High-Minded' (so called) and the other, the 'Ground-Flies,' each is not a little offended by me. The one makes no objection to reviewing me, because, with a sharper pen, I attacked the obloquies of the dissenters (whom at this present they think fit to be coddled, for the firm establishment of parties). The other humiliates me as though a treacherous enemy of the Church, as if I would have betrayed to the adversaries the dignity of the

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[137] Nicholls to Le Clerc, 31 Mar. 1708, *Epis. Cler.*, iii 139: '*sed putabam quod eas solum opiniones, ijs adscripseram, quas vel ipsi tuentur, aut saltem tenuisse, ab omnibus fere judicati sunt*.'

[138] Ibid., 139–40: '*Sed perlibenter audio, Remonstrantes non ea Placita tueri, quæ vulgo ijs adscripta sunt. Tu enim istarum rerum, siquis alius, justus æstimator scire potes, quid isti Theologi revera sentiunt; quid eorum scripta declarant; quæque notiones eorum verbis subjectæ sunt. Profecto multi e nostris, tum ex alijs exteris hominibus decepti sunt, partim ex ambiguis quibusdam in Episcopio phrasibus, partim ab Adversariorum calumnijs, dogmata fortasse recta, in sensum alienum detorquentibus. Et maxime doleo, me in eodem diu versatum fuisse. Sed in hoc habes confitentum Reum. Quod narras, mihi antea incognitum, de Pelto, quo Nostrorum multi ut Jurato Teste utuntur; profiteor me nunquam nequiorem hominem audivisse. Itaque subinde ridere non possum, Jonathanum Edovarsium, in Prophylactico suo contra Socinianismum, toties Peltium, ut Scriptorem Authenticum laudasse. Neque hunc Virum doctissimum, sed plurimos etiam alios, erroris mihi socios possum adsciscere*.'

[139] Ibid., 140: '*Non conformistæ nostri ita Hæreditaria Prædecessorum exercent odia, ut, quoniam libere suorum insaniæ maledicentiæque occurri, nunquam mihi veniam aut impunitatem dandam putent*.'

> Church which I had undertaken to protect; for almost no other cause than that I had undertaken some ways to peace, and had wished for them to be received into the bosom of the Church, whom they regarded as dead men, fit to be cursed.[140]

To make matters worse, foreign Calvinists had complained of Nicholls' *Defensio* to several bishops. This, perhaps, put him in a more conciliatory mood: 'I have imprudently offended against the Remonstrants, because I wrongly understood the Arminian teachings, and that what is called "Arminianism" in England should be a plainly different matter in the Netherlands.'[141] Nicholls emended a later edition of the *Defensio* to satisfy Le Clerc, but the changes were hardly substantial. In Nicholls' posthumous English translation of 1715, every anti-Remonstrant diatribe remains; the only change was the omission of citations, and *all* primary citations were omitted from that edition, not only those of the Remonstrants. It seems unlikely that Le Clerc convinced Nicholls he had misjudged the Remonstrants. For all he did in response was to ensure that, in the future, he left no hostages to fortune.

7.4 Conclusions

As William Nicholls' *Defensio Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ* shows, Arminianism was no marginal factor in later Stuart religion. Whether Nicholls appreciated the finer points of Remonstrant theology, or whether his perceptions were contorted by prejudice, the situation is clear. For Nicholls, and the churchmen for whom he claimed to speak, Arminianism was a Trojan horse, full of heretics and atheists. The *Defensio* was, in part, an effort to disembowel the horse.

Nicholls' fears need to be seen in light of the controversial views delineated in Part II of the *Defensio*—views which, as he emphasized to Le Clerc, smacked of Socinianism. Since Remonstrants like Conrad Vorstius, Henricus Slatius, and Isaacus Welsingius had made overtures to the Socinians, even lifting passages from Socinian texts verbatim, the studied ambiguity of Simon Episcopius, and the subsequent innovations of Etienne de Courcelles and Philip van Limborch, invited the inference that these influential Remonstrant theologians consented to the semi-Socinian viewpoints of their more radical associates. It is of course true

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[140] Ibid.: '*Duarum inter Episcoparios nostros factionum, quarum una est Altivolentium (ut vocantur) altera Humipetarum, utraque mihi non leviter offensa est. Hæc, quia Dissentium Convitia (quos nunc temporis ad suas firmandas partes palpandos esse judicant) acriori, quæ par erat, stylo impetij, non gravantur me recensere, inter nescio quos Ardeliones, Incendiarios, Reip. Faces, et homines paci Ecclesiæ graves. Altera me sugillat, tanquam subdolum Ecclesiæ hostem, et quasi Ecclesiæ dignitatem, quam tuendam susceperam, Adversarijs prodidissem; non alia fere causâ, quam quod aliquas ad concordiam vias iniverim, et eos in Ecclesiæ sinum recipiendos optarim, quos isti Dijs Manibus devovendos censent.*'

[141] Ibid.: '*In Remonstrantes etiam imprudens deliqui, quod male Arminiana dogmata intellexi, et illud quod Arminianismus in Anglia vocatur, plane diversa res sit in Belgio.*'

that Episcopius had political reasons for writing as he did; but these motivations would not have excused him in Nicholls' eyes. For Nicholls, writing ambiguously when one's radical friends wrote clearly was not to write ambiguously at all.

The *Defensio* led to a flurry of correspondences, including a lengthy exchange with the Remonstrant Jean Le Clerc, who took the opportunity to reprove Nicholls for circulating invented misinformation about the Remonstrants' views on original sin, Trinitarian theology and Christology, sacramentology and ecclesiology, and several other theological issues. In reply, Nicholls claimed simply to have followed the judgments of the Leiden Reformed divines Johannes Polyander, Andreas Rivetus, Antonius Walæus, and Antonius Thysius, as expressed in two jointly authored works, and in Johannes Pelt's *Harmonia Remonstrantium et Socinianorum*, to which they had affixed their *imprimatur*.

Le Clerc, predictably, challenged the reliability of the Leiden divines. He argued that one's tradition should not be judged by its enemies but by its official documents, or by writers universally hailed as representative of their tradition. If modern readers want to know why Nicholls appears not to have been as persuaded by Le Clerc as he intimated in his letter, they need only look to Le Clerc's counsel to read, as representative, the one writer whom Nicholls surely *had* read closely, having been appointed by the Lower House to investigate William Jones' English translation of Limborch's *Compleat System or Body of Divinity*. While it is difficult to determine precisely the degree of Nicholls' involvement in the two subsequent printings of the *Defensio*—the second Latin edition came in 1712, the year of his death, while his English rendering, translated at an unknown time, arrived in 1715—the consistency of the text, save for the omission of the footnoted citations, suggests that Le Clerc failed to convince Nicholls. Clearly, Arminianism was perceived as a powerful expression of religious heterodoxy, whether or not it represented the genuine sentiments of the Remonstrants.

Even so, more important than what Nicholls did after Le Clerc's letters is the fact that he had been operating under these impressions for twenty years: in his contribution to the Trinitarian literature of the early 1690s, where he identified Vorstius and Episcopius with Socinian writers; and in his participation in the Lower House investigation into Limborch's system. For the same reason, it should come as no surprise that Nicholls identified Jonathan Edwards as the galvanizer of anti-Remonstrant opinion. It must be grasped that Nicholls did not see Edwards as an idiosyncratic theological fossil; he counted 'not only this most learned man, but many others also… as partners in my error'.[142] Edwards was perhaps the most vocal

[142] See *supra*, 164 fn.138.

apologist for this viewpoint; but many others, including Nicholls, joined the chorus. That Nicholls and Edwards, Arminians both, deployed Pelt and the iconically Reformed Leiden divines, should not fail to capture our attention. For it turns upside down the picture that recent scholarship has painted of how English Arminians articulated their perceptions of the continental Remonstrant and, indeed, the Reformed traditions.

Let us imagine, however, that Le Clerc did convince Nicholls that the Remonstrants were orthodox, after all—that changes to later editions of the *Defensio* were only incomplete editorial emendations; that Nicholls dispensed with epistolary politic and revised a prejudice he had held for decades; that he spoke truthfully when he concluded that 'Arminianism' could describe two entirely distinct or even opposed theological movements, depending on the English or Dutch context. Even so, it would not have been Nicholls' private reversal, but his printed reproach, which resounded down the years. Just as the *Defensio* crystallized the anti-Remonstrant views which Nicholls had shared with Jonathan Edwards twenty years before, so it ensured the persistence of those perceptions among *altivolenti* Arminians for twenty years to come. No less a figure than Daniel Waterland exhorted his reader in 1730:

> If any one has a mind to see in a short compass, wherein we differ from [the Remonstrants], not only in this [i.e. the Eucharist], but in some other important points, I refer him to a little book written by a very judicious divine of our Church, Dr. William Nichols, about twenty years ago, written in Latin, and since translated into English. And indeed, while Episcopius, Limborch, and Curcellæus often come into the hands of our young divines, who may not perhaps readily distinguish between the old and true doctrines, and some novel corruptions, it would be very proper for them to have some such book as Dr. Nichol's at hand, for a caution to them.[143]

[143] Daniel Waterland, *The Nature, Obligation, and Efficacy of the Christian Sacraments, Considered* (1730), 48.

CONCLUSION

In the last of his twelve works of Trinitarian theology, *The Importance of the Doctrine of the Holy Trinity Asserted* (1734), Daniel Waterland addressed English-speaking readers who professed belief in the Trinity while, he believed, subverting its importance as an article of faith.[1] For Waterland, the source of this 'coldness and indifferency' was clear:

> And as Episcopius was, in a manner, their father or founder, and great leader, they have been frequently called after him, *Episcopians*. These are properly the persons whom we have here to dispute with: for they are the men who make the truth, and the importance of the doctrine two distinct questions, admitting the one, and rejecting the other, or however demurring to it.[2]

Against this 'Episcopian' neutrality, he added, William Nicholls spoke 'in the name of our whole body,' condemning it 'as deadly poison'.[3] Nor was Nicholls the first to do so; the Restoration conformist Matthew Scrivener 'long before, (A.D. 1672) had passed the like censure'.[4] Even 'separatists' had repudiated the 'Episcopian' error.[5]

Waterland's distinction among post-Reformation English theologians is undisputed. For that reason, older writers, Anglican and agnostic alike, heaped praise on him.[6] Modern historians have offered even more lavish commendation.[7] But Waterland also held formidable church-political sway, figuring prominently in the efforts of Edmund Gibson, bishop of London, to secure political stability by deescalating partisan clerical print. He was 'a trusted ally in Gibson's efforts to restrict topics of controversial discussion to "expert" university clergymen and limit the participation of the lower clergy in persecutory press campaigns

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[1] Waterland, *Importance of the Doctrine of the Holy Trinity*, 2.

[2] Ibid., 5.

[3] Ibid., cit. Nicholls, *Defence*, 199.

[4] Ibid.; Matthew Scrivener, *Apologia Pro S. Ecclesiae Patribus Adversus Dallaeum* (1672), 'Preface.'

[5] Ibid., 6–7, cf. 84–85, where Waterland notes Baxter, Corbet, Owen, Lobb, Manton, and Bates, citing Josiah Everleigh, *A Vindication of Mr. Trosse from the Charge of Uncharitableness* (1719), 'Preface.'

[6] Waterland was 'one of the greatest ornaments the church ever had' and 'the greatest living champion of orthodoxy,' in John Watkins, *An Universal Biographical and Historical Dictionary* (London: R. Phillips, 1800), s.v. 'Waterland (Dr. Daniel)'; Leslie Stephen, *The History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century*, 2 vols. (London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 1881 [1876]), i 257.

[7] Scott Mandelbrote calls Waterland the 'most indefatigable upholder of Trinitarian orthodoxy of the time': 'Eighteenth-Century Reactions to Newton's Anti-Trinitarianism,' in James E. Force and Sarah Hutton (eds.), *Newton and Newtonianism: New Studies* (Dordrecht: Springer, 2004), 98. Eamon Duffy claims he was 'without any question the ablest and one of the best-read theologians in England in the 150-year period between the seventeenth-century Revolution and the Oxford Movement,' a man whose 'writings on the Trinity represent the most sustained defence of Chalcedonian orthodoxy ever constructed in English': Eamon Duffy in Peter Cunich et al (eds.), *A History of Magdalene College Cambridge 1428–1988* (Cambridge: CUP, 1994), 161–63.

against freethinkers, heterodox clergymen, and Dissenters,' thereby curbing the divisive potential of Tory lower clergy so as 'to create consensus in an often turbulent political landscape'.[8] Clearly, Waterland knew of an anti-Remonstrant divide, and saw—doubtless in hindsight of Convocation's melees—how the divisions it exposed inhibited the stability of the Church. His remarks on the 'Episcopian' divinity thus prove fascinating, for they show that Gibson's doctrinal proxy saw his summative Trinitarian work as part of a stream of polemic which had coursed through the Church for sixty years. As well as a tool for requisitioning a polemical tradition with a Tory pedigree, Waterland's anti-Remonstrant polemic—one might now call it anti-Episcopian—confirms that Arminian conformists had resisted Remonstrant ideas since the 1670s. This is key, because it corrects a scholarly overemphasis on the ascent of Remonstrant theology after the Restoration, which in turn has supported the mistaken idea that the Church of England emerged from the Restoration with the makings of a monolithic Arminian consensus, converging with the Arminianism of the Dutch Remonstrants.[9] Clearly, Remonstrant ideas found acceptance in influential quarters. But as churchmen from Scrivener to Waterland believed, Remonstrant theology was a double-edged sword. One wielded it with no certainty that it might not be turned back upon oneself.

This thesis has asked how the appropriation of Remonstrant ideas produced limited theological convergence between English and Dutch Arminian traditions, and how that convergence in turn opened a breach within the English Arminian camp. That fissure became evident in debate over Remonstrant ideas about articles of revealed faith like the Trinity, the Incarnation, and original sin. It overlaid another division over issues of soteriology, so that a negative consensus against Remonstrant ideas can be identified among churchmen opposed over grace and predestination. But what are the ramifications of that negative consensus for the theological character of the later Stuart and early Hanoverian Church? As Chapter One showed, a venerable scholarly tradition holds that the Restoration expelled Reformed divinity from English religious life, assimilating Arminianism in its place. This idea is epitomized by John

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[8] Jamie Marc Latham, 'The Clergy and Print in Eighteenth-Century England, c. 1714–1750' (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 2017), 106, 198. Compare Hugh Trevor-Roper, who called Waterland the 'intellectual leader' of a 'clerical pressure group' devoted to preventing 'latitudinarian whig grandees' from harboring deists in the Church. *History and the Enlightenment*, 87.

[9] Tyacke, *Aspects*, 336; Palmer, *Jansenism and England*, 163. Matthew Yeo, on Chetham's Library (the oldest in the anglophone world): 'The later acquisition of Arminian scholarship, both Continental and English, reflected the changing reception of Arminian thought after the Restoration and after the Glorious Revolution of 1688…. exemplified by the collected works of Episcopius and Courcelles.' *The Acquisition of Books by Chetham's Library, 1655-1700* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 142.

Spurr, who claims that 'Restoration Anglicans' sharply repudiated Reformed orthodoxy. In fact, the Restoration saw no such rise of a unified Arminian response to Reformed divinity. That idea hangs on a narrow conception of Arminianism as merely anti-Calvinist (indeed, anti-Augustinian) soteriology. Historians who have accepted this definition have consistently drawn the problematic inference that Arminians of the period shared a monolithic response to Reformed divinity simply by virtue of rejecting Reformed soteriology. The fact that the fissure dividing Arminian churchmen over Remonstrant ideas cut across that soteriological divide, however, shows that Ollard's definition of Arminianism as 'the whole High Church and Latitudinarian reaction against the intellectual tyranny of Calvinism' is mistaken. English Arminians were never, in any but the narrowest sense, 'whole'.[10]

Chapter Two identified a refinement of that historiographical tradition in two essays on the theology of the Restoration Church by Nicholas Tyacke. Tyacke claims that, in the long tenure of Joseph Beaumont as Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, there can be seen a theological convergence of English and Dutch Arminian traditions that became normative in English Arminianism by the turn of the century. However, as was seen from Beaumont's manuscript lectures on Christian liberty, delivered at the start of his incumbency in 1674, this was not so. Though an Arminian in matters of soteriology, Beaumont spoke harshly of Simon Episcopius, charging him with inciting schismatics, undermining the ministry, and goading dissenters into sedition. Beaumont regarded Episcopius as *the* fountain of radical dissent—a fact which places him squarely in Waterland's description of the English Arminian rejection of Episcopian divinity during the early 1670s.[11]

Chapter Three began a series of inquiries into controversies centered in the Lower of Convocation, in which the Principal of Jesus College, Oxford, Jonathan Edwards, played key roles. The first inquiry concerned the Trinitarian crisis of the 1690s. Building on the analysis of Stephen Hampton, this chapter showed that suspicions of Socinianism against William Sherlock were exacerbated by his espousal of Remonstrant ideas about the unity of the divine persons. It also drew attention to Brent Sirota's interpretation of the Trinitarian crisis as a battle of 'political ecclesiologies' resulting from the lower clergy's discontent with the lapsed disciplinary regime of the post-revolutionary Church. This enabled us to see that the long

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[10] S.L. Ollard, *DECH*, 28. Cf. *supra*, 12.

[11] This may in turn explain Waterland's interest in Beaumont's manuscript remains: Daniel Waterland, *Regeneration Stated and Explained according to Scripture and Antiquity* (1740), 17 (z).

prorogation of Convocation exacerbated intra-Arminian tensions by providing a partisan aim towards which anti-Remonstrant polemic could be directed.

Chapter Four examined the events that unfolded, when, in 1701, the lower clergy got their wish for a sitting Convocation, and a committee of the Lower House censured Gilbert Burnet's *Exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles* for teaching heresy and commending a wide berth in the interpretation of the Articles. This analysis followed Edwards as a leader in the heresy hunt against Burnet. It considered his charge that Burnet had assimilated Socinian Christological ideas, by investigating a correspondence in which Burnet advised Philip van Limborch to defend Christ's divinity to a Jewish dialogue partner using a method which bore more than a passing resemblance to what Edwards regarded as the Socinian position.

Chapter Five resumed a decade later, when Edwards turned his attention to Daniel Whitby's rejection of Augustine's doctrine of original sin. Edwards replied not for the sake of Reformed theology, but in the belief that Whitby's teaching amounted to Pelagianism. This chapter viewed Edwards and Whitby in relation to two Arminian approaches to Augustine—that of Gerhard Vossius, who held that Augustine reiterated prior Christian teaching on original sin; and that of Jean Le Clerc, who regarded Augustine's view of original sin as a Manichaean interpolation in the early Christian tradition. Whereas Edwards favored Vossius, Whitby followed Le Clerc, supporting his position with arguments drawn from Limborch. Whitby's sympathy with Limborch and Le Clerc prompted severe criticism from Edwards, who defended Augustine, distinguishing the 'Pelagianism' of Episcopius and Le Clerc from what he took to be the orthodox doctrine asserted by Arminius and Vossius.

Chapter Six turned to a new controversy in the Lower House linked to the celebrity cleric, Samuel Clarke. Though Clarke was tarred as an Arian, his subordinationistic ideas were seen to have arisen in a broader subordinationistic milieu to which belonged the Remonstrant theologians Simon Episcopius and Etienne de Courcelles, and those English thinkers, George Bull, Ralph Cudworth, and Isaac Newton, who espoused similar positions. It was seen that, against Clarke, the Master of Magdalene College, Cambridge, Daniel Waterland, affirmed the firmly anti-subordinationistic teaching that God the Son is *autotheos* considered as to essence but not considered as to person. This position was an identifiably Reformed view which had been eschewed by Waterland's supposed hero, George Bull. That Waterland affirmed it against Clarke showed, therefore, that the 'Episcopian' divinity convinced anti-Remonstrant Arminians of the need to affirm Reformed views, even if it put them out of step with their proximate intellectual forebears.

The study concluded, in Chapter Seven, by analyzing an unexamined correspondence between William Nicholls and Jean Le Clerc, wherein Nicholls identified a sweeping anti-Remonstrant sentiment among the lower clergy, and specified its provocateur as Jonathan Edwards of Jesus College, Oxford. He explained that it was Edwards who had driven the anti-Remonstrant campaign in the Lower House, and claimed to have followed Edwards in forming his opinion of the Remonstrants by the light of Dutch contra-Remonstrant sources. Most importantly, Nicholls claimed that Edwards was the figurehead of a broad contingent of churchmen who agreed with the Dutch Reformed representation of the Remonstrants as crypto-Socinians. Edwards was considered *the* authoritative English guide to Remonstrant theology by countless churchmen, including Nicholls when he composed the *Defensio*.

Throughout, the thesis has shown the diversity of later Stuart and early Hanoverian English Arminianism. It has not assessed Arminianism in nonconformist contexts, but not because that theology found no reception in such environs; Andrew Ollerton's case for the fecundity of Arminian theological production in the 1650s shows otherwise, as do the facts that Beaumont in the 1670s, and Nicholls in the 1700s, identified Remonstrant divinity with dissent.[12] Rather, this study has focused on a fissure within Arminian conformity so as to discern better the place of Remonstrant theology in the development of the doctrinal identity of the Church 'by law established'. In addressing that question, attention has been paid to key points of Trinitarian, Christological, and anthropological doctrine. This was methodologically necessary to apply Richard Muller's 'new perspective on Arminius' theology'[13] to the subject of English Arminianism, where Muller's work has not been widely engaged. It has not been denied that English Arminians deployed an eclectic range of sources, including Lutheran and Catholic texts, but it has been argued that Arminius' subordinationism was developed by later Remonstrants, and that many English Arminians suspected Episcopian divinity of crypto-Socinianism partly for this reason.

If this case for the diversity of later Stuart and early Hanoverian Arminian conformity persuades, studies should now follow anti-Episcopianism further into the Hanoverian period. The impact of Episcopian ideas on Benjamin Hoadly's ecclesiology and Francis Blackburne's

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[12] Ollerton, 'Crisis of Calvinism,' 247; Anthony David Garland Steers, '"New Light" Thinking and Non-Subscription amongst Protestant Dissenters in England and Ireland in the Early 18th Century and Their Relationship with Glasgow University and Scotland' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Glasgow, 2016).

[13] Muller, 'Christological Problem,' 146.

antidogmatism have been observed,[14] but the anti-Episcopian tradition needs to be integrated into these analyses. With reference to emergent Methodism, moreover, it needs to be asked how hostility to Episcopian ideas might have informed suspicions of Methodist separatism, or, alternatively, how anti-Methodism may have provided a protected public space to voice Remonstrant views with less likelihood of counterattack.[15] Research should also refine old associations of Arminianism and rationalism,[16] attending to the role of public authority in adjudicating doctrinal debate.[17] Insofar as religious enlightenment accompanied mechanistic ideas in the natural sciences and philosophy, this yields another significant question: how might anti-Remonstrant polemic refigure our view of the rise of evangelicalism—understood as a 'hymnic' response to the same reductive and privatizing aspects of religious modernity with which high-church apologists for subscription associated the Episcopian divinity?[18]

For Waterland, Episcopius showed his true colors when condemning Calvinists for exercising discipline, while acquitting Socinians of propagating heterodoxy. 'There is no just or consistent account to be given of this unequal conduct, except it be this; that blasphemies of adversaries… are real blasphemies and deserve an anathema; but blasphemies of friends, or of brethren in affliction, are innocent, and deserve no anathema at all.'[19] It testifies to the power of the Episcopian divinity that, through Edwards, Dutch Reformed texts became touchstones for the Lower House. But it is even more striking that no less a figure than Waterland carried on the movement of which Edwards was both architect and ornament. Waterland was seen, in what Mark Pattison called a Tractarian 'legal fiction,' as the last

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[14] David Steers, 'Arminianism amongst Protestant Dissenters in England and Ireland in the Eighteenth Century,' in Theodoor Marius van Leeuwen et al (eds.), *Arminius, Arminianism, and Europe: Jacob Arminius (1559/60–1609)* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 177–78; Brian Young, 'A History of Variation: The Identity of the Eighteenth-Century Church of England,' in Tony Claydon and Ian McBride (eds.), *Protestantism and National Identity: Britain and Ireland c.1650–c.1850* (Cambridge: CUP, 105–28.

[15] Simon Lewis observes this in the case of William Whiston: 'A "Diversity of Passions and Humours": Early Anti-Methodist Literature as a Disguise for Heterodoxy,' *LH* 26.1 (May 2017), 3–23.

[16] Shagan puts the rehabilitation of *fides historica* at the root of Arminian minimalism. Shagan, *Birth of Modern Belief*, 225; cf. Kęstutis Daugirdas, 'The Biblical Hermeneutics of Socinians and Remonstrants in the Seventeenth Century," in Th. M. van Leeuwen, Keith D. Stanglin, and Marijke Tolsma (eds.), *Arminius, Arminianism, and Europe: Jacobus Arminius (1559/60-1609)* (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2009), 107; Keith D. Stanglin, 'The Rise and Fall of Biblical Perspicuity: Remonstrants and the Transition Toward Modern Exegesis,' *CH* 83.1 (March 2014), 57. It needs to be shown how this fits with the application of probabilistic reasoning to claims of revelation by anti-Remonstrants, e.g., South, *Twelve Sermons*, 288; Edwards, *Preservative* iv 8–15.

[17] Sirota, 'Trinitarian Controversy,' 30.

[18] Bruce Hindmarsh, *The Spirit of Early Evangelicalism: True Religion in a Modern World* (Oxford: OUP, 2018), 131, 142.

[19] Waterland, *Importance*, 85.

authentic Anglican from his own day until 1833.[20] But the crux of his legacy, unbeknownst to the Tractarians,[21] was the requisitioning of Edwards' assimilation of Peltius and the Reformed Leiden divines into the discourse of English theology and religious politics. It is hard to imagine finding Peltius or the Leiden Synoptists in the pages of the *Catena Patrum*. But that they do feature—woven seamlessly into the legacies of Edwards, Nicholls, and Waterland—reveals the shadows cast by the Episcopians, and by those churchmen, Reformed and Arminian, who opposed them.

[20] Mark Pattison, 'Tendencies of Religious Thought in England, 1688–1750,' in Frederick Temple et al (eds.), *Essays and Reviews* (Cambridge: CUP, 2013 [1860]), 255.

[21] The Tractarians knew Waterland by 'name,' not 'argument': Ingram, *Reformation without End*, 345.

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III. UNPUBLISHED DOCTORAL THESES

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